SEX SEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR IN PAKISTAN:
GENDER TRAINING, REPRESENTATION, RESOURCES AND PATRIARCHY

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of
the Australian National University

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DECLARATION

Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own original work carried out as a PhD student at the Australian National University from July 2007 to October 2011.

[Signature]

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October 2011
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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the problem of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan in relation to the increasingly applied development solution of gender training of public sector employees. The three main labour market theories of sex segregation – social, economic and political – and the parallel development approaches, that is, Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD), and Gender and Development (GAD), consider the solution to the problem of sex segregation in the labour market to be, respectively, the integration of women in institutions, women’s access to economic resources, and the reorganisation of gender relations through dismantling entrenched patriarchy. In practice, the social approach of gender training has increasingly become the development solution and there is a belief that training will result in institutional transformation and the elimination of gender inequality.

The research for this thesis was concerned with how gender training relates to the problem of sex segregation in terms of issues of women’s low representation, access to resources, and institutional policies and practices. The research interviewed 198 public sector employees in Pakistan to seek opinions on women’s representation, the changes and policies required in the public sector and actual changes in practices after gender training. The data captured the diversity of views of male and female employees both with and without gender training, belonging to two geographic locations, 10 organisations, and at three levels within the organisations.

The research found that training provoked resistance to women’s representation and access to resources and did not result in changes in practices of research participants, which continued to be determined by institutional inertia owing to unchanged organisational policies. There was a contest between the opposing interests of men and women about the
issues of women’s representation and access to resources. While both men and women opposed increased representation of women in organisations through quotas, women asked for greater access to institutional and social resources but men in similar positions opposed it, suggesting gender inequality is inherently political. Patriarchal benevolence was shown by men in senior management positions in their support for increased women’s representation and resources, because their elite status was not challenged by interventions at the lower level. Further, gender training did not transform organisational practices and gender-trained research participants returned to work in the existing patriarchal framework of the public sector.

These findings seek a refocus of development interventions by suggesting that more and better training cannot cure the problem of sex segregation, nor do social and liberal theories of sex segregation offer a solution to the problem of sex segregation, because women’s low representation and limited access to resources are not causes of sex segregation, as assumed by the social and economic theories of sex segregation in the labour market, but are effects of the patriarchal control of institutions, as argued in the political theories of sex segregation in the labour market. While training is important, the problem first requires a change in the patriarchal processes, policies and procedures that disenfranchise women.

Keywords: sex segregation, gender training, feminism, patriarchy, Pakistan
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<td>International Crisis Group</td>
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<td>UNIFEM</td>
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<td>WID</td>
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<td>Women Political School Project</td>
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

This thesis examines the problem of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan in relation to the policy of providing of gender training to public sector employees. In Pakistan only five percent of the public sector workforce are women. The problem of sex segregation is examined in terms of issues of women’s representation, their access to resources and institutional policies. The thesis argues that sex segregation in the public sector is the outcome of entrenched patriarchal processes, policies and procedures that vest control to men over women. Political strategies to segregate and exclude women’s employment in secondary sectors and jobs, limiting or denying access to resources, and gender insensitive human resource policies are used to maintain sex segregation in the public sector. Women’s low representation and limited access to resources are not causes of sex segregation, as assumed by the social theories (Maccoby 1999; Candice Bryant Simonds and Brush 2005; Eagly and Diekman 2006) and economic theories (Ferree 1990; Lovell 2000; Crompton 2001; Ferguson 2004; England and Folbre 2005) of sex segregation in the labour market, but are effects of the patriarchal control of institutions, as argued in the political theories of sex segregation in the labour market (Connell 2005; Johnson 2005; Shankar and Northcott 2009; MacKinnon 2010; Walby 2010).

The primary positions of leadership and seniority in the public sector are invariably occupied by men, and women are concentrated in the secondary or junior positions. This imbalance creates both vertical and horizontal sex segregation in the public sector. Political dynamics and power mechanisms, as well as promotion rules based on time of service
rather than merit, create and sustain occupational closure\(^1\) in the public sector. The practice of occupational closure arises from a conflict of interest between groups vying for a monopoly over existing opportunities and elite status. At the more senior levels, patriarchal benevolence is shown by those whose elite status is not challenged by the policy interventions and who know that existing human resource rules and policies will hinder any change.

This thesis argues that gender training as a policy solution will not address the problem of sex segregation in the public sector unless the patriarchal processes, policies and procedures which disenfranchise women are changed. More and better training is often assumed as a solution, but it will not address sex segregation. This thesis found that after staff training on gender awareness, organisational practices continued to be shaped by the overarching gender-blind mandates and policies of the public sector. This suggests that rather than an emphasis on training, a critical reorientation of institutional policies and mandates, including Human Resource recruiting and promotion rules, should be a basic step for progress towards the elimination of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan.

This chapter introduces the key issues for the thesis, that is, women’s low representation and access to resources, and gender insensitive policies. It gives a brief account of how gender and development and gender mainstreaming policies around gender training are considered as a solution for the elimination of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan. A brief introduction to the study issues in the public sector of Pakistan is also given. The chapter presents the research questions, the scope of the study, the methods

\(^1\) Occupational closure is defined as the exclusion of women from the public sector. Parkins (1979: 56) considers exclusion a result of the perceived competence of the members of an organisation which is considered sufficient, but Witz (1992: 44) argues that ‘gendered politics’ are behind occupational closure and the strategies of occupational closure are ‘a means of mobilising male power in order to stake claims to resources and opportunities distributed via the mechanisms of the labour market’. This thesis argues that contest and interest for the claims to the monopoly over status and resources lead to occupational closure, the exclusion of women from the public sector of Pakistan.
adopted for data collection and analysis, and the limitations of the study, and concludes with an outline of the organisation of the chapters.

**Research Issues**

The central concern of this thesis is the relationship of gender training with the problem of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan. Training has increasingly become a development solution to the problem of sex segregation in institutions (Woodford-Berger 2004). Development institutions, the governments of developing country and development feminists are all involved in imparting gender training to employees in the public sector and NGOs as a way of addressing sex segregation in institutions (Kusakabe 2005; Dasgupta 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007; UNDP 2007). There is a belief that action on gender inequality through training is effective, but the training processes ignore the related issues of power, privileges, interests and institutional structures (Verloo 2001; Abou-Habib 2007; Verloo, Vleuten et al. 2009). The social, economic and political theories of sex segregation in the labour market that have evolved over the last four decades have identified three separate issues: the low representation of women in the labour market, their low access to resources, and the preservation of institutional structures that inhibit progress towards gender equality (Razavi and Miller 1995; Epstein 2007; Acker 2009; Kabeer 2009; Pillai N., Vijayamohanan et al. 2009; MacKinnon 2010). The issue of low representation is considered a function of a conflict in the roles of women between the domestic and the public space, that is, social norms privilege women’s work in the domestic sphere rather than in the public sphere. The low access to resources to bridge the domestic and public space such as childcare, transport to and from work etc. all form the economic and institutional basis of inequality. Institutional structures are formed through political processes that retain the patriarchal control of men over women, and while social
economic and political theories of sex segregation in the labour market have highlighted these issues, there is little research on how the policy solution of training relates to these issues of sex segregation and how these issues relate to each other. The following section introduces the theoretical and development underpinnings and gives a brief account of these issues in the context of the public sector of Pakistan to form the basis of this research.

Issue of Representation

Increasing the representation of women in the labour market is the core solution in the social theories of labour market sex segregation as well as in the Women in Development approaches to social development. Social theories of sex segregation in the labour market argue that the socially constructed roles of men and women in society result in the sex segregation in labour markets (Maccoby 1999: 118; Wharton 2005; Epstein 2007; Ballantine and Roberts 2010: 290), as women’s domestic role in the home is seen in patriarchal societies as being in conflict with men’s role of primary income earner (Calás and Smircich 1999: 218; Eagleton 2003; Lorber 2010:25). This process starts early in life with the socialisation of boys and girls to take up different roles in society (Maccoby 1999; Eagly and Diekmann 2006; Diekmann and Schneider 2010). From a social theory perspective, the remedies to the problem of sex segregation include direct strategies for increasing the representation of women and training-led re-socialisation of men and women so they understand that this perceived role conflict is socially constructed.

Since the 1970s the representation of more women in institutions has formed the core of the Women in Development (WID) approaches to overcoming sex segregation in the labour market (Boserup 1970; Tinker, Bramsen et al. 1976; UN 1976; Nash 1977; Mazumdar 1979; Bandarage 1984; Staudt 1997; Connelly, Li et al. 2000; Pillai N., Vijayamohanann et al. 2009), with the United Nations leading the push for the increased
representation of women in institutions (UN 1976; UN 1979) and this has been taken up to varying degrees by member states. In Pakistan from that time, there has been a notional commitment to women’s representation (GOP 1973b; GOP 1998; GOP 2003) but with little success as there are less than five percent women in Pakistan’s public sector and almost all at lower levels (GOP 1998; GOP 2003; GOP 2006b). Reports commissioned by development agencies such as the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the Pakistan Government recommend the adoption of a quota policy, but this has not been implemented in any real way (GOP 1998; ADB 2000; GOP 2003).

A liberal training-led re-socialisation strategy under the banner of gender and development approaches has been advocated by development agencies such as UNDP as a solution to the problem of low women’s representation in the public sector. Political theories, however, reject the view that representation and re-socialisation alone without a change in patriarchal institutions can eliminate sex segregation in the labour market. A focus on representation alone overlooks the deeper issues of power that shape patriarchal institutional structures and practices (Razavi 1997; Kabeer 1999; Mukhopadhyay 2007: 138), which vest power and privilege in men to the disadvantage of women (Rossides 1998; McElroy 2001: 87; Aitchison 2003: 327; Cornwall 2003; Mukhopadhyay 2007). There is little research in Pakistan that examines how training relates to and affects the representation of women in public sector organisations. Some accounts of development feminists involved in imparting gender training to the employees of NGOs in other places indicate the limitation of training in patriarchal contexts (Abou-Habib 2007; Dasgupta 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007) but they have not looked specifically at the public sector.

The assumption tested in this research is that a re-socialisation through gender training changes gender norms, and that this may be taken as evidence of progress towards
the elimination of sex segregation in the public sector. This raises the question: can injecting more women in the labour market through quotas be considered an appropriate indicator of the elimination of sex segregation in the labour market?

Access to Resources

Women’s access to resources as the solution to the problem of gender inequality has its genesis in both the economic theories of sex segregation in the labour market and the parallel Women and Development approaches. Economic theories of sex segregation in the labour market argue that a capitalist economy accrues economic advantage to men over women (Calás and Smircich 1999: 226; Connelly, Li et al. 2000; Aitchison 2003: 29; Chowdhury 2010). Men’s access to capital is the source of their power over women (Hartmann 1976; Connelly, Li et al. 2000) and the remedies to the problem of sex segregation in the labour market include strategies for a greater integration of women, including the provision of resources for them.

This solution forms the basis of the Women and Development approach (WAD) (Bandarage 1984; Rathgeber 1990; Pillai N., Vijayamohanana et al. 2009). WAD considers ‘unjust international economic relations’ as the cause of disadvantage faced by women (UN 1980: 5; Rathgeber 1990) and assumes a link between income earning and the development of women as equals to men (Khan, N Shaheed et al. 1989). Representation in the workforce therefore results in women’s increased access to resources. The political theories of sex segregation in the labour market, however, argue that these economic views ignore the reality of women’s responsibility for housework and the sex segregation of labour in the private or domestic space (McSweeney and Freedman 1980; Rathgeber 1990; Kabeer 1994; Momsen 2009). As a result of the double burden of labour and patriarchal norms and
attitudes, women are increasingly being exploited in terms of cheap labour, uncongenial work conditions and limited mobility (Elson and Pearson 1981; Safa 1981: 60).

In Pakistan, there is little research to show how women in the public sector face problems of access to social resources such as transport and other facilities including toilets and child daycare centres, and accommodation when posted (Qureshi 2000; Maqsood, Ch et al. 2005; Faisal 2010). This is, in part, due to the very low representation of women in the public sector, but more generally there is also a debate that low access to social resources such as education is due to a low demand by parents (Mahmood 2004; Aslam and Kingdon 2008) or a failure of supply by the state (Khan, A 1997; Mbeer 1998; Barber 2010). This low representation in education can also result in a low representation in the public sector workforce.

An assumption tested in this research is that training-led re-socialisation can result in women’s increased access to resources, which may then be taken as one step in the path towards the elimination of sex segregation in the public sector. This research also asks whether the economic theories of sex segregation that consider injecting more women in the workforce through quotas would automatically result in their increased access to resources and thus end sex segregation in the labour market.

Institutional Practices

Transformation in institutional policies, routines and practices is rooted in both the political theories of sex segregation in the labour market and the GAD approaches. Political theories of sex segregation in the labour market argue that patriarchy is the primary cause (Donovan 2000: 156; Aitchison 2003: 28; Eagleton 2003: 59). Men’s ascendancy in the labour market has resulted in them holding powerful positions in all cultural, social, public, political, legal, economic, religious and professional institutions (Johnson 2005; Shankar
and Northcott 2009). Men dominate in a range of social structures including the modes of production, paid work, government, prisons and cultural institutions (Walby 1990: 20) and they consider their sex as part of this patriarchy and domination (MacKinnon 1987; Lovell 2000; MacKinnon 2010). Men use state machinery, laws and policies to maintain this domination and this is evident in the exclusion of women from the workforce (MacKinnon 2006).

The argument that it is necessary to go beyond issues of women’s representation and their access to resources and examine the patriarchal structures, policies and power relations which create unequal gender relations is at the core of the Gender and Development (GAD) approaches to gender inequality (Molyneux 1985; Kabeer 1994; Razavi and Miller 1995; Cornwall 2003: 1326). Patriarchal institutional structures disadvantage women (Laslett and Brenner 1989; Moser 1989; Østergaard 1992; Pillai N., Vijayamohan et al. 2009), with the private-public dichotomy being an arbitrary distinction since women’s condition in one sphere is influenced by the other sphere (Beneria and Sen 1982; Jaquette 1982; Bandarage 1984; Kabeer 1994). The practice of GAD, however, does not match the theory. For example, the early projects of micro-finance overemphasised the role of women’s agency and overlooked the role of institutional structures that put conditions and boundaries on women’s ability to pursue their interests (Molyneux 2004; Kabeer 2005b; Jakimow and Kilby 2006; Kilby 2011). Also, in practice, development institutions lack the formal structures for accountability required to achieve the goal of gender equality (Kilby 2004; Kilby 2011).

Gender and Development after the Beijing Conference moved forward with the concept of gender mainstreaming (True 2010: 191) and, like the political theories and GAD perspectives discussed above, gender mainstreaming also aims to change gendered policies
(COE 1998; Beveridge and Nott 2002; Daly 2005; Verloo 2005) by taking a gender perspective across all aspects of the workplace.

Gender mainstreaming in practice, however, is shaped by a widespread belief that change in patriarchal policies can be achieved by the sensitisation training of bureaucrats (Woodford-Berger 2004; Verloo 2005; Abou-Habib 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007; Tiessen 2007; Verloo, Vleuten et al. 2009) which will result in changes in attitudes and behaviour. Little is known about how training relates to the activities of bureaucrats or if it can result in a change in patriarchal policies, behaviour and attitudes (Howard 2002; Dawson 2005; Kusakabe 2005). Development feminists involved in training now consider it a rather simplistic view of how change can be effected (Charlesworth and Smith 2005: 18; Abou-Habib 2007; Dasgupta 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007; Mukhopadhyay and Wong 2007). There is an emerging need for systematic research as to how gender and development and gender training approaches relate to institutional change (Verloo 2001; Woodford-Berger 2004; Eveline and Bacchi 2005; Hankivsky 2005; Verloo, Vleuten et al. 2009).

In Pakistan, there is little research on how training relates to change in patriarchal practices in public sector institutions, with state policies generally believed to produce and reproduce the gendered identities of citizens (Naseem 2006; Durrani 2008; GOP 2009; Rashid 2009; Halai 2010). The state in the past has enacted laws to disenfranchise women and make them half citizens (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987; Weiss 2003; Mullally 2005; Rashid 2009; Shaheed 2010), and there have also been miscarriages of justice in the form of the betrayal of state institutions, courts, police and hospitals by the failure to prosecute cases registered by women against men, whether they be relatives or others (HRCP 2009; Supreme Court of Pakistan 2011). The question that emerges is how the sex segregation
policies and practice of the public sector of Pakistan relate to the broader gender policies of the state (GOP 1973c: 72).

The principal objective of the study is to examine how the development solution of gender training relates to the problem of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan. The study has identified three issues as indicative of the problem of sex segregation in the public sector: women’s representation, access to resources, and institutional policies and practices. It is assumed that these issues examined in relation to training would suggest progress or lack thereof in terms of elimination of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan. Sex segregation in the labour market is a complex phenomenon. This research attempts to capture the complexity by including alongside training other variables such as employees’ gender, their position in the organisation, the socio-political context and the structure of the organisation in the study design.

**Research Questions**

The research poses the following questions:

Can training-led re-socialisation change policies and practices to eliminate sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan?

How do the gender of employees, their position in the organisation, the socio-political context and the structure of the organisation affect the effectiveness of gender training?

**Scope of the Research**

This thesis is grounded in the social, economic and political theories of sex segregation in the labour market that have respectively identified the issues of women’s representation, their access to resources, and patriarchal policies and practices as the basis
of gender inequality in institutions. The development approaches of Women in Development and Women and Development identify integration of women in institutions and their access to resources as the solutions to the problem of gender inequality in the labour market. Gender and Development and gender mainstreaming approaches seek to change patriarchal institutional policies to effect transformation in institutional practices. There is ongoing discussion as to which of these theories correctly identifies the problem and its solution, but the connection between labour market theories of sex segregation and development approaches is often overlooked. It is timely to bridge this divide and examine how these labour market theories of sex segregation individually or collectively influence the problem of sex segregation in the public sector and what solutions could best achieve progress towards elimination of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan.

This research is important because it comes at a time when Gender and Development gender mainstreaming approaches, rather than changing patriarchal institutional policies and practices, are increasingly emphasising the training of employees as a means to eliminate sex segregation in the labour market. Other factors such as the structure of organisations, the socio-political context, gender and the position of women in organisations have not been examined as possible variables (Mathur and Rajan 1997). There is often a naïve belief that training results in the transformation of unequal gender relations, but research to validate this belief is generally lacking (Verloo, Vleuten et al. 2009). The existing research is generally in the context of NGOs and multilateral agencies and not public sector organisations of developing countries (Mathur and Rajan 1997; Woodford Berger 2004; Mukhopadhyay 2007). Kusakabe, for example, suggests that training is not related to change in the institutional activities of organisational members (Kusakabe 2005) and the solution to the apparent failure of training is seen merely as more
training, with no commensurate effort to understand the patriarchal institutional mechanisms that result in sex segregation in the labour market (Howard 2002). By focusing on the relationship that training and other factors may have with issues that have been identified in labour market theories and development practice as the basis of sex segregation, this research intends to help determine the relevance of the strategies for progress towards the elimination of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan.

This thesis examines not only the relevance of training approaches but also the perceptions of public sector employees about the issues of women’s representation, women’s access to resources and change in institutional policies and practices. Gender training has assumed the status of a mantra for the solution to the problem of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan. Both development agencies and the Government of Pakistan increasingly use training as a lead approach to tackle sex segregation in the public sector (UNDP 2007). There is less emphasis and only a notional commitment for 10 per cent quotas for women in the public sector (Graff 2003; Shirin M. Rai, Nafisa Shah et al. 2007). The issues of state policies for the representation of women has been discussed in some detail in Chapter 4. The assumptions informing the policy approach of training remain unchallenged. There is little research on the issues of women’s representation and their access to resources and institutional practices, collectively or in relation to training and other factors. The research and reports that do focus on the representation of women have invariably looked at the issue in the context of women’s representation in political institutions and not the public sector (Reyes 2002; GOP 2003; Shirin M. Rai, Nafisa Shah et al. 2007). Much less is known about the issue of women’s access to resources in the context of the public sector of Pakistan (Qureshi 2000; Maqsood, Ch et al. 2005; Faisal 2010), and the issue of the role of patriarchal institutional policies and
structures in the production of power and privileges in the public sector has not been well researched. For these reasons it is timely to examine labour market theories of sex segregation and development approaches within the context of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan.

Methodology

The research was conducted in two cities of Pakistan: Islamabad, the federal capital of Pakistan, and Muzaffarabad, the capital of the Pakistan-administered state of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK). The public sector of Pakistan was selected due to the very low representation of women in the public sector. There is an assumption in the gender mainstreaming and gender and development training approaches that actors normally involved in policy making, when trained, become change agents. In this context the emphasis of both government and development agencies on gender training of employees as a solution to the issue of sex segregation in the labour market has provided an opportunity to examine the relationship of training to sex segregation in the public sector.

Data Collection and Analysis

The data set collected in this research followed interviews and includes employees' opinions about issues of women’s representation in public sector institutions, their access to resources through identification of the changes needed in organisations, and actual changes in institutional policies and practices. The data captures the diversity of views on the study issues of employees both with and without gender training, in ten organisations in two geographic locations, and at three levels within the organisations. The demographics of the employees, including gender training (with and without), gender (male and female) sociocultural context (Islamabad and Muzaffarabad), position in organisational hierarchy (Public
Service Promotion Scales 17, 18, 19) and the organisation that employees work for, are the independent variable of the study. The study issues of women’s representation in public sector institutions, their access to resources and changes in institutional policies and practices are the dependent variables/ factors of the study. The data has been collected through a range of open-ended questions framed to seek information on the research questions. The study uses a stratified random sample which allows a generalisation of results (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Onwuegbuzie and Johnson 2006), with the sample randomly drawn from government employees in Islamabad and Muzaffarabad\(^2\) representing those with and without training.

The study uses a mix method approach to data analysis and involves the transformation of qualitative data into a numeric form (Sandelowski 2000; Driscoll, Appiah-Yeboah et al. 2007; Sandelowski, Voils et al. 2009). This helps reveal the ‘complexity of qualitative data’ (Sandelowski, Voils et al. 2009: 219) and allows the extraction of themes from it (Sandelowski, Voils et al. 2009: 220). It not only allows calculation of percentages and frequencies which show the relevant contribution of individuals in the emergent themes, but the quantified matrices are also used for factor analysis which identifies ‘meta-themes, [that] represent themes at a higher level of abstraction than the original emergent theme’ (Onwuegbuzie 2003: 398). For the purpose, a statistical analysis\(^3\) was undertaken and the trends which emerged were explained with help from the qualitative data.

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\(^2\) The public sector in Muzaffarabad only represents the state of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (Pakistan Administered Kashmir).

\(^3\) This research used SPSS version 17 (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) procedure of general linear model (GLM) referred to as univariate analysis for identification of meta-themes involving significant relationships.
Limitations of the Study

A key methodological limitation of the research was its geographic coverage. The provinces of Pakistan have not been included in this research, with study focusing only on employees of the federal government of Pakistan based in the federal capital Islamabad and those in the government of the state of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) based in Muzaffarabad. This is partly due to the constraints of time and budget but also to the worsening security situation at the time of the fieldwork. While the findings of the study must be seen in the context of this limitation, an argument can be made that the findings apply as much if not more to the provinces. Faisal (2010: 151) argues that research on public sector employees in Islamabad can be generalised to other provinces because the public sector in Islamabad has a proportional representation of provinces and is thus a microcosm of the whole of Pakistan. Future research on the pattern of this research at the provincial level would yield results which directly relate to provinces.

The second methodological limitation of the research relates to the design, which does not capture the perceptions of women and men who are not part of the public sector. Comparisons between public sector employees and those who may be wishing to join the public sector would be important, especially when the research issues include women’s representation, access to resources and institutional policies. The focus of this study was public sector employees with and without gender training, rather than the broader population. The study design also included factors such as an employee’s gender, the socio-political context, position in organisation and identification of organisation. The finding that some occupations in the public sector are closed to women points to future research to raise the issues of representation, access to resources and institutional policies with the groups of men and women who have been excluded from joining the public sector.
Organisation of the Thesis

This chapter presents a brief outline of the research. It identifies the research questions and issues, outlines the theoretical and development connections with the research issues and points out the scope, methods and limitation of the study.

Chapters 2 and 3 present a theoretical framework for the thesis. Chapter 2 presents the social, economic and political theories of sex segregation in the labour market, and together these theories identify the research issues of representation, access to resources, and institutional practices as indicative of sex segregation in the labour market.

Chapter 3 examines three shifts in development practice since the 1970s: Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD) and Gender and Development (GAD), that respectively consider the integration of women, their access to resources and changes in patriarchal structures and policies as the development solutions to the problem of sex segregation in the labour market. It notes that the GAD approaches increasingly use gender training as a means to effect change in patriarchal structures, policies and practices.

Chapter 4 looks at the context of Pakistan to show that women's representation in institutions (WID), access to resources (WAD), and transformation in institutional policies (GAD) have seldom been practised in the public sector of Pakistan. Sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan involves all three issues, that is, low representation, little access to resources and patriarchal practices. It highlights that rather than direct action on these issues, there has been a surge in the gender training of public sector employees as a solution for sex segregation in the public sector. As it is untested and unexplained, this development provides the rationale for this study, which is to examine the relationship of training to the issues of representation, access to resources and institutional practices that are believed to be the root causes of sex segregation in the labour market.
Chapter 5 explains the mixed method data analysis used in the research. Qualitative data was enumerated and then analysed with SPSS by using univariate and cross-tabulation analysis procedures. The meta-themes and significant relationships were identified through univariate analysis. Frequencies and count of each theme were determined through cross tabulation. The themes were then explained with a qualitative data set of people’s experiences. The chapter also describes the choice of random sampling, the study sites and the issues that were encountered during the fieldwork in Pakistan.

Chapter 6 presents the results of the study regarding the issues of representation, access to resources and organisational practices in relation to the gender training of employees. It shows that training is not a solution to the problem of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan and that institutional processes, policies and procedures disenfranchise women. Public sector organisations are largely closed to women, which also results in the resistance to change and the desire to maintain elite status. The patriarchal nature of the public sector fails to provide equitable access to resources for women, which results in their powerlessness and their comparative disadvantage. Patriarchal benevolence can be seen in situations where there is no contest to the privileged status of men. The research found that rather than training, it is policies that determine the activities of employees which favour men and disadvantage women in the public sector.

Chapter 7 relates the findings to the social, economic and political theories, and the development approaches presented in Chapters 2 and 3 as well as the context of Pakistan presented in Chapter 4 to draw conclusions on the problem of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan. This chapter discusses how progress towards gender equality in the public sector organisations of Pakistan depends not on training but on changes in patriarchal policies. Patriarchal mechanisms shape the desire to maintain the status quo and
lead to opposition to the increased representation of women. Patriarchal mechanisms also result in women's low access to resources, which in turn results in their relative powerlessness. The progress towards the elimination of sex segregation in the public sector requires a transformation in patriarchal structures, policies and procedures, rather than training *per se*.

Chapter 8 summarises the findings of the research to draw some conclusions with regard to the problem of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan. The chapter emphasises the need for a reorientation of development practice to seek a connection with the political theories of sex segregation in the labour market for a clear understanding of the basis of sex segregation in the labour market and some of the ways to remedy the problem.
CHAPTER 2: SEX SEGREGATION IN THE LABOUR MARKET:

A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Small groups of men may prosper by stifling women's potential, but prosperous nations benefit from women's full participation and productivity in societies. Societies might achieve still more if the gates were truly open.

(Epstein 2007: 17)

At least eight hours of continuous work away from the living space, arrival on time, total attention to the work and long hours if necessary are all expectations that incorporate the image of the unencumbered worker, implicitly a man.

(Acker 2009: 206)

Sexuality is the perfect vector for male supremacy. It gives everyone an identity stake in their socially-designated position of power, or lack of power, together with a visceral sense that this arrangement is not only right but natural and their very own.

(MacKinnon 2010: 506)

Introduction

Sex segregation in the labour market takes many forms: women and men are segregated in different organisations; within organisations they are segregated in different jobs; men are located in more powerful managerial positions and women in lower less powerful positions; women earn less than men; and women face sexual harassment and discrimination in organisations (England and Folbre 2005; MacKinnon 2007; Acker 2009; Lorber 2010). This chapter reviews the main theories of sex segregation in the labour market, a persistent phenomenon but one which mainstream scholarship on organisations has ignored. They generally consider organisations as neutral, rational entities and the problem of sex segregation in the labour market not relevant to organisational theory (Udy 1959; Hall 1963; Perrow 1970; Argyris 1973; Weber 1978). Feminists, since the second wave of the women’s movement in the 1970s, have questioned this rationale and advanced social, economic and political theories to explain sex segregation in the labour market (Acker and Houten 1974; Hartmann 1976; Kanter 1977; Calás and Smircich 1999; Padavic
and Reskin 2002; Özbilgin and Woodward 2003; Acker 2006b; Epstein 2007). Each of these theories is distinguished\(^4\) from the others by its normative and descriptive claims as to the sources of gender inequality, the proposed means of tackling sex segregation and its particular contribution to the field of gender and organisation (Calás and Smircich 1999; Lorber 2010). First are the social theories which see conflicting gender roles of women and men as the basis of sex segregation in the labour market (Özbilgin and Woodward 2003; Epstein 2007; Lorber 2010). Second are the economic theories which argue that sex segregation in the labour market has an economic basis (Siebert and Sloane 1981; Scott 1986; Özbilgin and Woodward 2003; Acker 2006a). Third are the political theories which consider sex segregation in the labour market as a function of activities of the state and groups within the labour market to retain control and domination (Özbilgin and Woodward 2003; MacKinnon 2006; 2010). The first two theories consider integration of women in the labour market as the solution to the problem of sex segregation, but the third emphasises an understanding of power dynamics to reorient the labour market. Taken together, these theories add different dimensions to the understanding of sex segregation in the labour market (Özbilgin and Woodward 2003; Lorber 2010). The following section explores these labour-market theories in some detail.

**Social Theories of Sex Segregation in the Labour Market**

The social theories of sex segregation in the labour market are rooted in the liberal feminist\(^5\) tradition which considers socio-psychological expectations of differential gender

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\(^4\) There are many different types of feminism. Lorber (2010) has attempted to describe the diversity of feminist thought under three categories: gender reform feminism, gender resistance feminism and gender rebellion feminism.

\(^5\) The liberal feminist perspective is rooted in the ideas of the classical liberal tradition of the 17\(^{th}\) and 18\(^{th}\) centuries which distinguished human beings from other species because of their capacity for rational thought. However, while mainstream liberal tradition restricted rationality to men, feminist liberal theorists expanded
roles of men and women as the basis of sex segregation in the labour market and the resulting low social status of women (Maccoby 1999; Candice Bryant Simonds and Brush 2005; Eagly and Diekman 2006). Part of this emerges from the labelling of housework as women’s work and so leads to sex segregation in the broader labour market (Eagleton 2003). Women are seen as being tied to unpaid work such as procreation, child rearing, care of the sick and elderly and the preparation of food, which precludes them from participating in gainful employment (Calás and Smircich 1999: 218; Lorber 2010:25). The continuing sole involvement of women in housework influences their attitudes and the nature of their demands in relation to issues such as equitable access to the public sphere and family-friendly policies (Eagly and Diekman 2006). This results in the sex-segregated boundaries and the creation of private and public spheres with clearly distinguished work for women and men (Maccoby 1999). As Epstein (2007) maintains, ‘societies and strategic subgroups within them, such as political and work institutions, maintain their boundaries – their very social organisation – through the use of invidious distinctions made between males and females’ (p. 4).

Social role theories of sex segregation in the labour market attempt to correct the mainstream sex role theory which considers sex roles as functional and socially desirable (Candice Bryant Simonds and P. Brush 2005: 447). Central to both the social role theory of sex segregation in the labour market and the original functionalist sex role theory is the process of socialisation (Maccoby 1999), a process through which individual boys and girls learn socially acceptable and unacceptable behaviour (Maccoby 1999: 118; Wharton 2005; Ballantine and Roberts 2010: 290). Sex role theorists argue that through socialisation men learn instrumental social roles such as the provision of material support and women learn

the application of rationality to argue that women are equally rational and must be accorded opportunities equal to men (Candice Bryant Simonds and P. Brush 2005).
expressive social roles such as the provision of caring duties and home maintenance (Parsons and Bales 1956; Connell 2005: 22). This sexual division of roles is highly functional in the context of the organisation of work and social stability (Connell 2005: 22), and it implies a complete fit between individuals, social norms and institutional segregation in a harmonious social process (ibid.). However, the social role theorists argue that sex roles, far from being socially functional, result in sex segregation in the labour market (Maccoby 1999; Harbison, M and Beggan, K 2007), and it is through socialisation that the social norms of what is considered socially acceptable on the one hand and deviant behaviour on the other hand are profoundly instilled in individuals through all social institutions including family, education, workplace, religion and culture (Maccoby 1999: 119; Kimmel 2000; Padavic and Reskin 2002; Ballantine and Roberts 2010: 294). Societies use socialisation to impart differential social skills to men and women (Harbison, M and Beggan, K 2007; Ballantine and Roberts 2010) and this disadvantages women in the competitive male culture of organisations (Maccoby 1999). A combination of gendered social roles and differential in skills then becomes established as the pattern of sex segregation in the labour market ‘by creating a desire to fit into socially acceptable roles ... and aspire to the jobs that have been deemed appropriate for one’s sex, socialisation could perpetuate workplace segregation’ (Padavic and Reskin 2002: 88).

However, there is some debate as to the roles of social agents and internal psychological mechanisms in the way individuals learn socially appropriate behaviour (Wharton 2005; Eagly and Diekman 2006; Epstein 2007). The social learning\(^6\) approach to

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\(^6\) The social learning perspective suggests that parents and teachers contribute to the gendered learning of children. Parents, for example, send girls to school in pink and boys in blue. Similarly, teachers regularly reprimand girls for unguarded behaviour, which results in their formal behaviour in later life. In brief, as per the social learning theory, gendered socialisation is run as a collective enterprise by various agents of socialisation such as parents, teachers and peers.
socialisation emphasises that compliance and conformity to gendered social norms is achieved through reinforcement, including rewards for conformity and punishment for deviance (Kehoe 1998; Maccoby 1999; Holtzman 2000; Musolf 2003). External cultural agents including parents and teachers also regulate emotions\(^7\) to create compliant and aggressive personalities of girls and boys respectively (White and Howe 2002; Ahn 2005; Ahn and Stifter 2006; Klimes-Dougan, Brand et al. 2007; Connell 2009; Kendall 2009). By contrast, the cognitive psychology\(^8\) approach considers individuals themselves as active learners of what is socially expected from them (Maccoby 1999: 153; Martin and Ruble 2004; Wharton 2005: 33; Stockard 2006:218). The cognitive psychology approach argues that individuals are rational beings who take cues from the gender schema of society to learn that maleness and masculinity are socially valued and femaleness and femininity are not (Wharton 2005: 34). This suggests that conformity to social norms also comes from within (Maccoby 1999: 118) and accordingly, women take their cues from a discriminatory society which prescribes behaviour as socially acceptable or unacceptable (Maccoby 1999: 153). So women themselves may not consider certain behaviour to be discrimination. ‘Internalised cultural schemas reinforce men’s views that their behaviour is legitimate and persuade women that their lot is just’ (Epstein 2007: 16).

Although these socialisation theories have a different approach from learning theories, they are mutually inclusive because of the emphasis on the differential learning of boys and girls in childhood (Maccoby 1999; Wharton 2005: 170). This differential

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\(^7\) A typical example of the role of external agents is the regulation of emotions. It has been said that sex differentials in the emotions of women and men are due to the regulation of emotions when parents and teachers give different lessons to boys and girls.

\(^8\) This was developed by Sandra Bem, who coined the concept of ‘gender schema’ as a ‘cognitive structure’ and an ‘anticipatory structure’, which suggest that whatever an individual makes of a society is actually an outcome of the interaction between new and pre-existing information and since in the case of American society the ‘society’s curriculum for the developing child’ is gender-schematic, the child is bound to learn the socially pervasive gender inequality norms (Bem 1981: 363).
socialisation shapes the different attitudes of men and women (Maccoby 1999; Eagly and Diekman 2006; Diekman and Schneider 2010). This implies that sex segregation in the labour market is a matter of individual choice, which in the case of women is limited by their socialisation (Maccoby 1999: 227; Wharton 2005: 170). Maccoby (1999: 251-252) argues that the patterns of relationships in work organisations between men and women mirror earlier patterns established as boys and girls: gender segregation in the workplace mirrors segregation in play groups and the like of boys and girls.9 Maccoby maintains that boys’ groups in childhood are characterised by dominance and hierarchy, whereas girls’ groups display a collaborative, egalitarian and democratic approach. In the workplace these two different social experiences come together in a joint organisational hierarchy, where women find it difficult to joke like men or seek the patronage of higher-ups and thus are clustered in the lower organisational positions (Maccoby 1999). Moreover, male organisational hierarchies exclude women through male networks that mirror the boys’ groups of their childhood. As Gorman and Kmec (2009) maintain:

reliance on gender as a proxy for competence, use of sex-labelled roles and gender stereotypes as heuristics to access candidates’ suitability for particular roles, and in-group favouritism, lead decision makers to prefer men over women in selection decisions at all levels (p. 1465).

However, critics point out that if social role theories were a true explanation, women would not join traditionally male professions at all. This suggests that childhood socialisation is not a completely reliable indicator of occupational choice in later life (Wharton 2005: 171). Another argument is that sex segregation in occupations is due to the

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9 Sexual chit-chat in the workplace resonates with the same-sex ‘sexual teasing’ of children; men’s attitude in offices towards women as sex objects is rooted in their childhood talk; workplace gossip about intimacy with co-workers is foreshadowed in children’s attitudes to cross-gender friendships as essentially sexual; men’s and women’s different interests relate to the different interests pursued by boys and girls in childhood. The different interests and the likelihood that cross-gender communication will be misinterpreted results in men and women gravitating towards their own sex during informal chats or lunch, which also mirrors their behaviour in childhood.
processes of social control and institutional barriers to women's advancement (Busch 2010: 26). For example, the evidence from Pakistan suggests that women's conformity is achieved not only through the emphasis on the social roles of men and women, but also that other means in the workplace are also employed to control women (Durrani 2008; Hamid, Johansson et al. 2010; Malik, Faridi et al. 2010; Shaheed 2010; Zia Ullah 2010). Hamid, Johansson et al. (2010), for instance, show how women are controlled into submissiveness by their fathers and husbands and learn to be secure in their lives by obedience to their husbands. One woman in their study recalls that a woman who married by her own will was later beaten up by her husband, and so the research participant believed that she should have married in accordance with the decision of her parents and not by her own free will. Another woman in Hamid, Johansson et al.'s study shows how her mother socialises her into obedience: 'My mother tells me to show sabar (patience) and not answer back' (Hamid, Johansson et al. 2010: 4).

Scholars suggest that in Pakistan the threat of violence always looms large in women's lives and is used as a tool by men to control them (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987; Abrar and Ghouri 2010; Farooq, Majeed et al. 2010; Hamid, Johansson et al. 2010; Haqqi and Faizi 2010; Nasrullah and Muazzam 2010; Zia Ullah 2010). Similarly, the evidence from the lives of professional women also points to social roles as one factor in sex segregation in the labour force and structural constraints as another factor, which together constitute the patriarchal context of the Pakistani society and state. Shahla Haeri (2002) interviewed six successful professional Pakistani women, all of whom indicated that they were socialised to perform a role subservient to men but also felt secure in their arranged marriages. In the overall patriarchal context of Pakistani society, the notion of honour is banded with religion, wealth (zar) and land (zamin), in a way that rather than possessing
honour, women become the honour of men (Haeri 2002: 36). She maintains that the degree of men’s honour in this society is considered to depend on the degree of possession and control over wealth, women and land (zar, zan, zamin) which suggests the highly patriarchal context of the Pakistani society (ibid.).

Similarly, scholars point out that women’s disadvantage in Pakistan is created through other means of social control. Men exploit women’s labour by considering it as part of their household duty as in the case of working in agriculture and livestock (Iftikhar, Ali et al. 2007; Shafiq 2008; Afzal, Ali et al. 2009; Amin, Ali et al. 2009). Employers exploit women as cheap labour not only in the informal sector (French, Watters et al. 1994; Lee and Saeed 2001; Maqsood, Ch et al. 2005; Khan, A 2007; Khan, REA and Khan, T 2009; Malik, Faridi et al. 2010) but also in the formal sector of the economy (Qureshi 2000; Haeri 2002; Maqsood, Ch et al. 2005; Khan, REA and Khan, T 2009; Faisal 2010). Girls in many cases are deprived of education, which puts them at a disadvantage compared to boys (Naseem 2006; Aslam and Kingdon 2008; Durrani 2008; Latif 2009; Barber 2010; Halai 2010) (The issues of access to education have been discussed in some detail in Chapter 4). This evidence from Pakistan suggests that social role theories are likely to create patterns of sex segregation in the labour force, but an accurate picture of sex segregation in the professions can only be understood by taking into account the material and structural factors that sustain patriarchy.

Nevertheless, social role theories argue that social norms rather than being attributes of individuals can be changed through social interventions (Hollander and Howard 1996: 29). International norms, for example, far from being static, constantly change (True and Mintrom 2001; Sandholtz 2007; Van Kersbergen and Verbeek 2007; Krook and True 2010). Krook and True (2010: 2) maintain that norms exist in ‘competition with other,
often opposing, norms and would-be norms’. Norms including 'suffrage, democracy, human rights, labour standards and prohibitions against slavery and apartheid' have resulted in social change (Krook and True 2010: 2). However, liberal feminists have been criticised for ignoring power as a factor in the persistence of the norm of the exclusion of women in the workforce.

*Power Neutrality*

The social role theories of sex segregation in the labour market emphasise liberal notions of choice and childhood socialisation but fail to account for the power dynamics that create and sustain patterns of sex segregation (Rossides 1998; McElroy 2001: 87; Aitchison 2003: 327; Cornwall 2003; Mukhopadhyay 2007). This is due to the liberal belief that by leaving aside the issues of power and social justice, the modified agenda aligns with the development priorities of welfare and efficiency and is therefore more acceptable to policy makers (Razavi 1997; Kabeer 1999; Mukhopadhyay 2007: 138). Implicit in social role theories is the notion that the acquisition of power is a function of participation. That is, when issues of participation are resolved, women will automatically get more power, which they can use judiciously and responsibly on behalf of women (Batliwala and Dhanraj 2007: 28). The argument is that the integration of women and their cooperation with men makes the concept of male domination or 'power over' redundant (ibid: 27), which is a rather naive view of reality and ignores the transformation of gendered structures which constitute unequal power relations (Cornwall 2003: 1326; Batliwala 2010: 112). As development focuses on the needs rather than the rights of women, it becomes a technical issue rather than a political one (Abou-Habib 2007; Dasgupta 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007). However, power is not an uncontested resource redistributed through a mere integration of women in sex-segregated institutions (Mukhopadhyay 2007), and tackling sex segregation
in the labour market is a political project. The integration of women merely neutralises women’s concerns without changing the gendered structures or unequal power relations (Longwe 1997; Dasgupta 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007). Mukhopadhyay (2004; 2007) points out that even after three decades of development practice, policy makers do not routinely include gender analysis in planning, nor has any institutional change around gender relations occurred:

the political project of equality are being normalized in the development business as an ahistorical, apolitical, de-contextualized and technical project that leaves the prevailing unequal power relations intact (p. 135).

Official policies up to the third quarter of the 20th century ‘assumed female dependence on male wage and family law, ...[and] the same assumptions about the marriage contract in terms of stability’, thus making women totally dependent on men (Lewis 2001: 153). Social role theories that inform the official policies also ignore other variables of social power such as class, race and economic power that also tend to create unequal power relations (Mies 1998; Lewis 2001). These serve to exacerbate the gender disadvantage that women experience, but women are considered an undifferentiated universal category unaffected by the issues of class, race, culture and ethnicity, and religion (Ember and Ember 2003: 16; Lippa 2005: 72), which play a role in the sex segregation of the labour market. As Maria Mies (1998) explains:

The emphasis on sex-role stereotyping and attempts to solve the ‘women question’ by changing this sex role stereotyping through non-sexist socialisation not only strengthened structural-functionalist analysis, but by so doing blocked the understanding of the deeper roots of women’s exploitation and oppression. By defining the man-women problem as a question of social role stereotyping and of socialisation it was immediately put on an ideological plane; it became a cultural affair (p.13).
Economic Theories of Sex Segregation in the Labour Market

Economic theories of sex segregation in the labour market are rooted in the Marxist feminists' tradition which considers sex segregation as a function of supply and demand of labour in the capitalist economic system (Calás and Smircich 1999: 226; Connelly, Li et al. 2000; Aitchison 2003: 29; Chowdhury 2010). Unlike social role theorists who consider production and reproduction to belong to two different domains – public and private – economic theories of sex segregation in the labour market take a broad view of the economy to include both the domestic and the public domain as sites in which production takes place simultaneously (Ferree 1990; Lovell 2000; Crompton 2001; Ferguson 2004; England and Folbre 2005). Production in the public domain, in which men are engaged, is valued in monetary terms but women's work in households is not monetised to give them economic benefits (Camfield 2002; Aitchison 2003; Kabeer 2009).

Over the past few centuries there has been a gradual relocation of production from the household to the public domain (Walby 2010: 32). In pre-industrialised societies most of the goods for consumption by men and women were made in the household but in industrialised societies the production of goods on a mass scale takes place solely in the market, as in socialist societies under state structures (Walby 1990). A key implication of this transition has been households' material dependence on the workplace (ibid.), and as a result both men who are employed in wage work and women who work in the household without being paid become the consumers and customers in the capitalist economy, albeit with a difference (Ferguson 2004). While men are able to generate surplus, women become economically dependent and the property of men (Ferguson 2004). This monetary disparity turns men and women into economically privileged and economically deprived classes respectively (ibid.), and it serves to motivate women to seek gainful employment even
though generally in the lowest paid professions (Crompton 2001; Levine 2003; England 2005).

Connell (2005: 74) argues that ‘A capitalist economy working through a gender division of labour is, necessarily, a gendered accumulation process’. As a result, men’s exclusive economic advantage in wage work gives them power over women who are excluded from gainful employment (Connell 2005; Kabeer 2009). Moreover, since the material dependence of women on men provides men with the necessary tools to exploit and control women’s labour, capitalism becomes the basis of patriarchal gender relations both in the household and in the workplace (Connelly, Li et al. 2000; Mutari 2000: 31; Acker 2006a; KhosraviShakib 2010). As Cockburn (2009) sees the household and workplace in the mutual production of gender, she maintains:

Exploitative labour relations and labour processes occurred in the family as well as the workplace. The two sites were connected. Capitalism’s skilled men were privileged scions of patriarchy as well as lions of industry (p. 270).

It is worth noting that these processes are not specific to capitalism and can be found in feudal and socialist economies as well. The two main economic theories that explain sex segregation in the labour market are the Human Capital theory and the Dual Labour Market theory (Townsend 1979; Özbilgin and Woodward 2003). Human Capital theory is a supply-side theory and considers the market as a single system in which those with equal training and skills receive equal pay (Townsend 1979). Although this theory does not focus on gender differences in employment per se, it could be argued that from this perspective, the low employability of women in the labour market is due to their lack of skills, education and training compared to men (Becker 1993; Jacobsen 2007: 238). Since the market is competitive, men being better trained and skilled enter into the labour markets and this accounts for women’s low representation (Bosanquet and Doeringer 1973;
Okamoto and England 1999; Özbilgin and Woodward 2003). Others argue that the skills deficit could itself be due to women's lower aspiration for career jobs (Hakim 2000; Hakim 2004) in favour of family responsibilities. The debate continues though there is a view that rather than the skills deficit, as assumed in Human Capital theory, it is fewer opportunities in the labour market which compel women to undertake low-paid jobs (Berntson, Sverke et al. 2006). The Human Capital theory considers the labour market as a monolithic entity (Broadbent 2003: 28). Critics of the theory argue that the Human Capital theory focuses on the attributes of individuals and considers the market as a monolithic entity, but actually dualism prevails in labour markets (Reich, Gordon et al. 1973).

Dual Labour Market theory considers the labour market as segmented into primary and secondary jobs (Doeringer and Piore 1971; Bosanquet and Doeringer 1973; O'Donnell 1984; Curran 1988). The primary jobs involve high paid jobs with excellent promotion prospects (Townsend 1979: 646). The secondary jobs are a 'residual of the primary sector... that remains technologically backward and prone to strong competitive pressures' (Peck 1996: 51), with jobs that are temporary, unstable, low status, low chances of promotion and less pay (Townsend 1979: 646; Peck 1996). These are thus an 'antithesis' of primary jobs (Rubin 1996: 71). The Dual Labour Market theorists argue that upward mobility to the primary jobs is minimal if at all (Townsend 1979: 646; Broadbent 2003). For example, only when men move on to better jobs could women fill the low status jobs, suggesting that women are the reserve army of labour (Beechey 1978). The distinction between primary and secondary jobs is maintained through rules, skills and job requirements (Broadbent 2003: 28). This description of market dualism has been used to explain the employment of blacks in urban ghettos and the concentration of socially disadvantaged groups including
the poor and disabled in the secondary sector with low benefits (Doeringer and Piore 1971; Broadbent 2003: 28; Rapino 2008: 19).

Whereas the first generation Dual Labour Market theories attributed market dualism to skills deficiency (Doeringer and Piore 1971), soon a view began to emerge that market dualism was due to the control strategies adopted by management (Reich, Gordon et al. 1973; Deacon 1982; Peck 1996), in which gender, race and other attributes were used as exclusionary criteria (Reich, Gordon et al. 1973; Broadbent 2003). Similarly, it was argued that the market is not a duality and that primary jobs could further be divided into two types: independent primary jobs and subordinate primary jobs (Reich, Gordon et al. 1973: 360). The independent primary jobs were creative, professional and problem solving, while the subordinate primary jobs were dependent and required adherence to authority, rules and discipline, and compliance with organisational goals (Reich, Gordon et al. 1973: 360; Rapino 2008). This pointed to control mechanisms in the labour market and was an important advance in terms of the focus on the demand side of the problem of sex segregation. A later exposition of the theory maintained that men continue to dominate independent primary jobs, and subordinated primary jobs are gender-integrated in that they employ both men and women, but the secondary sector jobs, which require lower levels of skills, education and experience, are filled by women and minorities (Rapino 2008: 20).

The problem identified with this theory has been the complete disregard of other factors such as the role of family and educational institutions, the impact of women’s domestic labour and the role of state regulation in determining labour market segmentation (Dangler 1994; Peck 1996: 57). As O’Reilly and Fagan (1998) point out:

The role of male resistance and exclusionary mechanisms against women workers, as well as wider cultural and normative prescriptions concerning gender roles, were virtually ignored by these theories (p. 13).
Although evidence began to emerge to suggest there is little relationship between education and an employee’s position in the labour market (Bowles and Gintis 1976), more recent strands of the Dual Labour Market theory still continue to ascribe the dualism of primary and secondary jobs to the labour market. For example, Acker (2009), building on her earlier research\(^\text{10}\) (See Acker and Houten 1974; Acker 1990; 1998; 2000; 2006), argued that in the US labour market, processes, practices and procedures produce and maintain gender and racial inequalities. Gender inequalities in the labour market are manifest in the higher and more powerful positions such as managers and professional leaders being occupied by men and the powerless positions such as secretaries filled by women. Women, as a disadvantaged class in organisations, have less access to and control over goods and resources such as wages and salaries, as these are a function of individuals’ positions in the labour market (see also Acker 2006b). When managers are invariably men, the gendered organisational hierarchies prevent women from attaining positions of authority in the labour market.\(^\text{11}\) Acker goes on to argue that there are four factors that can affect the level of gender inequality in the workplace:

\(^{10}\) Acker and Houten (1974) examined classic organisational studies of Hawthorne experiments (Relay Assembly Room and the Bank Wiring) from a feminist perspective to show that, contrary to the original conclusion of organisational experimenters, leadership was a function of group processes. It was actually a function of the recruitment of women into passive, compliant organisational positions; the recruitment of some passive, compliant women into powerful organisational positions; and lastly, an application of coercive control techniques in organisations. These researchers noted that dependent women of migrant origin, especially belonging to the second generation of migrants from Italy, Norway, Czechoslovakia and Poland, were employed; that these women were coerced by the management into compulsory medical checks; and that the women who during the experiment raised their voices were dismissed on charges of non-cooperation. They especially mentioned how management exploited the special circumstances of a poor woman whose sister had recently died and who had to take care of her unemployed father. This woman, who presented as a leader and a model for other women to work hard that emerged in group processes, was actually exploited in every aspect of work.

\(^{11}\) An earlier analysis of the gendered hierarchies on which Acker built her analysis was conducted by Kanter (1977: 241) who in a pioneering research highlighted that, ‘while organisations were being defined as sex-neutral machines’ in fact ‘masculine principles were dominating their authority structures’. She identified the power imbalances usually taken for granted in the scholarship at the time. For instance, she argued that the loyalty to one’s boss often considered a mark of a personal secretary (both male and female) ignored the dependent relationship secretaries had with bosses as much as it ignored that the most obvious way for a
• Hierarchical bureaucracies versus flat organisations. Gender inequality is greater in the former than the latter.

• The job-wise\textsuperscript{12} sex segregation in an occupational organisation. The category of manager may be misleading and may not represent a higher organisational position.

• The wage gap among organisational members.

• Power differences linked to hierarchy. The absence of unions results in less power for the worker class and confers more power on the managers (Acker 2009: 202-05).

The common aspect in all these factors is women’s positions \textit{vis-à-vis} men’s positions in the organisational hierarchies with women concentrated in lower management levels and men occupying senior and executive management positions, which also explains the wage differentials between men and women. In the few instances where women are employed as managers, it is usually in jobs with less power such as human relations managers (Acker 2009). However, this analysis looks at the factors internal to organisations, thus overlooking the role of social factors in the production of sex segregation in the labour market.

The third generation of theories of market dualism focus on factors external to the problem of labour market segregation, including the social reproduction of gender, the role of the state, and the struggle and evolution of trade unions (Peck 1996: 57; Grimshaw and Rubery 1998; Rubery 1999). It has been argued that there are societal aspects to women’s employment (Rubery 1999), including the role of the state and exclusionary practices at the secretary (woman) to be promoted was to be chosen by the boss for the new job which meant that promotion required sycophancy.

\textsuperscript{12} Acker (1990, 2009) consistently emphasises that in any analysis of segregation, job must be distinguished from occupation; while occupation represents a broader type of work, job involves tasks specific to a level in occupation.
workplace, which create unequal gender relations (Rubery 1994; O'Reilly and Fagan 1998; Cockburn 2009). The way production in the form of employment and markets are organised depends on the social structure of reproduction (Rubery 1994) including labor market organisation, terms and conditions, opportunities for training and education, social attitudes, and values regarding gender roles (Rubery and Fagan, 1994, 1995). Both state policies and social attitudes in part structure gender roles and the gender order (Connell 1987; O'Reilly and Fagan 1998), so that unequal power relations between men and women are created through the division of labour, power associated with masculinity and the contemporary interpretation of social relations between men and women often expressed in emotional terms (Connell 1987). Sex segregation in the labour market is symptomatic of the employer’s exploitation of employees (Acker 1998; Camfield 2002; Hoobler, Wayne et al. 2009).

While sex segregation in the labour market is symptomatic of employers’ exploitation of employees, there are also structural issues that create sex segregation in the labour market (Bacik and Drew 2006; Connell 2006). For example, in market economies men are more encouraged to work than women due to structural constraints such as family obligations\textsuperscript{13} which fall more on women (Acker 2006b; Emslie and Hunt 2009; Forma 2009; Karimi 2009; Pedersen, Minnotte et al. 2009). Men are paid more so that they can

\textsuperscript{13} Acker (1998) for instance, explains this in the context of her own research project in Sweden. While conducting research in Sweden for a project to be completed in a fixed time with fixed funds, she employed a brilliant woman to conduct interviews and was very happy about the decision until the time when the woman got pregnant and started taking leave. As a result, Acker recalls, the project slowed and even slowed further when the woman took the 15 months leave granted under Swedish law. Knowing that the project had to be completed in a fixed time and with fixed funding and that its recommendations were also time constrained, the project could not wait for the baby to be born and the woman to return to work. Acker became annoyed and remarked, ‘Had I been a male manager, I might have marked her as someone who would not move up to a more responsible job or worse, I might have generalised this experience to my evaluations of the potential of other young women, contributing to an organisational “taken for granted” that young women are not managerial material’ (p. 198). This incident shows a typical preference for male employees because employers do not want to share the responsibility for the economic and social costs of reproduction.
work full time and prioritise work over family obligations (Kimmel 2000; Wharton 2005; Acker 2009: 206), while women are paid less to create disincentives for them to engage in paid work, which encourages them to prioritise housework including caring of children and the elderly (Levine 2003; Guy and Newman 2004; England 2005; Levanon, England et al. 2010). Domestic work adds to the actual value of the product due to the unpaid care and household work carried out by women (Levine 2003) but women earn less in real terms than men (Budig and England 2001; Levine 2003). Budig and England (2001: 204) argue that the benefits of mothering accrue to everyone, including employers and men in households, but the costs are disproportionately borne by women. For example, in the US there is an estimated 7 percent wage penalty\(^\text{14}\) per child (Budig and England 2001).

Exploitation on economic grounds also plays a major part in Pakistani women’s decision to seek gainful employment (Khan, REA and Khan, T 2009; Khan, M Johansson et al. 2010). Women take up informal low-paid professions due to a family financial situation such as the job loss of the male breadwinner, the death of the male breadwinner or divorce or separation (Naqvi and Shahnaz 2004; Khan, REA and Khan, T 2009). According to Malik et al. (2010: 127), 'dependency burden is the major cause of low quality and non-standard jobs'. An increase of one dependent person in the family increases the chance of a woman entering casual employment by up to 4 percent.

The denial of social and human resources for women also contributes to sex segregation in the labour market (Kabeer 1999; 2000; 2009). Access to resources determines the ability to make decisions. For example, tribal chiefs possess decision-making authority because of their greater access to resources (Kabeer 1999: 438). Kabeer

\(^{14}\) Actual wage earning was less for married than unmarried women; women with more children had less experience but even controlling for work experience the wage penalty per child was 5 percent; mothers more than non-mothers were found to work part time. Similarly, they believed that unresolved wage penalties could be due to motherhood or employers’ discrimination against mothers.
(2009: 1-10) argues that access to gainful employment provides access to the economic resources that are needed by women and men for the fulfilment of their basic needs. In any given situation, the ability of women to effect change depends on their access to gainful employment and to resources such as education, land, credit and the support of the state. Barrientos and Kabeer (2004) maintain that childcare,\textsuperscript{15} education\textsuperscript{16} and skills training are the most important resources for women who engage in gainful employment. They maintain, ‘as one of the main factors differentiating the labour of women and men, the reliable provision of childcare is critical to “levelling the playing field” as well as to ensuring the welfare of children’ (ibid: 155). It is up to state legislation, policies, institutions and mechanisms of accountability to provide a basic floor, a basic income regardless of occupational position, micro-finance programs, health insurance, public programs and even the supply of food (Barrientos and Kabeer 2004).

\textit{Power Partiality and Materiality}

The economic theories of sex segregation imply that ‘a radical redistribution of the power and wealth of society’ requires women’s increased access to economic resources (McElroy 2001: 87), and this requires strict government control over labour processes. These theories have been criticised for their partial view of power, in that they examine the

\textsuperscript{15} Childcare is related to the gender gap in earnings, promotion, long-term patterns of participation and type of employment; it distinguishes the occupational paths followed by men and women; it marks the opportunities available to women with or without children; it relates to employers’ decisions about investment in the careers of employees; it affects employees’ decisions about investment in their own career; it forces some women to pull out of the labour market; it forces others to compromise by leaving children to inappropriate and inadequate arrangements.

\textsuperscript{16} Women without equal education are less likely to gain skills that enhance opportunity of employment and if investment in skills is not done they remain in low-skilled occupations. They maintain that along with a focus on education women need to be provided technical and vocational training that corresponds to and improves the chances of their employment. And this can be arranged by government in the form of special schemes of skills training for those women who would like to rejoin the labour force. Similarly, recognising that lack of training is a key constraint to women’s uptake of technical work and senior administrative positions, employers also need to provide systematic training to women.
issue of access to resources but do not take into account other more structural sources of power which create labour market sex segregation. The economic theories’ emphasis on capitalism seems to suggest that economics alone is the source of power and patriarchy, and they ignore the issue of sex segregation in socialist and feudal societies (Connelly, Li et al. 2000). The belief that once women are provided with material resources they will automatically be empowered is not tenable, as other actors and variables come into play (Mayoux 2003; Jakimow and Kilby 2006).

Powerless groups, particularly if they are totally integrated within a system of power and exploitation, find it difficult to define reality differently from the powerful. This is particularly true for people whose material existence depends largely on the goodwill of the powerful (Mies 1998: 15).

Capitalism alone is not the basis of sex segregation in the labour market, as feudal systems readily show. The situation of women in pre-capitalist societies points to the involvement of other variables affecting the low social status of women and suggests that patriarchy both pre-dates and post-dates capitalism. In India, for instance, the social tradition of sati in which women had to self-immolate or were forcibly cremated by others has existed since ancient times (Major 2006; 2008; Ahmad 2009). In 1333 AD, Ibn Batuta, an Islamic traveller, reported the presence of sati in India among Hindus (Ahmad 2009). In the early years of the empire, the British, rather than banning the tradition outright, administered it bureaucratically (Fisch 2006; 2007). It was banned17 in 1829 but in 1987 the Sati (Prevention) Act was promulgated in India to make it a legally culpable offence to strengthen the law in places where it had been widely ignored (Major 2008). Despite the

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17 Ahmad (2009) reports that when Lord Bentinck abolished the practice around 300 Hindus lodged a petition to plead a revocation of abolition on the grounds that as a religious duty it was the privilege of the followers.
ban, cases of *sati* continued to be reported\(^{18}\) in some parts of India as late as 2006 in Utter Pradesh and 2008 in Chattisgarh (Ahmad 2009). *Sati* is but one example and has been presented to highlight that along with capitalism, age-old feudal traditions of patriarchy lie at the heart of the discrimination and disadvantage encountered by women in all aspects of life including sex segregation in the labour market.

Other examples are marriage arrangements, including child marriage, dowry and arranged marriages, all of which involve an economic transfer and the domination of men over women but lie outside the capitalist system (Anderson 2007; Waheed 2009; Nasrullah and Muazzam 2010). In Pakistan in 1993, changes were made in the law related to dowry and bridegrooms were barred from making demands for their dowry (Anderson 2007: 163) but the practice of demanding dowry continues unchecked. One of the reason that women participate in the labour market is to save for dowry (Khan, REA and Khan, T 2009). Dowry forms part of the feudal traditions which also include exchange marriages and even honour killings, which together determined women’s status in society (Niazi 2004). The intersection of economic and socio-structural variables defines the low social status of women and affects their chances of gainful employment (Lovell 2000). Sex segregation in the labour market can best be explained as a political exercise aimed at control over women within the labour market (Aitchison 2003).

**Political Theories of Sex Segregation in the Labour Market**

Political theories of sex segregation in the labour market are rooted in the critique of social roles and economic theories of sex segregation (Burr 1998: 18; Alvesson and Billing 2009: 23; Lorber 2010). While social theories consider sex roles as problematic, and

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\(^{18}\) Ahmad (2009) reports one such incident: in 2008, Lalmati a 71-year-old lady from Chattisgarh jumped into the funeral pyre of her husband and was reduced to ashes.
economic theories emphasise capitalism as the basis of sex segregation in the labour market, political theories consider sex segregation as an outcome of ‘the “gendered” organised activities to gain control over occupations and the labour market’ (Özbilgin and Woodward 2003: 55). Male control is gained through patriarchy leading to sex segregation in the labour market (Donovan 2000: 156; Aitchison 2003: 28; Eagleton 2003: 59), and it is argued that patriarchy is so pervasive that no society can claim to be without some level of sex segregation (Johnson 2005; MacKinnon 2010). This stems from the hierarchal gender relations between men and women (Hunnicutt 2009: 557), so that powerful positions are effectively reserved for men in all economic, cultural, social, public, political, legal, religious and professional institutions (Johnson 2005; Shankar and Northcott 2009). The exact nature of patriarchy, however, varies from society to society. Johnson (2005: 5) argues that ‘A society is patriarchal to the degree that it promotes male privilege by being male dominated, male identified, and male centered’. Joseph (1999:12) defines patriarchy as ‘the privileging of males and seniors and the mobilising of kinship structures, morality and idioms to legitimate and institutionalise gendered and aged domination’. Patriarchy thus is a system of power and control through which women are oppressed (Lovell 2000). Connell coined the term ‘patriarchal dividend’ to argue that ‘Men gain a dividend from patriarchy in terms of honour, prestige and the right to command. They also gain a material dividend’ (Connell 2005: 82). Patriarchy, however, does not mean that all men are powerful or all women are powerless (Johnson 2005), but such is the pervasiveness of patriarchy as a system of political power that in all societies even those who are not the vocal ‘front-line troops of patriarchy’ benefit from this system of oppression that controls women; for example, those men who have never used violence to control women and who participate in housework (Connell 2005: 79). Men’s control over women is made possible through a view
of women encouraged by a patriarchal culture, the state and the labour market. Walby (1990: 20) argues that the domination of men is achieved through a range of social structures including 'the patriarchal mode of production, patriarchal relations in paid work, patriarchal relations in the state, male violence, patriarchal relations in sexuality and patriarchal relations in cultural institutions'.

**Sex as the Basis of Patriarchy**

Male control, power and privilege is achieved through notions of female sexuality (Johnson 2005: 92; MacKinnon 1987; 2007; Lovell 2000). The political use of notions of sexuality allows the creation of an unequal 'sexual floor' that is then replicated in both the reproductive and the productive spheres including the workplace (MacKinnon 2010). Women are subjected to harassment in the community as well as in the labour market (Chowdhury 2010).

In the labour market, sex as a mechanism and outcome of power is employed by men for sex segregation (Chowdhury 2010). Examples of men’s perspective of women’s sexuality in the labour market are wide ranging and include a manager’s view of women as housekeepers, the dominant relationship between a male boss and a female subordinate, and the expectation that women will tolerate men’s jokes and undertake the domestic tasks in the workplace such as getting tea and tidying the kitchen (Martin 2006). The nature of formal and informal interactions including meetings, policy formation, task assignment and even informal staff interaction at lunch time are the occasions when men express their bias against women which reflect power differentials (Martin 2006). Since men occupy
positions of power and also control resources, sexism in an organisation can remain unchecked\(^9\) (Martin 2006: 267).

The state also plays an important role in the sex segregation of the labour market (Özbilgin and Woodward 2003), as state policies, practices, laws and ideologies can ensure the control of men over women (Özbilgin and Woodward 2003; Connell 2005: 85), as it is the state’s prerogative to define what constitutes discrimination (MacKinnon 1987: 108). While sexual harassment has existed in workplaces, educational institutions, and between co-workers, seniors and subordinates since time immemorial, the law has not considered sexual harassment an act of discrimination until quite recently (MacKinnon 1993). It required intense lobbying by feminists to convince states that it is discrimination (Higgins 2006). The same applies to citizenship, where historically the state has had a gendered concept of citizenship (Walby 1990; 2000), where men were the citizens (Özbilgin and Woodward 2003) and women were not considered equal (MacKinnon 2006). This is still the case in many Middle Eastern states where women require the permission of their menfolk to travel. So in this way the patriarchal dividend that accrues to men relates in fact to the power of the state in terms of its differential provision of citizenship, education, and employment (Connell 2005). States effect the lives of women both through enactment of legislation and the lack thereof. For example, in Western countries the state’s designation of domestic violence as a criminal offence makes violent men subject to conviction but in countries like Pakistan the practice of domestic violence continues unabated. Most states

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\(^9\) Martin (2006: 267) gives examples of the practice of gender discrimination in the workplace as an outcome of power differentials caused by men’s occupying positions of power. For example, in a meeting, a salesman was throwing women’s underwear on the table to amuse male colleagues but without thinking how it would be taken by female colleague. Another example is men rating women at lunchtime and not thinking it would be offensive to women.
outside the liberal West, however, typically are reluctant to act against sexual harassment\textsuperscript{20} in the workplace, as it is considered a private affair (Dale 2005; Zippel 2006).

Mackinnon (2006) argues, ‘the state actually is typically deeply and actively complicit in the abuses against women’ (p. 23). Men’s behaviour in state institutions is not much different from their attitudes towards women in the private domain (ibid.). For example, in both war and daily life rape is ‘an act by men against women and is always an act of domination by men over women’ (MacKinnon 2006: 144). The state is often a men’s club that deliberately neglects women’s interests, with laws framed by men that consider women at best the subject of protection (MacKinnon 2007). There are considerations about what are appropriate and inappropriate forms of work for women, including late night shifts and so-called dangerous work (Özbilgin and Woodward 2003; MacKinnon 2007). Clear and mandated sex segregation in the labour market includes professions such as the military, the police and often the judiciary, and is due to the long-term exclusionary policies of the state. The horizontal and vertical sex segregation in the labour market that results from a prolonged practice of exclusionary policies by the state cannot be undone solely through equal opportunity policies that are often implemented as an afterthought (Özbilgin and Woodward 2003). Sex segregation in the labour market is the outcome of men’s tendency to exclude women from organisations to retain their dominant status.

\textit{Occupational Closure Theory}

Occupational Closure theory, where occupations close themselves off to certain groups of people, argues that sex segregation in the labour market is an outcome of the contest between dominant and subordinate groups (Parkin 1979; Witz 1990), in this case

\textsuperscript{20} In Pakistan, for instance, it was in 2010 that such a bill was passed, the implementation of which is still in process.
men and women. Men as the dominant group establish sex segregation in the labour market by setting the criteria which make women ineligible for the powerful positions (Hartmann 1976; Parkin 1979; Eisenstein 1990; Walby 1990). From this perspective, sex segregation in terms of the exclusion of women is the outcome of the use of power by the dominant group (Özbilgin and Woodward 2003). Exclusion is also possible through the dual closure strategies in which the subordinate group, that is women, affected by the demarcation of boundaries by the dominant group, in turn begins to mimic the exclusionary strategies of the dominant group (Parkin 1979; Özbilgin and Woodward 2003). Parkin (1979) argues that ‘exclusionary social closure is an aspect of conflict and cleavage within social classes, as well as between them... exploitation occurs within the subordinate class as well as against it’ (p. 89). Status groups, based on their power, can monopolise opportunities (Murphy 1988: 9). Weber (Edited by Gerth and Turner 1991) argues that ‘material monopolies provide the most effective motives for the exclusiveness of a status group’ (p. 191). The benefit to groups of occupational closure is that ‘all those in possession of a given qualification are deemed competent to provide the relevant skills and services for the rest of their professional lives’ (Parkin 1979: 56).

The strategies of occupational closure are ‘a means of mobilising male power in order to stake claims to resources and opportunities distributed via the mechanisms of the labour market’ (Witz 1990: 44). For example, Abbott and Meerabeau (1998: 206) found that in arguing for the need for nurses rather than social workers to provide care to the sick and elderly, nurses were practising occupational closure against social workers and were consolidating their professional identity as the ‘nursing elite’. This raises the problem in universalising the category ‘women’ as there is a diversity of women’s situations (Eagleton 2003: 58). Power relations are political in that power is gained by one side at the expense of
other’ (Aitchison 2003: 28). Sex segregation in the labour market is formed in the political processes involving the dominant and subordinate groups in the labour market. While this analysis has focused on the political nature of power in the context of men and women in the labour market, a whole range of social structures and institutions is used to establish control of men over women (Walby 1989; 1990; 2000).

Culture and Classic Patriarchy

Walby (1990) identified public and private patriarchy as two dominant forms of patriarchy, but a third form of patriarchy referred to as classic patriarchy by Kandiyoti (1988) remains relevant to the pervasiveness of patriarchal culture in many countries (Moghadam 2002). This form of patriarchy is associated with Pakistan, India, Iran, China, Turkey and countries in North Africa (Moghadam 2007; Yount 2011) and has its origins in feudalism. It is even more associated with the South Asian countries where gender relations are hierarchal to the extent that men have authority over women who are seen as being oppressed,21 and excluded from rights to property, inheritance and gainful employment (Jejeebhoy and Sathar 2001; Agarwal 2003).

Under the system of classic patriarchy, the household is controlled by the eldest men in the family (Moghadam 2002; Shankar and Northcott 2009; Yount 2011). Women’s access to resources, choices and employment decisions depend on the men in the family (Jejeebhoy and Sathar 2001), and girls are married at a young age and leave their father’s house to enter the new family unit as the most subordinate individual. They are controlled by the husband’s father and the elder women in the family (Moghadam 2007), and as such

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21 According to Yount (2011), under the classic patriarchal systems women are not allowed to access the support of public institutions even in cases of violence, rape or harassment. Such a move is thought to bring shame on the family and these women are accused of washing dirty linen in public, failing to do their spousal duties and compromising the honour of the husband’s family.
the choices of these women are mediated by the context of their new family (Lovell 2000) and they must improvise and negotiate within this patriarchal context (Yount 2011: 44). Women only gain some space by bargaining the number of sons they give birth to (Shankar and Northcott 2009). The patriarchal system co-opts the elder women by giving them authority over the younger women in response to their lifelong allegiance to the patriarchal beliefs (Hunnicutt 2009: 564) and this helps to sustain the patriarchal system of power of men over women (Shankar and Northcott 2009; Yount 2011: 44).

While these notions attribute patriarchy to a single causal variable, that is supremacy of the elder men in the family, there are other variables such as religion, region, and state which are also involved to varying degrees (Agarwal 1988; Mernissi 1996; Jejeebhoy and Sathar 2001; Barlas 2002). Traditional Islamists in South Asia have interpreted religion with a patriarchal lens so that it has the major role in sex segregation in the labour market. Maulana Abu ala Maududi (1972) argues that gender hierarchy based on the public-private distinction is prescribed by the religion; for example the veil for women is important in some societies to symbolically hide women in the public space.

The Islamist order placed women strictly within the home, endorsed purdah and idealized domesticity; the only training women were deemed fit for was to facilitate their predestined role as good housekeepers and mothers (Kazi 1999: 8).

Faith ‘proffers models of hierarchal relationships and sexual inequality’ (Mernissi 1996: 14). In the Muslim faith, female sexuality is considered active, powerful and potentially dangerous, and in need of control lest it result in social disorder (ibid.). The institution of polygamy allows men’s control of women while the institution of marriage

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22 The trend to use religion is also common in other patriarchal cultural contexts. In India, the high-cast woman who walked up to the funeral pyre of her dead husband to self-immolate was eulogised. In Africa the cultural practice of genital mutilation is frequent. This is not related to religion but directly to patriarchy.
reinforces men’s control over female sexuality by ‘supplying a new set of sexual objects’ (ibid: 49). Control over female sexuality is a political decision as half of the population (the women) are made to ‘shut up and stay invisible’ and thus be controlled (ibid: xi). On the other hand, there is also a view that Islam is anti-patriarchal (Barlas 2002; 2004; Wadud 2004). Barlas (2004: 3) argues that Islam neither proscribes a sexual division of labour nor attributes biologically-oriented gender roles to men and women (ibid: 4), but rather it is the patriarchal context of Muslim countries and the vested interest of men in the subjugation of women that is the root cause of inequality (Barlas 2002). Barlas (2002) argues that ‘we will be unable to change anything unless, as the Qur’an says, we begin by changing what is in our hearts and by opening them to the truth’ (p. 210). The crux of her argument is that it is the patriarchal social system, not religion per se, that is the main cause of women’s lack of autonomy in Muslim societies. Jejeebhoy and Sathar (2001) found in their study of India and Pakistan that it was ‘regional social systems as opposed to religion’ that were the main causal variables that influenced women’s autonomy (ibid: 687). Control over women involves political dimensions, as in Afghanistan, where the patriarchal social structures, the state and the approach of international actors in one way or another contributed to the exclusion of women from the public spaces, rendering women second class citizens in that country during the Taliban era.

It was the status of an outsider, without legal rights and excluded from decision-making; the status of an object, on whom pronouncements were made and punishments inflicted; the status of a prisoner, confined to the home and darkened windows, or enveloped in an all-comprising tent-like veil, while men roamed freely, unencumbered by anything but their guns. In Afghanistan, the public-private distinction has been highly gendered in a most exaggerated way (Moghadam 2002: 20).
Women are thus controlled through all social institutions including family, marriage, religion, state, the right to property, inheritance and even employment, which results in hierarchal gender relations with men exercising control over women.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the social, economic and political theories of sex segregation in the labour market. Social theories of sex segregation consider the differential gender roles of men and women as the basis of sex segregation in the workforce, while economic theories of sex segregation consider sex segregation as a function of supply and demand for skilled workers in the overall capitalist economic system. Both these theories of sex segregation in the labour market imply that women’s integration in the workforce can result in gender equality. Political theories, however, argue that these economic theories do not take into account the power dynamics and group interactions in institutions. Sex segregation in the labour market is a function of gendered activities, policies, strategies and laws that are used to control women. The dominant group in the labour market – the men – use exclusionary strategies to retain control, and subordinate groups may mimic the dominant groups to further disadvantage excluded women.

Patriarchy or the control of elder men or some women over the majority of women is an exercise of political control, and generally men consider women as sexual objects with their primary role being reproduction. Men’s views pervade in the state and the labour market to disadvantage women, and it is only through a fundamental reordering of the social institutions that sex segregation in the labour market can be eliminated. These social, economic and political theories of sex segregation in the labour market identify a lack of representation and access to resources, and gendered practices, which collectively provide the framework for this research.
The next chapter will discuss how development practice has progressively been shaped by the social, economic and political theories of sex segregation in the labour market to consider representation, access to resources, and fundamental transformation in institutions, respectively, as part of the solution to address the issues of women's equality in labour force participation. It will also discuss that a shift from Women in Development (WID) to Gender and Development (GAD) has been positive in terms of a shift in focus from women to institutions, as the cause of gender inequality but that the goal of institutional transformation continues to suffer setbacks due to the inadequate approaches adopted.
CHAPTER 3: GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

This chapter discusses how development practice since the 1970s has been shaped by the notions of women's representation, their access to resources and changes in institutional structures. These notions have resulted in three shifts in development approaches: from Women in Development (WID) to Women and Development (WAD) and finally to Gender and Development (GAD). Women in Development approaches were based on the assumptions that lack of women's representation in institutions forms the basis of sex segregation in the labour market. The solution therefore lay in the integration of women into the workforce. This was tantamount to arguing that women do not participate in productive work and so was challenged by Women and Development (WAD) scholars. The WAD approaches were based on research on the work done by rural women, which pointed out that while women work, they do not gain real benefits in terms of access to resources. They concluded that the problem of sex segregation in the labour market, rather than being about the participation of women, was due to their lack of access to resources. The development solution came in the form of income generation programs, which since the late 1970s have increased women's access to resources but have also called into question the terms and conditions of their access to resources. Gender and Development scholars, noting the exploitative nature of these programs, pointed out that both WID and WAD approaches had focused on women, but were exploitative in that the changes that occurred did not address the fundamental structural issues around power. The patriarchal institutional structures in which women were embedded were establishing the content, extent and consequences of women's participation and their access to resources.
However, it is argued that while a plausible diagnosis of the problem of sex segregation in the labour market was made by the Gender and Development scholars, the transformative potential of the Gender and Development (GAD) approach and its post-Beijing concept of gender mainstreaming was misappropriated in much development practice. It either continued to focus on the provision of financial resources to women so that women themselves could overcome sex segregation, or it adopted the liberal approach of gender training for the inherently radical objective of a transformation in unequal gender relations. This chapter points out that, while participation and access to resources are desirable, they are the consequences of changes in patriarchal institutional rules that determine the extent, content and effects of women’s participation and access to resources. Unless institutional constraints in the way of gender equality are alleviated in development practice, progress towards the transformation of unequal gender relations will be unattainable.

**Women in Development: The Politics of Integration**

The integration of women in the labour force as a means to change norms of exclusion has been the foundation principle of the Women in Development approach (Tinker, Bramsen et al. 1976; UN 1976; Bandarage 1984; Connelly, Li et al. 2000; Pillai N., Vijayamohanan et al. 2009). This approach dates back to the early 1970s when Women in Development as a term was first used by the Women’s Committee of the Society for International Development, Washington DC Chapter, to lobby for legal changes for increasing the representation of women in development institutions (Rathgeber 1990; Moser 1993; Beckman and D’Amico 1994; Chant and McIlwaine 2009). WID demonstrates a unique convergence in the development and feminist views which emphasise the integration of women, albeit for various reasons, for increased productivity and gender
equality (Razavi and Miller 1995: 2). Development at the time was based on the notion that 'high growth rates are always better than low growth rates and distribution can be taken care of after growth is achieved' (Mahbub Ul Haq 1973: 30). There was a realisation that growth could possibly be increased through hitherto untapped resources, including women (Seers 1964; Lanier 1968; Linke 1968; Elliott 1977; Rathgeber 1990; Kilby and Olivieri 2008). This, however, pointed to a fundamental shift in the welfare policy model of the 1950s and 1960s in which women were treated as beneficiaries of development rather than participants in development (Linke 1968; Moser 1993).

The newly emerging feminist views on development also began to highlight the negative effects of modernisation in terms of the exclusion of women (Boserup 1970; Nash 1977; Staudt 1978; Mazumdar 1979). Boserup (1970) argued that women in some regions formerly had roles that then went to men in the process of modernisation. For example, in Sub-Saharan Africa the predominant farming system was female centered but technological modernisation, the introduction of cash crops and the preference for male workers resulted in the exclusion of women from traditional agricultural work (p. 41). These arguments were later criticised as 'technological determinism' that used 'cultural values' and were 'not located in any coherent theory' (Beneria and Sen 1981: 285). Boserup's argument that African women were previously independent but in the process of development by the colonialists were made dependent was also criticised as a 'myth' and a 'romantic vision of the independence and mobility of African women' (Huntington 1975: 1001). Her finding, however, that the policies promoting the use of technology by men in effect resulted in the marginalisation of women was a fresh thought on development and 'caused a radical reordering of ideas about development' that at the time were focusing on welfare policies.

23 Linke (1968: 231) maintains that at the time Sweden, 'a special case', was the only country whose aid program included vocational training for women to carry out population control programs.
such as home economics and child and maternal health care (Winslow 1995: 97). It was
realised that by prioritising women’s participation in the development institutions through a
WID approach, these norms could be challenged and changed (Bossen 1975; McElroy
2001: 87; Cornwall 2003; Krook and True 2010).

Both the development concerns of the time and the feminist views began to shape the
WID agenda for a greater integration of women in economically productive work
(Kambhampati 2004; Jain 2005). In The United States in 1973, the Percy Amendment was
made to the Foreign Assistance Act\(^2\) of 1961, requiring special attention to the integration
of women in the government-funded development programs (Reported in US House of
Representative and Senate 2003). This resulted in the establishment of the Office for
Women in Development in the United States Agency for International Development
(USAID) (Hoy 1998: 23). The push for the integration of women through a WID approach
got further impetus through the adoption of the agenda of the integration of women by the
Women’s Year, held in Mexico from 19 June to 2 July 1975, considered ‘full participation
of women... an important indication of the dynamic progress of peoples and their
development’ (UN 1976: 6). The conference urged\(^3\) the participating governments, United

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\(^2\) The amendment reads as follows: ‘In recognition of the fact that women in developing countries play a
significant role in economic production, family support, and the overall development process of the national
economies of such countries, this part shall be administered so as to give particular attention to those
programs, projects, and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of developing
countries, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort’.

\(^3\) The four recommendations made by the conference for action by the development agencies, institutions and
the member states of the United Nations are as follows: (a) Give sustained attention to those initiatives that
integrate women in the development process; (b) Incorporate in their development plans, programme and
sector analyses, and programme documents an impact statement of how such proposed programmes will
affect women as participants and beneficiaries, in consultation with the United Nations Commission on the
Status of Women; (c) Establish a review and appraisal system and undertake to serve in the design,
implementation and evaluation of programmes and to use social and economic indicators as a means of
measuring progress in the integration of women in the development process; (d) Ensure that women shall
participate on an equitable basis with men on all levels of decision-making that govern the planning and
implementation of these programmes, keeping in mind the principle of geographical distribution (p. 104–05).
Nations agencies and international organisations ‘to accord high priority in their
development assistance to projects that include the integration of women into the
development efforts and the achievement of equality’ (UN 1976: 39). In 1979, the UN
adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against
Women (CEDAW) to stipulate that ‘any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the
basis of sex’ with adverse impact on women in social, political, economic and cultural
spheres formed discrimination and was liable for action (UN 1979). CEDAW urged the
state parties to take ‘all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full
development and advancement of women’ (UN 1979: Article 3). The WID approach was
thus widely favoured, as Elson and Pearson (1981) maintain.

The idea that women’s subordinate position stems from a lack of job opportunities,
and can be ended by provision of sufficient job opportunities, is deeply rooted and
held by a wide spectrum of opinion, from international development agencies,
government bureaux, and mainstream Marxists to many women’s organizations
(p. 87).

However, despite its wide currency, WID has had benefits and drawbacks, the main
benefit being an increased number of women in organisations (Tinker 1976; Razavi and
agencies such as the World Bank as early as in 1977 adopted policies such as the
appointment of Women in Development Advisors, which suggested a growing influence of
the WID approach (World Bank 2010). The United Nations in 1976 established the
International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW)

26 Article 1 of CEDAW defines discrimination against women as ‘any distinction, exclusion or restriction
made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment
or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human
rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field’.

27 While it is ratified, nearly 80 countries have formally lodged reservations to various clauses so that aspects
do not apply to them.
and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) (UN-Women 2011). In developing countries it also resulted in the establishment of ministries for women in governments (Kabeer 1994; Momsen 2009: 12).

More generally, the WID approach continues to benefit women in terms of changes in laws and quotas for women, which has resulted in representation in political institutions where there had been none in the past (Kapur 2007). In India, a neighbouring country and a cultural twin of Pakistan, with a history of social divisions, the practice of quotas as a compensation for historical discrimination has been beneficial to disadvantaged groups as well as women (Pande 2003; Nanivadekar 2006; Bhavnani 2009). Bhavnani (2009) found that the odds of women to win an election in a seat which was reserved in the last election improved five times more than in a seat which was never reserved for women, and that this improvement was due to a twofold process of the introduction of women into electoral politics through reservation that gives them the confidence to win as well as the lessons to the political parties that if women are allowed they can win elections. Political quotas resulted in increased financial transfer to the disadvantaged groups (Pande 2003). The mere presence of women through this approach also positively affected policies to reflect the preferences of women (De Paola, Scoppa et al. 2010). Banerjee and Somanathan (2007) argue that the explicit commitment by the Indian State in the 1970s and 1980s to have inclusive policies has resulted in near equal access to public goods for the disadvantaged communities of rural Southern India. This suggests that women's integration in development institutions may reverse the norms of exclusion (McElroy 2001: 87; Cornwall 2003; Krook and True 2010). In Pakistan, except for a notional commitment to equal opportunities and affirmative action in the constitution, the state has not been serious in pursuing the Women in Development approach for the equitable representation of women.
in political institutions (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987; Khattak 2010; Oldenburg 2010; Shaheed 2010). This will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

The main drawbacks of the WID approach relate to WID ignoring the participation of women in the existing workforce, particularly in rural areas, the focus on women as a category, and the lack of focus on development institutions as the source of the production of unequal gender relations (Nash 1977; Blumberg 1979; Rathgeber 1990; Kabeer 1994). The focus of the UN Conference and CEDAW convention was on the ‘full development’ of women as a category (UN 1976; UN 1979: Article 3) rather than on development processes. CEDAW urged state governments ‘to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, that they participate in and benefit from rural development’ (UN 1979). In effect it assumed that women in rural areas did not participate in development activities that were carried by men. These misperceptions about the lack of participation of rural women in rural economies were strongly challenged at the time by the feminist researchers (Gulati 1978; Staudt 1978; Mazumdar 1979; Okeyo 1979; Sajogyo, Hastuti et al. 1979; Smock 1979; Guyer 1980; McSweeney and Freedman 1980).

While the integration of women in development was accepted, it was argued that ‘it is easy to be stepped on when not seen, a necessary precondition to their incorporation is to tear asunder the veil of invisibility in which they [women] have been enveloped’ (Blumberg 1979: 451). The research at the time began to challenge this invisibility of women’s work in rural economies (Gulati 1978). The failure of WID policies to look beyond women in the context of family to the interests of women workers in the field as well as women workers not tied to family (Staudt 1978: 439), whose work remained invisible, resulted in development policies and the accompanied technology favouring men
at the expense of women (Ahmed 1983). The evidence suggested that development policies needed to amend their agenda on women (Buvinic, Mehra et al. 1990; Kandiyoti 1990) and to influence policy and practice about the representation of women (Bossen 1975; Jain 2005).

A more serious limitation of WID policy that emerged in the 1990s was its inability to transform social gender relations (Kabeer 1994; Batliwala and Dhanraj 2007: 28; Kapur 2007: 125). Ban and Rao (2008), for instance, found that qualified women who made it into village government institutions performed no differently from men. They also found, however, that institutional factors such as the extent of domination by the upper caste and the maturity of these institutions were more important for women than men in terms of their participation. The failure of WID therefore can be understood in the context of the view on social policy that links the success of policy to the extent it accurately identifies a problem, formulates actions, focus on individuals and groups, and provides choices regarding the kind and extent of change that it seeks to make (Burger 2007: 277). As WID is theoretically grounded in liberal feminism, it prefers women to work within the existing structures rather than trying to change society (Rathgeber 1990). Also it fails to examine the implications of either women’s contribution in the household economy and reproduction (Rathgeber 1990) or the structural basis of inequality, in the same way the Marxists and radical feminists did. The focus therefore, began to shift to a Women and Development approach with a focus on economic structures and their role in gender inequality (Beneria and Sen 1981; Beneria and Sen 1982; Rathgeber 1990).

**Women and Development: The Politics of Recognition and Access**

The boundaries between WAD and WID are rather fuzzy, with some scholars using WAD as part of the WID approach (Razavi and Miller 1995; Razavi 1997) while others
discuss them as quite separate (Rathgeber 1990; Momsen 1991; Narasaiah 2006). The point of departure from the WID approach first appeared in the mid 1970s with the view that women had always been participating in development but their participation remained invisible to mainstream development (O'Barr 1975; Moock 1976; Pala 1977; Gulati 1978; Bandarage 1984; Rathgeber 1990). This was due to the exploitative capitalist and other systems that privileged the elite class over the workers, and women being the unpaid workers suffered in the processes of production (Bandarage 1984; Rathgeber 1990; Pillai N., Vijayamohanan et al. 2009). While WID was purely about the integration of women in the existing systems, WAD considered class as a factor in sustaining ‘unjust international economic relations’ (UN 1980: 5; Rathgeber 1990).

WAD also related to the broader development concerns at the time, which called into question the rationale of economic growth as the measure of development (Hicks and Streeten 1979). There was a view that growth without distribution was meaningless (Mahbub Ul Haq 1973: 29). Pakistan and Nigeria, considered good examples of growth at the time, were turning into development nightmares due to the increase in poverty and growing inequality (Mahbub Ul Haq 1973). There was also a need to redefine development as the measure of fulfilment of the basic needs of citizens, which was in turn linked with the increase in growth rates (Hicks and Streeten 1979; Hicks 1979). This resulted in a shift

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28 According to Mahbub Ul Haq (1973), there were a number of indications at the time that the paradigm of economic development was in severe crisis. These included the realisation of an unsatisfactory increase in per capita income to one dollar per annum in the two decades of practice of the economic development paradigm; the concern that the increase had been uneven and unfavourable in terms of distribution towards the poorest population; the realisation that countries such as Pakistan and Nigeria considered successful examples of the doctrine of economic development turned out to be ‘development disasters’; the concerns of developing countries indicating ‘development weariness’ and frustration which was resulting in a desire for socio-economic revolutions; and lastly the realisation in the development circles of the inefficacy of the dictum of growth for the sake of growth without distribution, which meant that in reality there was zero growth. He gave three reasons for the crisis in economic development: decisions by the developing countries to focus on high growth rates; mixed economies borrowing features of socialism and capitalism; and decisions to seek ‘generous assistance’ from the developed countries so as to improve the standard of living.
towards a focus on access to resources through income generation as a means to provide for
basic needs such as food, shelter, clothing and education (Morawetz 1978; Hicks and
Streeten 1979).

However, the feminist concerns about the invisibility of women's work in
development shaped the basic needs agenda around the issue of women's access to
resources. The Copenhagen World Conference on Women in July 1980 (UN 1980)
declared that: 'The attainment of equality pre-supposes equality of access to resources and
the power to participate equally and effectively in their allocation and in decision-making at
various levels' (UN 1980: 5). Inequality was related to underdevelopment, which was the
outcome of 'unjust international economic relations' (UN 1980: 5). The conference argued
for 'total development' that involved social, cultural, political and economic spheres
including 'the development of economic and other material resources' (UN 1980: 5). The
argument was that 'human resources cannot achieve their full potential without integrated
socio-economic development' (p. 5). The conference\textsuperscript{29} therefore called upon donors 'to
provide capital funding for the implementation of projects in which women can develop
skills while employed in income-generating activities' (UN 1980: 98). There was the
realisation that gainful employment would result in women's access to income and
fulfilment of basic needs, and would reduce poverty and inequality (Morawetz 1978; Hicks
and Streeten 1979; Hicks 1979; UN 1980).

The development agencies started to focus on small-scale rural programs for income
generation and poverty reduction (Carr 1990; Due, Kurwijila et al. 1990). The World Bank

\textsuperscript{29} The conference retained the integration of women as emphasised in the first world conference, noting that
the progress towards the goal of 25 percent women in all professional positions had been very slow and that
targets needed to be set and observed in this context. It asked for the appointment of coordinators to examine
the policies with regard to ensuring equality in recruitment, promotion and remuneration as well as ensuring
action against sexual harassment and complaints of discrimination against the employed women. However, it
included access to resources, which implied that just participation was not enough.
at the same time adopted an anti-poverty approach through its lending program (Javed Burki and Mahbub Ul Haq 1981) and USAID started funding research on small-scale enterprises in developing countries (Davies, Seale et al. 1984). Both research and development focused on strategies to tap the potential of the informal sector with regard to employment generation for poor women (Tendler 1989). In Pakistan the income generation programs included tapping the traditional skills of women for more commercial marketing and included embroidery, sewing, handloom cotton cloth, date leaf baskets, and arts and crafts (Khan, N, Shaheed et al. 1989). Elsewhere in other developing regions such as Africa women were encouraged to make articles of daily use\textsuperscript{30} for sale (Stamp 1989).

These programs assumed a link between income earning and the development of women as a measure of gender equality (Khan, N, Shaheed et al. 1989). In effect they shared the modernisation precept that economic growth through appropriate technology results in gender equality (Stamp 1989). Economists had earlier promoted small-scale projects for increasing the net surplus value in developing countries and had believed that rural under-development caused by the under-employment of women held back the economic growth of the developing countries (Herman 1956; Hoselitz 1959; Patrick 1966). The focus on economic development for cultural and gender equality continues despite the optimistic gender assumptions surrounding them (Tansel 2005; Aslam 2009; Bobonis 2011; Liu 2011). These programs were more about diversifying the income sources of the rural families rather than about gender equality (Hurwitch-Macdonald 1985: 7). In effect, these programs also marginalised women further as their return on labour was less than if they

\textsuperscript{30} Davies, Seale et al. (1984) list a range of small-scale income generation projects in Egypt including items such as mats, hats, baskets, embroidery, dairy products, tailoring, shoe making, furniture, oriental rugs, floor tiles and agricultural tools.
had worked in agriculture, and at the same time the programs kept women out of the public space (Goetz and Gupta 1996).

The focus on income generation improved women’s basic needs to some extent but often at the expense of women’s strategic needs for empowerment and gender equality (Moser 1993). Kabeer (1999: 437) defines empowerment as ‘... the expansion in people’s ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them’. WID approaches assumed that women had spare time which in reality resulted in a triple burden on women (McSweeney and Freedman 1980; Rathgeber 1990; Kabeer 1994; Momsen 2009). Women had to manage the roles of reproduction including childrearing and household maintenance, as well as subsistence production and income generation (Okeyo 1979). Women were also economically exploited in terms of low wages, uncongenial work conditions and limited mobility (Safa 1981: 60), due to their poor bargaining position (Elson and Pearson 1981; Safa 1981). Women were employed because they were considered ‘naturally more docile and willing to accept tough work discipline, and naturally less inclined to join trade unions, than men’ (Elson and Pearson 1981: 93). Some aid projects used the gender division of labour to exploit women in projects by employing them as cooks rather than as managers (Bennett 1988), which reinforced the notion of the division of labour.

This represented another kind of exploitation of women by women along the welfare approach, the former being the poor, impoverished and needy women, and the latter the elite or upper middle class women running income generation programs to benefit from the traditional skills of women for their own economic advantage (Khan, N., Shaheed et al. 1989), while paying the women lower wages then they would have paid men for similar work. The projects lumped all women together and ignored issues of class, race and other
social differences in the creation of gender inequality (Rathgeber 1990). The development agencies who funded these projects were reluctant to address the issues of class and gender division of labour (Buvinic 1986). The WAD approach was thus about the mobilisation of women without their emancipation (Molyneux 1985). As Rathgeber (1990) maintains:

WAD offers a more critical view of women's position than does WID, but it fails to undertake a full-scale analysis of the relationship between patriarchy, differing modes of production, and women's subordination and oppression (p. 493).

The inability to transform unequal relations created the space for an alternate vision of a gender and development approach to gender inequality (Molyneux 1985; Sen and Grown 1988; Kabeer 1994; Pillai N., Vijayamohanan et al. 2009).

**Gender and Development: The Politics of Transformation**

The Gender and Development (GAD) approach emerged in the mid 1980s as a holistic alternative to the earlier liberal-Marxist, WID-WAD approaches that had focused on women's integration in institutions such as state or community and their access to resources but had ignored the transformation of institutional structures which created unequal gender relations (Molyneux 1985; Kabeer 1994; Razavi and Miller 1995; Cornwall 2003: 1326). The GAD point of departure from the previous approaches was its focus on gender discrimination as an outcome of unequal power relations, rather than seeing women as a uniform category (Laslett and Brenner 1989; Moser 1989; Østergaard 1992; Pillai N., Vijayamohanan et al. 2009). Women's interests were shaped by the practical gender interests that differ from one social context to another (Molyneux 1985). The universal goal of women's empowerment constituted strategic gender interests that result from the deductive analysis by feminist activists of women's situations in diverse contexts (Molyneux 1985; 2004; 2007). The practical and strategic gender interests distinction
rejected the hitherto prevalent assumptions that all women automatically recognise strategic gender interests; that interests are insular to political and discursive factors as well as the realities of time and space; and that unaffected by class and other factors, all women show unity and cohesion on gender issues. This disentangling of women from gender implied that gender relations were about social relations rather than the biological attributes of women and men. The GAD approach argued that social structures are the basis of women’s subordination (Moser 1989; Moser 1993; Kabeer 1994). As Moser (1993) states:

The focus on gender rather than women makes it critical to look not only at the category ‘women’ – since that is only half the story – but at women in relation to men, and the way in which relations between these categories are socially constructed (p. 3).

The GAD approach argues that private-public, reproductive-productive dichotomies are arbitrary and women’s condition on one side of a dichotomy is influenced by the other side, that is, the private is influenced by the public, the reproductive by the productive and vice versa (Beneria and Sen 1982; Jaquette 1982; Bandarage 1984; Kabeer 1994). According to Connelly, Li et al. (2000):

GAD adopts a two-pronged approach to the study of women and development, by investigating women’s material conditions and class position, as well as the patriarchal structures and ideas that define and maintain women’s subordination (p. 62).

This approach is consistent with that strand of social theory which argues that the production and reproduction of social reality are the mediated effects of the interaction of agents with the social structures in which neither has primacy over the other but each affects the other (See Giddens 1979; 1984). Giddens (1998: 77) maintains that ‘society only has form and that form only has effects on people in so far as structure is produced and reproduced in what people do’. Practices are socially constructed and are a result of the
repetition of human activity to the extent that it becomes a habit (Berger Peter and Luckmann 1966; Martin 2004). Thus the social context and the form a society takes as an ever-changing function of lasting layers of practices or institutions are the most persistent attributes of social life (Giddens 1979; Giddens and Pierson 1998). The focus on the social construction of gender implies that women need to have autonomy if gender equality is to be achieved. In the GAD approach, this resulted in a focus on the empowerment of women through participatory projects (Richardson 1985; Due, Kurwijila et al. 1990; Kabeer 2005b; Kilby 2011) which are still commonly used.

The gender and development empowerment projects since the mid 1980s have involved micro-credit schemes and the like, which are an improvement on the income generation schemes employed previously as part of WAD approaches (Sen and Grown 1988). The Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, SEWA, a women’s trade union in India, the Mudzi fund in Malawi and GABRIELA in the Philippines are seen by some as successful examples of empowerment projects (Richardson 1985; McKee 1989; Tendler 1989; Carr 1990; Due, Kurwijila et al. 1990). Poor women are provided credit to develop their entrepreneurial capacity for projects as diverse as the operation of rice mills and schemes such as village mobiles (Abdullah 1985; Berger 1989; Bardhan 1990; Hulme 1990; Batliwala and Dhanraj 2007; Tibajjuka 2009). Such projects are an ongoing feature of empowerment approaches to gender and development (Kabeer 2005b; Kilby 2011). Through organising self-help groups, non-governmental organisations seek to shore up support for strategic gender interests through a focus on practical needs (Kabeer 2005b). These projects result in women’s increased mobility, improved credit rating, contribution to community betterment, and improvement in health and education (Kabeer 2005a; Batliwala and Dhanraj 2007; Batliwala 2010), and are seen as indications of women’s empowerment
(Mayoux 2000; Kabeer 2005b). But critics maintain that that these projects also marginalise women into private space and low-return occupations (Molyneux 1985; Goetz and Gupta 1996). The empowerment is by no means universal and the micro-credit often is not directly related to it (Batliwala and Dhanraj 2004).

However, the GAD empowerment approach is limited. Projects often assume that women’s access to ‘economic power and access to productive resources will weaken traditional gender and social roles and empower poor women to demand further change’ (Batliwala and Dhanraj 2007: 22), and they assume that raising women’s consciousness as a result of bottom-up participatory processes at the grass-roots level will result in gender equality (Moser 1993: 76), that is, ‘members are responsible for their own empowerment’ (Jakimow and Kilby 2006: 377). These projects, however, do not give attention to the rights-based entitlements of women (Goetz 2007; Kilby and Olivieri 2008: 328; O’Reilly 2010). Molyneux (2004: 115) argues that feminists have ignored the liberal rights-based approaches for two reasons: three decades of feminist activism saw issues of ‘bureaucratisation, NGO-isation, technification’ being dominant; and second, the theoretical issue, in which the integration of women in institutions was central, did not fit well with the radical goals of second-wave feminism. Goetz (2007: 18) gives three reasons for adopting a gender justice approach as against a simple social justice approach:

i) Women as a common element of all socially disadvantaged groups are more disadvantaged than any of these social groups alone.

ii) The power relations between men and women in the household and in the larger society result in injustices to women much more than any other social group.

These relations need to be scrutinised.
iii) The unequal patriarchal relations and mindsets often thought to belong to the household actually pervade all social, political and economic institutions.

Others argue that rights are important but have been incorporated in development in an essentialist way which does not question institutional structures (Cornwall 2007: 71). Thus, rather than empowering women, these programs have become synonymous with 'earning income to repay loans' (Batliwala and Dhanraj 2004: 12), and as such cannot by definition empower women (Kabeer 2005b; Jakimow and Kilby 2006). Their success, like that of other interventions such as quotas, depends on commitment, context and capacity (Kabeer 2005b), and so in contexts where a commitment to gender equality is missing, such projects of empowerment become a tool to economically and politically exploit\(^\text{31}\) women (Batliwala and Dhanraj 2004):

> Improve your household's economic condition, participate in local community development (if you have the time), help build and run local (apolitical) institutions like the self-help group; by then, you should have no political or physical energy left to challenge this paradigm (p. 13).

Scholars argue that empowerment cannot be endowed but requires a commitment to the removal of structural constraints rather than a hope that disempowered women will empower themselves (Goetz 1997; Kabeer 1999; Kilby 2011). Institutional structures limit 'the ability of women to pursue their interests' (Jakimow and Kilby 2006: 379) and they impinge upon the choices of women (Kabeer 1999; Kilby 2011). The denial of the ability to make choices is the basis of the disadvantage faced by women (Kabeer 1999) and it

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\(^{31}\) Batliwala and Dhanraj (2004) relate that in Andhra Pradesh, the state-managed credit program was considered a model but in practice the poorest women were excluded because they could not match the weekly contribution necessary for the continued membership of the self-help groups. Women could not bargain with buyers because of the debt trap, and more distribution of loans adversely affected women in terms of mounting debt burden, increased working hours and the hostility of men. Women's agency was reduced to the beneficiaries of state-controlled micro-credit programs. And the state, except for giving loans, did not invest in the social sector issues that affect women, including provision of childcare so that girls could go to school, and a water supply near their houses.
requires ‘the lifting of constraints, regardless of who undertakes the requisite action’ (Jakimow and Kilby 2006: 378). These institutional structures influence the content, conditions and implications of choice (Kabeer 1999), as well as defining the organisation culture (Goetz 2004: 137). In patriarchal organisational structures, individual women become ‘hedged about by the priorities of the organisation as a whole’ (Eisenstein 1991: 138). Without changing the structures, the integration of women merely results in their ‘assimilation’ into an existing patriarchal organisational culture (Goetz 2004: 137). Patriarchal structures in institutions provide incentives to encourage conformity (Goetz 2004: 137). These may include ‘career advance, security, recognition’. The risks associated with making choices to the contrary include unpopularity with co-workers and career setbacks (ibid: 138-39). Thus the removal of what is disempowering is more important than a single focus on participation or access of the marginalised (Beall 1998; Jakimow and Kilby 2006; Kilby 2011).

However, in development practice, institutions are generally not accountable to the people they claim to empower (Kilby 2004; Kilby 2006; Harcourt 2010). Development institutions often see accountability largely as a measure of the proportion of internal project documents that mention gender equity in some context (ADB 2009a; ADB 2010). Through this lack of accountability to the constituencies, development institutions' claims to empower is put in doubt (Kilby 2004; Kilby 2011). Kilby (2011: 89) in a study of

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32 Marchbank (2000: 197) Her argument was based on her practical work experience at the time as a public servant in New South Wales in Australia, in which she found that barriers existed in state bureaucracy which constrained her effectiveness to pursue a gender-equality agenda. This suggests that in developing countries with stronger patriarchal and hierarchal norms the pressure must be greater.

33 Kilby (2003) in the study of NGOs in India developed a ‘downward accountability’ model of how organisations adopt the processes that reflect ‘depth of accountability’ as well as ‘level of formality’. While the depth of accountability is meant to measure the feedback an organisation provides to the people it claims to empower, it also serves to assess how likely the organisation is to be accountable to these people without suggesting how much the organisation is open to ‘rectification’. Rectification, he believes, is a function of ‘level of formality’, which also means people's access to organisations as a matter of right and ownership.
NGOs in India found empowerment significantly related to the NGOs’ accountability towards the subjects of empowerment. Many NGOs have a concept of accountability to their own values but not to the people they claim to empower (ibid: 103). Organisations with ‘strong personal associations and formal feedback mechanisms’ have been successful in empowerment (ibid: 92), while informal processes of accountability merely established instrumental linkages with aid recipients. It was the ‘more structural (formal) links that delivered stronger empowerment outcomes’ by creating rights and obligations that are central to empowerment (ibid: 112). In the public sectors of developing countries with no structures of accountability for women’s empowerment, the chances of women’s empowerment are even bleaker.

While there is a role of development organisations to undertake ‘empowering actions’ (Jakimow and Kilby 2006: 378), the institutional structures of these organisations require reform to empower women (Eisenstein 1990; Goetz 1997; Marchbank 2000; Connell 2006). It is unrealistic to put the onus of empowerment entirely on those who are to be empowered (Kabeer 2001; Molyneux 2004; Kilby 2006; Kilby 2011). The powerlessness of women results from a range of structures such as:

law, civil codes, systems of property rights, labour codes, control over women’s bodies and the social and legal institutions that underwrite male control and privilege’ (Pillai N., Vijayamohanan et al. 2009: 30).

Institutional policies are both the cause and effect of women’s social exclusion and their powerlessness (Kabeer 2000; 2002). In this way, the gender and development approach ‘stresses direct challenges to male cultural, social and economic privileges... it involves levelling the playing field, in other words, changing institutional rules’ (Goetz 1997: 3).
The first step in the change in institutional structures was the political consensus reached at the Fourth World Conference on Women \(^{34}\) held at Beijing in 1995 (UN 1995). The understanding was that institutional rules, norms and practices determine individual rights and entitlements in terms of access to resources and the terms thereof (Raghuram and Manorama 1995: 2164; Bunch, Dutt et al. 1996; Kabeer 1997; Molyneux 2004; Batliwala 2007) but development practice in the past had done little to change institutional structures (Rathgeber 1990; Zwart 1992; Razavi and Miller 1995; Jahan 1996; Razavi 1997; Tiessen 2007). Development practice had side-stepped the critical issues of discrimination in these institutional structures and merely focused on gender and poverty (Kabeer 1997). The significant overlaps of family, community, market and state in the construction of gender relations had been overlooked and so were institutional rules, practices and power dynamics for their role in the production of gender inequality (Kabeer 1994). The conference urged:\(^{35}\)

Governments and other actors should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective in all policies and programmes, so that, before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively (UN 1996: 27).

For the feminists, the Beijing Conference was a way to attain rights for women. In the lead-up to the Conference, a list of rights necessary for gender equality was developed:

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34 According to Bunch, Dutt et al., the conference was the culmination of a process of incremental gains made by the feminists, spanning the past few decades, such as the establishment of the Commission on the Status of Women under the initiative of the United Nations Economic and Social Council in 1946; the enactment of the Convention on the Political Rights of Women in 1959; the enactment of the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1981; the agreement at the Nairobi Conference on the Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women in 1985; the acceptance of the rights of indigenous and rural women by the UNCED in 1992; the acceptance of women’s reproductive rights as human rights in the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993 and the Cairo International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in 1994; and the acceptance as issues of the unemployment, poverty and social inclusion of women in the World’s Summit on Social Development in 1995.

35 Raghuram and Manorama (1995: 2164) criticised the Declaration as more of a ‘moral agreement’ and ‘an open and agreed commitment’ that did not fix responsibility for the mainstreaming of gender.
Right to employment, regularisation of employment, minimum wages, maternity and paternity leave, right to association and collective bargaining, right to dignity, provision for safe and secure work environment, equal political representation at all levels, right to education, provision of constitutional guarantees and enactment of legislation to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex and guaranteeing of full human rights to women throughout their life cycles, among others (Raghuram and Manorama 1995: 2164).

Similarly, Molyneux (2004) argues that a gender justice development framework should have been the key lesson of Beijing because:

Human rights instruments have enabled women’s movements to provide a normative and analytic framework for fighting against discrimination, reframing socioeconomic injustices against women as human rights violations. The examples of education, quota laws, violence against women, and health show how rights discourses can be deployed to legitimise women’s demands for the improvement of their legal status, political representation and well being’ (p. 115).

Although the concern was that the social, political and economic rights of women can only be guaranteed through change in institutional structures (UN 1995), Batliwala (2007), while recognising the importance of rights, points out four limitations of this approach:

i) Rights are easy to adopt in the shape of formal laws, but equally difficult to implement because of their neglect of rigid and hierarchical social power structures and ways to transform power relations. For example, the right to education exists in Indian law but its actual attainment is mediated by social institutions including family, caste, gender and economic status.

ii) Rights have become a rhetorical strategy for resource mobilisation from donors, who accept proposals written in a language of rights and reject other practical empowerment strategies devoid of the language of rights.
iii) The language of rights when translated into local syntax (right as *haq*), especially in feudal societies, could invite oppression by the socially powerful, including the state, because of its focus on claims. In more feudal or traditional contexts, women prefer negotiation and consensus building to selecting politically loaded words such as ‘rights’. They tend to frame the issue in contextually neutral words such as ‘making men realise their responsibility’.

iv) Rights-based development approaches relocate agency to development intermediaries such as NGOs and bureaucrats whose accountability to the marginalised is questionable. These external actors interpret rights for women, not the marginalised and powerless women themselves.

The post-Beijing developments and the application of the concept of gender mainstreaming, as discussed below, show that the rights of women and the goal of social transformation through changes in institutional structures have been misappropriated in much development practice and avoided in most policy processes.

*Mainstreaming as a Concept*

The concept of mainstreaming is the ‘institutionally palatable version’ of the GAD approach (True 2010: 191), as it embraces the GAD ideals of social transformation (Woodford-Berger 2004; Benschop 2006; Eyben 2010) and is grounded in feminist discourse, international forums, and development projects and practices (UN 1995; COE 1998; True and Mintrom 2001; Hafner-Burton and Pollack 2002; Woodward 2003; UNDP 2005; Walby 2005). It is seen as ‘an accumulation of learning over some three decades about gender inequality and the best policy to address it’ (Daly 2005: 442). To highlight the transformative potential of gender mainstreaming, scholars distinguish it from the equal opportunity approach of the 1970s and the affirmative action approach of the 1980s
(Beveridge and Nott 2002). While WID and WAD were labelled as tinkering around the edges of the issue of inequality, gender mainstreaming was seen as transforming (Rees 1998; Rees 2002; Squires 2005: 369). Whereas WID and WAD prioritise inclusion of women in institutions, the GAD concept of gender mainstreaming focuses on the transformation of institutions through the displacement of gender policies to address inequality (Squires 2005; Walby 2005; Lombardo and Verloo 2009). The UNECOSOC report to the UN General Assembly (1997) elaborates\(^\text{36}\) the concept of gender mainstreaming:

Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality (p. 24).

The concept of gender mainstreaming has a global currency (UN 1995; Verloo 2001; Rees 2002; Verloo, Vleuten et al. 2009), and has been described as the best example of the global diffusion of policies\(^\text{37}\) that are framed at international conferences (True and Mintrom 2001; True 2010). Mainstreaming has been embraced in the global North, for example, in the European Union (Rubery 2002; 2003; Rubery, Grimshaw et al. 2003; Rubery 2004; Rubery, Figueiredo et al. 2004; Rubery, Grimshaw et al. 2004; 2005), and in the global South (True 2003; Standing 2004; Dawson 2005; Mukhopadhyay 2007; Tiessen

\(^{36}\) The Council of Europe (COE 1998: 12) defines the concept of gender mainstreaming as ‘the (re) organization, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy-making’.

\(^{37}\) True and Mintrom (2001) in an analysis of events in 157 countries from 1975 to 1998 found that diffusion of gender mainstreaming in these countries was made possible by the transnational networks and in particular transnational feminist ideas.
To some its rapid spread owes much to the development agencies’ existing frameworks of ‘analytical, institutional and financial assistance’ (Moser 2005: 576) but in practice in most places its implementation has not gone much beyond lip-service.

The concept of gender mainstreaming is rather ‘fuzzy’ (Daly 2005: 445) and since the launch of this GAD strategy there has been a ‘considerable confusion’38 about what these strategies [of gender mainstreaming] involve and how best to pursue them’ (Schalkwyk, Thomas et al. 1996: 1. See also ; Beall 1998; Hannan 2001; Booth and Bennett 2002; Howard 2002; Rees 2002; Woodward 2003; Daly 2005). There are many meanings of the concept and it is understood as an instrument, an innovation, a technical tool, an approach, a principle of equality and a strategy of transformation in gender relations (Verloo 2001; Woodward 2003; Stratigaki 2005; Walby 2005; Benschop 2006 ).

Arguably, its status of both an ‘open signifier’ and an ‘empty signifier’, that is open to interpretation, has rendered it a contested concept and so to some extent useless (Lombardo 2003; Verloo 2005; Walby 2005; Lombardo and Meier 2006; Pfister 2008). For feminists the key concern was how a rather fluid concept of gender mainstreaming could be used to achieve the goal of social transformation (Beveridge and Nott 2002; Woodford Berger 2004; Benschop 2006 ; Tiessen 2007; Verloo, Vleuten et al. 2009).

Scholars argue that the transformative potential of gender mainstreaming could be achieved if, rather than distancing, it embraced the previous WID and WAD strategies of participation and access through specific affirmative action, but also went beyond39 them to

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38 This confusion was universal. Stratigaki (2005: 167), for instance, argued that ‘mainstreaming’ not only evoked more confusion than any other gender equality term used in the European Union but also the European Union for quite some time after Beijing lacked a clear definition of gender mainstreaming.

39 Booth and Bennett (2002) used the metaphor of a three-legged stool to highlight that equal opportunity, women and gender mainstreaming all contributed to an effective gender equality policy. Similarly, Woodward (2003) used the analogy of a gender equality house in which gender mainstreaming was described as the thinking of a new architect able to overcome deficiencies of equal opportunity and affirmative action policies to transform women’s issues from vertical special issues to horizontal general concerns.
challenge the institutional structures that cause inequality (Booth and Bennett 2002; Woodward 2003; Hankivsky 2005: 13; Walby 2005: 326; Prügl 2006: 434). Taking into account the socio-political context for setting the gender mainstreaming agenda for social transformation as a key concern (Jahan 1996; Mukhopadhyay 2007), the transformative potential of gender mainstreaming would depend on how closely the practice of gender mainstreaming adhered to the feminists’ vision of equality (Mukhopadhyay 2007; Eyben 2010). There was a view that gender mainstreaming must be seen as a process to change gendered policy routines in institutions (Verloo 2005; Walby 2005; Lombardo and Meier 2006); that policies that had hitherto escaped critical scrutiny should become the object of change (COE 1998; Beveridge and Nott 2002; Daly 2005; Verloo 2005); and that the ‘actors normally involved in policy making’ must be engaged for transformation in gender relations (Verloo 2005: 350).

This approach to a focus on bureaucratic actors as agents of change for social transformation originated in the global North but over time, through the Northern development institutions, it became widespread in the developing countries as well (Woodford Berger 2004; Lombardo 2005: 416; Moser 2005: 577; Verloo 2005: 350; Lombardo and Meier 2006; Mukhopadhyay 2007). The development agencies’ assumptions that policies in a developing country were made by the bureaucrats led to the gender training of bureaucrats becoming a key GAD gender mainstreaming approach for sensitising bureaucrats so they could change policies for achieving gender equality (Woodford Berger 2004; Abou-Habib 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007; Tiessen 2007).
Training as an Approach

Gender training⁴⁰ in the past decade has been the ‘most common’ measure to implement a gender mainstreaming strategy (Woodford Berger 2004). It relates both to liberal feminism as well as to mainstream development practice. Theoretically, it is rooted in the liberal feminist view that adult-age discrimination results from differential learning in childhood and thus can be unlearned through the gender sensitive re-socialisation of individuals (Eagleton 2003; Pini 2008: 10). This assumption of a re-socialisation takes the form in work organisations of the gender sensitisation training of bureaucrats (Kusakabe 2005; Abou-Habib 2007; Ahikire 2007; Dasgupta 2007). It is also embedded in the liberal assumption that the drive for gender equality being a common task, gender inequality is a function of bureaucrats’ lack of awareness (Kusakabe 2005). Training would enhance a feminist understanding of the problem of gender inequality by institutional policy makers, who would then eagerly mobilise resources to tackle inequality (Woodford Berger 2004). Training would thus result in ‘shifts in organisational cultures and ways of thinking’ (Bhatta 2001: 23).

As a development practice, gender training goes back to the United Nations Decade for Women (1975–85), which raised the alarm about discrimination against women and required state and non-state development institutions to raise awareness about the issue (Dasgupta 2007: 28). It got further attention from development agencies due to the gender mainstreaming strategy adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 (Schalkwyk, Thomas et al. 1996; Ahikire 2007: 39). Development agencies had envisaged

⁴⁰ Ahikire (2007: 40) has identified three types of training to achieve these objectives: (i) capacity building of women; (ii) training of trainers; (iii) awareness-raising training for men and women. She maintains that the first kind of training assumes that women lack capacity and self-confidence; the second type assumes that gender knowledge is transferrable; and the third assumes that awareness of the consequences of inequality in individual and institutional life would result in a change in behaviour at the personal and institutional levels.
in institutional change\textsuperscript{41} as a trigger for broader social transformation (Schalkwyk, Thomas et al. 1996). Gender awareness was considered instrumental in achieving institutional change (Schalkwyk, Thomas et al. 1996; Woroniuk, Thomas et al. 1996; Schalkwyk 1998) and it was believed that training would change the ‘patriarchal mindsets’ of individuals in organisations (Abou-Habib 2007: 48; Ahikire 2007: 39). It created a demand for mainstreaming tools, expertise and knowledge resources to be made available to the bureaucrats for mainstreaming in developing countries (Woodward 2003; Mukhopadhyay 2004; Walby 2005).

\textit{Knowledge as a Tool}

In 1996, in a follow-up to the Beijing Women’s Conference, Commonwealth Ministers assigned the production of gender equality knowledge resources to the Commonwealth Secretariat, which developed a prescriptive Gender Management System (Commonwealth Secretariat 1999a). A series of reference manuals and quick guides for specific sectors followed such as Development Planning; Finance; Education; Public Service; Trade and Industry; Agriculture and Rural Development; Information and Communications; and Equal Employment Opportunities. These guides for mainstreaming gender were published to educate bureaucrats (Commonwealth Secretariat 1999b; Leorhynie 1999; O'Regan-Tardu 1999; Sen 1999; Taylor 1999; Frankson 2000; Commonwealth Secretariat 2001); they had a standard format and aimed at the sensitisation of policy makers through clarifying the key concepts. For example, they made it clear that women could work in non-traditional sectors, that sex and gender were different, and that

\textsuperscript{41} According to Schalkwyk, Thomas et al. (1996), the methodology adopted by the Swedish International Development Agency at the time in order to effect broader social transformation targeted three spheres for change: change within development agencies, change in the development programs for the developing countries, and change in the policies and programs of developing countries.
gender roles are shaped by a host of socio-political and economic factors such as age, class, religion and politics (ibid.).

This strategy for the creation of awareness was meant to counter the gendered social knowledge that for long used women’s biology as the cause of inequality. John Stuart Mill’s *The Subjection of Women* (1869) attributed women’s failings in society to their relative weakness compared to men; and Maccoby and Jacklin (1974: 374) argued that ‘A variety of social institutions are viable within the framework set by biology’; and finally Goldberg (1993) argued that men rule due to their psychology, which allows them to protect women. Feminists have long been critical of the way gendered knowledge surreptitiously made its way into academia. For example, Connell (2002: 31) argues that ‘Sociobiological ideas about innate difference are often presented as the scientific “truth” about gender, which feminists deny and which societies violate at their peril’. Foucault (1977) argues that discursive knowledge is used to categorise people, and these categories are then used to discipline and police society, and that these can be extended to family, religion and the state more broadly. The social consequences of these approaches can be seen as:

Bodies have been watched and controlled in finer and finer detail; as ‘power-knowledge’ became more sophisticated, the professions that apply it become larger and more numerous and the institutions in which it operates such as factories, prisons and schools, extended their grip on Western societies (Connell 2002: 37).

From this perspective, for development feminists the success of gender mainstreaming strategies including training depended on the extent to which they had acted to counter these ‘discursive regimes’ (Verloo, Vleuten et al. 2009: 10), or whether in fact

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42 To Connell (2002), Geary’s 400-page monograph that explained the realities of social life through ‘evolutionary speculation’ came as a shock because it was published by the American Psychological Association.
they could counter these discursive regimes. In short, there seemed to be a naive assumption that newly created knowledge, once used for gender awareness and understanding, would displace socially created gendered knowledge,43 which would then transform the existing gendered ways of doing things (Zaleski 2010). However, while true in diagnosis, in practice the overall orientation of these frameworks was towards gender roles rather than unequal power relations and towards gender orders which formed the basis of unequal gender relations (Woodford Berger 2004).

Knowledge Transfer Sessions

Gender training is built on the belief that knowledge is a ‘commodity’ which can be transferred in a rather linear fashion (Mukhopadhyay and Wong 2007: 23) and to achieve this end, relatively short training courses of one or two days are sufficient. It is believed that short training courses for busy people maximises the chances of replication and knowledge transfer to lower level officials (Dasgupta 2007: 29), while reducing the cost of the courses. It also suits trainers who do not have to make special preparation and can easily accommodate small courses (Ahikire 2007).

A typical training course may comprise many sessions that take up the issues of inequality faced by women. In Pakistan, the training imparted to the public sector lasted from two days to a week. Short courses were offered to senior officers and week-long courses were for middle and senior management levels. The training manuals compiled for

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43 The social construction of gendered knowledge has been a widespread obstacle to gender equality. The search for the meanings of the words ‘sex’ and ‘gender’, for instance, in the Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary found that the two terms are considered interchangeable (‘gender noun [SEX]’). The meaning given in the dictionary read: ‘formal the physical and/or social condition of being male or female’. The meaning is further elaborated with the sentence, ‘Does this test show the gender of the baby?’ Similarly, the tendency to equate gender with sex was found to be pronounced in the online Cambridge Dictionary of American English which described them as the same (gender (SEX) and gave the meaning of gender as: ‘the male or female sex, or the state of being either male or female’. For detail please see: 1-Cambridge Advanced Learners Dictionary (Online): http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/gender accessed on 23 August 2010. 2- Cambridge.
the trainers included the details of the training sessions and what was to be imparted to the trainees. (See Appendix 1: Training Modules). The training begins with an introductory session aimed to build rapport between trainees and trainers as well as among trainees, who come from diverse public sector departments. The first formal session includes brainstorming on gender roles and issues, and the trainees are informed that gender roles are socially created, differ across cultures and are thus changeable. The essential messages of this session are that the reproductive-productive divide is arbitrary and women face social and economic constraints. The participants are then sensitised through exercises to examine how in their workplaces ideas about traditional gender roles affect their decisions that affect women. The second session covers issues of the low participation of women in the productive sector, wage differentials and the problems faced by women in access to credit. The third session is around the issue of public policy and gender sensitisation, and aims to encourage trainees to think that gender and economic growth are complementary, but that women face constraints in pursuing economic activities, which impact on the household and national productivity. In the fourth session, participants are divided into groups to work on the development of qualitative and quantitative indicators for project appraisal, and in the fifth session they are asked to present the indicators to the whole group. The sixth and seventh sessions relate to the project appraisal exercise and presentations to the whole group. These sessions assume that all the trainees deal with project development at their workplaces and they would be in a position to raise objections to proposed projects which fail to incorporate gender concerns. In the exercises, the trainees and the trainers decide whether the group was able to address gender concerns in the mock projects. The last session includes feedback from the trainees (See Appendix 2: Training Evaluation Form) and the gender training course concludes with some high-level
government official presenting certificates of completion of gender training sensitisation sessions to the trainees.

This training aims to effect changes in attitudes which would then lead to behavioural change, but no attempt is made to look at institutional constraints in the form of policies and frameworks which compel public sector employees to work within them. Similarly, it is not established that behavioural change is a result of changes in attitudes.\textsuperscript{44} Some social psychologists have started to look at the conditions and situations that mediate the attitude-behaviour relationship (Fazio 1990; Ajzen 2005). The commonly identified moderating variables are situational factors such as normative constraints, the extent of moral reasoning, the realisation of the implications of action and the self-interests of individuals (Fazio 1990; Ajzen 2005). Some argue that 'the link between self-interest and behaviour is stronger than that between self-interest and attitude' (Ratner and Miller 2001: 6), suggesting that a change in attitude through training may not result in a change in behaviour. Miller (2001) argues that the norm of self-interest predicts behaviour better than their people's attitudes.

It induces people to act publicly in ways that maximize their material interests, whether or not they are so inclined privately. This norm, like most other norms, reflects both a descriptive belief (people are self-interested) and a prescriptive belief (people ought to be self-interested). Either of these beliefs is sufficient to induce the layperson to act more in line with self-interest than he or she might personally be inclined to do (p. 199).

However, despite these reservations, national development agencies continue to emphasise gender training, and as resources mostly come from international donors, they

\textsuperscript{44} A research participant (Respondent ID: 034) from the Planning and Development Department who had had gender training informed the researcher, 'When I see the project I raise objection and send it back on the ground that it does not include gender concerns, but it has resulted in delay in project approval and piling of work'. This suggests that gender became another tool for the bureaucratic hindrance which is usually considered a hallmark of the public sector in Pakistan.
provide expert knowledge on the issue of gender equality and exercise considerable influence on the process, but often with little knowledge of local context or mores (Abou-Habib 2007: 48). Development agencies encourage liberal feminist views but also ensure that radical views on the structural basis of gender inequality are not reflected in the gender training sessions. A typical training invitation from the donors is tagged with the friendly advice, ‘Please do not bring in issues of feminism. That will cause confusion especially among the men. We only want gender’ (Ahikire 2007: 41). Trainers are directed by the development agencies to translate loaded GAD radical feminist political language into a neutral liberal development lexicon which would not offend senior officials (ibid: 34). The trainers are also cautious and do not want to be labelled as outsiders and Westerners with possible radical designs on the local culture (Currie and Vernooy 2010: 6). Trainers thus avoid the contentious issues of gender power relations and women’s concerns, which if articulated might create a demand for change in the status quo (Ahikire 2007; Dasgupta 2007). Dasgupta and Ahikire argue that gender is reduced to the basic information that gender is about men and women (ibid.), rather than about power and possibly patriarchy. Senior bureaucrats, rather than having real concerns for social transformation, are ‘lured’ by financial allowances and hospitality and time out of the office (Dasgupta 2007: 34). The power to interpret knowledge remains with the trainers, not the trainees, and gender relations remain locked in unequal power relations, so that marginalised women remain voiceless and powerless (Ahikire 2007; Dasgupta 2007).

Nevertheless, the proper assessment of knowledge transfer and its linkage with institutional change as assumed in the development practice of gender mainstreaming has not been evaluated due to the presence of many variables such as sex, the position of government officials and the training methods (Mathur and Rajan 1997), and so the need
for a proper impact assessment of gender mainstreaming is felt even more (Moser and Moser 2005; Verloo, Vleuten et al. 2009). In the absence of proper assessment, some scholars believe that despite an overemphasis on knowledge development, agencies and gender trainees may have similar knowledge and, given the ownership, the latter may know how to effect change and devise sustainable projects (Howard 2002). Others believe the actual knowledge and its impact on institutional transformation to be ‘limited and very modest’ (Abou-Habib 2007: 48). On the positive side, it is believed gender training results in gender terminology being embraced by organisational members (Moser 2005; Ahikire 2007; Zaleski 2010). There is also some evidence that trainees start to question the ‘patterns and roles of men and women within institutions’ (Mathur and Rajan 1997: 73). In some countries such as Uganda, these approaches are believed to have put ‘patriarchal norms and values under relative stress’ (Ahikire 2007: 39). But on the negative side, male bias and resistance to change in gender relations continues to persist (Mathur and Rajan 1997: 73). Female trainers are opposed by male trainees as ‘feminists’ (ibid: 74). Training often results in ‘anxiety’ caused by the ‘institutional patterns that have favoured mostly men and have not been sensitive to women’s needs’ (ibid: 74). More sympathetic trainees (men) in training sessions often claim that they are ‘willing to empower women’ and often these statements are followed by the word ‘but’ to show they do not want to relinquish the power and privilege offered by the existing arrangements (Ahikire 2007: 44). Training as such neither results in a challenge to gendered knowledge nor makes the ownership of new knowledge possible (Mukhopadhyay and Wong 2007), let alone changing attitudes and

45 Patricia L Howard (2002) found that despite the development sector’s belief of the lack of gender knowledge and expertise both at the national and the gender project level in Honduras, gender project teams assembled in a workshop had remarkably similar views to the development agencies about how to effect change. Moreover, when they were given an opportunity, these participants were able to redesign, implement and follow up the gender project.
behaviour. Even after years of training, the state’s commitment to gender equality is still not forthcoming (Abou-Habib 2007), suggesting that knowledge transfer may not achieve the changes in attitudes and behaviour necessary for the transformative goal of gender mainstreaming (Moser 2005). This points to the need for change in institutional structures to achieve progress towards gender equality, as Mathus and Rajan (1997) suggest:

in the context of government functionaries, gender training projects are a necessary but not sufficient input for mainstreaming gender. They must necessarily be backed by policies and procedures for the implementation of pro-women initiatives in practice (p. 74).

The challenge is how to undertake the necessary changes in attitudes and behaviour required to drive this change.

*Training: Missing Socio-political Context*

The gender and development approach of training does not reflect the ‘complexity of gender relations in specific contexts’ (Charlesworth and Smith 2005: 18; Mukhopadhyay and Wong 2007). Training does not take into account that transformation in unequal power relations, the distribution of resources control mechanisms, and gendered knowledge, rules, hierarchies and practices are essentially a political endeavour, and while at best training will change attitudes it will not change behaviour (Dasgupta 2007: 29). Training ignores that for change to occur development practice needs to attend to ‘the messy business of creating voice, articulating demand, carving out rights, insisting on participation and mobilising the women’s constituencies to demand accountability’ (Mukhopadhyay 2007: 146). However, gender training has remained separate to the rights-based discourse articulated by feminists (Bhatta 2001; Goetz 2004; Mukhopadhyay 2007) and has allowed ‘difficult questions [of unequal power relations] to be passed over’ (Beveridge and Nott 2002: 309). It remains aloof from the structural constraints, the inequitable patriarchal
gender relations caused by centuries of the use of force and ideology for the submission of
women to men that disadvantages women (Dasgupta 2007: 29). While training may focus
on gender, it in fact epitomises the feminism-development disconnect (Abou-Habib 2007;
Ahikire 2007; Dasgupta 2007).

While feminism is a highly political project seeking a transformation in gender
relations (Kothari 2005; Ahikire 2007; Meer 2007), development agencies implement
gender training for its ‘tangibility and procedurability’ (Woodford Berger 2004: 66), rather
for transformation and change as such. Training thus becomes a display, rather than a norm
cchanger, and is implemented to show that much is being done to achieve gender equality
(Ahikire 2007: 45). Training generally employs ‘an archetypal gender training curriculum’
including conceptual distinctions on sex and gender, gender roles, needs and issues of
access, control and empowerment (Ahikire 2007: 39). This serves to reinforce some of the
stereotypical relations of men and women, and it universalises women as a category, leaves
out the intersectionality of gender and ethnicity, class and religion, and still leaves gender
power relations unaltered (Mukhopadhyay and Wong 2007: 20). Kothari (2005: 32) argues
that ‘an increasing technocratic and tool-kit approach to development has exacerbated the
depoliticisation of development and the atheoretical perspective of much development
discourse’. This has sabotaged the political project of gender equality (Dasgupta 2007) and
as a shallow focus on definitional distinctions and not on activism, it strips gender
vocabulary of its ‘political and historical significance’ (Ahikire 2007: 42).

The de-politicisation of training has also made itself a field of its own and ‘a highly
sought after expertise’ in development (Abou-Habib 2007: 49; Ahikire 2007: 41). This
‘lucrative field’ of experts is isolated from the feminist political agenda of change (Ahikire
2007: 42) and the trainers are often not linked with ‘women’s rights’, often do not have
‘strong grassroots linkages’ and often pursue ‘a personal agenda’ for change (Abou-Habib 2007: 50). Abou-Habib (2007: 52) in the context of the Middle Eastern region describes the following weaknesses of donor-driven gender training:

i) Use of external sources of knowledge in the training material

ii) One-size-fits-all approach

iii) A lack of consideration for local knowledge, experience, activism and trainers

iv) The overuse of religious frameworks to show compatibility of gender with Islam

v) The lack of linkages with other development processes, policies, organisational procedures and interventions

vi) A focus on efficiency with consideration of both money and time which may result in de-prioritising gender being cost ineffective

Similarly, Dasgupta (2007) in the case of northern India points to the inability of training to effect change:

Three days to review a whole lifetime of conditioning, to build up the courage to challenge norms and to change institutional practice... [prove] inadequate to create a shift in critical thinking regarding social relations and provide the support to move changes in resource distribution, hierarchies, rules and practices (p. 34).

Given these concerns, the extent to which training can be beneficial depends on how much it focuses on gender equality as a political project with an emphasis on empowerment

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46 Dasgupta (2007: 33) provides an example of how training programs are an insufficient input and cannot tackle the structural constraints that disadvantage women and are more severe in patriarchal societies. In 1998, as part of a women’s empowerment program, she imparted gender training to all the staff of a project in northern India. As in all gender training programs, participants engaged in discussions and consultations and there was indication that it changed the cultural stereotypes. Since nobody protested, it could also have been due to the training being mandatory and the job dependent on gender training. However, the inadequacy of training became clear when a local person assaulted a female staff member. Police registered a case but when her gender-trained male colleagues were called by the court, they withdrew as witnesses and denied the occurrence of the incident. Clearly, gender training did not help men to raise their voice, which showed that ‘something was certainly missing here’.
and rights, rather than equality as a technical endeavour (Abou-Habib 2007: 52). This can happen if gender training is reoriented to use gender as:

a conceptual framework for understanding issues of power and rights, and for promoting equalities based on a commitment to the rights of women and men in all aspects of their lives (Abou-Habib 2007: 52).

Some maintain that participatory training methods have the potential to enhance the skills of the trainees but even this type of training is ‘obviously not enough to lead the men staff to change their practice in a situation of conflicting interests’ (Dasgupta 2007: 34). This can only be done by reaffirming gender equality as a political agenda not a technical quick fix (Abou-Habib 2007; Ahikire 2007; Dasgupta 2007).

Training: Missing Organisational Context

Gender training is often implemented with little regard to the gendered organisational context from which the people being trained emerge. Gender and development scholars have long established organisations as gendered entities (Goetz 1997; Goetz 2008) and so the need for change in organisational policies, practices and procedures has also been prioritised as an objective of gender mainstreaming. However, gender mainstreaming through training assumes a link between training and the behaviour and actions of bureaucrats. The view shared by liberal feminists and mainstream development practice is that gender inequality is a common problem and requires a common response from ‘well meaning but not-at-all-oriented development bureaucrats’ as well as from feminist development consultants (Woodford Berger 2004: 70; Mukhopadhyay 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2004). This liberal emphasis on gender equality as the joint enterprise

47 Participatory training methods are the techniques used in a training session to impart new knowledge, skills and attitudes to the participants. The techniques used include group discussions, brainstorming, lectures, case studies and role plays. The trainer makes use of slides, posters and even videos to put the message containing new knowledge across to the participants.
and ‘virtuous behaviour’ of bureaucrats is problematic because it does not take into account the issues of institutional and cultural resistance, the politics of interest and privilege, and the absence of a gender equality goal in organisational mandates (Woodford Berger 2004; Mukhopadhyay 2007; Tiessen 2007). ‘Gender mainstreaming exists more or less independently of international politics, power hierarchies and persistent ideas about human nature’ (Woodford Berger 2004: 65). As a result, trainees return to work in the same rigid hierarchical organisations with plenty of embedded gendered norms, and so the training is largely wasted and transformation is impossible (Dasgupta 2007: 34).

There is a view that development organisations even wilfully adopt liberal frameworks as they are ‘amenable to their institutional cultures’ (Woodward 2003: 67); that is, development agencies work as a ‘covert patriarchy’ and the implementation of a power-neutral training framework ‘enables the subversion of those policies and directives which threatens covert patriarchal interests’ (Longwe 1997: 151). Mukhopadhyay (2007) argues that the gender equality agenda pursued by the development agencies often means ‘getting rid of the focus on women’ (p. 139). This was based on her experience of being involved in a project funded by the Royal Netherland Embassy (RNE) in Yemen to build the capacity of the Rural Women’s General Directorate (RWGD) of the Ministry of Agriculture to advance the interest of women farmers. RNE spent money and rolled out the project to build the capacity of male extension workers in a country where male extension workers could not approach women and where women in the public sector were considered ‘illegitimate occupants’ (p. 140). Traditionally the directorates had considered men to be the farmers, ignoring women’s contribution and only taking care of men’s interests. She found that at the RNE the project remained a rolling stone as its responsibility often shifted between two sections of the embassy – Women and Development and Agriculture and
Rural Development. The Women and Development sector wanted to mainstream gender perspectives in Agriculture policies that addressed women’s concerns. But in the negotiations between RNE and the Ministry of Agriculture for further support, the Rural Women’s General Directorate was not given any importance and the project was axed by maintaining that the focus was on gender not women and that gender had been mainstreamed.

There is also evidence that women in institutions serve patriarchal institutional norms by opposing the entry of women aspiring to join development institutions. For example, Mukhopadhyay (2007: 141) conducted a workshop on gender mainstreaming in a large human rights organisation in Cambodia, in which the male director made it clear that for him gender mainstreaming was about more women in organisations, and he informed the participants that he had set the target of 30 percent women in the organisation. He faced resistance from a woman member who thought that employing more women meant lowering organisational standards, and other workshop participants agreed. They blamed the adoption of a gender policy and the employment of less qualified women for the poor performance of the NGO some two years after, but could not say how this had happened.

There is also an issue of a lack of fit between the gender issues raised in training sessions and the specific work under taken by the bureaucrats. Howard (2002), for instance, found that the majority of FAO (mostly male) officials six months after training felt there was no connection between gender issues and their work and ‘training was too “generic” to address the wide range of activities, processes, and subject areas that were represented within the organisation’ (p. 169). The lack of follow-up training also added to the feelings of a lack of relevance. This analysis, despite mentioning the activities and subject areas of organisations, still puts the onus of failure on the non-specificity of training, not on the
organisational mandate. Similarly, it supports the liberal view that gender training could challenge assumptions in the training process. Contrary to the popular perception of organisational resistance, Howard found men frequently discussing equity, equality and power relations, leading her to conclude that resistance was less common than assumed. True to the liberal view, the study proposed a focus on the opportunities rather than on the institutional, cultural and psychological impediments to change within the FAO.

The lack of fit between gender training and the later activities of bureaucrats has also been a key finding in another study that examined government officials in a different setting (Kusakabe 2005). In government offices of the Greater Mekong Sub-region (including Thailand, Cambodia and Laos), Kusakabe found an apparent disconnect between gender mainstreaming training and the later activities of the bureaucrats. The gender-trained bureaucrats had no idea of the activities they would be pursuing in the workplace and so the training enhanced awareness but still remained a meaningless activity for participants. Kusakabe suggested that the focus of gender mainstreaming must be reoriented to cover routine activities such as the visits of the project staff to the intended beneficiaries and the like. Such a process would enable the staff to understand the needs of beneficiaries and help create an enabling environment for gender mainstreaming. Similarly, the study identified lack of political commitment by the organisations and vagueness as to what gender mainstreaming meant, as the key factors that determined its lack of effectiveness.

In more relevant studies conducted in the context of NGOs, the problem of organisational arrangements has been identified as a problem in the implementation of gender mainstreaming. Elsa Dawson (2005), in the context of Oxfam Great Britain in 2001–2, identified the twin problem of the lack of integration of gender equality goals with
organisational systems and the lack of accountability of bureaucrats towards these goals. To her no amount of gender training would ‘convince staff to mainstream gender if achieving gender equality is not a clear goal set out in their strategic plan’ (Dawson 2005: 88). This has also been the finding of the situational analysis conducted by Mukhopadhyay (2004) in the Ethiopian ministries, in which she found that the Ministry of Education\textsuperscript{48} was outperforming the Ministry of Agriculture on gender mainstreaming, because gender equality was part of the mandate of the former, and not the latter.

Similarly, Tiessen (2007) in her study of NGOs in Malawi observed that even though NGOs used a number of initiatives such as training, awareness raising through workshops, redesigning of policies and ensuring more representation of women, these initiatives were not leading to institutional change, due to ‘gendered norms, attitudes and practices of individuals’ (ibid: 16) in the family and in society more broadly. Tiessen concluded that the prevailing organisational arrangements were a significant barrier to institutional change, as they maintained the status quo and ‘the privileging of male interests over female interests’ (ibid: 16). Tiessen suggested that gender inequality needs to be tackled within the development agencies as much as it needs to be tackled in client communities.

The above review of the literature shows that gender training has been presumed to be a solution for gender inequality in its own right, but the findings of scholars indicate an apparent disconnect between training, the activities of employees and agency mandates.

\textsuperscript{48} The Ministry of Education, in line with its goal, adopted an education sector development program to reduce the gender gap by increasing the enrolment rates of girls and made use of situational data of the Women Affairs Division located in the Ministry of Education. By contrast, Mukhopadhyay (2004) found that the declared policy of the Ministry of Agriculture was the capacity building of farmers for greater productivity, marketability and profitability. This ministry did not make use of data about situational differences between men and women in the agriculture sector. It also did not consider that how these developments would affect women.
Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the relationship of women with development in terms of the notions of representation, access to resources and changes in institutional structures that inform the three shifts in development practice: from Women in Development (WID) to Women and Development (WAD) and to Gender and Development (GAD). It has highlighted the limitation of WID and WAD in terms of their limited scope to effect change in the lives of women. It has reviewed how GAD was based on the disappointment with these approaches, and how the focus in development discourse eventually shifted from women to institutional structures as the cause of gender inequality. The lesson of the evolution of development thought on the problem of gender inequality is that while lack of participation and limited access to resources were important contributors to sex segregation in the labour market, these were not the causes but the effects of a deeper problem of institutional structures, which forms the basis of unequal gender relations. This explains why WID and WAD intervention did not, and could not, result in transformation of social relations. The Gender and Development gender mainstreaming approaches correctly attribute the problem of sex segregation in the labour market to patriarchal institutional structures but stumble by prioritising intervention including empowerment through the provision of finance and gender training. These interventions practised in a rather political and de-contextualised fashion result in a misappropriation of the transformative potential of the gender and development approach. The solution to the apparent failure of training is often seen as more training but no efforts are made to understand the institutional constraints in the way of gender equality. There is an automatic belief that training will result in the transformation of unequal gender relations. The relationship of training with the issues of representation, access to resources and change in institutional policies have
been examined. Research on the impact of training has generally been in the context of NGOs and not public sector organisations of the developing countries. As such, little if anything is known about how training relates to the issues of representation of women, access to resources and institutional policies in the context of developing countries.

The next chapter reviews the available literature on these issues in the context of Pakistan. It argues that, in the absence of specific institutional policies, gender training has assumed the status of a de facto policy to tackle gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan. This provides an opportunity to examine how, if at all, training relates to the issues of representation, access to resources and change in institutional policies.
CHAPTER 4: WOMEN’S REPRESENTATION, ACCESS TO RESOURCES AND INSTITUTIONAL PRACTICES IN PAKISTAN

Introduction

Pakistani society is strongly patriarchal in the way that women’s positions are mediated by zar (wealth), and zamin (land), and in the way that the degree of men’s honour depends on the possession and control of wealth, women and land (zar, zan, zamin) (Haeri 2002: 36). This chapter presents a review of the literature on how women are marginalised in and through the public sector institutions of Pakistan. It argues that development policies that prioritise women’s integration and representation in institutions (WID), women’s access to resources (WAD) and transformation in institutional policies (GAD) have seldom been practised in the public sector of Pakistan. As to the issue of the representation of women in the public sector, the chapter points out that while women work in all sectors of the economy, their representation in the public sector is abysmally low. This poor representation is despite constitutional and international guarantees, the recommendations of development agencies and commissions set up by the state of Pakistan to look at the issue. It is due in part to the lack of a comprehensive government policy and program on the equitable representation of women in public sector organisations. This point has not received sufficient attention from researchers and academics, who invariably focus on the representation of women in political institutions. This chapter attempts to bridge the gap by drawing parallels between the policies of representation in the political and public sector organisations to form the basis of research in the latter.

Similarly, as to the issue of women’s access to resources, which many feminists consider the main reason of gender inequality (England and Folbre 2005; Acker 2009; Kabeer 2009), there seems to be hardly any academic literature with reference to the public
sector in developing countries. This chapter draws on the more general literature that has discussed the issue of women’s access to resources to form the basis of further research on this important issue in the context of the public sector of Pakistan. This highlights the point that women in the public sector face a basic issue of access to social, legal, material and institutional resources. Lack of access to these resources and other resources such as childcare, accommodation and transport contributes to work-life imbalances and puts a disproportionately higher burden on working women compared to working men. The chapter also highlights the point that lack of access to resources for women begins at birth in the form of the preferences for sons through to the demand for and supply of education and employment, in all of which women are discriminated against due to the functioning of the state, the family and the society, which is patriarchal. Rather than being a driver of change through the equitable provision of resources to women, the public sector of Pakistan has been a preserver of the cultural values and traditions which form the basis of the structural disadvantage for women, with policies that deny the objective of gender equality.

The rules of the public sector that define the role of government employees in Pakistan do not mention gender equality or how that may be achieved. State social policies have a history of orthodoxy and political expediency, the continued practice of which has had grave social consequences for Pakistani women (Rashid 2009). The state of Pakistan for the most part of its existence has interpreted religion narrowly in a way that made household as the appropriate domain for women- a mechanism that facilitated men’s supremacy in the public domain that included politics and most of the public sector employment (Jalal 1991; Haeri 2002; Shaheed 2010). This has not only lowered the status of women as citizens of the state but has also resulted in social violence against them in the form of rape, battering and the denial of access to economic opportunities. Although the
effects of state policies and the betrayal of institutions to women in society have been well researched, in the case of Pakistan there is a dearth of research on institutional polices on gender equality in the public sector.

The response of development agencies, with a notional commitment to gender equality, has been mixed. For example, the World Bank has prioritised the provision of education to both boys and girls (World Bank 2005) but has not focused on a change in public sector policies. The Asian Development Bank has found that the uneducated women in Pakistan form the bulk of the informal sector of the labour force but there are structural barriers in terms of lack of government policies for the recruitment of educated women in the public sector (ADB 2008). However, while the ADB supports the policy of equitable representation of women in the public sector (ADB 2009b), it has not looked at the issue of access to resources or at policies on organisational mandates and other issues such as sexual harassment, which are necessary to make progress towards the elimination of sex segregation in the public sector.

While these issues have been largely ignored in academic research, reports commissioned by the Government of Pakistan and the development strategies of the donor agencies have led to a surge in the collective focus of donor agencies on imparting gender training to public sector employees as a solution to the issue of gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan.49 As gender training in the public sector of Pakistan has assumed a de facto policy status, the question arises as to whether training relates to the key issues of representation, access to resources and institutional practices. The following sections review the available literature about each issue in the context of Pakistan.

49 This has been led by UNDP.
Women's Representation

Equality of opportunities and the equitable representation of women have been central to the social theories of sex segregation in the labour market. The first steps for the equitable representation of women in Pakistan were taken in the 1973 constitution\(^{50}\) of Pakistan\(^{51}\) (GOP 1973b; Munir 1976; Weiss 1986; Raza 1997). This has also been the core principle of the Women in Development approach that was formalised at the Mexico Conference in which Pakistan was one of the 133 participating states (UN 1976: 120). Despite this, the representation of women in the public sector remains abysmally low, with women constituting less than 5 percent of the public sector of Pakistan (GOP 1998; GOP 2003; GOP 2006b). The representation of women in the senior decision-making positions in the public sector is negligible (GOP 1998:43; Weiss 2003). The majority of women in the public sector are concentrated in traditionally female-dominated professions such as education and health care and women have rarely held senior positions (GOP 1998; GOP 2003). In the male-dominated public sector organisations such as Agriculture, Planning and Development, Economic Affairs and Industries, women's representation is negligible (ibid.). The Report on Status of Women Employment in Public Sector Organizations sums up the situation of representation of women as follows (GOP 2003):

\(^{50}\) The chapter on 'Fundamental Rights' contained some very specific articles on equality between men and women. For example, Article 25: (1) All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law. (2) There shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone. (3) Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the protection of women and children.

The Chapter on the 'Principles of Policy' also contained women-related articles. For example, Article 32: The State shall encourage local Government institutions composed of elected representatives of the areas concerned and in such institutions special representation will be given to peasants, workers and women. Article 34. Steps shall be taken to ensure full participation of women in all spheres of national life.

\(^{51}\) Munir (1976: 215–16) considered these measures as inadequate for being included in the principles of policy rather than fundamental rights, which meant that infringement would not be a cause for legal action.
Pakistan is characterized by a virtual absence of women at effective policy making and administrative levels. It appears that there is a deliberate effort to detract them from becoming administrators or managers (p. 7).

As an example, the following table highlights the low representation of women at the higher end\(^{52}\) of the public sector organisations in the Federal Government of Pakistan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVEL</th>
<th>TOTAL MANAGEMENT</th>
<th>M %</th>
<th>F %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Executive levels</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Management</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1682</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Management</td>
<td>3614</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management</td>
<td>6303</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>12618</strong></td>
<td><strong>88</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Thirteenth Census of Federal Government Civil Servants (GOP 2006b: 51)

The above table illustrates that women are minimally present\(^{53}\) in all organisational positions but their absence at the executive levels is significant. At the senior management and middle management levels, the seemingly greater representation of women actually involves a count of women in the education and health professions, with very few women in other organisations such as Agriculture, Industries and Finance. This is illustrated in the following table.

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\(^{52}\) This table shows the percentage of women at the higher levels and not the total percentage of women in the public sector which also includes other levels from 1 to 16. When they are included, the overall percentage is about 5 percent. Public sector organisations in Pakistan are hierarchical and as per the report of the NCGR, 85 percent of the salary and wages bill in the federal government is disbursed to the employees in subordinate scales from 1 to 16 and only 15 percent from scales 17 to 22 (NCGR 2008: 58). The commission taking note of this skewed organisational hierarchy with its wide base has recommended 'the restructuring of Government at the Federal, Provincial levels, strengthening of the district governments, reorganisation of civil services, revamping of human resource management policies and practices, reengineering of business processes' (p. 5). It is pertinent to mention that the middle, senior and executive management levels are considered decision makers and the lower levels (Scale 1 to 16) are considered support staff whose main job is record keeping. Since gender training is provided to the middle and senior management levels, therefore this thesis is concerned with middle and senior management levels and has included research participants from Scales 17, 18 and 19.

\(^{53}\) This is also skewed by professional categories of doctors and teachers in health and education.
Table 4.2: Federal Government Divisions/Organisations, Management Levels in %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEPARTMENTS</th>
<th>TOTAL NUMBERS</th>
<th>MIDDLE MANAGEMENT</th>
<th>SENIOR MANAGEMENT</th>
<th>EXECUTIVE LEVEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M %</td>
<td>F %</td>
<td>M %</td>
<td>F %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food, Agriculture &amp; Livestock</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industries</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>771</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishment</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabinet</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing &amp; Works</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communications</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>1077</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>782</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Thirteenth Census of Federal Government Civil Servants (GOP 2006b).

The above table illustrates that women’s representation in organisations such as Agriculture and Planning and Development is abysmal, compared to their representation in education and health-related public sector organisations. There are hardly any women at the executive management levels in any of these ministries, including Education and Health. At the middle management level, many of the employees in Education and Health are teachers and doctors, respectively. If only the civil servants were counted, the numbers in Education and Health would be very much lower.

This raises the question whether women do not work or whether something else is involved. The review of the literature suggests that while the majority of women work in every sector of the economy, their participation is not recognised or facilitated by the state (Davidson 1998; Iftikhar, Ali et al. 2007; Amin, Ali et al. 2010; BBC 2011). Women’s
willing participation in different sectors of the economy does not give them an automatic right of representation in the male-dominated public sector organisations. For example, Agriculture is considered the biggest sector of Pakistani economy and accounts for 22 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GOP 2010b). This sector employs 45.1 percent of the total labour force, with women making up 74 percent of the total (GOP 2010b). Women’s representation in the Agriculture Ministry is minimal (GOP 2006b), but when the reality of women’s life in the rural areas is seen, one finds that more women than men are involved in agricultural farming (Davidson 1998; Iftikhar, Ali et al. 2007; Ishaq and Farooq 2007; Afzal, Ali et al. 2009; Amin, Ali et al. 2009). Women do not benefit from their participation in agricultural and livestock activities (Hashmi, Maann et al. 2007; Shafiq 2008; GOP 2010b; Amin, Ali et al. 2010). The land they work on belongs to the men (Naz, Ullah et al. 2010) and so women’s contributions are undervalued and their choices\(^\text{54}\) are constrained (Afzal, Ali et al. 2009; Khan, REA and Khan, T 2010). In urban areas women work in both the informal and formal sectors of the economy and include manufacturing and service workers, unskilled factory workers, vendors, home-based workers, domestic servants, telephone operators, travel agents, nurses, computer operators, clerical workers, receptionists and office secretaries for doctors, teachers and bank officials (Qureshi 2000; Maqsood, Ch et al. 2005; Khan, REA and Khan, T 2009). Their status is linked to their type of occupation and this can be very low (Sathar and Kazi 1988 in Sathar et al., 1988). Some professions such as teaching and medicine are considered appropriate for women, while domestic labour and nursing are accorded low social status (Wolf 1986; Lee and Saeed

\(^{54}\) According to Hashmi et al. (2007), although men usually consider livestock as a means of poverty reduction, they only encourage women to participate strictly under the cultural and societal imprints which allow physical and monetary control to men over women. Shafiq (2008) points out that the extent to which women benefit from livestock depends solely on men. From the point of this research, as women’s overwhelming participation in agriculture, livestock production and management does not automatically grant them the right of representation in the public sector organisations dealing with agriculture and livestock, where their participation remains low, their participation emerges as a legitimate research issue.
French, Watters et al. (1994) argue that women’s increasing preference for the medical profession is related to the fast expansion and accessibility of medical schools, which have grown from five to twenty in two decades, but in other sectors society and the state are involved in maintaining the low status of working women:

Discrimination against girls by both the family and the state has resulted in women being employed in the least satisfying, lowest paying and least upwardly mobile jobs. Traditionally, women are excluded from employment opportunities that presuppose contact with men (p. 142).

In the public sector, women’s absence from senior positions as well as many occupations is also linked to the promotion policies of the Government of Pakistan. The rules stipulate that promotion is on the basis of seniority cum fitness (GOP 2007a). Even if quotas for women were increased to 50 percent at the entry level, given the present rules in the elite services with fast-track promotion,\(^{55}\) it would still require 22 years as a minimum length of service\(^{56}\) to be considered for promotion to Scale 22 (GOP 1973a; GOP 2007a). That is, it would still take 20 years for a major impact to be felt. Women entering the public sector through quotas or on merit in competitive examination still would not reach senior positions till the minimum length of service is attained. This would result in the

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\(^{55}\) The Civil Servants (Appointment, Promotion and Transfer) Rules 1973 Clause 8-A states: ‘No promotion on regular basis shall be made to posts in basic pay scales 17 to 22 and equivalent unless the officer concerned has completed such minimum length of service, attended such training and passed such departmental examination, as may be prescribed from time to time’. However, in professions which do not fall in the elite services category, it is well known that promotion for both women and men is much delayed beyond the minimum length of service as prescribed by the rules. Many people retire at the age of 60 in middle management levels and few make it up to senior management levels.

\(^{56}\) The ESTACODE refers to Establishment Division Office Memorandum No.1/9/80-R.2 dated 2-6-1983 which prescribes the rules for promotion in Scales 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21. It states: ‘Minimum length of service for eligibility for promotion for various grades. In pursuance of rule 8-A of the Civil Servants (Appointment, Promotion and Transfer) Rules, 1973, and in supersession of the instructions laid down in the Establishment Division’s M.No.1/9/80 R.II(A), dated the 12th January, 1981, (Annexure), the President is pleased to decide that the minimum length of service for promotion to various grades shall be as follows: For Grade 18, [five] 5 years in Grade 17. For Grade 19, [twelve] 12 years in Grade 17 and above. For Grade 20 [seventeen] 17 years in Grade 17 and above. For Grade 21 [twenty-two] 22 years in Grade 17 and above’.

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maintenance of gendered organisational hierarchies and the *status quo* as far as women are concerned for some time.

**Map of Pakistan**

![Map of Pakistan](image)

*The State and the Policies of Representation of Women*

Pakistan has had a history of attempts at affirmative action both in the political and the public sector institutions (Graff 2003; Krook and Hall 2009; Mushtaq 2009) but it is only in the political institutions of the state parliament and local assemblies that quota policies have been proactively used to address the issue of the representation of women (GOP 1998; Reyes 2002; GOP 2003; Graff 2003; Shirin M. Rai, Nafisa Shah et al. 2007; Bano 2009). For example, the constitutions of 1956, 1962 and 1973 and the constitutional
amendments in 1985 stipulated 3 percent, 2.75 percent, 5 percent, and 10 percent quotas for women respectively for representation in the political institutions but not in the public sector organisations (Graff 2003; Shirin M. Rai, Nafisa Shah et al. 2007). These quotas were increased to an all time high level of 17 percent during the Musharraf (1999–2007) (Reyes 2002; Graff 2003). The Local Government Ordinance (2001) mandated 33 percent quotas for women elected to Union Councils (Reyes 2002; Graff 2003; Shirin M. Rai, Nafisa Shah et al. 2007; Khattak 2010). While quotas in political institutions strengthened the grip of the elite, these elite women, however, continued to face discrimination in these political institutions (Bari 2010). There has been some political space for women (Reyes 2002), as quotas have resulted in the passing over of some political power ‘from fathers to daughters instead of sons only’ (Bano 2009: 19).

The trajectory of inclusive policies in the public sector organisations has been different from that of the political institutions, as for the public sector the prime objective of quota policies has been equitable representation in the federal bureaucracy from all provinces with disproportionate populations (Waseem 1997; Mushtaq 2009), rather than

57 17% quota meant 60/357 seats in the Federal assembly, 66/390 in Punjab, 29/171 in Sind, 22/130 in NWFP and 11/67 in Baluchistan Provincial Assemblies.

58 According to Reyes (2002), as a result of these changes, in the direct local bodies elections held in 2000-01, as many as 36,187 women were elected; two of them became Nazis, one Naib Nazim and eleven Union Council Nazim.

Nazim is the head of an administrative unit (district or sub-unit) as per the new local government system introduced by the Musharraf Government through the promulgation of a Local Government Ordinance in 2001. The local government system is based on five principles of devolution of political power, distribution of resources to the districts, monitoring by citizens, decentralisation of management functions and operational autonomy to district level offices. The district government is headed by a Nazim.

59 By contrast, the implementation of quotas by the Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) at the smaller administrative level (district as against province) since the 1970s has greatly helped to achieve inter-district parity in the representation of people in the public sector organisations. In AJK population-based quotas are spread into twelve categories: District Neelum 3.3 percent, District Muzaffarabad 12.15 percent, District Hattian Bala 4.55 percent, District Bagh 7.17 percent, District Haveli 2.83 percent, District Pooneh 9 percent, District Sudhnoti 6 percent, District Kotli 13 percent, District Mirpur 9 percent, District Bhimber 8 percent, Refugees (1947) 19 percent, and Refugees (1989) 6 percent.
on the basis of gender or other social markers\(^{60}\) (Adeney 2009). Quotas for women in the public sector at the federal level were introduced in 1989 with 5 percent quotas for women in all federal ministries (GOP 2003: 11) but the condition which applied the policy to only entry level recruitment and not promotion made it ineffective\(^{61}\) (GOP 2003: 11). A decade later in 1998, the Federal Government again issued a notification reserving a 5 percent quota for women in the public sector, but both Punjab, the most populous province, and Baluchistan, the largest in area, did not endorse it, and NWFP reduced the quota to 2 percent, with only Sind endorsing the policy (GOP 2003: 11). In 2006 the government lifted the entry level quota to 10 percent but without a mechanism for implementation (GOP 2007b). While quotas have been instrumental for women’s increased representation in the political institutions, a quota policy for the public sector has largely been a failure due to the lack of acceptance of quotas and the meaninglessly low levels that have been set.

There has been a push for an affirmative action policy for the public sector since the mid 1990s (GOP 1998; GOP 2003). In 1998 the National Plan of Action recommended a 25 percent quota for women in all\(^{62}\) public semi-autonomous and government organisations (GOP 1998: 55) and at least 5 percent women at all levels of the public sector agencies (ibid.). The plan also suggested an increase in the upper age limit to 35 for women intending to join public sector organisations, as well as a relaxation in age limit for the re-entry of women in public sector organisations (ibid.). In 2000, the Asian Development

\(^{60}\) Adeney (2009) considers it failure of federalism which has overlooked issues of representation in the federal bureaucracy as well as access to resources in relation to marginalised groups and thus fuelled the identity crisis for the ethnic groups. However, this analysis does not discuss these issues with reference to women.

\(^{61}\) Under promotion rules which mandate vacancy and years of service, a 5 or 10 percent quota for women would never see them reach senior levels. To seek a change even after the next 20 years or so, the quota would have to be well over 50 percent.

\(^{62}\) These included Ministries of Women's Development, Establishment Division, Women's Development Departments, Federal Bureau of Statistics, Services and General Administration Departments, and Planning and Development Departments in provinces, as well as autonomous and semi-autonomous bodies, banking institutions and advisory boards.
Bank suggested a further quota increase to 30 percent (ADB 2000; Khattak 2010). In 2003, the National Commission on Status of Women noted that the previous government announcements of quotas had not been formalised through inclusion in the ESTACODE\textsuperscript{63} (GOP 2003: 9; GOP 2007a), and recommended the adoption and implementation of quotas at all levels of public sector institutions, service groups, and regulatory and statutory authorities (GOP 2003: xiv).

The subject of women's representation in administrative system of the government has received very little attention, if at all, from either the government or private sector interest groups. As far as the efforts of the government are concerned, these have remained limited to announcements for reservations of quota in jobs (p. 1).

In 2005, a four-year program, Gender Reform Action Plan\textsuperscript{64} (GRAP), aimed to advance the status of women and their participation in the public sector at federal, provincial and district levels through an ambitious plan of restructuring the women's machinery in government, with a minimum of 10 percent quota for women in the superior civil services and 50 percent of posts falling vacant in Basic Pay Scales being filled through fresh recruitment and promotion of women (Shirin M. Rai, Nafisa Shah et al. 2007). These recommendations have yet to be translated into a comprehensive policy for the equitable representation of women in the public sector.

In sum, the representation of women in the public sector remains low with policy recommendations for quotas generally ignored. This raises the question that if

\textsuperscript{63} The ESTACODE regulates the service condition of government employees.

\textsuperscript{64} According to the Plan, the Ministries of 1) Finance, 2) Law, Justice and Human Rights, 3) Labour and Manpower, 4) Information and Broadcasting, 5) Planning and Development Division, 6) Establishment Division, 7) Education, Social Welfare and Special Education, along with the National Commission on the Status of Women, the Federal Bureau of Statistics, Provincial Women Development Departments and GRAPs, District Governments and the Women Development and Social Welfare Department Government of AJ&K were declared strategic partners in the implementation of the Plan. The important sectors of reform included 1) Political Participation by Women, 2) Institutional Restructuring, 3) Women Employment in Public Sector, 4) Policy, Budgeting and Public Expenditure Mechanism (Gender Responsive), and lastly related Capacity Building Interventions.
recommendations are consistently ignored, then can women’s representation in the public sector of Pakistan be achieved through the adoption of training as a policy for gender equality in public sector organisations?

The Issue of Women’s Access to Resources

Both economic theories of sex segregation in the labour market and the Women and Development approaches discussed in Chapter 2 have argued that gender inequality results from women’s lack of access to resources as argued at the Nairobi Women’s UN Conference (UN 1980). More general research on the public sector of Pakistan indicates that state institutions usually focus on men for the provision of resources such as training and development facilities, implying that women belonged to the household (Iftikhar, Ali et al. 2007; Shafiq 2008). Development interventions such as credit and training for people involved in the agriculture sector often assume that men are the farmers and not women (Afzal, Ali et al. 2009). As a result, women are deprived of technical guidance, formal training and information resources to carry out these activities, as much as they are denied formal education and security (Iftikhar, Ali et al. 2007). The more relevant evidence for the purpose of this research on access to resources comes from studies which have indicated that women who join the public sector face severe problem of access to transport65 and other facilities such as toilets, daycare centres and accommodation66 (Qureshi 2000; Maqsood, Ch et al. 2005). For example, Faisal (2010) analysed the perceptions of three hundred female public servants from Islamabad and found that the satisfaction level about the provision of facilities such as toilets, transport and childcare facilities was lowest

65 Maqsood et al. (2005) found that 34 percent of women had experienced transport problems.

66 Qureshi found that all women in her study complained about the inadequacy of facilities in their hostels; 23 percent considered transport as the number one issue; 18 percent complained of homesickness for not being able to visit their homes due to job considerations and transport problems.
among women employees. The other key resource is access to education and training within the public sector and before joining.

The Social Connection in Access to Resources

In Pakistan the issue of who gets what is tied from the very beginning to a disproportional right of access to life in the form of a strong social preference for sons (Hussain, Fikree et al. 2000; Winkvist and Akhtar 2000; Shah, Khan et al. 2006). Sarkar and Midi (2009) found 71 percent of the people reported preferring a son ahead of a daughter. Often parents desire sons, and only when women have given birth to two or more sons do they want a daughter (Hussain, Fikree et al. 2000; Muhammad 2009). Sons are socially privileged in terms of access to life skills and support such as education, with daughters disadvantaged from the very beginning, a feature shared by all South Asian societies including India, Bangladesh and Nepal (Jayaraman, Mishra et al. 2009; Brunson 2010; Echávarri and Ezcura 2010; Sultana 2010; Vikram and Vanneman 2010). Both socio-economic uncertainties for the family and the policies of the state may be implicated in the lesser right of access to life, skills and support for girls and women (Sen 1992; 2001; Basu and de Jong 2010; Begum, Dwivedi et al. 2010; Vikram and Vanneman 2010).

The evidence from India indicates that aspects of social security such as that of the earning potential of the children and prospects of the support of parents in their old age result in a preference for sons (Ahmad 2010). In China having a son is as much a result of parent’s desire for support in old age as it is due to China’s pursuance of the one-child

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67 Winkvist and Akhtar (2000) in their study noted one Pakistani women praying ‘that no daughters are born in poor people’s houses; if God wants to give daughters He should give them to rich people only (khuda agar beti daina chahta he to ameer logoon ko day)’ (p. 77) because it is the rich people who have access to resources.
policy (Hesketh 2009; Zhu, Lu et al. 2009). Likewise in Pakistan, the consideration of dowry and the perceived need of support in old age put boys ahead of girls in family preference. Khan, T and Khan, REA (2010) maintain that, ‘As son brings benefits to his parents, daughter imposes costs, consequently, complementing a desire to have son is a desire not to have daughter’ (p. 15). It is no surprise then that sex-selective abortion has been described as one reason for what Amartya Sen calls the ‘hundred million’ missing women worldwide, the bulk of whom is concentrated in China, India, Bangladesh and Pakistan (1990; Sen 1992; 1998; 2001; Dahl 2007; Sharma 2008) and what has been referred to as genocide in the case of China and India (George 2006; Sharma 2008). In Pakistan the percentage of missing girls has fallen from 11 percent in 1981 to 6.8 percent in 1998, a marked improvement but still a large number (Hesketh and Xing 2006). While these scholars attribute the phenomenon to economic reasons, religion also plays a part. Singh et al. (2010), for instance, in their research including Pakistani and Indian diasporas in Norway, both economically better off, found a smaller proportion of the Pakistani community practicing sex selection than the Indian community. This has been attributed to the Islamic faith, which strongly denounces the practice of female infanticide (Rispler Chaim, 2008, Giladi, 1990, Hassan, 1995, Kadio lu, 1994, Mazrui, 1994).

Access to Education

Education is generally considered a gateway to employment and a transformative resource for gender equality (Stromquist 2006; Durrani 2008; Hussain 2008; Latif 2009; Malik and Courtney 2010) and is a human right in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and CEDAW (UNG 1948; UN 1979). In Pakistan education has been listed under the principles of policy (GOP 1973b; GOP 2009) and the higher the educational attainment, the greater the chance of better public sector employment and vice versa (Naqvi and
Shahnaz 2004; Faridi, Malik et al. 2010; Malik, Faridi et al. 2010). In Pakistan, however, citizens’ access to education is abysmally low, with an adult literacy rate of just 50 percent, the lowest in South Asia\(^6\) (GOP 2009; Latif 2009), and the female literacy rate is just 35.2 percent (Latif 2009). The gender gap in education is more pronounced in the rural areas (Chaudhry and Rehman 2009) where the female literacy rate is 25 percent and the overall girls’ enrolment in primary schools is only 20 percent. The majority of women in Pakistan have no access to education as a resource for employment (Latif 2009) and so they are forced to take low-paid jobs (Khan, REA and Khan, T 2009).

*Low Demand for and Poor Supply of Education*

Girls’ access to education is arguably constrained by the economically-driven low demand for female education in Pakistan (Mahmood 2004; Aslam and Kingdon 2008) with evidence of low enrolments and low household expenditure on female education (Aslam and Kingdon 2008), suggesting it is an issue of demand rather than supply. In a sample drawn from the last Pakistan Integrated Household Survey (2001–02) of 14,680 households, there was a significant gender bias in favour of boys in both enrolment and expenditure on education (Aslam and Kingdon 2008). This was more pronounced in the rural areas generally and in Balochistan, NWFP and FATA specifically. The male education bias was above the age of 10, after which girls were not encouraged to continue their education. Most of this was found in the rural areas where girls were systematically kept out of the school system. There is an argument that it is the poor supply of education rather than demand that limits girls’ access to education (Barber 2010), due to persistent neglect of education by the state (Khan, A 1997; Khalid and Khan 2006; GOP 2009; Barber

\(^{6}\) The National Education Policy, GOP (2009) acknowledges that the adult literacy rate (2004-05) for Pakistan is much less than for other countries such as India (61%), Iran (82.4%), Sri Lanka (90.7%), Indonesia (90.4%), Vietnam (90.3%) and even Egypt (71.4%).
2010). Less than 2.5 percent of GDP expenditure is allocated for education overall (GOP 2009) with female education\(^6\) being ignored, most obviously in rural areas (Latif, 2009, Aslam and Kingdon, 2008, Halai, 2010). ‘The reason so many children are not in school is not lack of will on the part of parents; it is a failure of provision by the state’ (Barber 2010: 3). Barber has identified poor facilities, poor location and the unsatisfactory experiences of parents with the state education system as the main causes for parents not sending girls for education. Moreover, one quarter of the teachers do not go to work daily, 60 percent of government schools are without electricity and 34 percent are without water. As a result, thousands of approved schools, mainly in the interior, are not open for any day of the year and are known as ‘ghost schools’\(^7\) (For example, Bray 1983; Keefer, Narayan et al. 2003; Kronstadt 2004; Candland 2005; Upadhyay, Barton et al. 2005; Belt 2007; Ahmad and Junaid 2010). This lack of access to education thus results in poor prospects for jobs in the public sector. But what explains the absence of women in male-dominated professions in situations where demand and supply of education seem to be a non-issue such as in AJK?

Demand and Supply of Education in Azad Jammu and Kashmir

The demand and supply of education in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) has been a priority for the government,\(^7\) with the gross enrolment ratio of boys 95 percent and girls 88 percent (GOAJK 2009), as well as the ratio of female and male students in the

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\(^6\) Ali et al. (2005) in their study involving 150 respondents from District Bhakkar, Tehsil Darya Khan, found that 99.3 percent of the surveyed population was in favour of education and 44 percent believed that educating females makes them good housewives. The researchers also found a significant relationship between the education of the respondents and their views about female employment.

\(^7\) According to Upadhyay et al. (2005), in Pakistan the term ‘ghost school’ is used for schools that only exist on paper, not in reality; in the case of such schools, government monetary allocations are divided among individuals for personal benefit.

\(^7\) According to GOAJK (2009) ‘Education has been a priority of the Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir as about 26 % of its total recurring budget besides 8 % of the total development budget is allocated to this sector’ (p. 6). As against this, the federal government of Pakistan since the 1980s has spent less than 2 percent of its budget on education, which shows the difference in priority of the two governments.
government colleges being almost equal (See Appendix 3). This high demand for and supply of female education has resulted in relatively equal numbers of men and women employed in educational institutions such as schools and universities (See Appendix 3). However, despite the demand and supply of education targeting girls, with the exception of the Education Department, the representation of women in other government departments remains minimal. More than the demand and supply of education, it is the policy consideration of the appropriate role of women which allows them to join traditionally female professions such as education but restricts them from traditionally male professions, which affects women’s employment in the government services.

*Access to Education beyond Demand and Supply*

It is important to go beyond the issue of demand and supply of education to focus on the policies of the state on the content of education, which is modelled on the traditional roles of men and women (Naseem 2004; Naseem 2006; Durrani 2008). Education has been arguably used as a policy tool for the reproduction of culture and social systems (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990; Halai 2010) and in Pakistan, the policy uses education to produce and reproduce divisive gendered identities of citizens (Naseem 2006; Durrani 2008). In the North West Frontier Province (NWFP), Durrani (2008), in a textual analysis of state-provided Class Five textbooks, found that gendered identity was meshed with national

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72 Durrani (2008) also found that in the category of ‘everyday characters’ 57.8 percent were found to be male, and 42.1 percent female, and the smaller gap in this category was due to the English textbook, in which 57.1 percent were male and 48.2 percent were female. Furthermore, English textbooks were authored by four females, the Urdu by three males and one female, and Social Studies by all males. The researcher also found that Urdu and Social Studies textbooks included 84.8 percent male and only 15.1 percent female icons. This minimal representation of women in the textbooks was echoed in the students’ drawings; boys’ drawings contained no images of girls and only images of men, usually carrying a flag or saluting; girls’ drawings contained more images of men and fewer women; girls’ drawings showed men as saluting and active with women in cooking activities or simply passive as clad in national dress.
and Islamic identity and education, and was being used as a tool to maintain, reproduce and reinforce gendered social hierarchies. In textbooks iconic Muslim women such as Hazrat Khadija (Prophet’s wife), Hazrat Fatima (Prophet’s daughter) are described as obedient wives and mothers, while the men are portrayed as warriors. The message for the girls is that the role of women in Pakistan after marriage is only that of obedient wives, while the message for the boys is that a life of chivalry and heroism modelled on the pattern of the male iconic figures awaits them. Men have been using educational material to justify their control in the name of religion for a long time (Jalal 1991; Robinson 2004). The argument that policy rather than being a driver of change has been used by men to perpetuate so-called cultural values is reflected in the objective in the National Education Policy (GOP 2009):

All policy interventions shall fall within the parameters identified in the Principles of Policy ... [for] developing Pakistani children as proud Pakistani citizens having strong faith in religion and religious teachings as well as the cultural values and traditions of the Pakistani society (p. 9).

These cultural values are largely patriarchal.

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73 Textbook analysis revealed that in the category of illustrations through pictures, 78 percent were male as against only 21 percent female. The researcher also found that Urdu and Social Studies textbooks included 85 percent male and only 15 percent female icons.

74 The text shows how Hazrat Khadija, the prophet’s wife, was a ‘successful trade woman’ to the extent that her ‘trade caravan was so huge that all the trade caravans of Quresh put together could not match hers’ and how after marriage she delegated ‘the prophet with her wealth’ and got ‘herself busy in the domestic chores’ (Urdu textbook pages 79–80 in Durrani, 2008: 602). By contrast, these textbooks used iconic male personalities of the Islamic faith such as Hazrat Imam Hussain as well as of the Mughal era such as Tipu Sultan to show how they died fighting the enemy.

75 For example, Ayesha Jalal (1991) notes how Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanawi’s (1864-1943) influential book Bihisht Zewar (‘Jewels of Paradise’) written in the early 20th century was used as a guide for respectable women. This actually set the norms to control and condition women of the sub-continent in the name of Islam.
The Issue of Public Sector Policies and Practices in Pakistan

As pointed out above, Pakistan generally suffers from a policy deficit on gender relations. This argument is supported by reform commissions and reports which have recommended restructuring the government, policies, and the public sector organisations to be more gender inclusive (GOP-NCGR 2008; ICG 2010). Public sector policies in Pakistan do not mention gender equality and tend to preserve the status quo, which continues to disadvantage women. For example, the allocation of business to government ministries and departments is the prerogative of the Cabinet Division (GOP 1973c: 72) and in its guiding policy, with the exception of the Ministry of Women’s Development, the words ‘gender’ or ‘women’ or even ‘equality’ appear nowhere in the listed mandates of the 31 heads and 52 divisions (GOP 1973c). For the Women Development Division, their mandate is:

1. Matters relating to formulation of public policies and laws to meet the special needs of women, ensuring that woman’s interests and needs are adequately represented in public policy formulation by various organs and agencies of Government.

2. Assistance to women’s organisations.

3. Promotion and undertaking of projects for providing special facilities for women.

4. Promotion and undertaking of training and research on the conditions and problems of women.

5. Representing Pakistan at international and bilateral level, involving all gender related matters.

76 Most policy documents use gendered language such as ‘he’, ‘him’ and ‘his’ (for example, ESTACODE), and suggest a male-dominated culture. The ESTACODE prescribes the conduct and discipline matters of government servants in the following words: (15). Conduct. The conduct of a civil servant shall be regulated by rules made, or instructions issued, by Government or a prescribed authority, whether generally or in respect of a specified group or class of civil servants. (16). Efficiency and discipline. A civil servant shall be liable to prescribed disciplinary action and penalties in accordance with the prescribed procedure (p. 28). The webpage of the Establishment Division reads: ‘The words “he”, “his”, “him”, “himself” used in this document, shall be deemed to denote the words “she”, “her” and “herself”.'
6. Matters relating to equality of opportunity in education and employment and the fuller participation of women in all spheres of national life (pp. 72–73).

However, when the role of the Women Development Division is examined in the overall context of the functioning of the Government of Pakistan, the Women and Development Division is not part of Cabinet Committees\(^\text{77}\) chaired by the Prime Minister (GOP 2010d) but a part of the Social Sector Coordination Committee of the Cabinet (SSCC). The role is one of monitoring and project implementation rather than gender equality: ‘To review and monitor the progress of all projects/programmes and activities in the social sector in order to ensure effective utilization of funds and their speedy implementation’ (GOP 2010d). Both its position and its mandate suggest the Ministry of Women Development is itself marginalised within government.

*Sexual Harassment in the Workplace*

The Alliance Against Sexual Harassment notes that an ‘aggressive work environment’ caused by sexual harassment\(^\text{78}\) discourages women who have joined any gainful or fulfilling employment and promotion (AASHA 2010). Until recently there have been no policies regarding this issue. However, this has recently begun to attract the attention of civil society organisations. For example, they have promoted a bill entitled Protection against Harassment of Women at Workplace Act (AASHA 2010; GOP 2010c) and the Pakistan Penal Code Act has been amended to include a section entitled ‘Insulting

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\(^{77}\) The other committees include: Cabinet Committee on Agriculture (CCA), Cabinet Committee on Energy (CCE), Cabinet Committee on Investment (CCOI), Cabinet Committee on Privatization (CCOP), and Cabinet Committee on Regulatory Bodies (CCRB).

\(^{78}\) AASHA (2010: Background) has given following examples of sexual harassment: ‘At home: giving less importance to the girl child, belittling her, trivialising the woman working at home, not allowing her to take decisions, inflicting violence, etc. On the streets: catcalling, touching, putting down, making fun, intimidating and singing to tease women. In the buses: touching, pushing, humiliating, swearing and using vulgar language. In public places: staring, touching, intimidating, shoving, aggressively stopping the way, restricting entrance to places, chasing and inflicting violence. At workplace: leering, staring, making passes, discriminating, abusing authority for sexual favours, asking out, flirting, inflicting violence.’
modesty or causing sexual harassment” through which sexual harassment has been made a crime punishable with imprisonment (GOP 2010a) but to date there have been no convictions. Sexual harassment is generally considered a taboo subject and women generally avoid talking about it. For example, from the report (GOP 2003) on the Status of Women’s Employment in Public Sector:

A large number of female respondents were reluctant to discuss the details with regard to sexual harassment but nearly 80 percent conceded that it did exist but unfortunately always went unreported, as they did not know who to turn to and also due to the fear of a backlash (p. xiv).

The efforts of civil society organisations to fill the policy deficit as in the enactment of the act on sexual harassment, however, call into question a deeper analysis of the role of the state in the formation of policies regarding women.

Policies and Political Expediency

Haeri and others argue that Pakistan has largely framed its policies on the sex of employees as a ploy to control women in the family, the community and the public sector (Jalal 1991; Haeri 2002; Shaheed 2010), with statecraft adopting the notions of religious orthodoxy that explicitly declare control over women as the sign of Islamising society (Jalal 1991; Haeri 2002; Shaheed 2010). This exercise of political expediency reached its zenith when General Zia ul Haq usurped state power in a military coup in 1977 and then started using Islam as a proxy for the political legitimacy of his regime (Shaheed 2010) by

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79 There is little academic literature on sexual harassment in Pakistan but anecdotal evidence, newspaper reports and even TV programs have highlighted the sexual harassment of women in workplaces such as NGOs and public sector universities.

80 Shaheed (2010) points out that the religious riots in 1953 were supported by the provincial government of Punjab to destabilise the central government. Similarly, when in 1965 General Ayub Khan faced the challenge of election from Miss Fatima Jinnah, he solicited religious opinion which pronounced that a woman cannot become the head of state in a Muslim country.
appeasing the religious orthodoxy through his Islamisation program. This involved massive legal innovations to institutionalise gender inequality in the laws of Pakistan such as changes to the Evidence Act, property rights and marriage laws (Mullally 2005b; Weiss 2003; Kennedy 1988; Mehdi 1997). Zia also co-opted Jamaat-e-Islami, the right wing religious political party, into his cabinet with the result that Jamaat’s narrow outlook towards women, based on the views of Maulana Maududi who considered purdah (veil), sex segregation and an emphasis on the domestic roles of women as the prerequisites for the creation of an Islamic society (Bahadur 1975; Mayer 1991; Ahmed 2007), began to be reflected in the policies of the new regime (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987). For example, the Evidence Act was amended in 1984 to conform it to Islamic injunctions; that meant reducing the value of a woman’s testimony to half that of a man (1985; 1986; Weiss

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81 The Islamisation program has been described by Weiss (1985) as ‘unparalleled in the modern history of Islam in South Asia’ (p. 863). It covered four areas of social life: economy, judiciary, legal code and educational policy. The economic measures included the introduction of a system of charity (Zakat), the abolition of interest (Riba) and a new interest-free banking system on the pattern of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. This did not adversely affect women because the majority of women worked for subsistence. Conversely, widows and orphans are believed to have benefited to some degree from the amount of charity distributed among them. In his address to the parliament (Majlis-e-Shura) in 1983, Zia disclosed that his government had distributed an amount of 200 million US dollars to the poor and needy. However, the legal reforms including the promulgation of the Offence of Zina Ordinance severely affected women (Weiss 2003). According to Mullally (2005), the Ordinance was against the spirit of Article 25 of the constitution, The Ordinance stated that ‘A man and a woman are said to commit zina (rape including consensual sex) if they willfully had sexual intercourse without being legally married to each other’ (GOP 1979).

82 The state-run Pakistan Television and the educational institutions were directed to strictly follow the so-called Islamic dress code. Women were to cover their heads with piece of cloth (dupatta), they were prohibited from watching sports in the public, their right to drive a vehicle was questioned, and men and women found in public places were questioned about their legitimate relationship. State-triggered morality campaigns became the order of the day and public space became the battleground of contested ideas at the cost of social tolerance.

83 The initial draft of the proposed amendment floated by the Council of Islamic Ideology suggested that two male or a male and two female witnesses must be called to give evidence in all kinds of cases to prove it. When women and lawyers opposed this strongly, the final law made such an arrangement only applicable to cases of finance, on the basis of the presumed forgetfulness of women as if it were in their nature. According to Weiss (2003), in view of this amendment men and women were no longer considered as ‘equal economic partners’ by the state of Pakistan. Second, the state under Zia’s regime also went on to experiment with the idea of a proper Islamic form of government. For the purpose, a twenty-member Commission headed by Muhammad Zafar Ahmed Ansari was established and mandated to review the reports of the cabinet sub-committee, Council of Islamic Ideology and Committee of the Majlis-e-Shoora (parliament) and to advise the President about the proper Islamic form of Government. The commission in Chapter 2, clause 5 of its report proposed that henceforth the President should only be a Muslim male. Likewise in Chapter 3, clause 2 of the
2003), thus to many making them half citizens. These state policies thus created an environment of hostility towards women in which the main issue for them, rather than seeking equality in the public sector, was how to negotiate the wrath of the state (Shaheed 2010). Shahla Haeri (2002) interviewed six successful professional Pakistani women, all of whom told her how they were socialised to be subservient to men, which affected their opportunities in life. Both state and family came to expect the subservience of women. Whenever this social code was transgressed by women it was considered to bring shame and dishonour for men; this has been the basis of persecution and murder of women in a tradition called Karo-Kari$^{84}$ (Patel and Gadit 2008). Similarly, there have been instances when women were raped by the order of the tribal council to avenge the honour of someone’s family (Kristof 2005; Hussain 2006).

*Policy Implications for Institutional Practices*

The state’s policies have serious implications as to how state institutions marginalise women and have resulted in miscarriages of justice (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987; Jafar 2005; Shaheed 2010). The complicity of the state in crimes against women held back the chances of any rights-based discourse on the situation of women in Pakistan for many years (Kothari 2005: 349; Mullally 2005). Even Benazir Bhutto’s government that followed Zia’s regime could not repeal these laws, which continued to provide the framework for action and policy to many institutions (Weiss 1990). In her second tenure

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report recommended that women aspiring to contest election for a seat in parliament must be over 50 years of age and must have the prior permission of their husbands. The report also recommended a 5 percent quota of reserved seats for women in the parliament but proposed that selection be made by the President (Amir) from among double the number of women nominated by a special council established for the purpose. The report also recommended that unmarried women public sector employees should not be posted abroad. Only one member, Justice (Rtd.) Muhammad Gul, dissented, calling the report discriminatory and anti-women; the rest agreed.

$^{84}$ According to Patel and Gadit (2008), Karo-Kari is a tradition of wilful murder of a woman alleged to have brought shame and dishonour to the family by indulging in illicit relationships such as pre-marital sex or an extra-marital affair. It began in rural Sindh and has been reported in other provinces such as Balochistan.
(1993–96), which coincided with the Beijing Conference, her government accepted that the retrogressive state-sponsored theocratic discriminatory legislation which promoted the domestic role of women had resulted in the attrition of women’s rights and the promotion of social bias against women (Weiss 2003).

**Box 4.1 State betrays women through laws**

The changed law made sex with or without consent punishable with a hundred lashes to be executed in public. This required either the confession of the accused or the evidence of four righteous adult Muslim males. In the absence of this evidence, pregnancy and a medical opinion about sex having occurred was considered enough evidence of the guilt of the woman. This is how women were betrayed by the state through its laws and the institutions that practised those laws, including courts, hospitals and police (Mullally 2005).

The Act was not repealed by Benazir but the Musharraf’s regime (1999–2008) in 2006 changed the procedure to help victims to neutralise the adverse impact of the Act on women (GOP 2006a). But its critics say that women still may not lodge a complaint for fear of ‘reactionary punishment’ (Mehdi 2010). During the Musharraf regime, the other steps taken for gender equality included the posting of women in some of the top political positions such as Governor of the State Bank of Pakistan, ambassadorial slots, especially in the United Kingdom, the first woman General in Pakistan Army Medical Corps and a few women commissioned in the Pakistan Army and Airforce. Similarly, establishment of a Gender Crime Cell in the National Police Bureau; the creation of 42 ‘focal points’ in the Ministries of Interior, Parliamentary Affairs, Health and Education to ensure gender sensitivity of programs; the establishment of the National Commission on the Status of Women (2000) with a mandate to evaluate and suggest policies, programs and measures regarding gender inequality; and the announcement of the first-ever National Policy for Development and Empowerment of Women in March 2002. The seven-page policy
reiterated the constitutional principles, international instruments of human rights and the Islamic principles of justice and equality. It prioritised the poorest of the poor, recognition of the work done by women and the need of women as equal partners in development as much as it advocated a gender-sensitive, needs-based participatory approach for tackling gender inequality. This emphasised the institutionalisation of gender sensitisation and ‘mainstreaming gender issues through integration into all sectors of national development’ (GOP 2002: 7).

Despite these reforms the state institutions themselves remain patriarchal. For instance, when a Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Bill came up for legislation, the Council of Islamic Ideology (another male-dominated institution) raised objections on the grounds that it would allow police to interfere in family affairs and it would ‘fan unending family feud and push up divorce rates’ (in HRCP 2009: 190). Patriarchal state institutions and male privilege were strengthened on the basis of culture, tradition and religious argument (Greiff 2010). These policies based on segregated social roles for men and women have arrested the development of women in Pakistan (Kothari 2005). There were serious consequences of the state’s complicity, which, from women’s point of view, were the basis of the failure of institutions in protecting their interests.

A nation-state has a responsibility to protect its women as equal citizens, yet states like Pakistan have structurally disenfranchised women from state protection by making them half citizens and reducing their right to be their own legal person (Rashid 2009: 566).

As a result of the institutional failure to safeguard women’s rights, women in their daily life have to barter security with obedience\(^\text{85}\) to men in family and society. Failure to

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\(^{85}\) Hamid et al. (2010) showed how women are forced into submissiveness and how women in their study learnt to be secure through obedience to their husbands. One woman in their study recalls that a woman who married by her own will was later beaten up by her husband; therefore the research participant believed that the beaten-up woman should have married as per the decisions of her parents and not by her own free will.
do so results in violence in which they find themselves helpless in terms of the role of the state (Abrar and Ghouri 2010; Critelli and Willett 2010; Farooq, Majeed et al. 2010; Nasrullah and Muazzam 2010; Zia Ullah 2010). As the state fails to protect women, there is a tendency by women to publicly accept that they have harmed themselves and were not harmed by other family members, which also affects them adversely (Farooq, Majeed et al. 2010; Hamid, Johansson et al. 2010; Haqqi and Faizi 2010). Anderson et al. (2010) found this was due to strong disincentives such as fear of backlash and lack of confidence in state institutions to take action against perpetrators.

State institutions such as courts, police and hospitals all betray women by not prosecuting these cases (HRCP 2009). For example, in a case which got international attention, a woman, Mukhtaran Mai, was raped by the orders of the tribal council, but at

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Another girl showed how her mother told her the virtue of obedience, as she says, 'My mother tells me to show sabar (patience) and not answer back' (p. 4). Similarly, Farooq et al. (2010) analysed police records and hospital emergency departments from July 2007 to June 2008 in the city of city of Rawalpindi with a population of 1.6 million and found that of the total reported cases of violence against women, 74 percent (233) occurred at home and were perpetrated by parents and close family members. But 96 percent (120) cases were described as self-harm by women rather than by male family members.

86 Nasrullah and Muazzam analysed cases of burns as reported in the leading newspapers during 2004–05 and documented by the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, and found that in a total of 222 reported burn cases, 74 percent were of women aged 18 or above, 95 percent of whom were married. Moreover, in 34 percent of the cases, the reported cause was stove bursting, in 33 percent women set on fire, in 13 percent acid was thrown on women. In 52 percent of the cases the perpetrator was the husband and in 23 percent of the cases perpetrators were in laws. Moreover, while 49 percent of burns were reported to be intentionally inflicted, the remaining 51 percent were reported to be accidental. From a mental health perspective, Sobia Haqqi and Abdul Faizi (2010) found a significant prevalence of depression in victims of domestic violence. These researchers, in a questionnaire-based study involving 171 married women patients in the Psychiatry Department of the Aga Khan University hospital, found that 69.5 percent of patients reported some form of domestic violence such as shouting (32.2%), threats (25.1%), slapping (20.5%) kicks (14 %) pushing (21.1%), threats or use of weapon (8.8%). These researchers also found a high prevalence of depression (62%) among the victims of domestic violence.

87 The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (2009) reports that in 2009 alone there were 1404 reported cases of murder of women, 647 of whom were killed in the name of honour, 928 cases of rape, 563 suicides, 135 burn cases, and 205 cases of domestic violence including torture, battering, attempts at murder, shaving, amputation (p. 189). The Report cites a case (2009; 1991): on 12 February 2009. Dr Maria Shah, a private medical practitioner, while on duty in Shikarpur and examining her patients was attacked with acid because allegedly the attacker wanted to marry her and on her refusal used to harass her. Sixty percent of her body was burnt as a result of the attack and after one month she died in Karachi. In other incidents in 2008, five women were buried alive in Nasirabad Baluchistan Province and in the same year, in the district of Khairpur of Sindh, Tasleem Solangi, a woman was thrown to hungry dogs and was killed.
every stage the state institutions betrayed her by delaying the filing of the report by the police, by inaction by the courts, and by the acquittal of the accused (for detail see Supreme Court of Pakistan 2011).

**Brief Analysis of Development Agency Interventions**

Development agencies have been participating in the development efforts of the Government of Pakistan, especially in the areas of poverty alleviation, health, education, nutrition, livelihood opportunities and gender equality initiatives; however, Pakistan continues to lag behind other countries of the region. Development agencies such as the World Bank have developed country partnership strategies to meet the significant challenges faced by Pakistan including tackling gender inequality. The following presents a brief account of the gender-related interventions of three development agencies in Pakistan: the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the United Nations Development Program.

*The World Bank*

The World Bank's gender interventions in Pakistan are governed by the Country Gender Assessment report which prioritises the education sector for the Bank's gender mainstreaming efforts (World Bank 2005). The report emphasises the centrality of girls' access to education for access to employment, health facilities and political representation (World Bank 2005: 86). The report notes that girls' access to education is affected by the constraints on their mobility due to men's concerns about the safety and honour of women in the public arena which the report attributes to the family and socio-cultural conservative norms and environment (World Bank 2005: 86). The report, however, avoids other issues such as the role of the state in the issue of the safety of its citizens, particularly women.
Further, consistent with its neo-liberal strategies, the World Bank report presents the state of Pakistan in benevolent terms as already taking action\textsuperscript{88} on gender issues. For example, the report (2005) maintains:

Fortunately, since the late 1990s, the Government of Pakistan has nurtured a climate that is conducive to achieving greater gender equality by launching programs designed to increase girls’ school enrolment, enhance female access to health care, and facilitate women’s participation in the public arena (p. iii).

The contested nature of the state, however, is not reflected in the report. Awan\textsuperscript{89} (2006), points to the problematic nature of gendered institutions such as the police and the courts, which seriously constrain the empowerment of women but these are not included in the World Bank CGA report for Pakistan (See Awan 2006; Tara Vishwanath 2006). The World Bank configures its financial assistance to match the development goals set by the Government of Pakistan, which in accordance with the Bank’s approach include poverty reduction, infrastructure development and meeting the shortfall in spending on education (World Bank 2011). The Bank’s interventions in Pakistan in the last decade have included the Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund Project\textsuperscript{90} (PPAF), which has a focus on poverty alleviation through skills development and grants and micro-credit loans for small scale infrastructure projects, and support to the Earthquake Relief and Reconstruction Authority (ERRA) for its Rural Housing and Reconstruction Program (RHRP). There are also education reforms at national and provincial levels targeting the enrolment of children

\textsuperscript{88} The optimism about the state even in the wake of extreme adversity continues in other parts of the report such as the references that initiatives such as ‘school meal program (Tawana Pakistan) are already under way’ (Bank 2005: 61). And in health information, ‘Pakistan has already begun to put such programs in place successfully’ (Bank 2005: 141).

\textsuperscript{89} Lawyers for Human Rights and Legal Aid, Karachi, made this presentation at the official launch of the Bank’s strategy for Pakistan.

\textsuperscript{90} According to the World Bank (2011), ‘PPAF has issued 1.5 million micro-credit loans, (average loan size US$ 150), benefitting nearly 9 million people. Over the last seven years PPAF has driven the micro-finance sector growth from 60,000 borrowers to more than 1.25 million active borrowers in the sector’.
including girls from poor households by providing stipends and grants, and encouraging the private sector\(^9\) (World Bank 2011).

*The Asian Development Bank*

The Asian Development Bank’s gender interventions in Pakistan, like those of the World Bank, are governed by the Country Gender Assessment, which recognises women’s exclusion from economic opportunities and gainful employment. This is reflected in the low gender-gap index of the World Economic Forum (112/115 and 126/128 for the years 2006 and 2007 respectively) (ADB 2008: 1). The ADB however, does not recognise that it is due to lack of education on the part of women, as the ADB recognises that women with more education do not necessarily have more opportunities of employment, as these are limited by the discrimination at the workplace and ‘physical insecurity’ faced by women (ADB 2008: 1).

- A considerably higher proportion of unemployed women 25–34 years old hold a degree certificate compared to their male counterparts, and female labor force participation increases have been almost entirely among illiterate populations. With slow increases, the labor force participation rates of women at only 19 per cent in Pakistan remains the lowest in the region (p. 1).

This report emphasises a project-development approach to the economic empowerment of women in the four areas of focus in the country partnership strategy (CPS) (ADB 2008: 1).

- Major infrastructure projects such as roads and irrigation for equitable social benefit and provision of employment during the construction (ADB 2008: 51-59)

\(^9\) Other programs include financial assistance for polio eradication and HIV-AIDS related projects; basic infrastructure and services development schemes for low-income communities in NWFP and AJK through community based organisations (CBOs); assistance for the government’s National Trade Corridor Improvement Program (NTCIP) which aims at building road and logistic infrastructure for reducing business costs and increasing industrialisation and market competitiveness.
• Government sector reforms for allocation of equitable financial and technical training resources for women (ADB 2008: 60-63)

• Inclusive and balanced development through capacity building of politicians and public employees as well as the equitable participation of women in the design and implementation of urban and rural infrastructure projects such as transport, water and sanitation so as to address the issues of access and elimination of barriers to access (ADB 2008: 64-66)

• Effectiveness of implementation and harmonised efforts as called for in the Paris Declaration for effective development outcomes achieved through capacity building of Pakistan’s Resident Mission (PRM) for gender analysis (ADB 2008: 67)

These are all fairly token in nature and do not address the heart of the problem of women’s access to employment and other resources. The focus of ADB in Pakistan has been to see women as a disadvantaged group who need opportunities through projects, rather than on dealing with the institutions that disadvantage women to achieve meaningful change. There was a legal empowerment project in Pakistan, which involved ‘educating vulnerable groups about legal rights and processes for accessing legal and administrative remedies’ (ADB 2009b: 10), which seems to imply that the disadvantage that women face is due to their ignorance of the laws (ADB 2009b: 10) rather than to the laws themselves. This project, however, has had some benefits such as some increase in the number of women judges in the lower judiciary (ADB 2009c: 15). However, these have not improved ‘police performance and accountability’ (ibid: 16). The image of the police has declined, suggesting the institutional capacity building was ‘unsuccessful’, with less than 17 percent of the ADB loan remaining utilised (ibid: 17). The projects emphasised the inclusion of
women, but in the project itself only one of the 55 consultants recruited for the project was a woman, making it arguably a program of men for men (See ADB 2009: 46c).

The United Nations Development Program

The United Nations Development Program’s (UNDP) gender interventions identify a number of areas of cooperation, including participatory governance, poverty alleviation, health and education (UNDP 2003b; Tariq Husain and Adham 2005). The framework identifies gender as a cross-cutting theme along with other themes including environment, humanitarian affairs, crime prevention and drug control (UNDP 2003b; Tariq Husain and Adham 2005: 4). This framework considered women similar to other marginalised groups: ‘to broaden choices and increase opportunities, particularly for the poor, women and marginalised groups (UNDP 2003a: 2). The Gender Support Program (UNDP 2007: 6; UNDP 2009b) aimed to ‘contribute to poverty reduction in Pakistan through gender-responsive governance and a rights-based approach to sustainable human development’ (UNDP 2007: 6) and included a focus on women’s ‘access to resources, rights, opportunities and justice’ (UNDP 2009b). The outcome of these projects, UNDP hoped, would be institutional change that would positively affect Pakistani people (UNDP 2009a).

In the context of UNDP, the primary objective of the projects and programme is to build the institutional capacities, thus the outputs are basic means to achieve outcomes (institutional change) and ultimately the lives of the people should be impacted positively (p. 34).

The UNDP has supported three projects: the gender support program (GSP) with a Women’s Political School (WPS), Gender Mainstreaming through Planning and Development (GMP&D 2005–07), and lastly Gender Based Governance Systems (GBG). The common feature of these programs has been an overwhelming emphasis on gender training. Under the WPS it was claimed that more than 50,000 women councillors had been
trained (UNDP 2007); and under the GMP&D project (2005–07), gender training was provided to federal and provincial public sector employees belonging to the key planning departments (UNDP 2007). UNDP claimed that both programs (GMP&D and WPS) 'laid a fundamental foundation within the government's systems that advocates, approves, plans, monitors and evaluates gender issues as an integral part of development' (UNDP 2007: 7) and claimed that 'gender mainstreaming has been successful in capacity building of government officers and as a result they have been advocating for gender reforms in the planning process' (UNDP 2007: 7). However, these claims, rather than being independently tested, were mainly based on the project reports prepared by the project implementation teams from the planning and development departments. The yardstick of success for them was the number of people that were provided with gender training; it was not behavioural change.

There is some evidence that the UNDP not only faced constraints in implementing the programs but also that its gender mainstreaming strategy for Pakistan was not ready. For example, the gender and development consultants employed at the time found a lack of awareness of gender issues by the UNDP's country office staff, attitudes based on 'cultural knowledge and intuition' and a belief that the gender policies circulated to them were not relevant to their work (Tariq Husain and Adham 2005: 4). The limited integration of

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92 This was also assisted by other donors including NORAD and CIDA. This project was housed in the federal and provincial Planning and Development Departments and included the following departments and institutes: Education Department; Environment Department; Finance Department; Health Department; Labour Department; National Institute of Public Administration; Public Health Engineering (Water and Sanitation) Department; Services and General Administration Department; Social Welfare and Women's Development Department; Economic Affairs Division. The intended goal of the project was capacity building of 'government officials to mainstream gender in: (i) formulation, (ii) implementation, and (iii) monitoring and evaluation of government policies, plans, programmes and projects in all areas of development'. The four objectives of the project were: gender sensitisation of government employees; capacity building for planning analysis monitoring of projects from a gender perspective; development of a gender segregated computer database; and the development of institutional mechanisms for accountability in government offices. However, at the roll-out stage gender training became the approach of this project.
women in the UNDP country office, as well as the lack of integration of women in UNDP-assisted projects were identified as issues (See Appendix 3). ‘So far, neither the Country Office nor the national and provincial legislatures have served to inspire the projects to move decisively in the direction of gender parity’ (Tariq Husain and Adham 2005: 13).

The lack of awareness of staff on gender issues as well the limited integration of women in local institutions should have been examined when UNDP designed later interventions for the public sector. The untested assumption that previous gender training programs had been successful, coupled with the belief that training courses ‘influence change in attitudes’, led UNDP to continue with the sole emphasis on gender training (GBG) (UNDP 2007: 7). The assumption of the follow-up Gender Based Governance Program was that the federal and provincial public sector employees had been sensitised by the gender training and all that remained was the training at the lower political and bureaucratic levels in provinces so that both could complement each other. In 2010 there were 71 training events with 2,672 women participants with the potential to become local political leaders (UNDP 2010); 1,013 public sector employees at the provincial, district and sub-district level; and 1,790 Union Council Secretaries.

The UNDP’s training model completely ignored the structural constraints, both social and at the level of the state, which limit women’s integration and access to resources, and in the process disenfranchise them from realising the status of equal citizens. UNDP seemed to be ignorant of the reality of women’s work so that the training interventions were largely for men by men (See Appendix 9). UNDP’s Gender Justice program\(^{93}\) was meant to provide an alternate dispute resolution platform to the communities (UNDP 2009a: 18), with one third of the members of each dispute resolution committee being

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\(^{93}\) Under this program in 2008 alone 1757 case of disputes were entertained and 1331 (85%) were resolved.
women, but there were no women in these committees at all (UNDP 2009a: 18). UNDP argued that this was due to social, cultural and religious factors; it was careful not to mention the role of the state (UNDP 2009a: 18).

**Box 4.2 Structural constraints to gender equality**

The structural constraints to gender equality that belong to the realm of state intervention have been identified in a UNDP commissioned study conducted by the Asia Foundation which identified, for example, many failings of the criminal justice system such as the failure of police to timely lodge and investigate cases of rape; poor or delayed medical examination; long and unending trials and courts which result in delayed decisions (The Asia Foundation 2008: 23). The study also pointed to the bias of police against women and the rigid approach taken by the courts in which judges invariably acquitted accused persons due to poor evidence such as the medical examination or signs of scratches not noted by the police, all of which have to do with institutional functioning and not victims as such (ibid.).

More recently, UNDP’s own outcome evaluation report (2004–2008), citing policies of environment and disaster management, pointed to the weak gender content of the policies, as well as the weakness of women’s machinery, the lack of implementation strategies and ‘vague or missing’ enforcement procedures (UNDP 2009b: 6). This was described as a ‘serious issue at all tiers of government, including federal, provincial and the local governments’ (UNDP 2009b: 6). Further, the report pointed out that the already weak political commitment at national and provincial levels to the gender agenda had become further attenuated due to the worsening security situation, which had deflected the state’s attention away from concerns with gender equality to issues of state security. Looking
inwards, the report also mentioned that UNDP’s projects in Pakistan had been implemented in ‘relative isolation’ and required ‘effective stakeholder coordination’ (UNDP 2009b: 6). The report (2009) was sceptical about gender training as an approach to bring change in institutional practices:

There are some indications of greater awareness about gender issues among the civil servants and policy makers who have benefitted from the variety of training programs. However, these have yet to translate into systemic capacities. The mission could not find evidence to conclude that the various initiatives have led to a marked change in public sector practices, or change that is likely to be sustained (p. 6).

This suggests that in the context of low representation and limited access to resources such as education, gender and development projects in the public sector prioritised the gender training of civil servants (they being mainly men) as a means to achieve gender equality in the public sector of Pakistan. While there is no denying that training can be important, training as a sole policy response raises the issue of its relevance and adequacy to the issues of representation, access to resources and the institutional practices which affect women’s equality in Pakistan.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented an overview of the issues of representation, access to resources and the institutional practices in Pakistan. It has reviewed the literature that forms the basis of this thesis in the context of the public sector of Pakistan. It highlights that although women work in all sectors of the economy, government policies seldom addressed the issue of women’s representation in the public sector. The few recommendations that have been made in this regard have yet to be accepted as policies of the state. More serious is the neglect of the issue of provision of access to resources to women, which has been
ignored by both the government and the development agencies. The issue of access to resources, more generally, suggests that women have been structurally disenfranchised by the state of Pakistan through the adoption of policies which have made women unequal citizens. Policies based on the categories of women and men that were devised for political expediency have had serious consequences for women in the social domain in Pakistan. Although researchers and social activists noted these consequences for women and recommended change in these general policies, research has not specifically examined the institutional practices and policies and their effects on women and men in the public sector.

In the last few years, however, the government and the development agencies have focused on being seen to address the issue of gender inequality in the public sector. The priorities of donors and the government have converged to result in gender training as a de facto policy of gender equality in the public sector of Pakistan. The effectiveness of this policy in relation to the gender issues of the study has not been examined in detail. The next chapter presents the methodology adopted for the study to examine these issues to draw conclusions for the adequacy of the gender equality approach for the public sector of Pakistan by the government and the development agencies.
CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter outlines the research methodology used to examine the social, economic and political feminist theories of sex segregation in the labour market in Pakistan and the development approaches which have identified issues of representation, access to resources and institutional practices as the bases of sex segregation in the labour market. This research has examined the adequacy and the relevance of the policy approach of gender training in relation to these issues in the case of the public sector of Pakistan. This chapter outlines the mixed method qualitative-quantitative research methods used in the research. As mix methods are still evolving, mixing qualitative and quantitative data sets is an issue in regard to the enumeration of qualitative data for the purpose of analysis (Johnson and Onwueguzie 2004; Sandelowski, Voils et al. 2009). This research involved the collection of qualitative data which were assigned numerical values to enable a statistical analysis94 (Sandelowski 2000; Driscoll, Appiah-Yeboah et al. 2007; Sandelowski, Voils et al. 2009). The data was analysed with SPSS by using the two procedures of univariate and cross-tabulation analyses. The first procedure identified meta-themes and significant relationships (Onwueguzie 2003: 398) and the second established the frequency and count of each theme (ibid.). These themes were then explained by reverting to the qualitative data set (Sandelowski 2000: 339). The chapter discusses the sampling method, the study sites and the issues of cultural sensitivity and the worsening security situation in Pakistan faced during the fieldwork.

94 The data is qualitative but the numbers were assigned only to facilitate statistical analysis so the data set remains essentially qualitative.
Methodology: Theoretical Debate

This research used mixed methods. The term ‘mix method’ requires some explanation both epistemologically and in terms of the practice of mixing data and techniques, as it has been referred as ‘the third methodological movement’ (Doyle, Brady et al. 2009: 175).

Paradigm Wars

The other two epistemological paradigms – positivism and interpretivism (constructivism) – are distinguished by the world view of how knowledge of social reality is produced and understood (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Ponterotto 2005; Doyle, Brady et al. 2009) with positivists believing that knowledge of social reality exists independent of human action and can be measured objectively using the methods of natural science (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Ponterotto 2005: 128), while interpretivists argue that knowledge of social reality does not exist independent of the actions of individuals. It is through the interaction of the researcher with the subject of the research that deeper meanings can be ‘uncovered’ (Ponterotto 2005: 129). Whereas positivists prefer quantitative methods, interpretivists go for qualitative methods in research (Doyle, Brady et al. 2009). The qualitative-quantitative divide thus maintains the paradigmatic boundaries between positivism and constructivism (Guba and Lincoln 2005; Allwood 2011).

Mix method researchers challenge the qualitative-quantitative divide and point to the fuzziness of boundaries. Inspired by the philosophy of pragmatism, arguing that the qualitative-quantitative dichotomy is arbitrary (Doyle, Brady et al. 2009; Allwood 2011). ‘The dividing lines are much fuzzier than typically suggested in the literature and that antagonism between paradigms is unproductive’ (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie et al. 2007: 117). The practice does not separate qualitative from quantitative (Sandelowski 2001;
Sandelowski 2003; Hanson 2008; Allwood 2011). Traditionally both qualitative and quantitative data and techniques have been used simultaneously under different names such as integrative research, multi-method research, triangulation studies and more recently mix method research (Duffy 1987; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie et al. 2007; Sandelowski, Voils et al. 2009). Mix methods have been used previously for triangulation and validation of results (Duffy 1987; Blaikie 1991; Flick 1992; Shih 1998). Numerical data, as a criterion for separating qualitative and quantitative research, was problematic because qualitative researchers, anthropologists and ethnographers have been using numbers in their research for a long time (Sandelowski 2001; Maxwell 2010). Thus qualitative-quantitative ‘labels’ confuse researchers (Wood and Welch 2010: 24). Researchers must focus on ‘pluralistic’ and compatible approaches rather than ‘purist’ and ‘incompatibilist, either/or approach’ for conducting research (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004: 17). However, mix methods are still evolving and because of this, it is not possible to pin down one true model of mix method research (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2006). Indeed, the development of ‘really integrated qualitative/quantitative methods of data collection or data analysis [itself] remains an unsolved problem’ (Flick 2009: 30). Consequently, there is lot of debate as to what is meant by mixing (Creswell, Fetters et al. 2004; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie et al. 2007; Sandelowski, Voils et al. 2009; Small 2011).

The Issue of Mixing

Traditionally, mixing methods has been understood in two different ways, that is, either the mixing of data or the mixing of techniques (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Sandelowski, Voils et al. 2009). The mixing of data involves conversion of ‘qualitative data into a form amenable to statistical assimilation with other data understood to be already
quantitative’ (Sandelowski, Voils et al. 2009: 210). This type of mix method has been used by environmental and natural resource management anthropologists to mix ‘quantitative biophysical’ and ‘qualitative socio-cultural’ data sets into a single study (Driscoll, Appiah-Yeboah et al. 2007: 19). The second type, that is, quantitising, developed by Sandelowski (2000; 2001; 2003; 2009), involves ‘the numerical translation, transformation, or conversion of qualitative data’ (Sandelowski, Voils et al. 2009: 208). Here qualitative data is collected and mixed methods are used in its analysis (Sandelowski 2000; Onwuegbuzie, Johnson et al. 2009; Sandelowski, Voils et al. 2009; Small 2011).

**Enumerating the Data**

Enumerating the data involves the transformation of qualitative data into a numeric form (Sandelowski 2000; Driscoll, Appiah-Yeboah et al. 2007; Sandelowski, Voils et al. 2009). It is ‘a way to think about and interact with data’ (Sandelowski, Voils et al. 2009: 219). This involves assigning numerical values to non-numerical data (Sandelowski, Voils et al. 2009), similarly to a Likert scale, but different in the sense that the questions involve open-ended rather than prompted or predetermined answers along a continuum. This ‘methodological intervention’ helps in ‘the reduction and amplification of data, in addition to the clarification of and extraction of meaning from data’ (Sandelowski, Voils et al. 2009: 219). It is not a methodological innovation, as researchers in the past have used coding and the quantification of data as part of content analysis to discern patterns and understand meaning in large sets of data (Miles and Huberman 1994; Sandelowski 2001; Sandelowski, Voils et al. 2009; Maxwell 2010). This method has also been part of the convergent methodology, content analysis, multi-method or triangulation (Jick 1979; Mathison 1988). The ‘qualitative “themes”’ are numerically represented in scores, scales, or clusters, in order
to more fully describe and/or interpret a target phenomenon' (Sandelowski 2001: 231).

According to Sandelowski et al. (2009), this method:

allow[s] analysts to discern and to show regularities or peculiarities in qualitative
data they might not otherwise see or be able simply to communicate, or to
determine that a pattern or idiosyncrasy they thought was there is not (p. 210).

The benefits of the conversion of qualitative data into quantitative data are linked to
the limitations of the use of mono-methods (Doyle, Brady et al. 2009). The weaknesses of
purely quantitative research include ‘lack of attention to complexity, context, voice, and
discourse’ (Sandelowski, Voils et al. 2009: 220). The limitation of purely qualitative
research include the inability to generalise, predict, and test hypotheses and theories, as
well as having less credibility among governments and managers (Johnson and
Onwuegbuzie 2004). The assigning of numbers to qualitative data gives a ‘pragmatic
advantage’ in the form of capturing the richness associated with qualitative data and the
accuracy that results from the use of statistical analysis of the converted data (Driscoll,
Appiah-Yeboah et al. 2007: 26). Sandelowski (2000) has argued that the use of numbers in
qualitative research not only showcases the complexity of qualitative work but also helps to
generate rich meanings and testable patterns from the data. The mixing of techniques thus
gives breadth and richness to the research (Yin 2006). Qualitative research can thus benefit
from statistical analysis (Wood and Welch 2010: 23; Small 2011: 70), so that rather than a
simple presentation of quotes as evidence of analysis, a much deeper analysis of the
qualitative data can be more enriching (Bazeley 2009; Sandelowski 2010) and can quell the
concerns of qualitative researchers about how to reveal the ‘complexity of qualitative data’
(Sandelowski, Voils et al. 2009: 219). This approach is also helpful in making use of
advances in computer technology, with software such as SPSS able to be used to perform
complex analysis with relative ease to help understand the data more systematically. The
disadvantage of this approach is that it is hard to apportion accurate values to different or similar points of view by a range of people as there will always be variations in the meanings of a response. Also, the allocation of a range between each unit may give a false sense of uniformity across the range, i.e., ‘the gap’ between each unit will not be equal in reality. Enumerating the data is a subjective process and involves the researcher’s immersion in the data set to segregate patterns and themes, which are then assigned numbers (Sandelowski, Voils et al. 2009: 214). The challenge in this approach involves decisions as to ‘which readings will be the objects of conversion and for what purpose’ (Sandelowski, Voils et al. 2009: 216).

The Scale

The next step in quantitising is the generation of scale from the reading of data set. Likert type scales can help extract much more information than one could get from a simple binary scale (Linacre 2002: 1). Unlike the option of the imposition of scale which compels respondents to choose one of the given options, the opinion-seeking approach captures the views of respondents (Linacre 2002: 2). The imposition of a Likert type scale typically contains a midpoint which is believed to result in the distortion of results (Garland 1991; Cummins and Gullone 2000), as people favour the mid-point. When a numeric scale is presented to respondents they assign meaning to numbers and may not give true information (Sandelowski, Voils et al. 2009: 215-216). Sandelowski and Bustamante (1986), for instance, in their study found that when women were asked to evaluate their experience on a scale of zero to ten where zero was for bad experience and ten was for good experience, none of the respondents, including those women who had told them about their bad experience about unplanned caesarean birth, rated their experience as zero. For
this reason Sandelowski (2000: 337) encouraged researchers to ‘use techniques that allow the target phenomenon to present itself as it would if it were not under study’.

**Binary Versus Multiple Coding**

Another issue in the assigning of numbers to the qualitative data is the use of binary versus multiple coding. In assigning numbers to the qualitative data, the use of binary coding, where multiple coding can be done, has not been considered useful in analysis (Onwueguzie 2003). For example, Onwueguzie et al. (2007) in their study involving 912 students, for each of the emerging themes used ‘1’ if the student believed in the effectiveness of college teaching and ‘0’ for otherwise and then conducted bivariate quantitative statistical analysis. Although this approach allowed them to form ‘inter-respondent’ and ‘intra-respondent’ matrices which were indicative of the contribution of the respondents towards each theme, they realised that the use of multiple coding could have yielded richer information.

**Feminist Research and Choice of Methods**

The choice of methods has also been an issue for feminists (Harding 1989; Holland and Ramazanoglu 2002; Lahiri-Dutt 2011) with many arguing that there is no distinctively feminist method of data collection (Harding 1989: 30; Letherby 2011: 62). Feminists emphasise the ‘methodological reflection of the researcher’ rather than the data collection techniques (Letherby 2011: 30). The feminist research’s point of departure from traditional research is its more political role in questioning existing structures for social change towards gender equality by using the experiences and voices of women (Holloway and Wheeler 2002). The argument is that ‘a feminist theoretical and ethical framework distinguishes feminist research from other forms of inquiry’ (Kirsch 1999: 1) in that ‘it is
shaped by feminist theory, politics, and ethics, and grounded in women’s experience’ (Holland and Ramazanoglu 2002: 15-16). The use of methods and theory is conditioned to the creation of knowledge that advances the cause of gender equality (Holland and Ramazanoglu 2002). Feminists have made the distinction between methodology and method (Harding 1989; Holland and Ramazanoglu 2002; Lahiri-Dutt 2011), with methodology being the theory that underpins the approach and method being data gathering techniques (Lahiri-Dutt 2011). This suggests that the choice of methods can challenge existing knowledge claims and approaches for their relevance to the cause of gender equality (Harding 1989). Feminists, therefore, can choose from among the existing traditions and methods of data collection (Harding 1989; Holland and Ramazanoglu 2002). This is in accordance with the view of mix method researchers who argue that the objectives of research dictate the choice of methods (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Onwuegbuzie, Johnson et al. 2009).

The research for this thesis is grounded in the labour market theories of sex segregation within which are the parallel development approaches around representation, access to resources and organisational practices. The research thus uses data on the social, economic and political experiences of sex segregation in the labour market ‘to understand the realities of gendered lives’ and practices in public sector organisations (ibid: 163). Sex segregation in the labour market can only be understood through the tension between making women visible and the understanding of the differences caused by power and privilege which, rather than sex, form the basis of sex segregation in the labour market (Letherby 2011: 67).
Questionnaire

The problem of sex segregation was explored in conjunction with the solution of gender training adopted by the development agencies and the Government of Pakistan. This conceptual framework became the basis of the questionnaire for the study (Appendix 5). The questionnaire was designed to examine the links and assumptions between theories of sex segregation in the labour market and the development practice of gender training in the context of the public sector of Pakistan. The questionnaire asked about women’s and men’s experiences in their lives and their work in the public service, and their opinions of the effectiveness of the policy approach of training. The questionnaire used independent variables including training (with and without), gender (male and female), socio-cultural context (Islamabad and Muzaffarabad), position in organisational hierarchy95 (Scales 17, 18, 19) and the public sector organisations the employees (research participants) were working for. The questionnaire also asked questions around the issues of representation, access to resources and institutional practices, which formed the dependent variables for the study. The rationale and detail of independent and dependent variables is as follows.

Rationale for the Independent Variables

The key concern of the research is the relationship of gender training with the problem of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan. Training thus formed the main independent variable, and it was aimed at testing the relevance of development and policy approaches that emphasise training employees in the public sector and NGOs as the solution to the problem of sex segregation in institutions (Kusakabe 2005; Dasgupta 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007; UNDP 2007). The other independent variables of gender, position of

95 This represented senior management (Basic Pay Scale 19) and middle management (Basic Pay Scales 17 and 18). 138
employees (research participants) in organisations, the socio-political context of employees and organisations in terms of their location were used to encompass the complexity and intersectional nature of gender. There is a view that training processes ignore the related issues of power, privileges, interests and institutional structures (Verloo 2001; Abou-Habib 2007; Verloo, Vleuten et al. 2009), which call for the inclusion of the other variables used in this study for their effect on social transformation (Mathur and Rajan 1997). The need for the inclusion of the independent variables used in this study emerged from the literature. Research on the impact of training has generally overlooked the involvement of these variables (Howard 2002; Tiessen 2007), but in feminist theory the position of employees in organisations has been considered an important factor in sex segregation (Acker 1990; Acker 2009). Gender is obviously an important contributor of sex segregation in the labour market (Maccoby 1999; Wharton 2005; Epstein 2007; Ballantine and Roberts 2010). Researchers have also maintained that social systems across a geographic divide are another cause of inequality (Sathar and Kazi 2000; Lahiri-Dutt 2011). Others implicate organisations and the processes within them in the production of sex segregation (Goetz 1992; Goetz 1997; Walby 2007). The independent variables used in this study with an elaboration of their levels (and codes) are listed in the following table.
Table 5.1: Independent Variables, Codes and Labels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1.0</th>
<th>INDEPENDENT VARIABLES</th>
<th>CODE</th>
<th>LABEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1.</td>
<td>Training</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3.</td>
<td>Position</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Basic Pay Scale 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Basic Pay Scale 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Basic pay Scale 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4.</td>
<td>Socio-political context</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Muzaffarabad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Islamabad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5.</td>
<td>Organisation Dept./ Ministry</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Planning &amp; Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Finance &amp; Statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Law, Human Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Industries &amp; Production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Social Welfare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Services &amp; General Admin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Women Development</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rationale for the Dependent Variables

Representation, access to resources and institutional practices were the dependent variables of the study. The questionnaire thus included questions around these issues (Appendix 5), which have their roots in the theories and practice of how sex segregation in the labour market can be tackled (See Chapters 2 and 3). The social theories (and WID approaches) had argued that representation of women would result in the elimination of sex segregation in the labour market (UN 1976; Epstein 2007; Pillai N., Vijayamohanan et al. 2009). The questions seeking opinions about women’s representation through quotas were thus included to test the assumption behind the training approach, which assumes that people’s attitudes and behaviour will change once they are sensitised.
A second set of questions was around the study issue of women's access to resources, as there has been an assumption that women's increased representation automatically results in their improved access to economic and social resources (Hartmann 1976; Connelly, Li et al. 2000), and structural changes may not be required. The questions about resources were asked to test: the assumption that mere access to capital through the representation of women automatically results in the elimination of sex segregation in the labour market (UN 1980: 5; Rathgeber 1990); the significance of access to a range of other resources, to be identified by respondents; and an understanding of other issues such as the reality of women's housework (McSweeney and Freedman 1980; Rathgeber 1990; Kabeer 1994; Momsen 2009). The questions also allowed an examination of how training related to employees' opinions about women's access to resources in the public sector.

A third set of questions was around the study issue of institutional practices. A key assumption in training approaches is that sensitisation results in a change in the practices of people in organisations. By contrast, there is a view that patriarchal structures and policies are at the heart of sex segregation in the labour market (Molyneux 1985; Kabeer 1994; Razavi and Miller 1995; Cornwall 2003: 1326). This view argues that men dominate women through institutional structures (Walby 1990: 20) or the lack of institutional mechanisms around the issues of sexual harassment and discrimination against women (MacKinnon 1987; Lovell 2000; MacKinnon 2010), which make them unaccountable towards women's empowerment (Kilby 2004; Kilby 2011). The training approach assumes that the way to change institutional practices is through the sensitisation of institutional actors (COE 1998; Beveridge and Nott 2002; Daly 2005; Verloo 2005). The questions were

96 Respondents were asked to identify what policies and strategies were required to address the issue of gender inequality in the public sector. The assumption was that if mere access to capital in the form of salaries was the only indicator, as assumed in the economic theories, respondents would not identify access to other resources as issues in sex segregation.
thus designed to see whether there was any evidence of change in the practices of employees as a result of training compared with those who had not received such training (Appendix 5). The questionnaire was tested with eight employees from the federal government. Where required, the language and the questions were rephrased to redress ambiguities.

There was also a change in emphasis so far as the issue of research was concerned. Although at the pre-fieldwork stage the intention was to evaluate a gender training program, in the field it was decided to examine the relevance of training as the policy approach to the feminist-identified issues of representation, access to resources and organisational practices to examine the problem of sex segregation in the public sector. This approach was taken because training rather than a program was being used as a policy approach to tackle sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan. Not only were many training programs being conducted simultaneously but also the Government of Pakistan, even after the end of the program, continued with the training through its own resources in the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics. Further, UNDP also launched another program of Gender Based Governance System (GBG), which also used training as the sole approach to tackling sex segregation in the public sector. As there have been no other policy initiatives by the government and the development agencies, and the assumptions of the policy approach of training remained unchallenged and unexamined, it was considered timely to examine the relevance of the policy approach in terms of the feminist methodological framework that has contested claims as to which of the three approaches—representation, access to resources or change in policies—could result in gender equality.
Sampling

Mixed method researchers can use both random and non-random sampling (Onwuegbuzie and Johnson 2006). However, in order to make generalisations, care has to be exercised that the sample is randomly drawn and the size is adequate, as a small sample size is generally not reliable or representative (Onwuegbuzie and Johnson 2006) and a non-random sample is not considered representative (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004). Keeping in mind these methodological considerations, this study used a stratified random sample. The strata for the study involved gender-trained officers at Islamabad and Muzaffarabad, whose names were randomly drawn from the federal government employees who received gender training at the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics and the gender-trained officers of the AJK government who received gender training at the Kashmir Institute of Public Administration. Additionally, employees at both locations who had not received gender training were randomly drawn and added to the sample. This was necessary for understanding the difference of views between employees with and without gender training. The analysis included the following characteristics of the 198 respondents who participated in the study.

Box 5.1 Frequency distribution of respondents in terms of training, gender and socio-political context

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRAINING</th>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

97 The frequency of respondents in terms of organisational position and organisations they belonged to is given in Appendix 4 due to considerations of space.
Study Sites

Although the basic objective of the study was the examination of the relevance and adequacy of gender training in relation to the feminist-identified issues of representation, access to resources and the institutional practices which are considered to be the basis of sex segregation, nevertheless, in accord with the view of the intersectional nature of gender inequality, two study sites, Islamabad and Muzaffarabad, were also used as a variable to capture the involvement of socio-political context. These study sites simultaneously adopted gender training as the policy approach for tackling sex segregation in the public sector and had the same administrative structures, but they could be differentiated due to the history of policies and the catchment area of the employees. Whereas the public sector in Islamabad represents the whole of Pakistan in microcosm, the public sector in Muzaffarabad only represents the state of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (Pakistan Administered Kashmir). Some aspects of these two sites are presented below by way of background.

Islamabad, the Federal Capital of Pakistan

Islamabad is the capital of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. It is the seat of the federal government. As such, it houses key federal government institutions such as Parliament (National Assembly and Senate), Judiciary (Supreme Court of Pakistan) and Executive (federal government secretariat) as mandated in the constitution of Pakistan (GOP 1973b). The choice of federal government employees was used to capture the socio-political context of Pakistan.

Islamabad lies at latitude: 33°43'N and longitude 73°3'E (Worldatlas Explore Your World 2011). Prior to 1960 when Islamabad was selected as the capital of Pakistan, Karachi used to be the federal capital (GOP-CDA 2011). Initially, employees of the federal
government and capital administration settled in Islamabad, but later on people from other provinces settled there, and now its population is more than one million (GOP 2011). Culturally, it represents a hybrid of the population from other provinces\textsuperscript{98} of Pakistan (GOP-CDA 2011; GOP 2011). It is situated on the Pothohar Plateau and is adjacent to the ancient city of Taxila (32 km), the famous archeological site of the Gandhara civilisation, which since 1979 has been included in the UNESCO World Heritage List (GOP 2011; UNESCO 2011). Islamabad is also a gateway for the tourists who visit the mountainous northern areas of Pakistan (GOP 2011). All the foreign embassies are based in Islamabad. It is the hub of all government offices and 41 Federal Government Ministries including the Ministry of Women Development, and all key government decisions are made in this city (GOP 2011).

\textit{Muzaffarabad, the capital of Azad Jammu and Kashmir}

Muzaffarabad lies at latitude 34° 21' N and longitude 73° 28' E (Worldatlas Explore Your World 2011). It is the capital of the State of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, and so is the seat of government of AJK. The dispute over the state of Jammu and Kashmir since the time of partition of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan is the biggest hurdle in the normalisation of relations between India and Pakistan.\textsuperscript{99} In the part administered by Pakistan, pending a final solution to the partition of the state, the state structure of the territory's own Legislative Assembly, Supreme Court, High Court and the Executive structure was established. AJK has a parliamentary form of government with its own

\footnote{Ethnically, 65 percent of the population is Punjabi, 14 percent are Urdu Speaking Muhajirs, 10.51 percent are Pashtuns and others, including Sindhi, Balochi and Kashmiris, collectively are about 7 percent. This count does not include Afghan refugees.}

\footnote{This is beyond the scope of this thesis. The thesis used Muzaffarabad, the capital of the state, because of its uniqueness as well as the similarities with Pakistan to capture the complexity in terms of variation in the socio-political context.}
President and Prime Minister, who chairs the Council of Ministers (GOAJK 2009). The region has had parliamentary elections and government, with the exception of a six-year period from 1977 to 1983 (GOAJK 2009). Almost 43 percent of AJK is forest, and only 13 percent is cultivable, with people having very small landholdings. They also seek employment in the public and the private sector. There has been a clear pattern of emigration, with people from the northern districts traditionally emigrating to the Gulf countries as paid labour. From the southern districts people have emigrated to the United Kingdom with most\textsuperscript{100} from Mirpur and Kotli Districts of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (The Change Institute 2009). This has not only resulted in a flow of remittances to Pakistan but has also resulted in many cross-continental cultural and social exchanges between the United Kingdom and Azad Jammu and Kashmir (Ballard 2003a; 2003b; 2005).

The AJK government has been able to pursue its own policies since the 1970s and has made gains in terms of its population’s access to education, electricity and district administration (GOAJK 2009). Due to the inclusive policies adopted since the 1970s, the bureaucracy in AJK is representative of its own diversity. While there is a 2 percent quota in the federal jobs for AJK, there are some top officials such as the Chief Secretary, Inspector General Police, Accountant General and the Secretary Finance (usually referred to as lent officers) who serve in AJK but are actually federal government officers. These features provided an opportunity to include Muzaffarabad in the study so as to capture the variation and influence of the socio-political context on the opinion of employees who had undergone similar gender training and worked in similar administrative departments. Both Muzaffarabad and Islamabad with their similarities and differences were used to capture the

\textsuperscript{100} Over 60 percent is believed to be from one district of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, that is, Mirpur (Institute 2009).
complexity and intersectional nature of gender, as well as the impact of the differences in adoption and implementation of policies by the relevant governments.

**Research Ethics**

This research was duly approved by the Australian National University’s Ethics Committee. The permission of the Ethics Committee was obtained before the commencement of fieldwork. The details of the proposed research, including details of the investigator, research supervisor, brief description of research, location of data collection, aims of the project and proposed methodology, were provided to the committee. In line with the ethics conditions, government officials were invited to participate in the study. The participants in the research were treated with the utmost respect and integrity. The national and international policing experience of the researcher was of help in the fieldwork for understanding the cultural sensitivities of a diversity of people. The participation of respondents was on a strictly voluntary basis; they were not paid any monetary incentives and they gave informed consent in writing. Further, they were briefed that the information asked for and collected through the questionnaire was for research purposes only. Participants were assured that their names and identities would not be disclosed in the thesis or any other publication unless they explicitly gave their consent. The data was kept strictly confidential.\(^{101}\)

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\(^{101}\) The research participants were given the name of the local contact person in case they wanted to make any contact during or after the fieldwork. The employees were also given the details of the University’s Ethics Committee and the research supervisor, in case they wanted to communicate to make any complaints regarding the research process. The University’s ethics requirements were thus thoroughly met both during and after the fieldwork.
Data Analysis Methods

The verbatim qualitative data was added to a Microsoft Excel sheet. Each response was read for the trends which were assigned numeric codes.

Thematic Trends

This process resulted in the identification of trends in the qualitative data set. The thematic codes detected patterns in the data (Bazeley 2009). These trends were identified based on responses. A couple of examples are provided below and the complete themes are given in Appendix 6.

Table 5.2 Example: Themes on Representation

<p>| Q 2.1 What is your opinion on fixing quota for women in public sector jobs? Why? |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CODES</th>
<th>THEMATIC LABELS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Irrelevant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Open merit/ No quota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yes, for some time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Yes, employee gives justification</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3 Example: Themes on Access to Resources

<p>| Q 3.1. In your opinion which staff policies/practices in your office that, if changed, could bring immediate improvement in inequality between male and female employees? How? |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CODES</th>
<th>THEMATIC LABELS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>NA Only M/F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>No need, already equal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Equal treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Quotas/ facilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Gender equality policies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Statistical Analysis

The conversion of qualitative data into quantitative data allowed statistical analysis which resulted in 'meta-themes [that] represent themes at a higher level of abstraction than the original emergent theme' (Onwuegbuzie: 398). The general linear model (GLM)\(^\text{102}\) referred to as univariate analysis\(^\text{103}\) was conducted. This included the independent variables (factors) of training, gender, organisational position, socio-cultural context, and organisation. The interaction of training with every other independent variable in influencing the dependent variable was also catered for in the model. This allowed results showing whether training alone or in conjunction with other independent variables had a significant relationship with the dependent variables (sub-questions) that were used to seek information about the issues of representation, access to resources and institutional practices (See Appendix 7). This model generated tables of Tests of Between-Subjects Effects showing the main effects and interaction effects of each independent variable in relation to the dependent variable under analysis. This identified the significant relations\(^\text{104}\) (p<0.05) between the independent and dependent variables constituting meta-themes (See Appendix 8).

\(^{102}\) This included the independent variables (factors) of training, gender, organisational position, socio-cultural context and organisation. The interaction of training with every other independent variable in influencing the dependent variable was also catered for in the model. This allowed results showing whether training alone or in conjunction with other independent variables had a significant relationship with the dependent variables (sub-questions) that were used to seek information about the issues of representation, access to resources and institutional practices.

\(^{103}\) The analysis menu of SPSS (version 17) under the General Linear Model allows for univariate analysis-of-variance models.

\(^{104}\) These tables of results are presented in Appendix 6. This analysis provided details of significant relationships which were then examined through descriptive analysis using the cross-tabulation function of the SPSS.
Explanation: Percentages and Description of Themes

The meta-themes and significant relationships found through the above procedure were explained in terms of percentages\(^\text{105}\) (Onwuegbuzie 2003: 397). These effect sizes represented ‘specific counts of significant statements (e.g., words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs, pages) or observations analysed that underlie emergent themes’ (Onwuegbuzie, 2003: 397). While percentages and counts are considered useful, it has been argued that it is a ‘means to an end, not the end itself’, with the end being a description of these trends from the qualitative data (Sandelowski 2000: 338). Bazeley (2009) has urged researchers to ‘Describe, compare, relate’ which implies interpretation of the trends. Sandelowski (2000: 335) has also argued: ‘All inquiry entails description, and all description entails interpretation’. The interpretation involved the bringing together of different pieces of trends and evidence to understand the meanings in relation to the research issues. Sandelowski (2000: 339) has encouraged researchers to use ‘qualitative description’ (descriptive analysis) independently or in conjunction with other methods. This entailed counting responses\(^\text{106}\) as well as the ‘description of the patterns or regularities in the data that have, in part, been discovered and then confirmed by counting’ (Sandelowski 2000: 338). Accordingly, in addition to the percentages and counts, a description of these themes was also done by reverting to the qualitative data.\(^\text{107}\) This reverse loop resulted in better

\(^{105}\) This was done with the use of the cross-tabulation function of SPSS.

\(^{106}\) This was done through the use of the crosstabs function in SPSS which displayed the relationship between variables in a tabular form. The tables so generated are given in Appendix 3. This was done with the use of filter function of MS Excel which allows each data cell of the Excel Sheet to be treated as a card. The filter function was applied to reshuffle the cards to find data for using in the qualitative description of themes in Chapter 6. For example, given the code of 1 for male and 2 for female and given the value of 0 to 5, 1 could easily filter information of male response representative of themes coded as 5 or 4 or 3 or 2 or 1.

\(^{107}\) This was done with the use of the filter function of MS Excel, which allows each data cell of the Excel Sheet to be treated as a card. The filter function was applied to reshuffle the cards to find data for the qualitative description of themes in Chapter 6. For example, given the code of 1 for male and 2 for female and given the value of 0 to 5, 1 could easily filter information of male response representative of themes coded as 5 or 4 or 3 or 2 or 1.
understanding and explanation and triangulation of the themes. Another level of interpretation involved the relation of these trends with the theoretical literature (Bazeley 2009), which is shown in Chapter 7, by relating the results with the feminist perspectives, development approaches and the context of Pakistan presented in Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

Limitations

The research faced some limitations, a key one being that research in Pakistan has generally overlooked the issue of sex segregation in the public sector, with government-commissioned reports focusing on representation but not access to resources or institutional practices. The published research on gender training is largely based on the experiential reflections of development practitioners who have conducted training workshops. A few years down the line some of these development practitioners reflected on their experiences to suggest that training does not advance gender equality (Mathur and Rajan 1997; Woodford Berger 2004; Mukhopadhyay 2007).

There were also issues related to the nature of the questionnaire and how it might be completed given the limited time that public sector employees had for face-to-face interviews. Employees were more accustomed to checklist type research questionnaires. While the employees agreed that a research approach involving open-ended questions was valuable because it allowed them an opportunity to express their opinions, there was also a concern that they were accustomed to ticking the boxes in multiple-choice questionnaires. A choice from set responses in a Likert scale does not provide the detailed information that can be gained from open-ended questions. Ideally, face-to-face interviews are preferred but
bureaucrats are generally very busy people. Similarly, it was observed that due to the political nature of the subject of gender equality, research participants' responses were influenced by the presence of the researcher. Both male and female officers approached for interviews tended to give politically correct responses in the formal interaction, which contrasted with their more open views in informal discussion.

While informal discussions could not be made part of the research due to the issues of consent, the approach to data collection was amended to hand over the questionnaire to be collected at a later time and to use the opportunity of meeting only to build rapport. This strategy was developed in face-to-face interactions with a few employees who were found to be more comfortable and open when they were handed a questionnaire to be collected later. The predominant approach to data collection thus involved building rapport, handing the questionnaire to the research participants, and assuring them that the researcher was not interested in names and that the filled-in questionnaire was to be returned in a sealed envelope. This strategy improved the quality of data because it was later found that employees came up with views similar to those they shared in informal discussions.

There was also an issue of cultural sensitivity, which was tied to rapport building, as it affected recruiting the respondents from the public sector. For example, an acceptance to participate in the study by filling in the questionnaire was usually followed by the offer of a cup of tea by the employees. A refusal of the offer of tea was considered offensive and discourteous and often meant an instant end to the meeting with the potential respondent, as for them it signalled that the researcher was interested only in his study and raised the

108 For instance, in a few cases where bureaucrats had agreed to face-to-face interviews, at the time of the interview they were called by the boss, were interrupted by telephone calls or requested rescheduling due to some unresolved domestic issue or unscheduled meeting.
question as to why they would agree to participate in a study which was not part of their job and did not offer them any benefit. On the other hand, acceptance meant more time to build rapport, which allowed a level of comfort where employees were happy to participate in the study.

It was important to be cognisant of the cultural sensitivities of the communities with which I was to interact. While employees found the subject of the research interesting and were happy to be consulted, women respondents showed more interest in the research and some were excited and made additional comments. For example, a woman in a senior position, pleasantly surprised by the (male) researcher, recalled the times in the 1970s when she joined the government department and had to face the staring eyes of males including junior level employees until she decided enough was enough:

I stood up in the middle of the corridor and asked those male servants staring at me, look at me this is how a woman looks like. Since then I never had any problem and now I am the boss of male officers (Respondent ID: 037).

Some male employees were forthcoming too, for instance, a male employee having never received gender training, on being approached by the researcher went on to say that gender equality was a development drama staged by the donors and feminists in Pakistan. The frequent transfer of officers was also an issue, with officers at the time of training being in different departments than found at the time of the fieldwork.110

Another issue was the worsening security situation at the time of fieldwork, where NWFP province (now renamed as Khyber-Pakhtunkhawa) was the live battleground

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109 It was invariably after two three meetings that one could more easily refuse the offer of a cup of tea without risking the annoyance of the host.

110 For instance, this researcher at the beginning of the fieldwork made a courtesy call to the federal Secretary Ministry of Women Development who in the next eight months was transferred to the diverse positions of Federal Secretary Health, Secretary to the President of Pakistan and then Federal Secretary Ministry of Petroleum.
between the Pakistan Army and the Pakistani Taliban. The world at large was alarmed by the Taliban gaining a foothold in Swat and being just sixty miles from Islamabad. The Baluchistan province at the time was emerging as the hotspot for target killing, in which people of Punjabi origin were the main victims. A visit to Quetta, the provincial capital of Baluchistan, revealed that field research would not be possible there. Other measures such as postal surveys were also not feasible due to the frequent transfers of the public sector employees. Therefore, at the very early stage of the fieldwork, a decision was made to restrict the scope of the research to the employees of the federal government of Pakistan in Islamabad and those of the government of AJK in Muzaffarabad. These sites have been discussed in some detail under the heading of Study Sites.

The security situation in Islamabad remained tense\textsuperscript{111} and uncertain during the whole period of fieldwork. Adjacent to the federal government secretariat, in front of the parliament building, Constitution Avenue was the main site for a sit-in (Dharna) of protesting lawyers. This resulted in a concentration of police, roadblocks, traffic jams, diversions and strict protocols to enter the secretariat compound, all of which contributed to the uncertainty on a daily basis. While nothing could be done about the security situation, scheduling was improvised so that when research was not possible due to some security event or closure of public offices, efforts were made to go to the second study site of Muzaffarabad where the security situation was largely under control. The key lesson is that in uncertain situations researchers must be ready to improvise and that includes redefining the scope of research, which in this case was done to include Muzaffarabad AJK.

\textsuperscript{111} On the first day in Islamabad when visits were planned to the government secretariat, a bomb blasted near the Danish Embassy. During the research, the popular Marriot Hotel from where I had to pass every time to go to the government offices was rammed into by a truck loaded with explosives. Further, the lawyers' movement for the restoration of supreme judiciary was at its peak.
Conclusion

This chapter has explained that methodologically this research is grounded in the theories of sex segregation in the labour market that have identified the issues of representation, access to resources and organisational practices as the basis of gender inequality. The research collected qualitative data and quantified it for further analysis. This analysis was done by adopting Onwuegbuzie’s (2003) method of finding meta-themes based on significant relationships and the Onwuegbuzie (2003) and Sandelowski (2000) methods of generation of emergent themes based on frequencies and counts of the emergent themes. The Sandelowski (2000) method of qualitative description was used for the elaboration of emergent themes in the statistical analysis.

A key issue the research faced was the scarcity of previous research on sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan, which to some extent has dealt with the issue of representation but has generally overlooked issues of access to resources and institutional practices and the connection with gender training. The accepted research practice which focuses on checklists and not open-ended questions, cultural sensitivity, the frequent transfer of officials and the worsening security situation at the time of the fieldwork were also issues. The next chapter presents the results of the research, which are discussed in Chapter 7.
CHAPTER 6: THE RESULTS

Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study regarding the central concern of this thesis, that is, the relationship of gender training with the problem of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan. The research asked questions of participants with and without gender training on the issues of women's representation, access to resources and the organisational practices to understand the impact of training on participants. (For details see Chapter 5). The study found that training was not significantly related\textsuperscript{112} to (p>0.05) research participants' attitudes to the representation of women, access to resources and changes in organisational practices (See Appendix 8).

The attitudes of research participants to the increased representation of women through quotas differed across geographic location, with those in Muzaffarabad generally supporting and those in Islamabad opposing quotas for women.\textsuperscript{113} Attitudes towards the representation of women were also related to the research participants' positions in the organisations. Those without gender training at the senior management level generally opposed women's increased representation in organisations through quotas but those with training at this level supported women's increased representation in organisations. At the middle management level those with training, however, tended to oppose quotas for women, and this included women as well, suggesting that training had an opposite effect to what was intended by those managing and facilitating training.

\textsuperscript{112} Where training had some effect, it depended on a level of factor, suggesting the effect on attitude was due to that level of factor in conflict with other levels of that factor, not entirely due to training as such.

\textsuperscript{113} The univariate analysis of variance is exploratory and identified the significant and insignificant relationships between the independent and dependent variables. For example, it showed that employees' responses across location significantly differed. The patterns of the differences were then teased out through the cross-tabulation analysis which gave a clearer picture of the percentages of employees who had a particular opinion on the representation of women. The same applies to all questions in the study.
Training also did not result in a significant change (p>0.05) in attitudes to women’s access to resources in the public sector. Men at the middle management level who had received gender training increasingly opposed the adoption of gender policies and pro-women strategies which could result in women’s increased access to resources. However, women pointed out the need to take steps to increase their access to social and institutional resources, suggesting that gender interest rather than training determined who supports or opposes women’s access to resources. Men at the senior management level who had received training pointed to measures for increased access of women to social and institutional resources that were needed for achieving progress towards equality.

Contrary to the intended purpose of training, the research found training was not significantly related to a change in research participants’ routine activities in organisations. Research participants’ activities in organisations were governed by organisational policies and mandates rather than by training per se. It was found that the behaviour of research participants in organisations was governed by organisational policies rather than by training, which was generic in nature and not often related to trainees’ work, suggesting that the gender blindness of policies hinders work on gender equality.

Attitudes towards Representation of Women in the Public Sector

Training was not found to be significantly related\textsuperscript{114} (p>0.05) to research participants’ attitudes towards quotas for women (See Annexure 8, Statistical Analysis: A, Tables 1& 2). This meant that on average the attitudes of the research participants with training were not significantly different from those without training, and this was not due to

\textsuperscript{114} The univariate analysis of variance is exploratory and identified the significant and insignificant relationships between the independent and dependent variables. For example, it showed that employees’ responses across location differed significantly. The patterns of the differences were then teased out through the cross-tabulation analysis which gave a clearer picture of the percentages of employees who had a particular opinion on the representation of women. The same applies to all questions in this study.
chance but rather was likely to be the case for the broader population. The attitudes towards quotas for women were, however, significantly related (p<0.05) to their socio-political context, organisation and the interaction of training with the organisation (See Annexure 8, A, Table 1). These trends are explained below.

Attitudes towards Representation: Role of Socio-political Context

The socio-political context of the research participants generally determined whether they opposed or supported quotas for women. Employees were more likely to support quotas if they were from Muzaffarabad than Islamabad. The percentage responses are as follows. Note that support for quotas was clear in both areas but with the unexpected result that more women than men in Islamabad opposed quotas (See Table 6.1).

| Table 6.1 Quotas for women, percentage of opinions by location and gender |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
|                            | MUZAFFARABAD | ISLAMABAD                  |
|                            | Women %      | Men %                      | Women %      | Men %                      |
| Irrelevant                  | 0            | 0                          | 3            | 4                          |
| Opposition                  |              |                            |              |                            |
| Open merit/ No quota        | 11           | 33                         | 42           | 37                         |
| Support                     |              |                            |              |                            |
| Yes, for some time          | 0            | 8                          | 10           | 12                         |
| Yes                         | 14           | 21                         | 14           | 23                         |
| Yes, Respondent gave        | 75           | 38                         | 31           | 24                         |
| reasons                     |              |                            |              |                            |
| Total Support               | 89 %         | 67 %                       | 55 %         | 59 %                       |
| (N= 198)                    |              |                            |              |                            |

The opposition to quotas was greater in Islamabad than Muzaffarabad. In Islamabad 42 percent of women and 37 percent of men in the sample reported that there should be no quotas for women and that recruitment should be made solely through open competition among all applicants regardless of gender. The last three rows of the table show that the support for quotas was greater in Muzaffarabad than Islamabad. In Muzaffarabad a total of
89 percent (14+75) women and 67 percent (8+21+38) men desired quotas for women. These percentages also show that support for quotas was highest among women in Muzaffarabad (89 percent) where it was also more than for men (67 percent) but it was lowest in Islamabad (55 percent) where it was even lower than the percentage of men (59 percent) supporting quotas for women.\footnote{This was also confirmed in response to question as to the extent of quotas research participants desired should be implemented. It was found that the attitudes were generally favourable in Muzaffarabad with 54 percent women and 29 percent men in the study sample from Muzaffarabad desiring a higher quota for women. By comparison, only 25 percent of women and 17 percent of men in the sample from Islamabad supported the higher quotas for women. The support for the higher quotas for women among both women and men was much higher in Muzaffarabad than Islamabad (almost double), and in both locations more women (54 and 25 percent respectively) than men (29 and 17 percent respectively) wanted a higher quota, thus confirming that attitudes towards women's representation through quotas were more favourable among women in Muzaffarabad.}

Those who gave reasons for supporting quotas for women usually argued that quotas were necessary because women lagged behind in development: ‘one gender is behind in development’ (Respondent ID: 025). One respondent pointed out that ‘women participation is very low in public sector’ (Respondent ID: 160). Another argued that quotas as affirmative measures were ‘one of the penetrating strategies’ (Respondent ID: 183), meaning that quotas are a key intervention for the elimination of sex segregation in the public sector. The employees explained equitable representation could only be achieved through the formulation and implementation of specific policies. A joint reading of many responses suggests that the implementation of women-specific policies would ‘ensure more women flow into the public services’ (Respondent ID: 010), which would result in ‘maximum participation of females’ (Respondent ID: 002), and as a result ‘women will get equal status’ (Respondent ID: 187). Similarly, employees also speculated about what would happen if specific policies were not adopted, ‘it means that all the vacancies are advertised for males’ (Respondent ID: 008).
The majority of the research participants in Muzaffarabad who had not received gender training had a similar response. One employee, for instance, stated that quotas would help ‘bridge the gap of gender balance in workplaces’ (Respondent ID: 100) and another believed that quotas for women would ‘empower women’ (Respondent ID: 106). Research participants, both without and with gender training, had a common realisation that social arrangements disadvantaged women and privileged men through the inequitable distribution of resources such as education, economic deprivation and fewer opportunities for women. For instance, an employee with training maintained that quotas were needed ‘till rational distribution of resources is possible’ (Respondent ID: 048). Another explained it would improve ‘creation of job opportunities for women which would be beneficial’ (Respondent ID: 110). Overall, the views of research participants who supported quotas are summed up in the following statements:

It will not be needed after the provision of equal chances of education and progress. However, a society in which some segment is deprived, quota for women should be made in every sphere so that women could be able to reflect and prove themselves in all spheres of work (Respondent ID: 193).

As both genders don’t have equal access to opportunities, therefore opting for quota free policies may not work before making a levelled playing field for both (Respondent ID: 136).

Men and women who opposed quotas and wanted open merit gave a range of reasons for their stance. Generally, men considered quotas as discriminatory and argued that gender equality was about equal opportunities and not about special opportunities for women. There was a fear that the integration of women would result in fewer opportunities for men. There was a realisation that quotas could result in a situation in which in some households both men and women would be employed, whereas in others both men and
women would be unemployed. An employee summed up the view of men who opposed quotas:

No. There is a lot of unemployment among men, who are mostly the only bread-earners in the family. No one would prefer a state of affairs where in one household both husband and wife has government jobs while the neighbours have hundred percent unemployment (Respondent ID: 109).

Women who opposed quotas argued that merit and competition were important. As one employee said, ‘I do not approve of quotas for any one. Merit is important’ (Respondent ID: 093). One reason given by women research participants was that ‘women have to compete like men in public service’ (Respondent ID: 124). The concerns with merit and the emphasis on competition were due to their desire to be understood as able, and so different from women who did not make it into the public sector. Their view, rather than representing the concerns of equality and possibly the majority of excluded women, was more oriented towards organisational values such as competition, merit and impartiality.

Fixing quotas for women would mean giving a certain number of jobs to women in the public sector just because they are women. Instead steps should be taken to ensure that women are provided with equal opportunities of education and to enter public service as men do and they must compete for the job. Quotas should not be reserved for women. It is in itself a form of gender discrimination. It may also lead to selection of undeserving candidates (Respondent ID: 182).

Attitudes towards Representation: Role of Organisation

The support and opposition to quotas was also significantly different across public sector organisations with male-dominated organisations opposing quotas and the less

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116 To examine the interaction of gender training and organisation in determining employees’ opinions about affirmative action for women, a descriptive cross-tabulation analysis was conducted with Training and Organisation as independent variables and OrgFixQuotas as the dependent variable. This new variable was
male-dominated organisations generally supporting quotas for women. This is shown in the following table.

| Table 6.2: Quotas for women Percentage of opinions by Organisations and Training |
|----------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| ORGANISATION                          | HAD TRAINING | IRRELEVANT | NO QUOTAS | SUPPORT QUOTAS |
| Women Development                     | No         | 0         | 0         | 100        |
| Support (with Training)               |            |           |           |            |
| Planning & Development                | Yes        | 0         | 0         | 100        |
| Education                             | Yes        | 0         | 19        | 81         |
| Agriculture                           | No         | 14        | 57        | 29         |
| Services & General Admin              | Yes        | 0         | 37        | 63         |
| Opposition (with Training)            |            |           |           |            |
| Industries & Production               | No         | 0         | 100       | 0          |
| Health                                | Yes        | 0         | 33        | 67         |
| Social Welfare                        | No         | 0         | 75        | 25         |
| Finance & Statistics                  | Yes        | 0         | 36        | 64         |
| Law, Human Rights¹¹⁷                   | No         | 11        | 33        | 56         |
|                                     | Yes        | 0         | 50        | 50         |
|                                     | No         | 0         | 100       | 0          |
|                                     | Yes        | 0         | 0         | 0          |

All the employees both with and without training in the Ministry of Women Development reported that quotas were necessary for the representation of women. A

carved out by recoding the dependent variable 'opinion on fixing quota'. For this purpose all responses coded as 1 and 2 were re-coded as 1 and 2 but responses coded as 3, 4 and 5 were re-coded as 3. This was done to trace the clear pattern of support for or opposition to affirmative action in the organisations.

¹¹⁷ As only one research participant from the Ministry of Law and Human Rights responded to this question, the opposition of that participant who had not received training cannot be generalised.
research participant from this Ministry was of the view that quotas were needed to offset the adverse effects of social disparities on women so as to bring them up to par with men (Respondent ID: 021). Another supported quotas as a temporary solution but argued that also the ‘disparities in education should be addressed by taking appropriate measures to increase enrolment rate and overcome the dropout rate’ (Respondent ID: 040). The common view was that sex segregation in the public sector was due to lack of opportunities and rights of women. As one research participant from the ministry argued, ‘Quotas are essential in a country like Pakistan otherwise women would not get their rights in public services’ (Respondent ID: 175). Another argued:

It is a good approach, at least. It will increase the opportunities for women and their participation in public sector. But when we get gender equity/equality then we may not need to fix (Respondent ID: 041).

In the Education Department a great majority of employees both without and with training (81 percent and 85 percent respectively) wanted quotas for women. In this department the research participants who supported quotas for women argued that quotas were a way to ‘encourage women’ (Respondent IDs: 031; 138; 140) and that quotas were needed to facilitate women’s participation in the public sector (Respondent IDs: 010; 011; 135; 060; 180) in terms of their appointment (Respondent ID: 012) and having more chances and opportunities (Respondent IDs: 167; 173). Quotas were also considered a means to ‘increase women’s participation in social life’ (Respondent ID: 155). There was a realisation of male hegemony in society, as one research participant supporting quotas argued that ‘women cannot compete men folk always’ (Respondent ID: 050) and another said, ‘fixed seats everywhere [would help] to avoid encounter’ with men (Respondent ID: 017). In a society where ‘gender discrimination’ was rampant (Respondent ID: 125), the ‘quota-free policies may not work before making a level playing field for both women and
men’ (Respondent ID: 136). By contrast, the adoption of quotas would allow women to ‘reflect their worth in a developing society’ (Respondent ID: 177), as fixing quotas would enable them to ‘play the role for the progress of the country’ (Respondent ID: 191). Quotas could thus mitigate the negative impact of social arrangements, as well as address gender imbalance in the public sector.

This is very important especially in our society to empower women. As women get lesser opportunities and exposure for their education and acquiring specific skills that are pre-requisite of the jobs, fixing quota for them will help bridge the gap of gender balance in work places (Respondent ID: 106).

In the Planning and Development Department only 38 percent of employees without training were of the view that quotas were required but training had a positive effect on employees with 75 percent desiring quotas for the representation of women in the public sector. In this department the reasons given by research participants for supporting quotas included that quotas would result in increased participation of women in the public sector (Respondent IDs: 002; 023;024; 181; 183), there was a need to create opportunities for women because they were lagging behind in development (Respondent IDs: 025; 052; 156; 160), and quotas ‘will provide opportunities for women empowerment’ (Respondent ID: 078) if implemented ‘in letter and spirit’ (Respondent ID: 172). One participant argued that ‘society is male dominated, to avoid the domination quota should be necessary’ (Respondent ID: 026) and another maintained that fixing quotas, ‘is like giving extra protection till we reach a level where they [women] can compete like equals’ (Respondent ID: 022). As at present ‘women do not have equal opportunities with men in education and other resources’ (Respondent ID: 152), provision of education was important (Respondent IDs: 178; 185). Another argued that ‘most women do not work after education and after getting married’ (Respondent ID: 159). Another stated that ‘Yes, on the basis of statistical
analysis of education between men and women, quota should be fixed’ (Respondent ID: 197). Some argued that women’s participation would result in an economic uplift of their family (Respondent IDs: 034; 069) and that ‘it is need of the time’ (Respondent ID: 054). Instead of quotas, attention needs to be given to the work environment, which is more important (Respondent ID: 015).

Those who opposed quotas argued that there was no need for fixing quotas (Respondent IDs: 020; 067; 082; 085) and that equality already existed (Respondent ID: 097). Other opinions were that quotas are not fair and selection should be on a fair basis (Respondent IDs: 039; 179) and that ‘merit’ was important (Respondent IDs: 086; 092; 093; 098; 099; 132; 189). One participant argued, ‘I don’t agree with quotas, there should be open merit. Whosoever is competent should be given a chance’ (Respondent ID: 194). One participant who had received training still believed that ‘It would adversely affect gender mainstreaming. There should be no quota at any level’ (Respondent ID: 033). One participant argued that ‘Quotas means denying gender equality and it amounts to denying the equal opportunity to men’ (Respondent ID: 184).

The support for quotas as a result of training increased in the Agriculture Department and the Services and General Administration Department but it is worth noting that a majority of those in the Agriculture Department and an even percentage of those in the Services and General Administration Department without training opposed quotas for women (See Table 6.2). As the majority of employees in these departments have not received training, the result indicates overall opposition to quotas in these departments.

Training seemed to have provoked resistance to quotas for women in other departments. For example, in the Industries and Production Department employees both without and with training opposed quotas for women in the public sector on the grounds
that quotas were a form of gender discrimination (Respondent IDs: 065;107; 157) and ‘gender biased’ (Respondent ID: 066). There was a view that since society is patriarchal and it is for men to earn for the family, the introduction of quotas would result in the unemployment of men.

Pakistani society is patriarchal one and a man is responsible for bread-earning. So, in view of high unemployment ratio in the male, one should keep this fact also in mind’ (Respondent ID: 035).

In the Health Department the majority of research participants without training supported quotas as a means to create more job opportunities for women (Respondent IDs: 110; 111: 114; 142; 144; 145: 163: 164) but some research participants who had received training opposed quotas on the grounds that merit was important (Respondent IDs: 001; 018). While the responses of research participants without training indicate generally more support for women quotas in the public sector, the responses of those with training opposing quotas and supporting merit suggest that training results in some level of resistance among both men and women. A male doctor who had not received training pointed to the need for quotas ‘so that men have more opportunities’\textsuperscript{118} of jobs’ (Respondent ID: 051), indicating the opposition to the progress of women in the Health Department.

In the Social Welfare Department there was less support for quotas among those research participants who had received training than those who had never received gender training, suggesting a rather quota friendly environment and the negative impact of training in terms of participants’ opposition to quotas for women. Those without training supported quotas on the grounds of equal opportunity and encouragement for women to join the public sector (Respondent IDs: 103; 104; 105); some even pointed to a criterion for quotas.

\textsuperscript{118} It is pertinent to mention here that quotas have for long being in practice in terms of enrolment of women into the medical colleges. Men in colleges generally believe that women’s intake into medical colleges through quotas has been at their expense and now has reached the time that men in medical colleges are fewer in number and hence they need quotas, not women.
according to population ratio (Respondent ID: 118), which in the case of Pakistan is 49 percent men and 51 percent women; and one even suggested a much larger quota for women: ‘women quota must be at ¾ ratio. This is the foundation for further gender mainstreaming of women in development’ (Respondent ID: 123). Another pointed out that quotas were ‘affirmative action to achieve the gender parity in public sector. In a male dominated society where women lack behind in education and skills’ (Respondent ID: 166). By contrast, those with training who opposed quotas argued in favour of open merit (Respondent IDs: 042; 057; 058; 074; 078; 158). As one research participant argued, ‘Open merit can be more better option’ (Respondent ID: 045).

In the Finance and Statistics Department the majority of employees without training supported quotas for women but an even percentage of participants with gender training opposed quotas for women, suggesting that training had not the intended effect on the participants. Those who had never received gender training but supported quotas argued that ‘quotas would improve their [women’s] status’ (Respondent ID: 102) and that quotas were necessary because women do not have equal opportunities of ‘education and training’ (Respondent ID: 119). Quotas would encourage women to join the public sector (Respondent ID: 148). A participant without training who favoured quotas remarked, ‘Yes, because female talent must not be wasted’ (Respondent ID: 150). By contrast, those who even after training opposed quotas argued in favour of open merit (Respondent IDs: 063; 073; 075). As one research participant with training argued, ‘There should be open merit, quota for women is gender disparity’ (Respondent ID: 072), suggesting that training had provoked resistance in this department to women’s increased representation through quotas.
Attitudes towards Extent of Quotas: Role of Training in Level of Employees

The attitudes of research participants towards the extent of women’s representation through quotas in the public sector organisations were not found to be significantly related to training (p>0.05), that is, training was not likely to determine the attitudes of research participants. However, training was significantly related (p<0.05) to the organisational level of participants, that is, the support of lower or higher quotas for women as a result of training was influenced by the level of the research participants in the organisational hierarchy (See Appendix 8, A, Table 2). At the middle management level, attitudes towards the extent of representation of women in the public sector were slightly more unfavourable for participants who had received training (See Table 6.3).

Table 6.3: Quotas for Women, Public Service Levels and Training

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVEL OF SUPPORT</th>
<th>POSITION (B.P.S.)</th>
<th>TRAINING</th>
<th>NO RESPONSE</th>
<th>0–25 %</th>
<th>26–51 %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle Management Less support</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Management More support</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Management More support</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Management Less support</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The attitudes of participants at the middle management level (Scales 17 and 18) with training were less favourable towards quotas compared to those at this level without training, which shows a small but significant negative effect of training at this level. At the senior management level (Scale 19) none of the research participants without training desired 26 to 51 percent quotas for women but 56 percent of research participants who had received training reported that 26 to 51 percent quotas for women were needed to make progress towards the enhanced representation of women in the public sector. This shows
that while training clearly had a positive impact on the attitudes of research participants at the senior level, it had a small negative impact on those at the lower level.

In summary, the patterns of support and opposition to quotas, rather than having a significant relation to training, differed significantly according to the socio-political context of the research participants, with more support in the case of participants from Muzaffarabad than Islamabad, and more from senior than middle management levels. The data also indicated a considerable resistance to quotas, especially if the research participants were from Islamabad, and it is worth noting that the majority of research participants in senior positions who had not received gender training opposed quotas for women, which points to the opposition to quotas at the senior management level, because not many at the senior level had received gender training. The opposition by men and women at the middle management level points to occupational closure, which is characterised by a conflict of interest of participants (men and women) with other women for a monopoly over existing opportunities and the elite status. The participants at the senior management level without training opposed quotas for women, and the support by the tiny minority at this level having undergone training merely reflects patriarchal benevolence, because the elite status and the monopoly over opportunities of these participants was not at risk as a result of the changes proposed for the entry level of public sector organisations. These findings will be analysed and discussed in Chapter 7.

*Attitudes towards Access to Resources*

Training was not found to be significantly related (p> 0.05) to research participants’ attitudes towards the need and identification of policies and steps for achieving progress towards gender equality (See Annexure 8, Statistical Analysis: B, Tables 1 & 2). However, gender was significantly related (p<0.05) to training, in that more women than men
identified that pro-women policies were needed for gender equality in the public sector, suggesting that the impact of training on gender was significant and was unlikely to have occurred due to chance (See Annexure 8, Table 1). The organisations of the research participants were also significantly related (p<0.05) to the extent that they identified changes and measures required for achieving progress towards gender equality in the public sector (ibid.). These findings are presented below.

**Attitudes towards Identification of Changes Needed: Influence of Training on Gender**

The attitude of employees in terms of the identification of policies for progress towards gender equality was found to be a function of the influence of training on the gender of respondents, with women affected more than men. This is illustrated in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Training</th>
<th>Not Applicable (Only Male/Female) %</th>
<th>No need (Already equal) %</th>
<th>Equal Opportunities %</th>
<th>Quotas/ facilities %</th>
<th>Gender equality policies %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.4 shows that 28 percent of women without training and 23 percent with training were of the view that equality existed between men and women in the public sector and there was no need to change policies, which suggests some effect of training (though little) on both men and women. Similarly, 35 percent of the men in the sample who were without training reported that there was no need for gender equality policies and that they were already equal. But 27 percent of men who had received training still believed that
there was no need for change in policies for achieving progress towards equality and that
inequality was not an issue. However, the greater effect of training was in terms of
participants pointing out policies for change, including promotion quotas and facilities,
where 39 percent of women without training supported policies around promotion quotas
and facilities and 50 percent of women with gender training supported these policies. This
suggests a positive effect of training on women in terms of the identification of issues
which need to be resolved through policy action. The comparison of the responses of men
in this category without and with training shows that relatively more men without training,
that is, 33 percent, demanded such policies but fewer with training, that is, 29 percent,
desired policies for promotion quotas and facilities for women. This indicates that training
provoked some resistance to the adoption of such policies. There was a positive effect for
policy change for both male and female participants if they had received training (15
percent) than if they had not received training (6 percent and 10 percent respectively).

Many issues were identified on which policy action or implementation were
required to achieve equality. They included the lack of childcare (Respondent IDs: 045; 053),
the timely promotion from lower rank to senior rank (Respondent ID: 170), posting to
the family stations\textsuperscript{119} (Respondent ID: 184), prompt responses to administrative problems
(Respondent ID: 053), the fair distribution of jobs and the extent of the representation of
women in them, adherence to office timings, incentives and assigning of duties
(Respondent ID: 131), leadership roles (Respondent IDs: 130; 137) and equal opportunity
of training and skills for capacity building (Respondent IDs: 122; 089; 117). As one
respondent said, there was ‘discrimination in assigning duties to women’ (Respondent ID:

\textsuperscript{119} ‘Family station’ means a place of posting in proximity to the family home of employees. Women who are
posted far from their homes have to travel a great distance to reach the offices, which, given the obsolete
transport system, in itself proves to be an ordeal.
143) Another made a general comment that there was a need for the ‘incentives for women to compete with the male staff’ (Respondent ID: 141).

Research participants also pointed out the need to solve issues including the lack of facilities in offices\(^\text{120}\) such as the absence of ladies’ toilets\(^\text{121}\) (Respondent IDs: 058; 053) and rest/recreation spaces in offices (Respondent IDs: 082; 110). Transport arrangements were also needed to be made for women (Respondent IDs: 114; 086). There was also a view that office timing must be strictly observed and women must not be compelled to stay late in offices (Respondent ID: 198). One female employee responding to the common accusation that women left the office on time while men did not, which implied that men were hard-working and best suited for institutions, argued that during office hours women stayed at their desks while men moved from office to office and thus wasted time (Respondent ID: 016). Another stated that working in an office did not relieve them from their household chores, including the upbringing and education of children (Respondent ID: 015). She pointed out that when she stayed in the office till late at night along with male colleagues during the budget making process, her children were neglected. She did it only to make sure that no one raised the issue that women cannot work till late in the office. For another woman, equality could be achieved only by ‘overcoming the tempting instincts of harassment’ against women (Respondent ID: 136). But it seemed that all these issues were considered by some men as excuses on the part of women, which made them unfit for recruitment into the public sector. As a male employee remarked:

\(^{120}\) It was observed that for a woman employee in Muzaffarabad, the existing room was altered to add a toilet. Whether she would require another toilet with her room if she was to be promoted was not known. As women were only a few, the recreational areas were de facto male spaces. Given the cultural constraints and women as a significant minority in institutions, neither women nor men considered it appropriate for a few women to be among majority of men.

\(^{121}\) The social norms did not permit toilets constructed for men to be used by women, which by any standard were the worst-kept part of the public sector institutions.
While recruiting the persons we think that this lady is not suitable for this job because she will not work. And we should look at the other side of the picture that most of the girls who work in offices; they generally leave before 2:30 p.m [official time]. Now that is another thing that if someone makes them sit late that will be discrimination that’s true. But while the general atmosphere of the office is such that everybody in the office is sitting at least up to 4 o’clock then our female colleagues they do not like to sit even five minutes after 2:30 p.m… So this is the thing which stops us to recruit the female candidates because they will frequently go on leave. They will have a number of excuses, for example, my child is sick, there are so many; sometimes they don’t need any excuse. (Respondent ID: 184)

There was an economic dimension as the study found a trade-off between women’s decision to pursue a career in the public sector and being willing to arrange and pay for childcare, rather than having their husbands’ and the broader household’s income contributing to the cost of childcare. While the Government of Pakistan pays equal wages to women and men, however, the responses of women participants indicated that as no subsidy was given to women or men for childcare, the costs of childcare were disproportionately borne by women, rather than their husbands. The research participants indicated that when the women paid for childcare, men were able to generate surplus value by not paying for the care of their children.

In my staff there is no day care facility, hence the same amount of salary paid to male and female certainly overburden female or result in less income (Respondent ID: 036).

Attitudes towards Identification of Changes Needed: Role of Organisations

The study found that organisation rather than training\(^{122}\) was the significant factor in relation to the attitudes of participants towards the identification of changes and measures required for achieving progress towards gender equality in the public sector.

\(^{122}\) Although training as a whole was not significantly related to the attitude of research participants about the need for change, the impact of training is illustrated in Table 6.5.
Research participants were more likely to favour the status quo and believe that changes in policies were not needed if they were from more male-dominated organisations with no exposure to gender equality discourse. This is shown in Table 6.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demand for Change</th>
<th>Organisations</th>
<th>Had Training</th>
<th>Not applicable</th>
<th>No Need (Already Equal)</th>
<th>Need Equal Treatment</th>
<th>Need Promotion Quotas/Facilities</th>
<th>Need Gender Equality Policies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More Demand</td>
<td>Women Development</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Law, Human Rights</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Planning &amp; Development</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Services &amp; General Administration</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Health</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Demand</td>
<td>Finance &amp; Statistics</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social Welfare</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Industries &amp; Production</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.5 shows that there was more demand for change in some departments than others. All the participants from the Ministry of Women Development, even without gender training, wanted policies around quotas and facilities for women and 75 percent of those with gender training and 25 percent of those without training desired the adoption of gender equality policies for achieving progress towards gender equality, suggesting the attitudes towards change in policies were highly favourable there. One participant pointed out that
‘there is no daycare facility’ (Respondent ID: 036) and another argued that ‘promotion quotas are needed (Respondent ID: 040). The gender-trained participants in this Ministry were of the view that more awareness of gender issues coupled with policies to that effect were required (Respondent IDs: 041; 175).

Similarly, training had generally a positive impact on participants from the Education Department, as slightly more with training than without it expressed the need for policies around promotion quotas and facilities, and whereas no research participant without training expressed the need for the adoption of gender equality policies, 12 percent with training did so. In this department slightly more research participants without training than with it were of the view that there was no need for such policies and they were already equal. A participant without training, for instance, argued that ‘We are blessed people in this case that in our department there is no gender discrimination’ (Respondent ID: 138) and others also believed this (Respondent IDs: 109; 125; 127; 173; 187). Similar views were expressed by those with gender training. As one participant remarked, ‘Nothing working in a very good atmosphere’ (Respondent ID: 167), meaning that there was no need for a change in policies and pointing rather to the better environment of the ministry.

Those who argued for the need for gender equality policies gave different suggestions. One participant suggested that ‘Males and females should be involved in all decision making processes’ (Respondent ID: 169) and another was of the view that ‘equality in staff policies and practices’ was required (Respondent ID: 009). There was a realisation that women’s participation at higher levels was required (Respondent IDs: 011; 090; 106; 135). As one participant argued, ‘job opportunities should be created’ for women (Respondent ID: 010). Another argued that this was so because ‘male are more dominant
on top positions’ (Respondent ID: 172). The responses suggested the positive attitudes of participants, regardless of training, towards the need for change in this department.

Training also had a positive impact in the Planning and Development Department where 43 percent of participants who had not received training believed there was no need for change, but only 11 percent with training did so. Typical responses were, ‘There is no inequality in my office between male and female’ (Respondent ID: 069) or ‘I have not experienced/noticed such inequality’ (Respondent ID: 093), and as such they believed that there was no need for gender equality policies (Respondents IDs: 097; 098; 194; 198). Similarly, 36 percent of those without training were of the view that equal treatment rather than policies was needed but only 11 percent with training had this view, suggesting a rather positive impact of training. The participants were of the view that policies around recruitment and promotion quotas were required (Respondent IDs: 002; 003; 023; 024; 048) and those with training were of the view that gender equality policies were required.

One participant was of the view that policies must be enacted to effect change in ‘social thinking’ (Respondent ID: 015) and another argued that ‘it is a matter of change in mentality which is innate or if it [change] is possible even then it needs 20–30 years’ (Respondent ID: 156). However, others believed that change can be effected through increased female participation, ‘Female recruitment should be encouraged; it will help normalising attitude of society towards working women’ (Respondent ID: 022). Another argued for ‘changing social values and inducting more women in services’ (Respondent ID: 054), thus suggesting the social construction of gender and the role that policies can play towards achievement of gender equality.

There was also a view that the internal environment of the public sector could be improved through the provision of facilities for women, as it is the lack of attention to the
problems faced by women which perpetuates inequality in the public sector (Respondent ID: 034). The facilities suggested included rooms for women in offices because the ones they were working in were crowded with many men and few women (Respondent IDs: 082; 088; 092). As one participant said, ‘Provision of requisite physical facilities like separate rooms and office equipment (computer etc.)’ (Respondent ID: 033). One participant said, ‘Child daycare. Women with children would be able to concentrate on work better’ (Respondent ID: 099). ‘Women’s hostels’ (Respondent ID: 181) were also suggested, indicating that the drive for gender equality requires change on all fronts including the redesigning of women-unfriendly offices in the public sector and the provision of childcare at the workplace. Attention to these aspects is necessary for the provision of ‘conducive environment for females’ (Respondent ID: 185). Another argued that ‘posting procedures of women employees should be easy, as that they should not face family problems and have to quit jobs’ (Respondent ID: 160). Another believed that women are not promoted when their turn comes and that ‘women’s promotion is always discouraged’ (Respondent ID: 170). One participant arguing for change on all fronts said, ‘In our department there is dire need to change the whole setup, environment and facilities. Everything should be changed’ (Respondent ID: 132). Another believed that in its present shape the Planning and Development Department was not suitable for women:

Over and above working, working on holidays, uncertain timings and immediate working nature, is the reason the Planning and Development Department is not fit/suitable for women (Respondent ID: 149).

This meant that working conditions such as time at the office rather than being governed by official policies were often subject to the workload, which gave power to the bosses to direct women to work beyond official office hours.
Training also provoked some resistance to change in other departments such as Services and General Administration, Health, Finance and Statistics and Social Welfare, and the resistance was even greater in the Agriculture Department and the Industries and Production Department (See Table 6.5). In the Agriculture Department, 60 percent of employees without training argued that there was no need for a change in policies and even after training 43 percent continued to believe there was no need for a change, suggesting strong opposition to change. The typical response was that there was ‘no inequality in our office’ (Respondent ID: 029). Gender inequality was not considered an issue in the Agriculture Department (Respondent IDs: 027; 077; 154; 186; 195). One participant suggested a criterion of ‘strictness of duties and appreciation for willing workers’ (Respondent ID: 038), implying that women were not willing workers and duties for them were not strict. Similarly, attitudes towards change in policies for progress towards gender equality, regardless of gender training, were negative for the participants from the Industries and Production Department, suggesting no impact of training as well as a strong resistance to change. As one participant said, ‘No policy needs to be changed’ (Respondent ID: 035). A male participant from this department argued that ‘since there are only two or three women officers, no need for such change’ (Respondent ID: 157), suggesting that the exclusion of women from the public sector is used by men in male-dominated organisations to sustain their privilege and resist change in policies.

The above results show that awareness of the need for change in policies irrespective of the training status of the research participants depended on which organisation they worked for. The majority of organisations were male dominated, but those organisations with some degree of inclusion of women and exposure to gender discourse were more likely to support a change in policies than those which had
traditionally excluded women or have remained alienated to gender equality interventions.

In these latter organisations employees favour the status quo and believe that no change in policies is required.

Attitudes towards the Need for Women-specific Strategies: Influence of Training on Level of Employees

The opinions of research participants regarding the need for a strategy for encouraging a work environment for women were not significantly related to training alone, nevertheless training was found to be significantly related to the level of employees, (See Appendix 8, B, Table 2) with employees at a higher level in favour of adopting women-specific strategies to achieve progress towards gender equality in the public sector. The level of significance (p, 0.05) shows that the attitudes of research participants at different levels of the organisational hierarchy were due to training and were unlikely to have occurred by chance. Attitudes were more favourable for research participants who had received training and were from the higher organisational level (See Table 6.6). At the lower level the attitudes of research participants who had received training were unfavourable, with more emphasis on adopting equal opportunity policies rather than pro-women policies.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of demand</th>
<th>Position (B.P.S)</th>
<th>Training</th>
<th>NA</th>
<th>Yes (without giving reasons)</th>
<th>Emphasis on Equal Opportunities</th>
<th>Demand women specific policies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle Management</td>
<td>Less demand</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Management</td>
<td>More demand</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The attitudes of participants at the middle management level (Scales 17 and 18) with training were not more favourable towards the need for women-specific policies than those at this level without training, which shows a small negative effect of training at this level. At the middle management level (Scale 17), an equal number of research participants (45 percent), both with and without training, were of the view that women-specific policies were required but at the next higher level of middle management (Scale 18), more employees without training (57 percent) and less with training (47 percent) wanted the adoption of women specific policies. The reasons given by those at the middle management level (Scales 17 and 18) for opposing quotas included a belief that there was no disparity or inequality (Respondent IDs: 029; 027). There was a view that women in the public sector faced ‘no barriers’ (Respondent ID: 005). One research participant maintained, ‘There is no such issue’ (Respondent ID: 068). Some men were of the view that if there was any inequality it related to the preferential treatment of women, because while both men and women received equal salary ‘men worked for more hours than women’ (Respondent ID:
It was stated that women were favoured: 'I believe the young women get more advantages as compared to young men' (Respondent ID: 032) and that 'Women have to change themselves. They should be bold enough to work at odd hours' (Respondent ID: 171). A male respondent desired a 'strictness of duties and appreciation for willing [women] workers' (Respondent ID: 038).

At the senior management level of Scale 19, only 29 percent of employees without gender training were of the view that women-specific policies were required but this percentage increased substantially to 87 percent of the respondents who had received gender training, which shows a significant positive effect of training on the attitudes of participants at the senior management level towards the need for the adoption of women-specific policies. At the middle management level of Scale 17, almost 13 percent of the participants without training emphasised that rather than women-specific policies, equal opportunity policies must be implemented. The rate for employees in this level who had received training even rose to 24 percent, which indicates opposition to women-specific policies by these employees. At the middle management level of Scale 18, whereas 22 percent of the participants without training wanted equal opportunity policies, the rate of those who wanted that declined to 14 percent, which indicates some positive effect of training at this level. At the senior management level (Scale 19), 29 percent of the participants without gender training wanted the implementation of equal opportunity policies but none of those with gender training wanted that, and more wanted women-specific policies, which shows a positive impact of training at the senior management level.

At the senior management level (Scale 19), the reasons given by those with training for their desire for the adoption of women-specific policies included ensuring fair selection processes (Respondent ID: 010) and improving women's access to resources (Respondent
A women-specific policy for 'transportation to and from workplace' was identified (Respondent ID: 022). There was a view that women must be given financial incentives to encourage their retention in the public sector (Respondent ID: 158). A policy was required for the provision of a childcare facility (Respondent ID: 048). Women's accommodation needs needed to be met through the establishment of 'working women hostels' (Respondent ID: 015). In the public sector there was a need for a 'code of conduct' (Respondent ID: 183). Another pointed out that at the wider social level there were constraints to women's safety in the public space and their concern about mobility needed addressing (Respondent IDs: 181; 189).

Both the opposition to women-specific policies at the middle management level and the policies identified for adoption at the senior management level converged on one point:

Strategy is a must. Prevailing setup is heavily male oriented and needs reforming /restructuring to accommodate female staff concerns/needs (Respondent ID: 061).

In summary, the resistance to the provision of resources to women was more frequent among men at the middle management level, suggesting occupational closure is caused by their claims on the monopoly of social and institutional resources as the basis of their continued privilege in the public sector. As the interests of men and women to secure resources directly clashed with one another, more men tended to oppose measures for women's access to resources. In higher positions where the interests of the participants and their institutional privilege were not compromised, those with training supported women's increased access to resources. However, with the existence of constraints, the lack of access to resources and the considerably less support for pro-women policies in those without gender training at the senior management level, the concessions granted as a result of training at this level are merely patriarchal benevolence.
Overall, the results relating to women’s lack of access to resources indicated that both state and family institutions put severe constraints in the way of women, which disenfranchise them. The results suggested that the integration of women in institutions, though desirable, was not sufficient in itself because it did not transform the patriarchal institutions. Integrated women faced material and structural constraints in terms of access to resources as identified above. These findings are analysed and discussed in Chapter 7.

Institutional Practices

The third issue that the study examined was how the policy approach of gender training relates to the practices of employees in the public sector of Pakistan. Respondents both with and without gender training were queried as to activities such as arranging meetings, spending time on matters of organisational interest, addressing gender issues, and the prevalence of discrimination and sexual harassment (Appendix 5: Questionnaire). The assumption was that the positive effect of training would mean a change in these organisational practices. However, the study found that training was not significantly related to these practices and that institutional inertia prevailed in organisations. This is explained below.

Meetings on Gender Issues: No Significant Effect of Training

The study found that despite some positive effects of gender training, it was not significantly related to the number of meetings held on gender issues by the participants (See Annexure 8, Statistical Analysis: C, Tables 1). While the majority of the participants without training reported not to have held even one meeting, a considerably large percentage of research participants with gender training also reported not to have held meetings on gender. Similarly, the number of meetings held by those who claimed to have
held such meetings was too small over a period of two years to warrant any significance as a result of training. This suggested that despite the rhetoric of the government and the donor agencies about changing behaviour, in reality institutional inertia prevailed in the public sector.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORGANISATIONS</th>
<th>HAD TRAINING</th>
<th>NO GENDER MEETING</th>
<th>NO NEED/ISSUE</th>
<th>UP-TO 5 GENDER MEETINGS</th>
<th>MORE THAN 5 MEETINGS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women Development</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services &amp; General Administration</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning &amp; Development</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Welfare</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>Health</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance &amp; Statistics</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industries &amp; Production</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law, Human Rights</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.7 shows the pervasiveness of institutional inertia resulting in lack of action on gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan. The majority of employees with and without training did not arrange even one meeting to highlight gender issues at workplaces, suggesting that gender was not a priority in the public sector organisations. The most
common responses of participants were ‘no’ and ‘nil’ (Respondent IDs: 001; 003; 007; 011; 014; 028; 058; 068; 082; 103; 122; 147; 151; 157; 184).

However, training had more positive effects in the Ministry of Women Development, the Services and General Administration Department and the Planning and Development Department, and some positive effect in the Agriculture Department, the Social Welfare Department and the Education Department, where some research participants who had received gender training claimed to have arranged more than five meetings over a period of two years. In the Ministry of Women Development, those who had conducted meetings were of the view that because it is a Women’s Ministry the job requires work on women’s rights. As one participant argued, ‘Ministry of Women Development (MOWD) is actively working on women’s rights’ (Respondent ID: 040). The reason for being in this ministry and not holding meetings was the level of the employee in the ministry. One said, ‘I do not conduct meetings because I am junior but discuss issues in an informal manner’ (Respondent ID: 041). Conducting meetings on gender was considered to be a job-specific task. As one research participant from the Services and General Administration Department who did not conduct any meeting on gender argued, ‘Did not arrange any. Was not required. This task is done by Social Welfare Department’ (Respondent ID: 146), suggesting that gender is a specific rather than a horizontal concern across all public sector organisations.

Many participants in the Social Welfare Department did not organise meetings on gender (Respondents IDs: 042; 043; 045; 047; 053; 058; 059; 076; 103; 104; 105; 118; 122; 123; 124; 161; 165; 166; 174). Others had arranged up to five meetings in a period of two years (Respondent IDs: 044; 046; 064; 074; 176). One participant pointed out that it was due to the gender-specific work that the meetings were arranged, ‘Most of the services
being provided to social welfare projects are gender balanced, so evaluation of their progress of course requires meetings’ (Respondent ID: 158).

Those in the Planning and Development Department who arranged meetings on gender issues also did so in relation to their work. As one research participant pointed out, ‘some meetings with NGOs and INGOs have been conducted’ (Respondent ID: 026). Another pointed out that it was in relation to the gender mainstreaming projects (Respondent ID: 32) and another said that it was in relation to ‘many projects which came to me for evaluation’ (Respondent ID: 170). A participant mentioned the apathy towards holding meetings on gender issues with a view to solving them and the appropriation of the gender mandate by the senior managers with donor funded money, maintaining,

Not a single meeting, seminar, symposium and workshop were conducted for the officers, but special facilities are provided and foreign tours are arranged for selected people (non-deserving officials), which is not result oriented (Respondent ID: 149).

In the Agriculture Department the majority did not arrange meetings on gender (Respondents IDs: 019; 027; 028; 029; 061; 077; 108; 186). Those who conducted such meetings believed it was in relation to the nature of their job. One participant said, ‘Many informal. Being Director (Planning), I prepare gender-related projects’ (Respondent ID: 037), suggesting that within organisations gender is the special concern of a few individuals rather than a horizontal concern, effectively resulting in the gender blindness of the rest of the organisation.

There was general disbelief in the Industries and Production Department, where gender was not considered an issue. One participant said, ‘No issue hence no need’ (Respondent ID: 066). In the Health Department and the Finance and Statistics Department, participants who either did or did not arrange meetings did not give any specific reasons.
The data suggests that employees only engage in gender equality work if it is part of their official job, but when they do engage, as in the Planning and Development Department, it may simply be an appropriation of gender equality through foreign-funded projects for maximising self privileges by the key decision makers in organisations.

*Time Spent on Gender Issues: Role of Organisations*

The findings that gender equality is not an organisational priority in the public sector of Pakistan and that institutional inertia prevails is consistent with the responses of participants about the time they spent on gender issues in one month. This is shown in Table 6.8. Some organisations and individuals mandated with gender equality work do engage in gender equality work, but the majority of organisations and individuals within organisations continue to be gender blind.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORGANISATIONS</th>
<th>HAD TRAINING</th>
<th>NO TIME SPENT</th>
<th>UP TO 1 HR</th>
<th>UP TO 3 HRS</th>
<th>UP TO 6 HRS</th>
<th>MORE THAN 8 HRS</th>
<th>TOTAL % SPENDING SOME TIME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women Development</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services &amp; General</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning &amp; Development</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Welfare</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance &amp; Statistics</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industries &amp; Production</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law, Human Rights</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.8 shows that the majority of employees in the public sector organisations do not spend time on gender issues. However, in departments with some exposure to the gender equality debate and the inclusion of women, participants both with and without training reported having spent some time on gender issues. In the Ministry of Women Development, all the research participants regardless of gender training reported to have spent some time on gender issues. This was due to the nature of the employees’ work, as a participant working in the policy section of the Ministry of Women Development
explained, 'I am working in policy research section so during office hours, all time is spent on gender issues' (Respondent ID: 040). Another participant argued that 'more than eight hours. The current job is relevant to the gender issues (Women Development)' (Respondent ID: 021). Another said, 'Being an employee of the M/O [Ministry of] Women Development we work all the time for gender' (Respondent ID: 117). Another supported this view, 'working in Ministry of Women Development' (Respondent ID: 175), suggesting that employees spend time if work on gender equality is part of their organisational mandate. There was also evidence that such work may not involve issues internal to the organisations, as one participant clarified, 'Working in Ministry of Women Development so dealing these issues, but these are not internal issues' (Respondent ID: 036).

This is supported by evidence from other departments. One participant from the Planning and Development Department said, 'My job is in gender component. So my daily duty circles around gender equality, equity, and mainstreaming process' (Respondent ID: 026). Another maintained, 'as part of my job I deal with development related gender issues on a daily basis' (Respondent ID: 183). By contrast, another participant from the same department maintained not to have spent time on gender issues 'because of other assignments' (Respondent ID: 032). Another said that 'only separate section is doing this. Task not highlighted in my section properly' (Respondent ID: 194), suggesting that gender in this department is also a special issue for some jobs, not a horizontal concern of all employees. Another research participant, who had received training, added an interesting dimension to spending time on gender by stating, 'mostly during the time I carry out transfers and posting of female' (Respondent ID:156), suggesting that gender meant female.
Gender training had a more positive effect in the Social Welfare Department where more research participants with gender training reported to have spent time on gender issues. A participant claimed to have spent time in ‘improving skill development services for destitute poor women’ (Respondent ID: 158), which is the mandate of the Social Welfare Department. One participant who had not spent time on gender issues argued it was ‘because of workload. I don’t have spare time’ (Respondent ID: 059). Another argued, ‘I have been engaged in other duties’ (Respondent ID: 123).

Similarly, a research participant from the Education Department who had not spent time on gender issues argued, ‘I was not asked to work on it. Just in discussion whenever it happens to come I just comment on it’ (Respondent ID: 017), suggesting that gender in organisations is discussed in passing rather than as a serious issue. Another maintained that it was due to lack of authority, ‘only discussion, because I am not in authority’ (Respondent ID: 031). It appeared that the effect of training in this department was in terms of some sort of moral obligation that they must do something about gender, but action remained limited. One participant with training who claimed to have spent time on gender issues maintained that it was restricted to ‘general discussion with colleagues’ (Respondent ID: 167), suggesting that training in some instances may change attitudes but action is limited by structural constraints such as the lack of a gender equality mandate by organisations. A male participant, who wanted to stay aloof from gender equality work due to the rise of right-wing conservative trends in the country, said, ‘women and men working together is against the faith of these people. Therefore I do not want to be a victim of these baton carrying forces’ (Respondent ID: 193).

Training had a positive impact on research participants from the Finance and Statistics Department. However, 50 percent of those with training reported to have spent
only up to one hour on gender issues. One participant claimed, ‘one hour is sufficient to achieve the goal’ (Respondent ID: 004). Others did not generally give any specific reason for spending some time after gender training on gender issues. All the participants from the Industries and Production Department, regardless of training, reported not have spent time on gender issues, as they believed that gender inequality was ‘not an issue’ (Respondent IDs: 035; 066; 107; 157) or that there was ‘no inequality’ (Respondent IDs: 065; 087), suggesting that organisations not exposed to gender equality discourse or those which have traditionally excluded women continue to do so by fostering the belief that inequality is not real.

**Time Spent: Role of Management**

With the caveat that the research participants generally did not spend time on gender issues in the public sector unless it was part of their organisational mandate, the study found a statistically significant pattern between the level of the participants and the time spent on gender issues, with participants at the senior management level spending slightly more time on gender issues than those at the middle management level (See Annexure 8, Statistical Analysis: C, Table 2). The level of significance (p<0.05) meant that time spent by research participants employees at a management level was not due to chance and that employees at the middle management level in the broader population are likely to spent less time whereas employees at the senior management level in the population are likely to spend more time on gender issues. This is shown in the following table.
Table 6.9 Time Spent by Level of Employees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Basic Pay Scale</th>
<th>No time spent</th>
<th>Up to 1 Hr</th>
<th>Up to 3 Hrs</th>
<th>Up to 6 Hrs</th>
<th>&gt; 8 Hrs</th>
<th>Total % time spent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle Management</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Management</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.9 shows that at middle management level (Scales 17 and 18), 30 and 37 percent of employees claimed to have spent some time on gender issues, but slightly more, that is, 40 percent, of those at senior management level did so. The nature of the issues on which time was spent at the senior management level included processing requests for the transfer of female staff (Respondent ID: 010), official responsibility for gender mainstreaming (Respondent ID: 033), a discussion of gender issues with junior staff (Respondent ID: 115), skills development for poor women (Respondent ID: 158) and as part of the job (Respondent ID: 183). At the middle management level the relevance of the job emerged as the most likely reason for spending time on gender issues, as one participant on Scale 17 stated, ‘the current job is relevant to gender issues’ (Respondent ID: 021). This was also the case for a participant from the Ministry of Women Development, for whom ‘being an employee’ of the Ministry was the reason for spending time on gender issues (Respondent ID: 117). This reason was also advanced by others at the middle management level who claimed to have spent some time on gender issues (Respondent IDs: 026; 041; 191). By contrast, the general nature of the job was the main reason given for not engaging in gender equality work or spending time on gender issues, as a participant at the senior management level in the Agriculture Department explained:
Our job assignments are so generalised that these issues [gender issues] figure nowhere and do not matter as such. If gender issue are to be addressed, these should be institutionalised so that issues are properly screened. I am chief of agriculture, and I process projects of agriculture sector. And my sector is particularly so important that let me say ninety percent contribution is of women. But the kind of documents [project] which come to me in those I can do nothing with respect to this gender... I think two things should be done simultaneously at a very improved higher level. That is one thing is the awareness raising and secondly really some policies need to be in place to really promote gender issues in this country (Respondent ID 003).

Training did not result in a change in organisational practices because it merely focused on attributes of individuals for scrutiny and change and ignored the attributes of organisations in the form of mandates which shape the practices of employees. The centrality of organisational policies in shaping the gender approach of organisations was explained by a gender-trained employee as follows:

In trainings people were somewhat sensitised that what are gender issue. Now to implement these until government does not make a policy, our officers or bureaucracy does not understand until government gives a clear guideline. Now until government makes a policy and asks us to implement in black and white, no person will either attend to or work on gender issues. If a policy from top is made and direct that such and such things must be seen in project proposals, till that time no one will do any work [on gender issues]. The rest of the people who got training were told what are gender issues, before these nobody knew what gender is, right (Respondent ID: 015).

In sum, it is the lack of a gender equality mandate and policies which restrict employees in how they can work on gender equality. To the staff it is the organisational policies that shape the practices of individuals. The organisations under the study, with the

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123 The contribution referred to is in the form of rural women engaging in agricultural work. Women's representation in the Agriculture Department is minimal.

124 The employee was referring to the political level of government.
exception of Women’s Development and to some extent the Social Welfare Department, did not have a gender equality mandate and were not exposed to gender and development discourse, thus training had a little effect on the practices of the research participants.

Gender Discrimination in the Public Sector: Role of Training and Organisations

The opinions of research participants about the presence of discrimination in the workplace was found to be significantly related (p<0.05) to the influence of training with the organisation, that is, opinions about discrimination changed as a result of training and this was not due to chance (See Annexure 8, Statistical Analysis: D, Table 1). The following table shows the trends.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORGANISATIONS</th>
<th>HAD TRAINING</th>
<th>DO NOT KNOW</th>
<th>NO, NOT SEEN</th>
<th>YES - IT IS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women Development</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services &amp; General Administration</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning &amp; Development</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Welfare</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance &amp; Statistics</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industries &amp; Production</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law, Human Rights</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All the respondents in the sample from Women Development who had not received training reported that there was no discrimination and they had not seen discrimination at their workplace. As one research participant from this ministry said, ‘No I do not think so’ (Respondent ID: 117). This was also the view of the majority of those who had received gender training (Respondent IDs: 036; 040; 117; 129; 175). However, some with gender training seemed to have a slightly different view, as one research participant who had received training said, ‘As far as my own working is concerned there I found no discrimination, but some other female staff complains about less recognition of their work’ (Respondent ID: 021). Another with training agreed, ‘Yes, there is, but less as compared to others [departments]. It is with regards to the acceptance level of women at workplace and in general behaviour’ (Respondent ID: 041), suggesting the subtle nature of discrimination and some effect of training in raising awareness about discrimination.

In the Planning and Development Department the majority of research participants without training claimed that gender discrimination did not exist at their workplaces. One participant categorically said, ‘Not at all’ (Respondent ID: 078). Another remarked, ‘there is no gender discrimination at our immediate workplace’ (Respondent ID: 152) and others also believed that (Respondent IDs: 080; 088; 092; 097; 098; 099; 132). One participant in this category argued that there was no discrimination because ‘even female are treated on priority’ (Respondent ID: 194), but another was of the view that discrimination did exist in terms of ‘providing more opportunities and facilities to men and in training opportunities given to them’ (Respondent ID: 198).

The view of the majority of those who had received gender training was that no gender discrimination existed in their workplaces. One participant who had received training maintained, ‘I have not seen gender discrimination’ (Respondent ID: 002). Another
said, 'Not observed' (Respondent ID: 003) and others had the same view that there was no discrimination (Respondent IDs: 020; 023; 024; 026; 039; 052; 069; 160; 181). One participant with training in this department denied the prevalence of gender discrimination by arguing that 'there is no discrimination at my workplace. Women are more privileged, and are well taken care of' (Respondent ID: 184), suggesting that women were not equal but material artefacts taken care of by men in organisations. Another argued that while there was no discrimination at the workplace, 'the number of working women is very small which reflects overall gender discrimination' (Respondent ID: 185).

Then there were those who believed in the prevalence of gender discrimination. One gave examples of 'steering, negative attitude and perception, and sexual advances' (Respondent ID: 015). Another maintained that there was 'discrimination on the basis of sex. Negative attitude and perception, and no daycare centre and transport' (Respondent ID: 016). Another pointed to how gender intersected with jobs to construct discrimination against women, 'Job description and gender are usually co-related, some jobs are good for men, and some are considered good for women' (Respondent ID: 022). Another who had not received gender training supported this view and argued that 'discrimination at our office is not “gender” related but “grade” related' (Respondent ID: 093), pointing to the senior management positions all occupied by men. A male participant with gender training who had a women boss argued that discrimination was 'not more as previously, as now my boss and related officers are mostly women' (Respondent ID: 156).

Discrimination had many faces – 'promotion discrimination, resources allocation discrimination that is office supplies, vehicles etc.' (Respondent ID: 025). Another participant had the similar view that there was 'no provision of seating places [for women] and other related facilities' (Respondent ID: 033). Discrimination is constituted through the
constraints put on women through the lack of institutional frameworks and facilities, as one participant maintained:

Flexible working hours for women are required to be kept. There is a lack of toilet and pick and drop facility [to and from office] for women. And there is a non-existence of daycare center in the Ministry’ (Respondent ID: 034).

Lack of facilities such as transport and even toilets were the main issues (Respondent ID: 048) and another issue was the lack of appreciation of women’s work which ‘kills their motivation’ (Respondent ID: 170). One maintained that ‘women are not considered competent enough and therefore not entrusted important assignments’ (Respondent ID: 183), suggesting women are discriminated against by men.

There was also a view among those with gender training that discrimination was actually against men, ‘in fact women are dealt softly, and men are dealt harshly by big bosses’ (Respondent ID: 032). Another was of the view that ‘women always enjoy benefits more than men at workplaces’ (Respondent ID: 189), indicating unequal gender relations in the public sector. A participant with gender training who denied discrimination was of the view that ‘women are free to leave office soon after office hours’ (Respondent ID: 172), suggesting that men could hold women back in the office after the official hours if and when they desired so.

Other motives were also identified. A participant who had not received gender training pointed to ‘sexual and psychological discrimination. Women are harassed sexually. Priority is given to those women who could be easily sexually exploited’ (Respondent ID: 086). Further, the feeling that women are being favoured could result in recrimination against them by men in the organisation. One participant claimed ‘gender harassment is usual’ in the public sector (Respondent ID: 054). Another was of the view that ‘female colleagues’ personal lives are more discussed and investigated’ (Respondent ID: 179). Yet
another maintained that discrimination was about ‘only the masculine nature’ (respondent ID: 067), suggesting that gender is involved in discrimination in more than one way. For example, in the Department of Industries and Production, participants continued to have negative views about women even after gender training. One said:

*Female/women worker are not suitable for office work. They always have family, health and have a sense of superiority. Majority is lazy workers and do not attend office regularly etc.* (Respondent ID: 066).

Discrimination becomes clouded in the notion of respect which itself represents an unequal gender relationship in the public sector. For example, all the research participants from the Agriculture Department who had not received training and the majority of those with gender training reported that there was no discrimination, and the reason most often advanced by both men and women was the ‘respect’ accorded to women (Respondent IDs: 051; 70; 089; 167; 173). While many women said they were given respect, some men mixed the notion of respect with that of sympathy as the reason for the absence of discrimination against women. A male employee remarked, ‘No. Women are always treated sympathetically and it is always tried to make their work easy for them’ (Respondent ID: 134), suggesting patriarchal benevolence is exhibited by men, which masks discrimination as such. There was also evidence that discrimination can also be masked due to the nature of the organisation. One participant from the Education Department working in an all-women institution remarked, ‘It is a female institution I am working in’ (Respondent ID: 060) and a man in an all-men educational institution maintained, ‘There is no participation of female gender at my immediate workplace’ (Respondent ID: 008).

In summary, gender discrimination in the public sector of Pakistan is subtle as well as explicit. It has many manifestations that relate to the denial of institutional and social resources, the patriarchal practice of sympathy (not equality) towards women, the lack of
recognition of women’s work and the lack of confidence in entrusting women with important assignments. There was also evidence that gender intersected with job levels and that senior officers in organisations were in a position to use their powers arbitrarily, ranging from asking women to stay late at the office to harassment and exploitation, suggesting that discrimination was a reality in the public sector of Pakistan.

Cases of Discrimination Processed: Role of Gender

The cases of discrimination that research participants claimed to have processed and decided over a period of two years were significantly (p<0.05) related to their gender (See Annexure 8, Statistical Analysis: D, Table 2), with men more likely to have processed such cases than women. This was because more men than women hold the key decision-making positions. The level of significance suggested that the relationship between gender and the cases of discrimination processed by the participants was not due to chance and that the findings are applicable to the population beyond the study sample. The cases of discrimination processed by male and female employees in various organisations are given below.
Table 6.11 Cases of Discrimination %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORGANISATIONS</th>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>N/A</th>
<th>NO CASE</th>
<th>1 TO 5 CASES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women Development</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services &amp; General</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning &amp; Development</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Welfare</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance &amp; Statistics</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industries &amp; Production</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law, Human Rights</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.11 shows that except for the Women Department and to some extent the Education Department, generally men dealt with the few cases of discrimination that were processed in the public sector organisations. Men are managers and they hold power in institutions. Further, the majority of female and male employees reported that dealing with cases of discrimination was not applicable to them or that they had not dealt with any case in the last two years, suggesting lack of institutional mechanisms to deal with cases of discrimination. As was pointed out in Chapter 4, institutional mechanisms and policies on gender issues are lacking in the public sector of Pakistan. Arguably, had there been institutional mechanisms, more cases could have been reported and the number of cases dealt with by employees in two years would have been much greater. The evidence of
discrimination presented in the previous section and the few cases shown in this section both point to insufficient institutional arrangements with regard to issues of discrimination, which results in an informal approach, thus maintaining the status quo and bestowing power and control on men, who in some cases may show patriarchal benevolence by treating women sympathetically, but not equally.

*Sexual Harassment in the Public Sector: Role of Organisations*

The opinions of the research participants about the occurrence of sexual harassment at their workplace were found to be significantly related (p<0.05) to the employees’ organisations (See Annexure 8, Statistical Analysis: E, Table 1). In other words, the different opinions about harassment in different organisations were not due to chance but were due to the nature of the organisations they worked for. The following table shows the trends.
Table 6.12 Perceptions on Sexual Harassment %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORGANISATIONS</th>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>N/A</th>
<th>NO HARASSMENT</th>
<th>YES IT EXISTS</th>
<th>MEN EQUALLY HARASSED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women Development</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services &amp; General</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning &amp; Development</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Welfare</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance &amp; Statistics</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industries &amp; Production</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law, Human Rights</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.12 shows that the majority of the research participants denied the existence of sexual harassment at their workplace, and that female participants were more inclined to report that sexual harassment did not exist in the public sector organisations. All the female research participants from the Ministry of Women Development were of the view that there was no sexual harassment at their workplace. As one female participant from the Ministry said, ‘there is not any form of sexual harassment’ (Respondent ID: 036). Another pointed out that ‘there is no such case reported’ (Respondent ID: 021). Men were also of the view that sexual harassment did not exist in this ministry. One said, ‘not in my knowledge’ (Respondent ID: 175). Another said, ‘there is no sexual harassment’ (Respondent ID: 117),
but some men argued that sexual harassment did exist, for example, in the form of ‘unnecessary telephone calls’ to female colleagues (Respondent ID: 040).

In the Services and General Administration Department there was unanimity of view among female and male participants about the non-existence of sexual harassment in their workplace. A male participant, for example, categorically denied it, ‘not at all’ (Respondent ID: 005). Another pointed out, ‘no such complaint’ was made by anyone (Respondent ID: 007). Others were simply monosyllabic in their denial by saying ‘no’ (Respondents IDs: 014; 068; 146; 147). A male participant said sexual harassment was ‘never’ an issue but he did not explain the point any further (Respondent ID: 168). Women participants from this department also agreed that sexual harassment did not exist in the department (Respondents IDs: 013; 151). This was also the case for women from the Education Department, who argued there was ‘no’ sexual harassment (Respondents IDs: 030; 106; 132; 140; 155; 177; 187; 188; 191; 196). A male participant from the Agriculture Department argued ‘sexual harassment is almost impossible in offices’ (Respondent ID: 110). Others argued that they did ‘not notice any case’ (Respondent ID: 012), were of the view that it was not in their ‘knowledge’ (Respondent ID: 060) or were categorical in denial, ‘No, absolutely not’ (Respondent ID: 017). But there is evidence that some women believed in the existence of sexual harassment, as one participant believed sexual harassment was present in the form of ‘disrespect, physical violence and misuse of language’ (Respondent ID: 090).

Men in the Education Department also denied the presence of sexual harassment. One argued, ‘not at all’ (Respondent ID: 173) and others had a similar view (Respondent IDs: 009; 010; 011; 049; 109; 125; 134; 137), but some men pointed to the presence of sexual harassment in the form of ‘mental disturbance’ (Respondent ID: 031), a term
commonly used when someoneannoys another person, and the lack of facilities. As one argued, ‘they [women] have no proper separate offices, cafeteria, so they always try to hide themselves from men-folk gazes’ (Respondent ID: 050), a view of the consequences of the lack of facilities which was shared by some other men (Respondent IDs: 100; 132). A male participant from the Education Department who believed that sexual harassment was rampant said, ‘Yes, the senior using their authority, in liking, and issuing warnings. Teachers wanting female students to spend time with them’ (Respondent ID: 135), indicating the subtle nature of sexual harassment in the public sector. The use of ‘gender insensitive language’ (Respondent ID: 169) and ‘favouritism’ (Respondent ID: 136) were other examples given by men as instances of sexual harassment. A male participant from the Education Department pointed out that ‘Eye teasing/ gazing one’ (Respondent ID: 171) and ogling were common forms. Another man from the Social Welfare Department who had received training described ‘sexual advancements in different forms. Staring is very common’ (Respondent ID: 061).

There was a view among some men that it was due to the way women dressed. One man from the Health Department claimed that ‘their [women’s] dressing and English touch position [make-up]’ (Respondent ID: 112) were the main reasons for harassment against them. Another man who had received training and was from the Social Welfare Department had the similar view, ‘Their dressing, beautification [make-up] leads to frustration for male staff’ (Respondent ID: 078). A woman from the Planning and Development Department who had not received training believed that harassment related to women’s appearance as ‘when female are hired, they [men] only check their physique, not ability’ (Respondent ID: 086). A woman who was in senior management and believed that sexual harassment did not exist warned women to be cautious, ‘No, I am in charge being female and so everything is
fine. But the ladies should be very cautious in their behaviour and ethics’ (Respondent ID: 037).

Sexual harassment was something of a taboo subject and women did not generally talk about it. A woman from the Education Department, showing ignorance of the issue said, ‘I do not know. I asked a female colleague the same question. She said no’ (Respondent ID: 179). A man from the Education Department, without training, also showed ignorance, ‘Do not know, as these are not discussed or reported’ (Respondent ID: 183). Another male participant from the Planning and Development Department who had not received training was of the view that there was ‘no such complaint’ (Respondent ID: 002). Another said that it was ‘not reported’ (Respondent ID: 022). By contrast, another man from the same department with gender training argued that ‘female staff is not accepted by male staff as equal members of the organisation, they are rather odd members’ (Respondent ID: 015) and there were no institutional mechanisms for them to invoke. A participant with gender training from the Social Welfare Department pointed to the few cases and made it clear how they were tackled informally, ‘No [harassment], only one to two cases which were resolved through counselling’ (Respondent ID: 044). The absence of procedures usually led to the adoption of an informal approach to the issues of sexual harassment, as a research participant from the Planning and Development Department who had received training said. The existence of sexual harassment is illustrated in employees’ comments such as the following:

There is no any parameter to assess regarding the issue. No any case has been reported in written. But one thing I would like share, that a naib-gasid [peon] once made phone to my female sub-ordinate and caused worry to her. She told me and informed his uncle who stopped his nephew from such type of actions (Respondent ID: 034).
In summary, sexual harassment exists in organisations but has largely been ignored and considered a taboo subject, mostly by the women. Men to some extent acknowledged the presence of sexual harassment but some of them believed that women were responsible for it. So came the warnings from women to other women to be cautious in their behaviour. When the issues did arise, they were tackled informally. The evidence suggests a lack of institutional mechanisms to counter sexual harassment in the public sector.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings of the study regarding the issues of representation, access to resources and the practices of the research participants, who work in the public sector of Pakistan. As to the study issue of the relationship of gender training with the representation of women, the data suggests that training was not related to the representation of women but that the representation of women was related to the geographic location of the research participants, and that there was support for quotas in Muzaffarabad and opposition in Islamabad. The support was due to a realisation that without quotas women's representation cannot be enhanced and that if quotas are not set, men rather than women will continue to fill vacancies in the public sector. The opposition in Islamabad was due to a different set of reasons among men and women with men believing that quotas would reduce economic opportunities and would result in the unemployment of men. Women who opposed quotas believed that women aspiring to join the public sector must come through open competition and on merit.

Public sector organisations were divided as to whether quotas were required for women, with some organisations such as Women's Development supporting quotas and others such as the Industries and Production Department opposing special quotas for women. In the latter department, there was a view that Pakistani society was patriarchal,
that it was for men to be breadwinners and that a reversal of the policy would result in the unemployement of men. Attitudes towards the extent of representation of women in the public sector were more favourable among research participants who had received training and were from the senior management level compared to both those at that level who were without training and those at the middle management level. At the middle management level there was less support for more women in the public sector from employees who had had gender training, which suggested that the training provoked resistance to quotas.

As to the study issue of the relation of training with access to resources, it was found that training did have an influence on gender, that is, more women with training began to demand change in policies including promotion quotas, opportunities and leadership roles, childcare facilities, skills training and change in rules, but fewer men with training demanded such changes. Even fewer men with training than without it demanded such policies, suggesting organisational resistance that was connected to gender. There was a view that the participation of women in the public sector did not absolve them from the household chores still to be performed by them. Similarly, they were expected to, and did, stay late at the office, to show that they were suitable for the public sector. Data indicated that men considered that women’s leaving the office on time and their demands such as childcare were excuses, which men gave as the reason that the public sector is not suitable for women and women should not be recruited to it. Women maintained that not only did they face problems, but they suffered economically because of paying for private arrangements for childcare.

The attitudes towards the policies needed for change also differed across organisations, with more demand among participants from the Ministry of Women Development for changes in policies and less demand in the Industries and Production
Department for such changes. In the latter department, more respondents were of the view that there was no need for change in policies and that equality already existed. Further, similar to the trend of the opposition to quotas for women, the attitudes towards the need for women-specific policies also differed between the middle and senior management levels. Research participants at the senior management level who had received training demanded women-specific policies but those at the middle management level showed less demand for women-specific policies to achieve equality in the public sector, which suggested that training provoked resistance to the adoption of women-specific strategies at the middle management level.

As to the study issue of the relation of gender training with institutional practices, it was found that training did not change institutional practices. The majority of the research participants with and without training did not arrange meetings to highlight gender issues. The minority of participants who claimed to have held meetings reported to have done so as part of their work. A majority of the participants in the Ministry of Women Development reported to have spent more than eight hours within a month on gender issues but those in the Industries and Production Department spent no time at all on gender issues in their organisation. For the former, the time spent at work on gender issues was due to the nature of the work of the Ministry of Women Development. Research participants said that job assignments were generalised and did not include working on gender issues. It would be only through the introduction of gender-related policies that employees would work to resolve gender issues. They were of the view that training did result in some sensitisation of employees, but clear policy guidelines were required to bring about changes in institutional practices regarding the resolving of gender issues.
The study found that the research participants generally did not believe in the existence of discrimination and sexual harassment in their organisations, but the evidence suggested that this belief was due to the social reasons of these issues being considered taboo rather than due to the absence of these issues. More men than women acknowledged that sexual harassment existed in organisations but many men believed that the appearance of women was a factor. Women were neither considered as equals nor were there any formal mechanisms for them to invoke if they did feel aggrieved. The informal responses to possible harassment resulted in a lack of accountability, the persistence of the status quo and eventually the concentration of authority in the hands of men, who could dictate their terms to control women, for example, by asking them to stay late at the office and possibly asking for inappropriate favours. The next chapter analyses these findings in the context of the literature reviewed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4.
CHAPTER 7: SEX SEGREGATION: THE EFFECT OF PATRIARCHY

Introduction

This chapter discusses and analyses the findings of the study regarding the issues of representation, access to resources and the institutional practices that were presented in Chapter 6. It relates these findings to the social, economic and political theories of sex segregation in the labour market and the development approaches presented in Chapters 2 and 3 as well as the context of Pakistan presented in Chapter 4, to draw conclusions on the problem of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan. These conclusions are related to patriarchy through occupational closure and patriarchal benevolence, both of which can be used to explain the data.

This chapter argues that women’s minimal representation and limited access to resources is an effect of the patriarchal control of men over women in the public sector. Sex segregation in the public sector is a political enterprise, with patriarchal institutional mechanisms bestowing power and privilege to groups of men in organisations, which results in women’s disadvantage. Any progress towards the elimination of sex segregation in the public sector depends on changes in the patriarchal policies rather than on training alone. The representation of women in organisations goes far beyond goodwill through gender training and requires changes in the patriarchal policies which exclude women from the public sector. The key conclusion that can be drawn is that since the public sector policies are patriarchal, women’s representation remains low.

In Chapter 6 it was found that the equitable representation of women can face resistance from both men and women. Keeping women out (occupational closure) of sections of the public service is due on the part of men to their concerns with their monopoly over scarce economic opportunities, while women oppose the integration of
more women into the workforce due to their concern with their elite status and self-claimed competence. Patriarchal benevolence, on the other hand, occurs when men are not threatened by change at lower levels.

Those constraints imply the need for specific policies for the representation of women in the public sector. The institutional arrangements restrict women’s access to material and non-material social and institutional resources. Work-life imbalances lead to power imbalances, which ensure control of men over women. In Chapter 6 it was found that whereas more women in middle-level management demanded access to resources, opportunities and skills, men in similar positions opposed such access, while at the senior management level men with training supported women’s greater access to resources, which suggests that occupational closure in this case is a result of the contest over the monopoly of resources rather than sex per se. The pattern of opposition and support for pro-women policies distributed between middle and senior levels of management suggests that the power dynamics and the interests of groups need to be taken into account to eliminate sex segregation in the public sector rather than providing training. The lack of a significant effect of training on employees’ practices as found in Chapter 6 suggests that policies and organisational mandates that emerge from a patriarchal social structure determine the activities of employees and that there is a status quo in the public sector which is not benefiting women. The results of the research show that, rather than training, a change in policies and organisational mandates is required to off-set the impact of patriarchal social structures and institutional arrangements which continue to adversely affect women. These are discussed in more detail below.
Representation of Women

The focus on the representation of women as a means for achieving gender equality is central to both social theories of sex segregation in the labour market and to the WID approaches discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. The relevance of the lack of representation to the problem of gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan was highlighted in Chapter 4, which showed that women are a small minority in the public sector of Pakistan, particularly at the senior levels. The government, however, has embarked upon gender training of public sector employees in lieu of implementing an affirmative action program for women with quotas. The findings of this study suggest that the issue of the representation of women in institutions goes far beyond the goodwill built through gender training and requires a change in the policies that exclude women from the public sector. For example, the data described in Chapter 6 found that the support for women’s representation through quotas was greater in Muzaffarabad and there was opposition to quotas in Islamabad, which suggested differences in the socio-political context, but we know from Chapter 4 that quota policies are generally lacking in Pakistan and the representation of women in the public sector in both places was equally low. The results show that even when the attitudes towards quotas are more favourable, as in Muzaffarabad, attitudes cannot substitute for a quota policy for enhancing the participation of women. The findings show that training has actually reinforced the opposition to quotas in Islamabad, which points to the strength of the patriarchal social-cultural context, which cannot be changed through training alone but requires structural changes.

The opposition to quotas implies that efforts at the elimination of sex segregation would have to take measures such as quotas independently of waiting for a change in the patriarchal social context. In Chapter 4 it was mentioned that women’s representation in the
political institutions of Pakistan was made possible due to specific policies of inclusion, which took into account that due to a lack of a level playing field, women’s representation in political institutions required the special measures of quotas (Graff 2003; Krook and Hall 2009; Mushtaq 2009). The data from Chapter 6 shows that women are lagging behind in development (Respondent ID: 025) and the distribution of social resources and opportunities has not been equitable (Respondent ID: 048), therefore quotas are required until a level playing field for women is created (Respondent ID: 193).

This view is supported by the literature on the participation of women in political institutions, which related that when policies were framed to increase women’s representation in the political institutions at the local government level to 33 percent, women increasingly joined the political institutions (Reyes 2002; Graff 2003; Shirin M. Rai, Nafisa Shah et al. 2007; Khattak 2010). Social goodwill alone is not enough to encourage women to join the public sector. For example, the research found that the majority of respondents from Muzaffarabad desired an increased representation of women, but it remained low as there were no policies or processes for women entering the public sector. The effect was that the existing patriarchal configuration of the public sector remained intact. In Islamabad, where employees opposed quota policies for women and where patriarchal policies also blocked women’s entry into the public sector, women’s representation also remained low. Krook and True (2010) argue that norms exist in ‘competition with other, often opposing, norms and would-be norms’ and that policy shapes the norms of ‘suffrage, democracy, human rights, labor standards and prohibitions against slavery and apartheid’ (p. 2). Although women’s representation at both locations was low, the socio-political trends of support for and opposition to the policies for the inclusion of women depended on the lack of inclusive policies, which solidified the patterns
of support and opposition to the representation of women in the public sector. In Muzaffarabad since the 1970s, the Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir has been implementing quotas for achieving the objective of inter-district parity of the disadvantaged segments of society. This policy did not target women’s inclusion, but nevertheless it did foster the support for the inclusion of women, as found in this study.

True (2010) and others argue that change in norms occurs as a result of the diffusion of policies (True and Mintrom 2001; Sandholtz 2007; Van Kersbergen and Verbeek 2007). The study shows that when there are no policies, norms remain unchanged, but where some policies have been implemented, the attitudes of people are favourable. In Islamabad, where inclusive policies are rarely implemented, resistance to women’s inclusion was the dominant norm. In India quotas have been found to be linked to positive social change (Pande 2003; Nanivadekar 2006; Bhavnani 2009). Bano (2009) in particular found that in the case of political institutions the implementation of a policy on the integration of women resulted in changes in norms such as the shift in political power ‘from fathers to daughters instead of sons only’ (p. 19). Lewis (2001: 153) argues that in the past welfare and marriage-related policies contributed to the norm of the dependency of women on men as well as legitimising men’s role as breadwinners and women’s role as homemakers. Epstein (2007: 17) argues that the achievements of a society relate to the extent it ‘truly’ opens the gates for women. In the patriarchal context of the public sector of Pakistan, the gates remain firmly closed to women.

The data presented in Chapter 6 supports the Occupational Closure theory, which considers sex segregation in terms of a contest between dominant and subordinate groups (Parkin 1979; Witz 1990), in this case men and women. For example, both male and female groups in Islamabad in lower positions opposed policies for the integration of women, with
the men fearing a shrinking of employment opportunities if women joined the organisations (Respondent IDs: 109; 035). This supports the view of the economic theories of sex segregation that economic relations contribute to patriarchal domination (Calás and Smircich 1999: 226; Connelly, Li et al. 2000; Aitchison 2003: 29; Chowdhury 2010). Weber (1991) argues that ‘material monopolies provide the most effective motives for the exclusiveness of a status group’ (p. 191). This also supports the political theory of sex segregation that the exclusion of women from the labour market results from the downward use of power by the dominant group (Özbilgin and Woodward 2003). Here the men as the dominant group set economic criteria that make it difficult for women to join the public sector, thus creating de facto sex segregation (Hartmann 1976; Parkin 1979; Eisenstein 1990; Walby 1990). Gender training in this context will not help as there are fundamental conflicting interests. Dasgupta (2007: 34) found in ‘situation of conflicting interests’ individuals, despite training, do not support the cause of gender equality. The resulting lack of support by men and women for women’s representation is supported by the theories of self-interest presented in Chapter 3 (Fazio 1990; Ajzen 2005). As training did not result in a change in the behaviour of the research participants towards the representation of women, the argument of Ratner and Miller (2001: 6) that ‘the link between self-interest and behaviour is stronger than that between self-interest and attitude’ and that of Miller (2001: 199) that individuals act ‘in line with self-interest’ were proved to be the case. The privileging of self-interest creates unequal power structures that remain unaffected by gender training. A lack of policies in the public sector of Pakistan over the years has solidified patriarchal relations and the privileging of interests of male employees.

Women in the lower ranks also accepted that women should be largely excluded from the public service. Parkin (1979) argues that ‘exclusionary social closure is an aspect
of conflict and cleavage within social classes as well as between them... exploitation occurs within the subordinate class as well as against it’ (p. 89). Unlike the men who closed ranks on economic grounds, the women in this study supported the exclusion of other women on the grounds of their own perceived competence and status. This supports the view that women affected by exclusion from the dominant group of men may themselves adopt exclusionary strategies in the same way towards excluding other women (Parkin 1979; Özbilgin and Woodward 2003). The women in this study emphasised that competence and merit would be sacrificed if policies were adopted for a speedy intake of women, and suggested that undeserving women would enter the public sector. Abbott and Meerabeau (1998: 206) found that nurses resisted social workers being involved with the care of the sick and elderly in order to strengthen their professional identity as the nursing elite. A key feature of occupational closure is that ‘all those in possession of a given qualification are deemed competent to provide the relevant skills and services for the rest of their professional lives’ (Parkin 1979: 56). In this case, the ‘qualification’ seems to be the gender of the employees.

Sex segregation in the public sector through the low representation of women accords those in the public sector power over the excluded women and so reinforces their opposition to the integration of women. This suggests a variation from some radical feminists’ theories, which consider power as an attribute of sex (Connell 2005; Johnson 2005; MacKinnon 2010). This study suggests that power is also an attribute of privilege and to some extent resides outside individuals, and in the patriarchal structures which accord privileges to men to make them powerful, there is an institutional dimension. This highlights the contested nature of power and suggests that both men and women as individuals actively contribute to the construction of patriarchal systems and the
maintenance of the status quo. This structure retains their privilege but since patriarchal institutional structures for long have endowed privilege to men, it is the men who are in a position to define a gendered organisational reality. Barlas (2002; 2004) argues that the vested interests of men have been at the heart of the patriarchal power in Muslim countries used to subjugate women. Rather than sex per se, the opposition to the representation of women is based on the patriarchal interest, which uses sex to maintain a privileged status quo (Connell 2005).

The opposition of groups of men and women to policies for the integration of women supports the political theories that gender equality is political, with control over opportunities and the mobility of women being a political decision to maintain ‘hierarchal relationships and sexual inequality’ (Mernissi 1996: 14). The ‘complexity of gender relations in specific contexts’ involves the interests of groups of both men and women (Charlesworth and Smith 2005: 18; Mukhopadhyay and Wong 2007). The opposition of women at the middle management level to quota policies suggests that women in institutions may become part of the power structure, in which they take care of their own interests such as their elite status at the expense of representing the interests of other (excluded) women. This suggests that gendered structures that cause exclusion also result in unequal power relations between included and excluded women (Longwe 1997; Cornwall 2003; Dasgupta 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007; Batliwala 2010).

The need for change in government policies to secure the greater integration of women that this study found supports the view that it is necessary to go beyond a focus on representation to seek transformation in institutions. This cannot be done by gender training alone (Squires 2005; Walby 2005; Lombardo and Verloo 2009). This challenges those in the gender and development debate who support policies that focus only on the inclusion of
women, as it shows that the mere inclusion of women does not necessarily result in gender equality (Schalkwyk, Thomas et al. 1996; Beall 1998; Hannan 2001; Booth and Bennett 2002; Howard 2002; Rees 2002; Woodward 2003; Daly 2005).

The finding that men and women in different situations have different views on equality with a common view on preserving their interest and their retention of power contrasts with the social theories of sex segregation in the labour market. In particular, it challenges the theories of socialisation presented in Chapter 2 which treat all women in an undifferentiated universal category unaffected by issues of class, race, ethnicity, power and employment status (Ember and Ember 2003: 16; Lippa 2005: 72). The results suggest that the interests of groups of men and women already in the public sector resulted in continued opposition to policies for the integration of women, and training-led re-socialisation did not occur. The patriarchal values that underlie their self-interest can be adopted by women as much as men (Kandiyoti 1988; Johnson 2005). Rather than the ‘use of invidious distinctions made between males and females’ through socialisation (Epstein 2007: 4), I would argue that it is the retention of interests by the included groups that underlies their opposition to the excluded, and men being the dominant group are able to retain their interest more, which explains sex segregation in the public sector. Maria Mies (1998: 13) and others argue that the socialisation perspective, by focusing on the women question, limits the understanding of the deeper structural roots of gender inequality (Rossides 1998; McElroy 2001: 87; Aitchison 2003: 327; Cornwall 2003; Mukhopadhyay 2007).

The study suggests that the focus on re-socialisation through gender training programs and the like results in a focus on women at the expense of a focus on social and institutional structures which actually create and sustain unequal power relations between men and women. Moreover, women in Pakistan work in every sector of the economy such
as agriculture and livestock (Ifthikhar, Ali et al. 2007; Shafiq 2008; Afzal, Ali et al. 2009; Amin, Ali et al. 2009), in the informal sector (French, Watters et al. 1994; Lee and Saeed 2001; Maqsood, Ch et al. 2005; Khan, A, 2007; Khan, REA and Khan, T 2009; Malik, Faridi et al. 2010) as well as in the formal sectors of the economy (Qureshi 2000; Haeri 2002; Maqsood, Ch et al. 2005; Khan, REA and Khan, T 2009; Faisal 2010) but there remains a significant difference between the level of their participation in the formal and informal sectors of the economy, whether controlled by the state or not. Sex segregation in the public sector rather than being a women’s question is a broader political question, and a satisfactory answer can only be reached by examining the political roots that create and sustain patriarchy in the public sector. This involves a focus on the power differentials between the included and the excluded that are created through patriarchal institutional structures.

Implications

The above discussion and analysis implies that in line with the political theories of sex segregation in the labour market, as well as the spirit of gender and development approaches, there is a need to introduce quota policies as the so-called merit-oriented policies do not take account of the lack of women in the public sector, and thus tend to maintain the pattern of sex segregation. The case of gender equality might advance if policies for large quotas for women at the entry level in the public sector are implemented together with support for quotas for promotion to higher levels. Since the government itself acknowledges the issue of the lack of representation of women in the public sector (GOP 1998; GOP 2003; GOP 2006b) and since this study shows that equitable representation cannot be achieved due to the institutional deep structures and existing arrangements, the existing 10 percent quota should be increased with processes put in place for
implementation (Shirin M. Rai, Nafisa Shah et al. 2007). This is one measure to be taken but the elimination of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan would also require the government and the international development institutions to work on changing institutional structures and in addition:

- to accord high priority in their development assistance to [policies and] projects that include the integration of women into the development efforts and the achievement of equality (UN 1976: 39).

The key issue is the inertia and resistance to change so that interests are preserved.

**Women’s Access to Resources**

The focus on women’s access to resources such as training, social support and facilities for them in the workplace is central to the economic theories of sex segregation in the labour market as well the WAD approaches discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. However, as reviewed in Chapter 4, little is known about women’s access to resources such as training, leadership opportunities and even facilities to enable them to undertake their work in a safe environment in the public sector of Pakistan. Similarly, there is little research as to how the policy approach of gender training relates to women’s access to resources as a viable alternative to the specific institutional policies that would deal with this issue. This section discusses and analyses the findings of the study that gender training does not lead to increased access to resources for women; they continue to face issues of access to social and institutional resources to address work-life imbalances. This includes the lack of material and non-material resources including childcare, toilets, transport, higher organisational mobility and postings at family stations. The absence of mechanisms to sort out day-to-day administrative issues results in the disadvantage and powerlessness of
women. The responses of both female and male respondents implied that existing work arrangements are extremely insensitive to the needs of women and require change.

The women in this study complained about the lack of facilities, accommodation, childcare and transport for women. This supports similar findings by Maqsood et al. (2005) and Qureshi (2000), who found that women faced inadequate facilities of accommodation and transport, and Faisal (2010), who found lower satisfaction on these issues among federal government employees. Women, both in the federal government and in Azad Jammu and Kashmir, faced similar problems with a lack of resources for women in the public sector organisations, which is systemic across the country. The public sector is often cast around the image of man as the worker who does not have to face the issues of childcare and long hours of work, and can afford to work away from home for long periods (Acker 2009).

At least eight hours of continuous work away from the living space, arrival on time, total attention to the work and long hours if necessary are all expectations that incorporate the image of the unencumbered worker, implicitly a man (p. 206).

This research suggests that fundamental changes in culture as well as investment by the government are required to change this.

The opinions of women on these issues support the view that patriarchy involves both private and public domains and women’s ascribed role of reproduction and production (Lovell 2000; Crompton 2001; Ferguson 2004; England and Folbre 2005). For example, on the one hand, men expect women to stay in their offices beyond the official working day (Respondent ID: 198) and on the other hand, child care is largely considered solely a women’s issue to be dealt with and financed by them alone, rather than being considered a common issue requiring action by men as well as women in the family and the state (Respondent IDs: 045; 053). Moreover, women face problem of transport from home to
their workplace on a daily basis (Respondent ID: 114) but it remains an unattended issue. When they reach their workplaces, they do not have women’s toilets (Respondent IDs: 058; 053). There are a host of other issues such as lack of opportunities for promotion and capacity building, and inadequate responses to the administrative problems faced by women (Respondent IDs: 053; 170; 122). In the social sphere, the legal rights of mobility and expression of thought are often curbed for women (Respondent ID: 086).

This research points out that women suffer in the social and public spheres but the constraints also have a bearing on the domestic sphere. These work-life imbalances disadvantage women more than men (Acker 2006b; Emslie and Hunt 2009; Forma 2009; Karimi 2009; Pedersen, Minnette et al. 2009), as women are the primary carers. The intersection of work and family in defining the patriarchal disadvantage for women is in line with Kabeer’s argument that gender relations intersect in all social spaces including family, community, market and state. The rules, practices, people and power dynamics must all be analysed for a proper understanding and transformation in gender relations (Kabeer 1994), which is what this study attempts to do. The public-private and reproductive-productive dichotomies to some extent are artificial and there is a complex interaction between private and public spheres with a whole range of social structures and institutions involved in the patriarchal control of women (1989; 1990; Walby 2000).

Although the State of Pakistan pays equal salary to men and women in similar positions, yet women are economically disadvantaged as there is no support for childcare from either their husbands or the state. This study found that women had to cover childcare expenses themselves (Respondent ID: 036) and often had to employ domestic servants to cover domestic work. This supports the argument of Barrientos and Kabeer (2004) that the non-provision of child care affects the gender gap in earnings, promotion, long-term
patterns of participation in the workforce and even the type of employment: ‘the reliable provision of childcare is critical to “levelling the playing field” as well as to ensuring the welfare of children’ (ibid: 155). The lower net income of working women in the public sector supports the argument of Budig and England (2001) and Levine (2003) that even if paid equally to men, women earn less for their actual work as there are often unpaid duties required of them that are not required of men who do not bear the cost of childcare. The benefits of mothering accrue to everyone, including employers and men in households, but the costs are disproportionately borne by women, who end up having less control over resources. Chowdhury (2010) argues that paid work is just a source of a second burden on women and does not necessarily result in an increase in their status.

The findings on women’s lack of access to resources in the public sector of Pakistan support the view of Connell and others that the patriarchal power of men results from their privileged access to resources (Connell 2005; Kabeer 2009) and that men’s greater advantage in institutions, including the family and the workplace, is a result of women’s material disadvantage (Connelly, Li et al. 2000; Mutari 2000: 31; Acker 2006a; Khosravi Shakib 2010). Women’s subordination to men is mediated by their lack of access to resources, a subordination which state policies and state institutions support (Connell 2005: 116). The power of men is in part derived from their access to resources such as education and employment which are denied to women, and also from their power in the family and the workplace. When states do not implement appropriate gender policies, then the poor behaviour of men towards women both in the household and the public sphere remains unchecked as women have no recourse to institutions, which in Pakistan influence patriarchal norms (Dale 2005; Zippel 2006).
Women’s access to resources is also limited due to the steep organisational hierarchy in the public sector. As the top positions are occupied by men and women are concentrated in the lower positions, organisations have clear patterns of power differentials between men and women (Acker and Houten 1974; Kanter 1977; Acker 1990; Acker 1992; Acker 1998; Acker 2000; Acker 2006a; Acker 2006b; Acker 2009). The institutional criteria for advancement including a long length of service which make women effectively ineligible for powerful positions is one strategy of occupational closure to the higher positions (Hartmann 1976; Parkin 1979; Eisenstein 1990; Walby 1990).

This study found that women were excluded (occupational closure) at the middle management level, but among the trained officials at the senior management level there was patriarchal benevolence which manifested as support for women’s increased access to resources at the lower levels. The lower positions (middle management) were characterised by a contest between group of men and women over whether strategies should be adopted for women’s increased access to resources. Men in these positions said that there was no need for change in policies or for pro-women strategies, that there was no issue of gender inequality (Respondent IDs: 029; 027; 068) and that there were no barriers for women (Respondent ID: 005). There was even a view that young women were favoured by the bosses (Respondent IDs: 184; 032) and a view that women needed to change themselves to meet organisational requirements such as working for odd hours (Respondent ID: 171) with strict adherence to duties (Respondent ID: 038). This resistance supports Witz’s (1990) argument that occupational closure, that is, the exclusion of women, is ‘a means of mobilising male power in order to stake claims to resources and opportunities distributed via the mechanisms of the labour market’ (p. 44). One version of the occupational closure theory considers the exclusion of women to be a result of the downward use of power of the
dominant group in the top positions (Özbilgin and Woodward 2003) but this study found that the strongest resistance to the adoption of pro-women policies was located with the group of men in middle-level management, which suggests that the exclusion of women can also be achieved through the horizontal use of power or claims, or resistance to the institutional resources.

At the senior management level, gender-trained employees identified the need for pro-women policies such as fair selection processes (Respondent ID: 010), arrangements for transport to and from the workplace in posted areas (Respondent IDs: 022; 181; 189), financial incentives (Respondent ID: 158), physical infrastructure for childcare, working women's hostels (Respondent IDs: 048; 015) and even an institutional framework of rules such as a staff code of conduct (Respondent ID: 183). The pattern of opposition and support among the gender-trained men to the adoption of pro-women policies concentrated in the middle and senior management levels respectively supports the view that gender equality, far from being a harmonious project, is a political project which involves contest and competition between different interests (Verloo 2004; Verloo, Vleuten et al. 2009). Arguably, the interests of men at the middle management level (lower positions) in terms of claims over resources clashed with those of the women at this management level, so the men opposed the adoption of pro-women policies. However, as there was no direct clash of interests in terms of claims over resources between men at the senior management level and women at the middle management level, therefore, the men supported women’s access to resources at the middle management level.

The public sector in Pakistan is inherently patriarchal, and the finding that women in the public sector are demanding greater access to resources shows that these resources are not adequate for their needs and that there are unattended and unresolved issues. This
supports the argument that institutions are generally not accountable to the people they
claim to empower (Kilby 2004; Kilby 2006; Harcourt 2010). Whereas gender training was
provided with the assumption that the attitudes of employees in organisations would
change, this study found that was certainly not the case in the public sector of Pakistan in
terms of a change of heart for pro-women policies facilitating women’s increased access to
resources. Whereas 60 percent of employees in the Women Department demanded the
adoption of gender equality policies to achieve progress towards equality in the public
sector, 67 percent of employees in the sample from the Industries and Production
Department and 50 percent from the Agriculture Department were of the view that there
was no need for a change in policies and that equality already existed.

In Chapter 4 it was pointed out that only the rules of business related to the Ministry
of Women Development mentioned gender equality and no other ministry or department
did so, which suggested that gender equality was not a priority for the Government of
Pakistan. This supports Kilby’s (2011) argument that the lack of laws and rules in
institutions results in a lack of the accountability of institutions for the empowerment of
women. It is through the ‘formal feedback mechanisms’ that organisations may be made to
work for the empowerment of women (Kilby 2011: 92). Kilby found that it was ‘more
structural (formal) links that delivered stronger empowerment outcomes’ (ibid: 112). This
study shows that the gender training of employees cannot substitute for the lack of policy
structures and that training does not result even in a desire for the adoption of pro-women
policies for the issues faced by women in the social and public domains. The need for pro-
women policies identified by women in this study supports the view that institutional
policies needed to be reformed to make progress towards gender equality (Eisenstein 1990;
Goetz 1997; Marchbank 2000; Connell 2006).
Elimination of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan requires action on the issues faced by women on a daily basis. The demands of the women in this study for the provision of social and institutional, material and non-material resources including transport, accommodation, childcare and a congenial work environment need to be met by the institutions themselves for the empowerment of women. This supports Jakimow and Kilby’s (2006) argument that the mere participation of women does not result in their empowerment because ‘the ability of disempowered to pursue their interests requires the lifting of constraints, regardless of who undertakes the requisite action’ (p. 378). The progress towards gender equality requires participation as well as the removal of structural constraints through a change in institutional policies. As Giddens argues, social reality is a product of the interaction of social agents drawing upon accessible rules and resources (Giddens 1979; 1984) This study shows that who controls those rules and resources is critical. When women’s needs are not met and the policies remain insensitive to them, patriarchal reality is formed. This thesis argues that it is for the public sector institutions to recognise the entitlements, laws and the citizenship rights of women (Goetz 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007).

This thesis suggests that pro-women policies are required as a matter of the rights of women. Rights are necessary to ‘legitimise women’s demands for the improvement of their legal status, political representation and well being’ (Molyneux 2004: 115). Gender training puts the onus of empowerment entirely on a change in attitudes of men and women or the active agency of women, but the demands made by women for pro-women policies support the view that structural constraints constrain the agency of the disempowered women (Kabeer 2001; Molyneux 2004; Kilby 2006; Kilby 2011). The list of issues faced by women in terms of promotion, leadership roles, facilities, skills, training, transport to and
from the workplace, accommodation and childcare suggests that social, cultural and legal institutional mechanisms ‘underwrite male control and privilege’ (Pillai N., Vijayamohanan et al. 2009: 30). This supports the view that women’s exclusion and powerlessness is both the cause and the effect of prevalent gender-insensitive institutional policies (Kabeer 2000; 2002). This suggests that ‘levelling the playing field, in other words, changing institutional rules’ (Goetz 1997: 3), rather than training, is required for progress towards gender equality.

If we relate women’s lack of access to resources in the public sector, as shown in their demand for pro-women policies, with the social context of Pakistan as discussed in Chapter 4 (Winkvist and Akhtar 2000; Khan, T and Khan, REA 2010: 15), it becomes clearer that women’s marginalisation is not only in the social sphere but also in the other spheres of the public sector, the community and the household. It is the role of the state to alleviate the adverse effects of the problems faced by women that tend to solidify inequality between men and women (Khan, A 1997; Khalid and Khan 2006; GOP 2009; Barber 2010). When households have to bear the cost of the provision of transport, accommodation and childcare, women are considered a liability and men considered an asset. If accommodation, transport and childcare needs are not provided, jobs become costly for women. Training may generate good-will but it is not a substitute for the provision of resources to women. ‘The attainment of equality pre-supposes equality of access to resources and the power to participate equally and effectively in their allocation and in decision-making at various levels’ (UN 1980: 5). This in the case of Pakistan means a fundamental re-formation of the existing policies.
Implications

The existing institutional arrangements of the public sector of Pakistan do not cater for the issues faced by women on a daily basis. The removal of constraints in terms of affordable childcare, transport, security and safe accommodation when posted may help in some ways to alter the patriarchal context of the public sector. Innovative programs such as women’s hostels, specific programs for imparting skills and the establishment of long-term endowment funds for the provision of transport are some of the options that have been proposed by women (Respondents IDs: 045; 053; 184; 170; 114; 198; 141) and, given the low numbers of women in the public sector as shown in Chapter 4, such programs would be neither difficult nor too costly. Childcare centres are an option for workplaces, as is transport support for women. The upper age limit for women’s entry into the public sector seems to lack any rationale and disadvantages women who often have childcare responsibilities. The state puts serious constraints on the empowerment of women in Pakistan (Awan 2006; Tara Vishwanath 2006), which needs to be taken into account by the development agencies. Aid donors who are involved in Pakistan providing resources need to adopt country strategies to go beyond merely educating women about the existence of laws (ADB 2009b: 10) to examine how laws and policies disadvantage women and require meaningful change. Institutional capacity building through motivational training has been more common in the UNDP’s approaches to gender equality in the public sector of Pakistan (UNDP 2009a). The study suggests that besides providing training, the UNDP needs a revision of its strategies to specifically focus on patriarchal constraints in the way of women’s access to resources in the public sector.
The Issue of Institutional Practices

While the government and the donor agencies have been strong on the rhetoric of tackling sex segregation in the public sector through gender training, this study shows that gender equality was less of a priority and that despite training, institutional inertia prevails in the public sector. Contrary to the assumption of gender training resulting in changes in attitudes and practices, it was found that the post-training practices of employees were not influenced by the gender training and in some cases the opposition to gender policies strengthened. Even after training, the practices of employees including arranging meetings, spending time on matters of organisational interest and addressing issues on gender remained largely unchanged. Likewise the gender training has had no effect in shaping employees’ practices in organisations. This is in line with Howard (2002), Kusakabe (2005), and Dawson (2005), who all found that training did not shape the activities of bureaucrats. This study suggests that Howard’s argument that more and better training would result in a change in institutional practices probably would not work unless accompanied by structural changes in institutions. The practices of employees are influenced by existing policies which do not mention gender, rather than by their knowledge and understanding of gender issues per se. Dawson (2005) argues that gender training cannot ‘convince staff to mainstream gender if achieving gender equality is not a clear goal set out in their strategic plan’ (p. 88). The focus of interventions should be on change in the patriarchal policies and mandates of institutions that shape the patriarchal practices of individuals. Mathur and Rajan (1997) argue:

In the context of government functionaries, gender training projects... must necessarily be backed by policies and procedures for the implementation of pro-women initiatives in practice (p. 74).
The study found that the majority of employees did not arrange a single meeting on gender issues in two years (Respondent IDs: 001; 003; 011; 028; 058; 082; 103; 122; 157; 184), suggesting that gender was rarely an organisational priority. However, a clear pattern across organisations was found in terms of time spent on gender issues in a month, with more employees from the Ministry of Women Development claiming that they spent more than eight hours on gender issues in a month and one respondent pointing out that due to the nature of the Ministry, all time spent was on gender issues (Respondent ID: 040). By contrast, in the Agriculture Department more research participants reported to have spent no time on gender issues and in the Industries and Production Department not a single employee reported to have spent time on gender issues in one month, suggesting that gender equality is the specific concern of a few departments rather than a horizontal concern across all public sector organisations. There was a view in the Agriculture Department that job descriptions were generic and gender equality was not part of their work (Respondent ID 003). A parallel pattern was found by Mukhopadhyay (2004) in Ethiopia, where the Ministry of Education with an organisational mandate for gender equality was an innovator and the Ministry of Agriculture lagged behind in change towards gender equality. Changes in the practices of employees after training did not occur; only one government division out of 52 mentioned gender equality at all (GOP 1973c).

Public sector organisations in Pakistan lack gender equality mandates so that it was not up to the research participants to engage in gender equality practices on their own initiative. Research participants, despite gender training, were not engaging in gender equality practices, but were not transgressing the rules of their business. This supports the view that institutional constraints play a critical role in preventing change in behaviour (Eisenstein 1990; Goetz 1997; Connell 2006). As with the finding about women’s access to
resources discussed in the section on access to resources, this finding confirms the view that the lack of accountability of the development institutions is due to the lack of rules and organisational mechanisms (Kilby 2004; Kilby 2011).

The research participants interviewed in this study who denied the presence of sexual harassment at workplaces, when questioned further also said that no institutional structures of support were there; therefore, there were no reports and no complaints (Respondents IDs: 012; 022; 043; 089; 004). This indicated that denying the occurrence of sexual harassment could be a result of the understanding of the status quo in which nothing was going to change even if the presence of sexual harassment were to be acknowledged. Martin’s (2006) view is that sex forms the basis of the relationship between a male boss and a female subordinate, but it is also the absence of structures of accountability which results in poor behaviour as a form of patriarchy exercised by men. MacKinnon (1987; 1993) argues that although sexual harassment exists in workplaces, it is only when it is declared an act of discrimination that claims of sexual harassment begin to surface. Kilby (2011: 89) argues that ‘formal feedback mechanisms’ deliver ‘stronger empowerment outcomes’ (p. 112). While he was referring to the need for formal arrangements between organisations and aid recipients, this study suggests that similar effects would be found in the public sector.

If formal arrangements within public sector organisations in Pakistan were implemented, they may make employees accountable to gender equality and institutional change in gender relations. In the absence of formal structures of accountability, training as a process does not change patriarchal organisational mandates and rules, which continue to shape the patriarchal practices of employees and employers. For example, from a Pakistan Government (2003) report:
A large number of female respondents were reluctant to discuss the details with regard to sexual harassment but nearly 80 percent conceded that it did exist but unfortunately always went unreported, as they did not know who to turn to and also due to the fear of a backlash (p. xiv).

This study suggests that the absence of gender-sensitive policies supports the *status quo*, which favours men and maintains unequal power relations between men and women. The study found signs of unequal power relations between men and women in their responses about discrimination. Although a majority of research participants denied the possibility of discrimination in the workplace in male-dominated organisations with few women such as the Agriculture Department and the Planning Department, the most frequent reason advanced by both men and women for the absence of discrimination was 'respect' (Respondent IDs: 051; 70; 089; 167; 173). Further, men mixed the notion of respect with the notion of sympathy. One respondent said that there was no discrimination because women were 'treated sympathetically' by men (Respondent ID: 134), suggesting an acceptance of inequality in the relationship. Moreover, the employees of the Industries Department who acknowledged discrimination considered that men were discriminated against and that women were being favoured in the public sector. This supports Tiessen's (2007) view that prevalent organisational arrangements maintain the *status quo* and 'the privileging of male interests over female interests' and are thus a significant barrier to gender equality in organisations (p. 16), and that gender inequality in the development agencies needs to be tackled before they can tackle gender inequality in client communities. This study shows that, rather than providing training, patriarchal organisational mandates need to be changed if progress towards the elimination of sex segregation in the public sector is to be achieved (Rathgeber 1990; Zwart 1992; Razavi and Miller 1995; Jahan 1996; Razavi 1997; Goetz 2004; Tiessen 2007).
When programs such as gender training have a gender equality agenda, transformation does not become a reality because gender-trained individuals return to work in the overarching patriarchal framework (Dasgupta 2007: 34). The problem may not be with GAD but with the way GAD has been implemented, namely through the approach of gender training, which does not take into account the effects of patriarchal structures and policies in the creation of unequal gender relations (Woodford Berger 2004; Kusakabe 2005; Abou-Habib 2007; Ahikire 2007; Dasgupta 2007). Institutional change requires going beyond the gender awareness of individuals (Schalkwyk, Thomas et al. 1996; Woroniuk, Thomas et al. 1996; Schalkwyk 1998) involving the extensive emphasis on the education of bureaucrats about gender equality to focus on institutions themselves (Commonwealth Secretariat 1999b; Leo-Rhynie 1999; O'Regan-Tardu 1999; Sen 1999; Taylor 1999; Frankson 2000; Commonwealth Secretariat 2001). As a result of gender training, employees in organisations learn some gender terminology (Moser 2005; Ahikire 2007; Zaleski 2010) but employee practices continue to be shaped by patriarchal institutional policies and mindsets. An awareness of the situation of women by the employees through gender training does not mean that individuals in institutions would take decisions that do not fit in the existing policy frame.

The above discussion suggests that patriarchal arrangements maintain power relations in favour of men. Patriarchal institutional arrangements over a period of time have created privileges and interests of men. As we have seen in Chapter 2, the family is the locus of patriarchy and direct organisational connections emerge from it (Walby 1989; 1990; 2000). In countries where social norms are strictly patriarchal (Kandiyoti 1988), women's involvement in paid work does not solve the problem of patriarchy as there is still active social resistance (Chowdhury 2010). Gainful employment alone is not part of the
solution to the problem, as patriarchy belongs in the household or private sphere as much as in the public space. This study shows that the gender-insensitive policies in organisations add to the burden of women and must be analysed for an understanding of sex segregation in the public sector. Mathur and Rajan (1997) argue that ‘institutional patterns have favoured mostly men and have not been sensitive to women’s needs’ (p. 74) regardless of sensitisation and training. In the case of Pakistan, a more relevant example of insensitive institutional patterns could be the lack of a gender equality framework in the rules of business of the public sector, which, as discussed above, shape the practices of individuals in organisations. Even in Pakistan, a case of classic patriarchy, many different variables shape it, as suggested by Walby (1990). Moghadam (2002) argues that it is through the legislation by the Taliban regime that the exclusion of women from the public spaces and their status of second class citizens were promoted. In Pakistan also it was through legislation that the social bias against women was promoted (Muntaz and Shaheed 1987; Weiss 2003; Kothari 2005; Mullally 2005; Shaheed 2010). The established view of classic patriarchy is that the subordination of women results from the control of the eldest men in the family (Moghadam 2002; Shankar and Northcott 2009; Yount 2011) but this study argues that it is also through institutional policies and structures that classic patriarchy is strengthened. The policy makers come from the patriarchal society and there is little attempt to change these structures, thus sealing the fate of women in the public sector.

Implications

This study found that gender training as an approach to institutional change cannot achieve progress towards the elimination of sex segregation in the public sector, and instead the focus needs to be on a change in the patriarchal policies and institutional structures which produce and reproduce sex segregation in the public sector (Ahiikire 2007: 235)
39; Dasgupta 2007: 34). Public sector institutions in Pakistan need to be scrutinised with respect to the rights, laws and entitlements of women (Goetz 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007) in the gender content of policies, perhaps through a gender audit of the rules of business. The Beijing Conference in 1995 had asked that ‘governments and other actors should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective in all policies and programmes’ (UN 1996: 27). There is a need for aid donors involved in Pakistan to encourage the government to adopt pro-women policies, rather than focusing on training. This is particularly important given the inability of training to shape practices and the recognition that the state of Pakistan has ‘disenfranchised women’ (Rashid 2009).

**Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed the findings of the study regarding the issues of representation, access to resources and the practices of employees in relation to gender training. It has argued that women’s low representation and poor access to resources are not causes of sex segregation but are effects of the patriarchal control of men over women in the public sector. Patriarchal mechanisms vest power and privilege to groups of men in organisations. Progress towards the elimination of sex segregation in the public sector depends on changes in the patriarchal policies rather than on training *per se*. Sex segregation in the public sector has political dimensions, so that patriarchal occupational closure emerges from a resistance to the equitable representation of women in the public sector. Patriarchal benevolence occurs in senior positions where the elite status and the monopoly over opportunities are not at risk from changes at lower levels. Due to the patriarchal constraints, specific quota policies are required if the equitable representation of women is to be achieved. The failure of the public sector to provide equitable access to resources for women, the lack of which results in the relative powerlessness of women, also
relates to the patriarchal nature of work arrangements in public sector organisations. Patriarchal arrangements enable control of men over women. Women as a group close ranks to demand increased access to resources but are likely to be opposed by men due to concerns with the monopoly over resources. Men in top positions with secure access to resources are not challenged by changes at lower levels and may support women's access to resources. Rather than training, patriarchal policies and organisational mandates determine the activities of employees, and these policies prevent public sector employees from engaging in gender equality work. These factors, not sex *per se*, also establish male domination in the public sector organisations. The discussion suggests a fundamental reappraisal of development methodologies of gender training with a view to focusing on change in the patriarchal policies that result in sex segregation in the public sector.
CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

Introduction

This thesis has examined how the policy solution of gender training of public employees relates to the problem of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan. Social, economic and political theories of sex segregation in the labour market identify the problems of low representation, limited access to economic resources, and patriarchy respectively as the basis of sex segregation. The development approaches of Women in Development (WID) and Women and Development (WAD) consider integration of women as a solution to the problem of sex segregation, while Gender and Development (GAD) and gender mainstreaming challenge those development approaches and argue that it is the transformation in patriarchal institutions that is the solution to the problem of sex segregation in the labour market. However, in practice, GAD and gender mainstreaming too often rely on gender training as the path to institutional transformation, with donors, governments of developing countries and development feminists all emphasising gender training as a solution to sex segregation in the public sector, NGOs and international organisations, so that gender training has become an industry (Kusakabe 2005; Dasgupta 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007; UNDP 2007). There is an inherent belief that the problem is due to socially-embedded perceptions of gender role conflict which can be changed through gender training (Woodford Berger 2004).

However, this thesis has shown that the problem of sex segregation in the public sector is the outcome of institutionalising the patriarchal control of women rather than due to the binaries of role conflict between the sexes. Women's low representation and limited access to resources in the public sector are the effects of the patriarchal control and power of men over women. Sex segregation involves the interplay of deeper political issues of
patriarchal power, privilege, interest, contest and institutional structures (Verloo 2001; Abou-Habib 2007; Verloo, Vleuten et al. 2009). The expected transformation in organisational practices as a result of gender training does not occur because gender-trained employees return to work in the patriarchal framework of the public sector. More and better training cannot alone address the problem of sex segregation in the labour market. Social and liberal theories of sex segregation do not offer a solution to a problem rooted in patriarchal interests of groups. There is a need for the methodologies of change to be infused by an understanding of the political dimensions of sex segregation in the labour market. Rather than a single emphasis on training, patriarchal policies and procedures that create sex segregation in the public sector, and more broadly in the labour market, need to be challenged and changed.

**Representation of Women in the Public Sector**

This thesis argues that women’s low representation in the public sector is the result of patriarchal control of men over women, for which gender training is not a solution. This position contrasts with the social theories of labour market which consider low representation of women in institutions as the cause of sex segregation in the labour market. However, that is not to say that representation does not matter; but of the two, that is, representation of women or a change in patriarchal institutions, it is the latter which should come first. Patriarchal institutions limit women’s representation and require change for an effective elimination of the problem of sex segregation in the labour market.

If the social roles of men and women were the cause of sex segregation in the public sector (Maccoby 1999: 118; Wharton 2005; Epstein 2007; Ballantine and Roberts 2010: 290), then women in the public sector of Pakistan would be found only in so-called women-appropriate professions. Similarly, if childhood socialisation were the reason for
sex segregation (Maccoby 1999; Eagly and Diekman 2006; Diekman and Schneider 2010), then training-led re-socialisation of public sector employees would have resulted in support for the elimination of sex segregation across professions. But neither of these two assumptions has been found to be true with regard to the problem of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan. The evidence from Chapter 4 suggests women work in all sectors of the economy. Proportionately more women than men in the rural areas are engaged in the agriculture and livestock sector of the economy, albeit at much lower-paid levels. Women, although in small numbers, are in all departments of the public sector but they are located in lower scales and selective departments. This study found that both men and women in middle management (lower pay scales) opposed the integration of more women in these scales, which suggests that the problem is political not social, as is assumed in the socialisation theories. The patriarchal nature of the public sector restricts women’s representation in the public sector of Pakistan. In the absence of policies for the equitable representation of women, training is not a solution to the problem of low representation of women.

The equitable representation of women faces severe resistance from both men and women in entry-level positions. The closure of these positions to women reflects the men’s desire to retain opportunities of employment only for their own kind, and the women’s desire to exclude other women by suggesting they compete with men to join the public sector reflects the women’s attempt to consolidate and showcase their elite status in the public sector. Common to both is the interest of groups that contest for the monopoly over opportunities of employment, thus precluding any chance of equitable representation of women as a result of the goodwill generated by training.

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While the study generally supports the argument that occupational closure results from the contest between the dominant and subordinate groups (Parkin 1979; Witz 1990), it also suggests a careful reading of the view that occupational closure is necessarily a function of the downward use of power by the dominant group (Özbilgin and Woodward 2003). The study shows that the use of power relates to contest, which can be horizontal as well as vertical. The downward use of power does not occur in cases where the dominant group feels secure due to lack of contest and risk to the privileged position, and so to some extent this qualifies the notion of occupational closure and the presence of contest between groups. Patriarchal benevolence occurs in the form of men who occupy senior positions supporting the integration of women in lower positions only because such a move does not put their privilege at risk. This also challenges the radical feminists’ theories, which consider power largely as an attribute of sex (MacKinnon 2010). Men dominate not due to their sex but due to the patriarchal structures which bestow undue power and privilege to them over women (Connell 2005; Johnson 2005). Power is a contested resource and both men and women, depending on their interest, may actively contribute to the building of the patriarchal systems that sustain male privilege.

Do we need the integration of women, as recommended by some development agencies and government reports (GOP 1998; ADB 2000; GOP 2003), in the public sector of Pakistan? The study suggests we do because the representation of women is abysmally low (GOP 1998; GOP 2003; GOP 2006b) and without direct policies of integration the equitable representation of women is not possible. Can the integration of women, as assumed by the social role theories of sex segregation in the labour market, be taken to mean an elimination of the problem of sex segregation in the public sector? The study suggests it will not because integration does not change the patriarchal institutional
structures (Longwe 1997; Cornwall 2003; Dasgupta 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007; Batliwala 2010) but creates new interests and power structures in the existing patriarchal structures. Integration does not totally transform unequal gender relations (Kabeer 1994; Batliwala and Dhanraj 2007: 28; Kapur 2007: 125; Ban and Rao 2008) but rather it is the conflicting interests of groups (Dasgupta 2007: 34), which are overlooked by training, that make it an ineffective means for the elimination of sex segregation in the labour market. There is a need to examine the deeper issues of power in patriarchal institutions (Razavi 1997; Kabeer 1999; Mukhopadhyay 2007: 138). Power depends on contest, and it is the power of women to create an elite status that also results in occupational closure to other women. The power of men results in their opposition and occupational closure towards access to resources to the women already in the public sector.

**Women's Access to Resources in the Public Sector**

This thesis has argued that women's limited access to resources in the public sector is the effect of patriarchal control of men over women for which gender training is not a solution. This position contrasts with the view of economic theories of sex segregation in the labour market which argue that women's subordination owes its lack of access to capital alone (Calás and Smircich 1999 1999: 226; Connelly, Li et al. 2000; Aitchison 2003: 29; Chowdhury 2010). This thesis shows that capital is but one factor but the bigger picture involves institutional and social arrangements, which together disadvantage women in the public sector. Women's access to capital is gained through employment but patriarchal work arrangements deny them this capital. This assumption of an economic theory of sex segregation is not supported by the results of this study. The Government of Pakistan pays equal salaries to men and women employees but structural impediments sustain the patriarchal institutional and the social system. There are trade-offs for working
women; they get access to some capital by working but it is taken away in the costs of the arrangements they have to make for childcare and the like, which typically the husband does not contribute to. The lack of childcare and other facilities not only affects women’s earnings but may also be related to decision about whether to join and continue in the public sector (Barrientos and Kabeer 2004).

Patriarchy involves both the private and the public domains (Lovell 2000; Crompton 2001; Ferguson 2004; England and Folbre 2005). The private-public dichotomy, however, is arbitrary, and women’s condition in one sphere is influenced by the other sphere (Beneria and Sen 1982; Jaquette 1982; Bandarage 1984; Kabeer 1994). The powerlessness of women in institutions results from the patriarchal arrangements that cause work-life imbalances for women (Acker 2006; Emslie and Hunt 2009; Forma 2009; Karimi 2009; Pedersen, Minotte et al. 2009), which equally affect women across the country. In the research, women were unequivocal that institutional policies on issues related to both material and non-material resources such as childcare, toilets, transport and higher organisational mobility, postings at family stations and mechanisms to sort out day-to-day administrative issues in the public sector were required to help eliminate the problem of sex segregation in the public sector. Action on these issues lies beyond the realm of women’s individual agency and belongs to the state. State legislation, policies, institutions and mechanisms of accountability are required to transform patriarchal structures (Barrientos and Kabeer 2004) which cannot be transformed through training. But, as with the failure of the state to be an equal provider of education and health care (Khan, A, 1997; Mbeer 1998; Barber 2010), the state of Pakistan has also failed to provide equitable access to resources for the working women.
Generally organisational hierarchy, with men in higher positions and women concentrated in the lower positions, is considered to result in women’s poor access to resources (Acker and Houten 1974; Acker 1990; Acker 1992; Acker 1998; Acker 2000; Acker 2006a; Acker 2006b; Acker 2009) but this view ignores the resistance to women’s increased access to resources which occurs horizontally at the lower positions. This study found evidence of occupational closure at the lower positions of the organisational hierarchy and patriarchal benevolence at the higher end of hierarchy. There was contest between groups of men and women over the control over resources in the lower positions, which shows that male power can be used horizontally to secure a claim over resources (Witz 1990). This finding, as with the similar finding on representation, also seeks to challenge Ozbilgin and Woodward's (2003) view that occupational closure is only possible through a downward use of power by the dominant group and suggests that a horizontal use of power is also possible. Sex segregation involves contest and competition between different interests and is thus inherently political (2001; Verloo 2004; Verloo, Vleuten et al. 2009).

In summary, neither gender training nor women and development approaches to the representation of women in the labour market as a means to provide economic resources are sufficient to eliminate sex segregation in the public sector. The economic theories of sex segregation that consider that injecting women into the labour market would automatically result in their increased access to resources and their empowerment falter on the grounds of the complexity of gender relations that go beyond pure economic reasons to involve patriarchal structural constraints (McSweeney and Freedman 1980; Rathgeber 1990; Kabeer 1994; Momsen 2009). The form social reality takes depends on the nature of the interaction of social agents, and the rules and resources they draw upon (Giddens 1979;
When men control both intangible and tangible resources including rules, policies and facilities, the patriarchal reality is the outcome. With everything else being patriarchal, the mere integration of women could result in their exploitation in the form of cheap labour, uncongenial work conditions and limited mobility (Elson and Pearson 1981; Safa 1981: 60). The alleviation of patriarchal constraints is a requirement for the empowerment of women (Jakimow and Kilby 2006). The extent to which it is achieved would reflect the extent to which the problem of sex segregation in the public sector is taken care of. Rather than training, patriarchal policies need to be changed for women’s access to resources to be a matter of right and entitlement (Goetz 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007).

**Institutional Practices in the Public Sector**

This thesis has argued that patriarchal policies and organisational mandates and not gender training *per se* determine the activities of employees. GAD approaches consider training can bring change in institutional practices. There is a belief that training will result in institutional transformation and the elimination of gender inequality (Woodford Berger 2004; Verloo 2005; Abou-Habib 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007; Tiessen 2007; Verloo, Vleuten et al. 2009). This research looked at actual changes in practices after gender training of research participants and found that there were no changes in practices as a result of training, as the practices of employees were determined by institutional inertia to unchanged patriarchal policies. This is an important finding as it challenges the view that more and better training can result in institutional transformation (Howard 2002; Kusakabe 2005).

If institutional transformation was merely a function of the awareness of employees (Woroniu, Thomas et al. 1996; Schalkwyk 1998), practices would have changed. The emphasis on the gender training of officials as a means of institutional transformation
argued by Leo-Rhynie (1999), the Commonwealth Secretariate (1999b; 2001), Taylor (1999) and Frankson (2000) is misplaced, as it is based on naive notions of how institutional change can be effected (Charlesworth and Smith 2005: 18; Abou-Habib 2007; Dasgupta 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007; Mukhopadhyay and Wong 2007). A point that is emphasised is that GAD gender mainstreaming in theory supports transformation in patriarchal structures (COE 1998; Beveridge and Nott 2002; Daly 2005; Verloo 2005) but in practice it adopts the soft approach of gender training. The radical potential of the GAD political theories is thus negated by the adoption of the training approach, which echoes the social theories of sex segregation in the labour market.

Patriarchy is the basis of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan and patriarchal inertia in the public sector is due to patriarchal policies and organisational mandates. Change in practices does not occur because the public sector policies in all but one ministry do not embrace gender equality as an avowed organisational goal (GOP Year Nil: 72). Institutional constraints prevent any change in behaviour (Eisenstein 1990; Goetz 1997; Connell 2006), as they lack formal structures of accountability to staff (Kilby 2004; Kilby 2011) and encourage an informal approach to critical issues of discrimination and sexual harassment. The informal approach tends to give greater control to men over women and so the status quo strengthens patriarchy in institutions. When there are no institutional mechanisms, women have no recourse to remedy day-to-day injustices (MacKinnon 1987; 1993). Patriarchal institutional structures over a period of time have created privileges and interests of men (Walby 1989; 1990; 2000) and patriarchal structures and policies result in sex segregation (Woodford Berger 2004; Abou-Habib 2007; Ahikire 2007; Dasgupta 2007).
The political theories of sex segregation in the labour market have long argued that patriarchy results in sex segregation in the labour market (Donovan 2000: 156; Aitchison 2003: 28; Eagleton 2003: 59). However, the proponents of the concept of classic patriarchy have believed that control of men over women is only a function of the power exercised by men in the family (Moghadam 2002; Shankar and Northcott 2009; Yount 2011). This research shows that the outcome of control by men over women, rather than being only a function of the exercise of power by men in the family, is also achieved through institutional mechanisms and policies. Power is not an attribute of sex per se but resides in institutional structures in the family and by extension in the public sector. Powerful positions in institutions are held by men (Johnson 2005; Shankar and Northcott 2009), with women’s subordination resulting from the adoption of exclusionary strategies in modes of production, paid work, the state and cultural institutions (Walby 1990: 20). Women in Pakistan have been victims of the patriarchal bias of the state for some time now (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987; Weiss 2003; Kothari 2005; Mullally 2005; Shaheed 2010), with the disenfranchising of women in many ways (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987; Weiss 2003; Mullally 2005; Rashid 2009; Shaheed 2010). State policies have resulted in the divisive gendered identities of its people (Naseem 2006; Durrani 2008; GOP 2009; Rashid 2009; Halai 2010) and the patriarchal arrangements have disadvantaged women (Laslett and Brenner 1989; Moser 1989; Østergaard 1992; Pillai N., Vijayamohanan et al. 2009).

Rather than a focus on individuals, efforts need to be made to change organisational mandates (Dawson 2005), as change in theses patriarchal policies can result in a change in organisational practices (Mukhopadhyay 2004). Research participants from the Ministry of Women Development spent time on gender equality because it was part of their organisational mandate, while those from the Industries and Production Department,
without such a mandate, did not spend any time on gender issues. Gender training has some benefits (Zaleski 2010) but it does not change the patriarchal institutions (Woodford Berger 2004; Ahikire 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007). It is mechanisms of accountability that hold employees responsible for the elimination of sex segregation (Kilby 2004; Kilby 2006; Harcourt 2010). These mechanisms are missing in the case of the public sector of Pakistan.

In conclusion, sex segregation in the public sector is inherently political and the progress towards the elimination of sex segregation in the public sector of Pakistan depends on a change in patriarchal policies rather than on gender training. The opposition to women’s increased representation results from the patriarchal closure aimed at maintaining monopoly over opportunities and the elite status. Women’s low access to resources results from patriarchal institutional mechanisms that also shape their powerlessness. Patriarchal structures, policies and procedures shape employees’ practices and put constraints in the way of actions for gender equality. A transformation in patriarchal institutions cannot be achieved through gender training and requires a fundamental shift in development methodologies, from a focus on gender training to effecting change in patriarchal institutional policies.

Future research on donors’ interventions such as gender training must take on board the issues identified in the social, economic and political theories to establish the missing link between theory and practice. Research on sex segregation in the public sector in Pakistan must go beyond the issue of a count of women to examine how patriarchal institutional arrangements result in women’s low representation and their limited access to resources. This research may be replicated in provinces to further expand the base provided by this research. Similar research is desirable in other developing countries where gender training has been implemented to eliminate sex segregation in the labour market. Future
research on the issue of sex segregation could include the perceptions of excluded women to make comparisons with included women. This research need is due to the findings of occupational closure in which the included men and women opposed the inclusion of excluded women. Research is also needed to further expand the concept of patriarchal benevolence. Research on patriarchal benevolence in an organisation such as the Education Department in which women are present in senior positions could add new dimensions to the problem of sex segregation in the public sector.
REFERENCES


Appendix 1

TRAINING MODULES T1 AND T2

The T1 Module

Source: Handbook Training Manual for Senior Mid-level Advisory Staff. Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad (pages 3 to 7)

The module contains eight sessions designed on the basis of consultations with the federal and provincial GPM secretariats and the participants of ToT [Training of Trainers]. A brief overview of each of the sessions, objectives and key contents, is presented.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session no. Title/Objectives</th>
<th>Overview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 – Inaugural Session</td>
<td>This is an important session for informing relevant stakeholders about the Gender Mainstreaming Project, and orienting them about the significance of this initiative. This session is absolutely critical for creating a harmonious environment that allows for effective debate and discussion, and getting the participants interested in investing their day in the pursuit of this topic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Provide an overview of the Gender Mainstreaming in P&amp;DD Project;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Establish the significance of the two day training.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Provide an opportunity to the participants and facilitators/organisers to become known to each other.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Inform the participants of the objectives and agenda of the Gender Support Program and other initiatives.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Discussion from the floor.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Gender Roles and Gender Issues</td>
<td>This session builds the rationale for gender mainstreaming, as well as the Gender Mainstreaming Project. The session shall have two parts. In the first part there will be brainstorming on various issues relating to gender.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Reiterate the key concepts of gender, why and how gender equality issues arise, and how gender equality can be attained.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Provide a rationale for why gender should be mainstreamed in policy, programs and projects.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Distribution of work by gender: The various types of work, including production and reproduction, are to be identified.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Empowerment issues: Discussion of the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session no. Title/Objectives</td>
<td>Overview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three main elements of empowerment including agency, resources, and achievements.</td>
<td>The trainees shall be engaged in the two exercises by taking into consideration the local conditions. This session demands excellent facilitation skills on the part of the trainer who must manage the discussion and debate with a view to ensuring that all the trainees are fully gender sensitised.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Resources and constraints which manifest the gender issues will be examined. These would include various social and economic constraints.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exercise:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Definition of Gender.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o When at your work place your beliefs and gender roles are affected by your decisions.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mainstreaming Gender in Policies, <strong>Programs &amp; Projects</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Emphasize the need to incorporate gender sensitivity at each stage of the policy, program and project cycle.</td>
<td>The session aims to provide rationale for why gender should be mainstreamed in the formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of government policies, plans, programme and project in all areas of development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Labour market issues: including the low female labour force participation rates, wage differentials, and data on the issues by gender.</td>
<td>The session would also examine why the females are constrained to do the jobs that are not normally counted towards economic activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The problems encountered by the women in obtaining the credit would be highlighted.</td>
<td>Why the women are paid low wages? Are they paid low wages because they are concentrated in the low paid jobs or that they are paid low wages in similar jobs compared to the males?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Exercise:</td>
<td>Why the women are unable to get the credit especially the formal credit?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Work mapping</td>
<td>The trainers would divide the total hours of the day by productive/reproductive work and leisure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Public policy and gender sensitisation</td>
<td>The debate that there is a trade off between gender and growth needs to be discussed in brainstorming session and to convince the trainees that they are complementary on the basis of empirical evidence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The gender and economic development: Is there a trade off or they are complementary?</td>
<td>What is meant by the gender sensitive policy may be done through individual exercise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Gender Sensitive policy: What are the elements of such a policy?</td>
<td>How gender barriers to trade and the inequality of human development constrains the females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session no. Title/Objectives</td>
<td>Overview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Are there gender barriers to trade?</td>
<td>in the economic activities need to be highlighted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Gender inequality and human development</td>
<td>The costs and benefits to the households and the nation shall be examined.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Exercise:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Identifying the costs and Benefits of Men’s work and Women’s work, monetary and non-monetary costs and benefits.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4. Development of indicators</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• The project can only be meaningfully gender sensitised if there are quantitative and qualitative indicators</td>
<td>This is a rather important session as this would be the basis for the project appraisal. The group will be divided into four groups and each one of them would develop the indicators for various fields that are relevant to gender.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The risks that the project would not be gender sensitised in its implementation should be examined</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The focus should be on the outcomes though the other three indicators such as input, process and output indicators need also be discussed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The qualitative indicators that may be considered in the project appraisals should also be discussed.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5. Presentation of the Development Indicators</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• The indicators developed in the session four by each group will be presented to the plenary</td>
<td>The trainer has to facilitate in evolving a consensus on the various indicators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The most appropriate indicators from gender perspective for each type of the project shall be evolved through a consensus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6. Project Appraisal Exercise</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• In this session four projects that have been prepared by taking into consideration the gender shall be appraised by the four groups and comments on the projects to be sent to the sponsors for revision of the project shall be firmed up.</td>
<td>Since these officers are supposed to appraise the project this exercise assumes great importance. The trainees would be divided into four groups. Based on the indicators developed in the 5th session the trainees should use the expertise to appraise the project and give the comments that why the project is not acceptable and what needs to be done before it can be considered for submission to the relevant forum. Basic ideas of the session is to ensure that the mid-level officers who have to appraise the project are able to see if the gender has been properly incorporated or not</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7. Project Appraisal Exercise: presentations</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Each of the four groups would make</td>
<td>The appraisal will be discussed in the plenary to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session no. Title/Objectives</td>
<td>Overview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>presentations of their recommendations for revision of the project</td>
<td>see whether the gender concerns have been adequately covered and the chances that it would be implemented.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The Trainer would assist in evolving a consensus that what will be considered as gender sensitized project.</td>
<td>Both the trainees and trainers would jointly determine whether the gender concerns have been adequately covered.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Evaluation of the training program

The evaluation forms will be made available to the trainers and they will get it filled from the trainees.

This session aims at getting the feedback from the trainees so that improvements can be made in the next round of training.
### The T2 Module

*Source: Training Manual for Officers Dealing with Basic Level Project Proposals/Programmes, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad (Pages 5 to 9)*

The module contains 20 sessions designed on the basis of consultations with the federal and provincial GPM secretariats and the participants of the ToT. A brief overview of each of the sessions, objectives and key contents, is presented:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session no./Title/Objectives</th>
<th>Overview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>0 – Inaugural Session</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Provide an overview of the Gender Mainstreaming in P&amp;DDD Project;</td>
<td>This is an important session for informing relevant stakeholders about Gender Mainstreaming Project, and orienting them about the significance of this initiative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Establish the significance of the five days training.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Provide an opportunity to the participants and facilitators organizers to become known to each other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Inform the participants of the objectives and agenda of the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Gender Support Program and other initiatives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Discussion Session</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Gender Roles and Gender Issues</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Reiterate the key concepts of gender, why and how gender equality issues arise, and how gender equality can be attained;</td>
<td>This session builds the rationale for gender mainstreaming, as well as the Gender Mainstreaming Project.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Provide a rationale for why gender should be mainstreamed in policy, programs and projects;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Distribution of work by gender: The various types of work, including production and reproduction are to be identified;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Empowerment issues: Discussion of the three main elements of empowerment including agency, resources, and achievements;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Resources and constraints which manifest the gender will be examined. These would include various social and economic constraints;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Definition of Gender</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Work mapping</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session no./Title/Objectives</td>
<td>Overview</td>
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<td>------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **2: Female Labour Force Participation and Wage Rates.**  
- Why Female Labour Force Participation rates are low in Pakistan? Is it a measurement problem?  
- Why the females are forced to carry out the work that is not considered economically active?  
- Production and Reproduction Issues  
- Social Structure and Restrictions on women leading to low participation rates and low wage rates  
- Social hierarchy of livelihood and why the females are concentrated in the jobs that are in the informal sector  
- Differential in wage rates by Gender  
- What are the barriers to decent wage  
- Strategies to overcome the barriers  
- Exercises:  
  - Work mapping in the beginning of the session  
  - What is work? Burden of work at the end of the session | The session would also examine why the females are constrained to do the jobs that are not normally counted towards economic activities.  
Why the women are concentrated in the low paid jobs?  
Why the women are paid low wages? Are they paid low wages because they are concentrated in the low paid jobs or that they are paid low wages in similar jobs compared to the males |
| **3. Mainstreaming Gender in Policies, Programs & Projects**  
- Emphasize the need to incorporate gender sensitivity at each stage of the policy, program and project cycle.  
- The problems encountered by the women in obtaining the credit would be highlighted  
- Exercises:  
  - Identification of critical work related issue where gender mainstreaming can help in improving the situation | The session aims to provide rationale for why gender should be mainstreamed in the formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of government policies, plans, programme and project in all areas of development.  
Why the women are unable to get the credit especially the formal credit? |
| **4. Public policy and gender sensitisation**  
- The gender and economic development: is there a trade off or they are complementary?  
- Gender Sensitive policy: What are the elements of such a policy?  
- What is the distribution of costs and benefits of any change in policy for males and females?  
- Has globalization meant fewer benefits and greater costs for women?  
- Are there gender barriers to trade?  
- Gender inequality and human development  
- Exercise: | The debate that there is a trade off between gender and growth needs to be discussed in brainstorming session and to convince the trainees that they are complementary on the basis of empirical evidence.  
What is meant by the gender sensitive policy may be done through individual exercise.  
How gender barriers to trade and the inequality of human development constrains the females in the economic activities need to be highlighted. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session no./Title/Objectives</th>
<th>Overview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o Defining and identifying the elements of gender sensitive policy</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### 5. Gender Responsive Budgeting

- What is the gender sensitive budgeting?
- Should both the revenue as well as expenditure be analysed?
- Should both the current and capital expenditure be examined?
- Should selective projects and programs be evaluated?
- Exercises:
  - Evaluating the health sector of PSDP and examine the gender sensitive issues

Basic objective of the session is to point out that the budget should be genders sensitive and therefore both the expenditure and the revenues should be analysed.

### 6 & 7. Development of indicators

- The project can only be meaningfully gender sensitised if there are quantitative and qualitative indicators
- The risks that the project would not be gender sensitised in its implementation should be examined
- The focus should be on the outcomes though the other three indicators such as input, process and output indicators need also be discussed
- The qualitative indicators that may be considered in the project appraisals should also be discussed

This is a rather important session as this would be the basis for the project appraisal. Through brainstorming after presentation the trainees must be able to develop the indicators in various projects that are relevant to gender

The trainer has to evolve a consensus after the presentations are made in the plenary session.

### 8 & 9. Project Appraisal Exercise-Education

- An education sector project that has already been approved by the competent forum but is gender blind the trainees would show as to how this can be gender sensitised. The trainees would be divided into five groups and each one of them would carry out the exercise and the end of the session all the groups would bring back the project gender sensitised and all the trainees with the help of the trainer would determine whether the gender concerns have been adequately covered.

Based on the indicators developed in the 4th session the trainees would put all the five types of indicators, make the objective gender sensitised and the inputs are included as well.

Basic idea behind the session is to ensure that these officers are able to provide quantitative and qualitative information that can be used to make the project gender sensitised. After each of the group has prepared gender sensitised project this is to be presented and discussed in the plenary

### 10 and 11. Project Appraisal Exercise: Health

- In health sector project that has already been approved by the competent forum but is

Based on the indicators developed in the 4th session the trainees would put all the five types
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session no./Title/Objectives</th>
<th>Overview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gender blind the trainees would show as to how this can be gender sensitised. The trainees would be divided into five groups and each one of them would carry out the exercise and the end of the session all the groups would bring back the project gender sensitised and all the trainees with the help of the trainer would determine whether the gender concerns have been adequately covered.</td>
<td>of indicators, make the objective gender sensitised and the inputs are included as well.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **12 and 13. Project Appraisal Exercise: Various sectors**  
- Projects relating to various sectors that that has already been approved by the competent forum but is gender blind the trainees would show as to how this can be gender sensitised. The trainees would be divided into five groups and each one of them would carry out the exercise and the end of the session all the groups would bring back the project gender sensitised and all the trainees with the help of the trainer would determine whether the gender concerns have been adequately covered. | Based on the indicators developed in the 4th session the trainees would put all the five types of indicators, make the objective gender sensitised and the inputs are included as well.  
Basic idea behind the session is to ensure that these officers are able to provide quantitative and qualitative information that can be used to make the project gender sensitised.  
After each of the group has prepared gender sensitised project this is to be presented and discussed in the plenary |
| **14 and 15. Project Appraisal Exercise.**  
In this session various projects which have been prepared by taking into consideration the gender shall be given to the four groups for review and improvements.  
- The gender sensitised project will be discussed in the plenary to see whether the gender concerns have been adequately covered and the chances that it would be implemented. | It will help the trainees to focus on the various aspects of the projects and come out with improved version of the project. |
| **16, 17 and 18. Project Appraisal Exercise**  
- In the three sessions the trainers will develop a shrimp project that is gender sensitised. | This would help the officers to prepare projects that are fully gender sensitised. |
| **19. Evaluation of the training program**  
The evaluation forms will be made available to the trainers and they will get it filled from the trainees. | This session aims at getting the feedback from the trainees so that improvements can be made in the next round of training. |
Appendix 2

TRAINING EVALUATION FORM

PAKISTAN INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS,

ISLAMABAD

Training and Project Evaluation Division

Training Course on

“Gender Mainstreaming”

We have just completed the training. Now we would like you to indicate us about your feelings on what has been presented. This information is valuable in helping us to assess the degree of success of the training and making it more objective and effective in future. The questions can be answered by circling a number on the scale to the right of each question. Where you intend giving additional information, please write your reply/response clearly and precisely in the space provided for the purpose.

I. STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION:

1. **Duration of the training**
   - Too short
   - Fair
   - Too long
   
   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
   
   2. **Schedule of the training**
   - Too tight
   - Too relax
   
   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
   
   3. **Amount of discussions held**
   - Too much
   - Too little
   
   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
   
   4. **The quality of training**
   - Poor
   - Excellent
   
   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

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II. PHYSICAL RESOURCES AND FACILITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very Poor</th>
<th>Fair</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Very Good</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Training venue</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting of the training room</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light arrangements</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suitability of training room</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching aid facilities</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of meals</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (please specify)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III. OBJECTIVES OF THE TRAINING:

After completing this training course the participants would be able to:

- Understand & appreciate project GMS process in public and private sectors, and
- Use various tools, techniques and approaches to GMS development projects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>To indicate your opinion about importance, circle:</th>
<th>To indicate your opinion about achievement, circle:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 = Not important</td>
<td>1 = Not achieved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 = Least important</td>
<td>2 = Achieved a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 = Somewhat important</td>
<td>3 = Somewhat achieved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 = Important</td>
<td>4 = Mostly achieved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 = Very important</td>
<td>5 = Fully achieved</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV RESOURCE PERSONS:

In general how do you evaluate resource persons in this training program.
V. KNOWLEDGE & SKILLS:

1. *Name three new concepts that you have learned from this course*

2. *Name three new skills that you have learned from this course.*

3. *Any other suggestion/recommendation do you think can make this course more useful and attractive*

Thank you very much for your cooperation
Appendix 3

WOMEN’S REPRESENTATION IN INSTITUTIONS
(AJK AND UNDP, PAKISTAN)

Azad Jammu and Kashmir

1- Gender and Level Wise Number of Students of Govt. College of AJ&K for the year (2008-09)
2- Gender and Level Wise Number of Govt. College of AJ&K for the year (2008-09)
3- Gender and Level Wise Number of College Teachers of AJ&K for the year (2008-09)

UNDP Country office and assisted Projects in Pakistan

1- Male and Female Employment in the Country Office and in UNDP-assisted Projects, by Type of Contract

| Gender and Level Wise Number of Students of Govt. College of AJ&K for the year (2008-09) |
|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| District                                      | Gender | Intermediate Colleges | Degree College | Postgraduate College | College of Education | Poly Technique | Total |
| Bagh                                          | Female | 776                   | 801             | 1523               | 84                  | 0              | 3184   |
|                                               | Male   | 989                   | 999             | 1478               | 0                   | 0              | 3466   |
| Haveli                                        | Female | 95                    | 353             | 0                  | 0                   | 0              | 448    |
|                                               | Male   | 112                   | 430             | 0                  | 0                   | 0              | 542    |
| Bhimber                                       | Female | 791                   | 885             | 0                  | 0                   | 0              | 1676   |
|                                               | Male   | 720                   | 989             | 1213               | 0                   | 0              | 2922   |
| Kotli                                         | Female | 789                   | 1544            | 711                | 0                   | 0              | 3044   |
|                                               | Male   | 759                   | 1589            | 888                | 0                   | 0              | 3236   |
| Mirpur                                        | Female | 787                   | 1213            | 0                  | 0                   | 0              | 2000   |
|                                               | Male   | 699                   | 1489            | 1878               | 46                  | 0              | 4112   |
| MZD                                           | Female | 583                   | 1489            | 1717               | 0                   | 0              | 3789   |
|                                               | Male   | 409                   | 1114            | 1918               | 0                   | 0              | 3441   |
| Neelum                                        | Female | 433                   | 301             | 0                  | 0                   | 0              | 734    |
|                                               | Male   | 480                   | 451             | 0                  | 0                   | 0              | 931    |
| Hattian                                       | Female | 633                   | 978             | 0                  | 0                   | 0              | 1608   |
|                                               | Male   | 722                   | 988             | 0                  | 0                   | 0              | 1710   |
| Poonch                                        | Female | 779                   | 1321            | 1488               | 0                   | 0              | 3588   |
|                                               | Male   | 898                   | 1250            | 1689               | 0                   | 0              | 3927   |
| Sudhmoti                                      | Female | 901                   | 1457            | 1177               | 0                   | 0              | 3335   |
|                                               | Male   | 890                   | 1299            | 1478               | 0                   | 0              | 3667   |

Source: AJK at Glance (GOAJK 2009: 39)
## Gender and Level Wise Number of Govt. College of AJ&K for the year (2008-09)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Inter-Colleges</th>
<th>Degree College</th>
<th>Postgraduate College</th>
<th>College of Education</th>
<th>Poly Technique</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
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<td>9</td>
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</table>

Source: AJK at Glance (GOAJK 2009: 38)
### Gender and Level Wise Number of College Teachers of AJ&K for the year (2008-09)

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<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Intermediate Colleges</th>
<th>Degree College</th>
<th>Postgraduate College</th>
<th>College of Education</th>
<th>Poly Technique</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</table>

Source: AJK at Glance (GOAJK 2009: 39)

### Male and Female Employment in the Country Office and in UNDP-assisted Projects, by Type of Contract

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<tr>
<th>Type of Contract</th>
<th>Country Office</th>
<th>UNDP-assisted Projects</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fixed Term (FT)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>78.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Service Contract (SC)</td>
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<td>85.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Special Service Agreement</td>
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<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All types of contract</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>69.6</td>
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</table>

Appendix 4

SAMPLE DETAIL RESPONDENTS, ORGANISATIONAL POSITIONS AND ORGANISATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>%</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Education</td>
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<td>Finance &amp; Statistics</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Services &amp; General Admin</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>B.S 17</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Law, Human Rights</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Women Development</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>B.S 18</td>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Planning &amp; Dev.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Industries &amp; Production</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>B.S 19</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>Agriculture</td>
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<td>Social Welfare</td>
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</table>

Frequency distribution of respondents in terms of organisations and their positions in organisations
Appendix 5

QUESTIONNAIRE

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PhD RESEARCH

Australian National University
School of Anthropology & Archaeology

Principal Investigator: KHALID MAHMOOD CHAUHAN
Research Supervisor: Dr. Patrick Kilby

Questionnaire number: __________
Date of interview (Day/Month/Year): __________

1.0. ETHNOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF THE EMPLOYEE

1.1 Name (Optional): __________

1.2. Gender training (received):  
   i. Yes ___      ii. No___

1.3. Gender:  
   i. Male ______ ii. Female ________

1.4. Government Service:  
   i. Federal Government, Islamabad ___
   ii. Government of AJK, Muzaffarabad ___

1.5. Department/ Organization/ ministry (currently employed in): __________

1.6. Current job:  
   Designation __________
   Scale: __________
2.0. ISSUE OF REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN

2.1. What is your opinion on fixing quota for women in public sector jobs? Why?

2.2. In your opinion what should be the percentage of women quota in public sector jobs? ___ %

3.0. ISSUE OF ACCESS TO RESOURCES

3.1. In your opinion which staff policies/practices in your office that, if changed, could bring immediate improvement in inequality between male and female employees? How?

3.2. Do you think that strategy for developing an encouraging work environment for female staff should be the part of government organization policies? What should be the leading agenda point of that strategy?

4.0. ISSUE OF ORGANIZATIONAL PRACTICES

4.1. How many (if any) formal meetings/sessions have you arranged in your office specifically for highlighting gender issues? __________

4.2. How much time in your office you have spent on gender issues during last 30 days? Why?
4.3. Is there gender discrimination at the workplace? If so what are the major forms?

4.4. How many cases/complaints of gender discrimination, if so, have you dealt in the past two years?

4.5. How have you handled, if so, the cases of gender discrimination at the workplace?

4.6. Is there sexual harassment at the workplace? If so what are the major forms?

4.7. How many complaints/cases of sexual harassment, if so, have you dealt in the past two years?

Note: Any additional comments.
COMPLETE THEMATIC TRENDS

Themes on Representation

Q 2.1 What is your opinion on fixing quota for women in public sector jobs? Why?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Codes</th>
<th>Thematic labels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Irrelevant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Open merit/ No quota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yes-For some time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Yes employee gives Justification</td>
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</table>

2.1.1 Opinion in three codes Irrelevant No and Yes

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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>No/Open Merit</td>
</tr>
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<td>3</td>
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Q 2.2. In your opinion what should be the percentage of women quota in public sector jobs?

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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>up to 12 percent</td>
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<tr>
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<td>13 to 25 percent</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>26 to 38 percent</td>
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<td>39 to 51 percent</td>
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2.2.1 Opinion in three codes Irrelevant No and Yes

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<td>2</td>
<td>Up to 25 percent</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Up to 51 percent</td>
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Themes on Access to Resources

Q 3.1. In your opinion which staff policies/ practices in your office that, if changed, could bring immediate improvement in inequality between male and female employees? How?

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<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>NA- Only M/F</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>No need-already equal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Equal treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Quotas/ facilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Gender equality policies</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Q 3.2. Do you think that strategy for developing an encouraging work environment for female staff should be the part of government organization policies? What should be the leading agenda point of that strategy?
1 NA
2 No- we have equality
3 Yes
4 Emphasis on Equal Opportunities
5 Pro women policies.

Themes on Organisational Practices

Q 4.1. How many (if any) formal meetings/ sessions have you arranged in your office specifically for highlighting gender issues?
1 No need/ issue
2 No meeting
3 Up to 5
4 Many due to nature of work
Q 4.2. How much time in your office you have spent on gender issues during last 30 days? Why?
1 No time spent
2 Up to 1 Hour
3 Up to 3 Hours
4 Up to 6 Hours
5 More than eight Hours
Is there gender discrimination at the workplace? If so what are the major forms?
1 Don’t Know
2 No/ Not Seen
3 To Some Extent
4 Yes, Not explained
5 Yes, Explains with forms.
4.3.1 Last two merged
1 Don’t Know
2 No/ Not Seen
3 To Some Extent
4 Yes
Q 4.4. How many cases/complaints of gender discrimination, if so, have you dealt in the past two years?
1 NA
2 No case
3 1 to 5 cases
4 6 to 20
5 More then 20
Q 4.5. How have you handled, if so, the cases of gender discrimination at the workplace?

1. NA
2. Not handled/ in process
3. Routine Inquiry/ Counseling/ Verbal advice
4. Issues resolved- Transport
5. No such process exists

Q 4.6. Is there sexual harassment at the workplace? If so what are the major forms?

1. NA
2. No
3. Men Equally Harassed
4. Yes
5. Yes, Explained

4.6.1 Last two merged

1. NA
2. No
3. Men Equally Harassed
4. Yes

Q 4.7. How many complaints/cases of sexual harassment, if so, have you dealt in the past two years?

1. NA
2. No case
3. 1 to 5 cases
4. Up to 10 cases
THE GENERAL LINEAR MODEL USED IN THE RESEARCH

**UNIANOVA**: Dependent variable (study sub-question/s) BY Training.

Gender, Organisational Position, Socio-cultural context, and Organisation.

/METHOD = SSTYPE (3)

/INTERCEPT = INCLUDE

/CRITERIA = ALPHA (0.05)

/DESIGN= Training, Gender, Organisational Position, Socio-cultural context, and Organisation + Training*Gender, Training*Organisational Position, Training*Socio-cultural context, Training* Organisation.
Appendix 8

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS RESULTS

A) ISSUE OF REPRESENTATION

UNIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE: TESTS OF BETWEEN-SUBJECTS EFFECTS

Table: 1

Dependent Variable: What is your opinion on fixing quota for women in public sector jobs? Why?

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<td>18.310</td>
<td>000**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisation *</td>
<td>27.189</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.719</td>
<td>1.929</td>
<td>046**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training-Gender</td>
<td>3.217</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.217</td>
<td>2.282</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training-Position</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>2.357</td>
<td>1.673</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training-Sociopolitical context</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training-Organisation **</td>
<td>28.971</td>
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<td>2.897</td>
<td>2.056</td>
<td>032**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>195.895</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>1.409</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2639.000</td>
<td>183</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corrected Total</td>
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<td>182</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R Squared = .394 (Adjusted R Squared = .206)

**shows that the variable has significant relationship with the dependent variable (questions under investigation). For the variable the level of significance is p< 0.05 (as shown in the column on 'Sig'). This means that the relationship is not due to chance and is likely to be found in the broad population beyond sample. The asterisk is used to show the significant relationships in the following tables as well. This merely highlights the level of significance as shown in the column on 'Sig' in the tables. The effect of training in conjunction with other variables (Gender, Position, Socio-political Context and Organisation) has also been given in the tables.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Type III Sum of Squares</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corrected Model</td>
<td>158.560</td>
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<td>3.687</td>
<td>1.580</td>
<td>0.025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
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<td>137.866</td>
<td>59.062</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1.797</td>
<td>7.70</td>
<td>0.382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>5.552</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.552</td>
<td>23.78</td>
<td>0.125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position (Basic Pay Scale)</td>
<td>10.226</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.409</td>
<td>1.460</td>
<td>0.228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-political Context**</td>
<td>26.369</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26.369</td>
<td>11.296</td>
<td>0.001**</td>
</tr>
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<td>Organisation</td>
<td>27.367</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.737</td>
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<td>0.315</td>
</tr>
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<td>Training-Gender</td>
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<td>915</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>0.532</td>
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<td>Training-Position*</td>
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<td>7.619</td>
<td>3.264</td>
<td>0.233**</td>
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<td>Training- Socio-political context</td>
<td>311</td>
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<td>311</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>0.716</td>
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<td>41.047</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.105</td>
<td>1.758</td>
<td>0.074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>319.794</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>2.334</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1938.000</td>
<td>181</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Corrected Total</td>
<td>478.354</td>
<td>180</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R Squared = .331 (Adjusted R Squared = .222)
**B) ISSUE OF WOMEN’S ACCESS TO RESOURCES**

**UNIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE: TESTS OF BETWEEN-SUBJECTS EFFECTS**

| Table: 1 |
|------------------|----------|---------|------|---|
| Source | Type III Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
| Corrected Model | 96.760a | 43 | 2.250 | 1.454 | 062 |
| Intercept | 196.089 | 1 | 196.089 | 120.707 | 000 |
| Training | 992 | 1 | 992 | 060 | 808 |
| Gender | 1.885 | 1 | 1.885 | 1.218 | 272 |
| Position (Basic Pay Scale) | 7.941 | 3 | 2.647 | 1.711 | 169 |
| Socio-political context | 1.763 | 1 | 1.763 | 1.139 | 288 |
| Organisation** | 38.059 | 9 | 3.806 | 2.459 | 014** |
| Training-Gender** | 6.278 | 1 | 6.278 | 4.057 | 046** |
| Training-Position | 8.475 | 3 | 2.825 | 1.825 | 147 |
| Training- Sociopolitical context | 0.006 | 1 | 0.006 | 0.004 | 952 |
| Training-Organisation | 11.784 | 10 | 1.178 | 0.761 | 665 |
| Error | 170.233 | 110 | 1.548 | | |
| Total | 475.000 | 154 | | | |
| Corrected Total | 266.994 | 153 | | | |

a. R Squared = .362 (Adjusted R Squared = .133)

| Table: 2 |
|------------------|----------|---------|------|---|
| Source | Type III Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
| Corrected Model | 88.237a | 43 | 2.052 | 1.581 | 028 |
| Intercept | 282.346 | 1 | 282.346 | 217.553 | 000 |
| Training | 0.070 | 1 | 0.070 | 0.054 | 816 |
| Gender | 3.204 | 1 | 3.204 | 2.469 | 119 |
| Position (Basic pay Scale) | 5.497 | 3 | 1.832 | 1.412 | 243 |
| Socio-political Context** | 6.736 | 1 | 6.736 | 5.190 | 024** |
| Organisation** | 27.437 | 10 | 2.744 | 2.114 | 028** |
| Training-Gender | 2.978 | 1 | 2.978 | 2.295 | 132 |
| Training-Position** | 16.856 | 3 | 5.619 | 4.329 | 006** |
| Training-Sociopolitical context | 0.003 | 1 | 0.003 | 0.002 | 961 |
| Training-Organisation | 15.406 | 10 | 1.541 | 1.187 | 306 |
| Error | 135.739 | 120 | 1.298 | | |
| Total | 2852.000 | 164 | | | |
| Corrected Total | 243.976 | 165 | | | |

a. R Squared = .362 (Adjusted R Squared = .133)
C) ISSUE OF ORGANIZATIONAL PRACTICES

UNIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE: TESTS OF BETWEEN-SUBJECTS EFFECTS

### Table: 1

Dependent Variable: How many (if any) formal meetings/sessions have you arranged in your office specifically for highlighting gender issues

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Type III Sum of Squares</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corrected Model</td>
<td>23.018a</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>5.49</td>
<td>1.701</td>
<td>.013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>82.323</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>82.323</td>
<td>254.984</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>1.092</td>
<td>.298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>.959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position (Basic pay Scale)</td>
<td>1.327</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>1.370</td>
<td>.255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-Political Context</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>.718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisation</td>
<td>4.387</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1.359</td>
<td>.207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training-Gender</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>.877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training-Position</td>
<td>980</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>1.012</td>
<td>.390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training-Sociopolitical Context</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>.984</td>
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<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>2.544</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>788</td>
<td>.640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>928.000</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>523</td>
<td>788</td>
<td>.640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corrected Total</td>
<td>63.329</td>
<td>166</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. R Squared = .373 (Adjusted R Squared = .154)

Note that none of the Independent variables has a significant relationship with the Dependent variable (meetings held) which shows institutional inertia in the public sector.

### Table: 2

Dependent Variable: How much time in your office you have spent on gender issues during last 30 days? Why?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
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<th>df</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corrected Model</td>
<td>110.399a</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2.657</td>
<td>2.627</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>52.871</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>52.871</td>
<td>54.096</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training</td>
<td>1.506</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.506</td>
<td>1.541</td>
<td>.216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>.945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position (Basic Pay Scale)**</td>
<td>8.705</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.902</td>
<td>2.969</td>
<td>.034**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-political context</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>.639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisation**</td>
<td>36.128</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.613</td>
<td>3.696</td>
<td>.000**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training-Gender**</td>
<td>4.649</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.649</td>
<td>4.756</td>
<td>.031**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training-Position</td>
<td>4.033</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.344</td>
<td>1.376</td>
<td>.252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training-Sociopolitical context</td>
<td>1.255</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.255</td>
<td>1.284</td>
<td>.259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>147.581</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>9.77</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>793.000</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corrected Total</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. R Squared = .428 (Adjusted R Squared = .265)
**D) PERCEPTIONS ON DISCRIMINATION**

**UNIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE: TESTS OF BETWEEN-SUBJECTS EFFECTS**

### Table: 1

Dependent Variable: Is there gender discrimination at the workplace? If so, what are the major forms? (Discrimination Workplace).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Type III Sum of Squares</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corrected Model</td>
<td>123.846a</td>
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<td>2.880</td>
<td>1.809</td>
<td>0.05</td>
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<td>166.175</td>
<td>104.396</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1.657</td>
<td>1.941</td>
<td>0.309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2.554</td>
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<td>2.554</td>
<td>1.604</td>
<td>0.207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position (Basic pay Scale)</td>
<td>2.502</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.834</td>
<td>0.524</td>
<td>0.666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-political Context</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>0.628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisation</td>
<td>27.875</td>
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<td>2.782</td>
<td>1.751</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0.008</td>
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<td>0.944</td>
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<td>1.961</td>
<td>1.232</td>
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<td>246</td>
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<td>246</td>
<td>155</td>
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<td>30.056</td>
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<td>3.006</td>
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</table>

a. R Squared = .364 (Adjusted R Squared = .163)

### Table: 2

Dependent Variable: How many cases/complaints of gender discrimination, if so, have you dealt with in the past two years?

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Source</th>
<th>Type III Sum of Squares</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig</th>
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<td>486</td>
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<td>4.34</td>
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<td>434</td>
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<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1.806</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.806</td>
<td>4.333</td>
<td>0.052**</td>
</tr>
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<td>53</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>964</td>
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<tr>
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<td>460</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>595</td>
<td>1.493</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
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<td>183</td>
<td>4.39</td>
<td>711</td>
</tr>
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<td>0.87</td>
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<td>640</td>
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<td>420</td>
<td>1.054</td>
<td>403</td>
</tr>
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<td>398</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>177</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. R Squared = .281 (Adjusted R Squared = .051)
E) PERCEPTIONS ON SEXUAL HARASSMENT

UNIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE: TESTS OF BETWEEN-SUBJECTS EFFECTS

Table: 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Type III Sum of Squares</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>1.560</td>
<td>2.011</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
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<td>91.245</td>
<td>117.612</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
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<td>508</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>.420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender**</td>
<td>2.996</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.990</td>
<td>3.853</td>
<td>.052**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position (Basic Pay Scale)</td>
<td>1.339</td>
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<td>446</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>.632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-political context</td>
<td>2.464</td>
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<td>2.464</td>
<td>3.186</td>
<td>.077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisation**</td>
<td>26.042</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.604</td>
<td>3.357</td>
<td>.001**</td>
</tr>
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<td>Training--Gender</td>
<td>0.977</td>
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<td>0.577</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>.787</td>
</tr>
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<td>0.666</td>
<td>0.833</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1.263</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.263</td>
<td>1.626</td>
<td>.294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training-Organisation</td>
<td>9.249</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.925</td>
<td>1.192</td>
<td>.302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
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a. R Squared = .394 (Adjusted R Squared = .198)

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a. R Squared = .196 (Adjusted R Squared = .072)
Appendix 9

THE REALITY OF WOMEN’S WORK AND GENDER TRAINING IN PAKISTAN

A Pakistani woman waits for customers to sell nuts and earn a living for her family in Karachi, Pakistan on Tuesday, March 8, 2011. – AP Photo

Source: DAWN.COM A return to Malthusian gloom?
Zahida Kazmi: Pakistan's ground-breaking female cabbie

Zahida has had to drive long distances on treacherous routes to northern areas

Zahida Kazmi has been hailed as Pakistan's first female taxi driver. She has driven from the crowded markets of Islamabad to the remote tribal country in the north. Here she tells Nosheen Abbas about her two decades in a male-dominated world.

The Reality of Gender Training in the Public Sector of Pakistan


(Gendrocracy: training of men, by men, for men. Not a single woman – where have all the women gone?)
Lessons learnt

1. Trainings in partnership with public sector training institutions at the public sector venues ensured the institutionalization of project trainings.

2. Quality handbooks for UC Secretaries and women leaders were appreciated by the participants. The training of UC secretaries with resourceful handbook was the first opportunity for lower tier government functionaries.

3. The off campus trainings held in the District & Tehsil council halls had some deficiencies in training facilities like seating arrangement and AV aids which created problems.

4. To cover remote areas' UCs, need to be clustered and events should be organized even lower than the Tehsil level.

5. Delay in development and revision of the training material and delay in release of funds have direct affect on the progress, training curricula and supporting material should always be developed and or revised before starting project trainings.

6. Civil Service training institutions needs to be strengthened and capacitated in management and reporting skills.