

Thesis
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GENDER AND MANAGEMENT:
FACTORS AFFECTING CAREER ADVANCEMENT
OF WOMEN IN THE FEDERAL CIVIL SERVICE OF PAKISTAN

BY

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ABSTRACT

Organisations today operate under extreme pressures to be efficient and productive to meet the challenges of globalisation. The concern for best utilisation of available human resources is at the core of the movement for efficiency and productivity. There is a growing realisation that the quality of top managers, irrespective of gender, is critical to the success and survival of organisations. This has made the advancement of women managers to the top managerial hierarchy an organisational imperative rather than merely an equity issue.

Recognising this need, career advancement of women managers, in recent years, has emerged as an important area of research in the field of gender and management. A number of studies have been conducted to examine the factors affecting women's advancement in management careers. Although these studies provide a useful insight into the phenomenon of scarcity of women in top management, they are parochial in nature and are limited in focus. These studies are largely based on the experiences of women managers in the western and industrialised countries and focus only on the personal and organisational factors overlooking the broader societal context. Hence, recently, the need for incorporating systemic dimension into theoretical discourse as well as empirical research on managerial advancement of women has been recognised to explore this phenomenon across cultures.

This study develops a gender-organisation-system model of managerial advancement to study the factors affecting career advancement of women. The model is applied to the federal civil service of Pakistan, the largest single employer of women in a non-western, developing and Islamic country. The data are collected using triangulation of methods, self-administered questionnaire, face-to-face interviews and documentation. A sample of 300 civil servants was randomly selected for the study. The findings are based on the analysis of the results of 138 questionnaires received and 30 interviews and examination of the status of women in Pakistani society and the civil service through documentation.

The study reveals an inventory of personal, organisational and systemic factors that may facilitate or impede advancement of women civil servants in Pakistan. At the personal level, dual commitment to family and career poses a great dilemma to women civil servants. While parental encouragement, spouse's support, socio-economic background and educational achievements facilitate women civil servants, the potential barriers to their career advancement are spouse career, time away from family and difficulty in relocation.

At the organisational level, women are denied equal career opportunities through indirect and subtle forms of discriminatory practices including gender streaming, work segregation, limited opportunities of training, mentoring and networking. These covert forms of discrimination often go unnoticed and are perpetuated due to a number of organisational factors such as gender-biased selection processes, regional and military quotas, absence of lateral entry, lack of women friendly policies and absence of women from important decision making bodies.

The gender and organisational factors affecting career advancement of women civil servants are the mirror images of the role and status of women in Pakistani society. The cultural norms, values, and perceptions about the role of women in society, low level of gender development and gender empowerment, and absence of legal institutional framework for addressing issues of sex discrimination at work are the major systemic factors that adversely affect women's advancement in the civil service hierarchy.

The study reveals similarities as well as differences between women administrators in Pakistan and western and non-western countries. Pakistani women administrators like women managers in the other countries are not in any sense less than their counterparts in terms of career commitment, managerial ability and self-confidence. They face barriers that arise from two major forces counteracting their career aspirations, work-family conflict and institutionalised discrimination. However these constraints in Pakistan are not only different in nature and forms but are more intense due to rigid sex-role demarcation and strong family orientation compared with western and industrialised countries. Hence, coping strategies at personal, organisational and systemic levels to deal with these pressures are also different.

The study makes several policy recommendations to facilitate women aspiring for managerial careers in general and women civil servants in particular, which includes institutionalised child care, anti-discrimination legislation, flexible working practices, review of recruitment, selection and promotion system, affirmative action, a balanced representation of women in decisionary bodies and gender sensitivity training. Though traditional societal values are in conflict with women's work outside the private sphere, these recommendations if adopted may bring a positive change towards gender equality in managerial careers in Pakistan including the civil service.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background

The world, in the last three decades of the 20th century, has undergone a subtle revolution which has changed the traditional relationships of women to work and the family, resulting in an expanded role for women in the global labour market. For example, in Britain, the number of women in the work force has increased from 9.5 million in 1984 to 11 million in 1991 (Naylor and Purdie, 1992). Similar trends are observed in other developed countries. In Canada, for instance, women's labour force participation has risen from 36% in 1970 to 60% in 1991 and in the USA, women's participation rate has climbed from 38% in 1970 to 45% in 1990 with a prediction of 47% by the year 2000 (Adler and Izraeli, 1994).

This phenomenon has occurred not only in developed and industrialised countries but in the developing countries as well. Women's participation in the labour force in developing countries has significantly increased in the recent past. For example, Pakistan has experienced a 15 per cent increase in female labour force between 1981 and 1991 (Government of Pakistan, 1995); in India, the female labour force participation increased from 25.9 per cent in 1981 to 34 per cent in 1994. In Malaysia, the women's participation in the workforce has risen from 22.4 per cent to 45 per cent during the years 1981 and 1994. In Indonesia the women's labour force participation has increased from 20.8 per cent to 37 per cent during the years 1981 and 1994.¹

¹. The data for India, Malaysia and Indonesia is drawn from: 1) The World Bank (1989); and 2) Haq (1997).

The significant rise in women's participation in the labor force at a global level may be attributed to a number of developments that include the changing role of women in society, movements of women around the world, the expansion of the service sector which traditionally has been a source of female employment, the increase in part-time job opportunities, and the changes in family patterns such as late marriages, nuclear families, single parent families, dual career couples, and delays in starting families (Reskin and Padavic, 1994; Davidson and Cooper, 1992; Collinson, et al., 1990; Hale and Kelly, 1989).

Nevertheless, despite the upward trends in women's participation in the labor force, globally, women's participation rate is still lower than that of men. While women's world wide labor force participation rate in 1990 was 39.5 per cent, men's participation rate was 58 per cent (UNDP, 1995)². It is not only that women's labor force participation rate is lower than that of men, they also lag behind men in terms of employment, earnings, and occupational representation. Women in all regions of the world have high rates of unemployment as compared to men and, those who are employed, their wages on the average are considerably lower than men's (UNDP, 1995).² Women are generally more underrepresented in administration and management than in professional and technical occupations while by contrast they are over-represented in clerical and sales and service occupations.

². The figures on gender disparities in employment including women's share of administrative and managerial jobs in different countries have been taken from the Human Development Report 1995 prepared by the United Nations Development Program.

Women, around the world, occupy only 14 per cent of the managerial and administrative jobs despite the fact that in several regions, there has been significant increase in women's participation in management. The proportion of women in administrative and managerial work has doubled in the industrialised countries, from 14 per cent in 1970 to 28 per cent in 1994. However among industrialised countries there are variations in women's share in administrative and managerial jobs. While in USA, Australia, and Canada women constitute over 40 per cent of the administrative and managerial positions, in Japan their share is less than 10 per cent.

In developing countries, overall, there has been a little change in women's share of administrative and managerial jobs. However among developing countries, the participation of women in administration and management increased fastest in East Asia where women's share of administrative and managerial jobs has more than doubled in certain countries i.e., Brunei, Darussalam, the Republic of Korea, Singapore, Thailand. In most of the Arab States and in South Asia, the proportion of women in administrative and managerial work is less than 10 per cent.

While gender disparities in employment rates and earnings were addressed in equal employment opportunities and anti-discrimination legislation in several industrialised countries, such as USA and Canada, in the 1970s, gender disparities in managerial and administrative positions emerged as an "issue" only during the 1980s. Several factors pushed this issue to the public agenda of the industrialized countries that includes: 1) need to develop a competitive edge by encouraging

excellence through the maximization of human potential in the work force; 2) demographic forecasts of shortage of qualified men for top managerial jobs; 3) visibility given to women's issues by the UN Decade for women launched in 1975; 4) and the active search on the part of women themselves for access to management positions (Adler and Izraeli, 1988). This issue gained momentum in the 1990s and the representation of women in administrative and managerial jobs was considered more as a business and demographic imperative than a moral and equal opportunity issue. Besides, this issue became a subject of robust academic and scholarly analysis and as a result gender and management has emerged as a distinct area of research in the field of management.

Similarly, in developing countries, the issue of women's under-representation in administrative and managerial jobs has recently entered the policy arena as a result of the efforts of the United Nations, international donors, and international development financial institutions, such as the World Bank, for promoting overall gender equality in developing countries. However, the issue of representation of women in administrative and management positions is part of the debate on the enhancement of the status of women in developing countries and is seen as a way of empowering women so that their concerns are properly represented in the development policy.

Thus, gender equality including managerial equity has become a global concern in the form of a business imperative in industrialised countries and a development imperative in the developing countries. Although managerial equity as a part of

overall concern for gender equality is a global issue, there has been a growing realization that since there exists no universal prescriptions to overcome gender disparities around the world, each country has to address the gender disparities within its own socio-cultural context.³

Statement of the Research Problem

In the last few decades, gender and management has emerged as a significant area of research (Green and Cassell, 1996; Marshall, 1995b; Powell, 1993; Morrison and Von Glinow, 1990; Nieva and Gutek, 1981), however, a clear shift has occurred in the set of questions addressed by early researchers. While early research during the 1980s focused on the issues such as women's entry into management careers, women's potential of being managers, differences in male and female managerial styles, the bulk of research conducted in the 1990s revolves around the issue of women's under-representation in top management positions, with a focus on women's advancement in management careers (Marshall, 1995b; Yousaf and Seigal, 1994; Powell, 1993; Bullerd and Wright, 1993, Newman, 1993, Andrew et al., 1990). The shift of research emphasis from block representation of women in management to their segmented representation with a particular focus on advancement of women to top managerial positions has been stimulated by the fact that despite a significant rise in women's participation in management their share in senior managerial positions remained extremely low. For example, women constitute 1% to 2% of senior management positions in the USA, Australia, and the

³. The United Nations' Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDA) held in 1979 recognised in principle the power of customs and traditions to address the gender issues.

UK (Davidson and Cooper, 1992, P:13) although women's share of managerial jobs in these countries is between 41% and 23%.⁴

The literature consistently points to the under-representation of women in senior management positions. Women even where well-represented in management at the recruitment stage and at middle management level are grossly underrepresented at senior levels (Holly, 1998; Davidson, 1997; Deem, 1996; Brockbank and Traves, 1995; Newman, 1993). Only a small fraction of women reach the top and those who somehow manage to get to the top are more likely to be found in selected managerial fields, such as training, accounts, office administration, personnel, and areas associated with female work, and in the departments where women are the major work force (Wilson, 1995; Davidson and Burke, 1994 ; Kazi and Raza, 1991; Kelly and Guy, 1992). Legge (1986), while pointing to the relegation of women in lower grades, notes that women, in general, are: concentrated in low level jobs; less well counseled and developed; given less satisfying work; less well paid than are men; and face great difficulties in advancing and achieving top level positions in management and/or administration. Marshall (1984,95a) also points to the lower representation of women at higher echelons of organizations.

It is well documented that women managers even in highly industrialised countries are confined to the lower rungs of managerial hierarchy, a phenomenon labeled as the "glass ceiling"⁵, despite the fact that women in these countries are highly

⁴. Women's share of administrative and managerial jobs in the USA, Australia and the United Kingdom is 40.1%, 41.4% (UNDP, 1995) and 20.7% (ILO, 1986) respectively.

⁵. The term glass ceiling is used to describe a barrier so subtle that it is transparent, yet so strong that it prevents women from moving up in the management hierarchy (Morrison and Glinow, 1990).

conscious of their legal rights, enjoy better status in society and are well-protected legally against discriminatory practices of organizations. This problem is so pervasive and difficult to overcome that women managers facing glass ceiling have started moving into entrepreneurial careers by starting their own businesses . For example, several UK studies have highlighted that one of the major motivations for women to set up their own businesses is the frustration they have experienced with inequality in employment opportunities (Marshall, 1995; Allen and Truman, 1993; Cartel et al. 1988; Goffee and Scase, 1985). Cannon et al., (1988) in their study of 70 UK female entrepreneurs quote the typical experience of a women architect:

The problem I didn't expect to find were my employers not seeing me as management potential. I found it very difficult to ask for pay rises, more seniority, though I find it easy to take on responsibility in the office. I ended up running the biggest job and having a very senior position as regards responsibility, but not given that as regards money or status. That was one of the reasons why I decided to set up on my own. (Cannon et al., p. 108)

Realising the gravity of the problem of the glass ceiling faced by women managers, in the early 1990s, the researchers in the field of women in management (WIM) embarked upon exploring factors affecting women's advancement. Their prime motivation was that it was only after the detection of the factors impeding women's advancement to the top of the managerial hierarchy, progress could be made towards managerial equity vital for transforming gendered organizations into gender-neutral organizations. The studies conducted, so far, on women's managerial advancement yield a good inventory of factors impeding their upward mobility in organizational hierarchy (Davidson and Burke, 1994; Tharenou et al., 1994a, 1994b; Fagenson, 1993; Newman, 1993; Hale and Kelly, 1989; Asplund, 1988).

However, these studies suffer several shortcomings beside being parochial in nature.

Since the early research on women in management is largely guided by the gender-centered or the organization-centered, or both the gender-organization centred theoretical frameworks, earlier studies in the area of women's managerial advancement (i.e., the glass ceiling) are grounded in these approaches. Thus, bulk of the research studies exploring factors affecting women's managerial advancement focus either on personal or organizational dimension or both (Rowney and Cahoon, 1990; Tharenou, 1990; Hale and Kelly, 1989; Stewart and Gudykunst, 1982). While analysis of the personal dimension revealed factors related to actual or perceived differences between men and women in their individual characteristics such as personality traits, cognitions, attitudes, motivation, abilities, education, and experience, analysis of the organizational dimension pointed to factors related to the organizational structure i.e., women's access to opportunities, the amount of power they exert, and the numerical distribution of women in managerial positions (Kanter, 1977).

Nevertheless, the studies that incorporate gender and organization structure dimensions have several shortcomings. These studies, for instance, : 1) assume that person and organization structure are independent factors; 2) fail to consider or control for factors other than the structure of the organization, e.g., organisational norms, history, culture and policies, etc; and 3) most importantly, these studies ignore factors outside the organisations e.g., the ascribed status of women in

society. Besides, having the above shortcomings, the studies guided by these two approaches were predominantly Western and lack comparative focus.

Recognising the shortcomings of the previous two approaches, an alternative framework, the Gender-Organisation-System (GOS) has been called for by Fagenson (1990) which dismissed the either or choice of approach of person and organization centered approaches and suggested a holistic approach to study women's managerial advancement. It emphasized the need for reviewing personal, organizational, and societal or systemic factors. The GOS approach argues that managerial advancement is a complex phenomenon shaped not only by one set of factors rather than by interaction of personal, organizational, and systemic factors (Fagenson, 1990). Hence, the interactionist approach incorporating personal, organizational, and systemic dimensions, labeled as the Gender-Organization-System approach(GOS), has recently emerged as a potential framework for investigating factors affecting managerial advancement of women.

The GOS approach distinguishes itself from the pervious approaches by: 1) adding a third dimension, not incorporated by the previous two approaches to the study of factors that influence women's managerial advancement in organizations namely, the institutional system in which organizations operates; 2) expanding the organizational dimension from organisational structure to organizational context which is broader than organisational structure as it includes history, culture, values, ideology, as well as structure of organization (Martin et al., 1983). The GOS approach explains women's advancement to top positions in organizations as a

joint determinant of gender, organization, and the larger system which influence each other over time (Terbog, 1981). The GOS approach while explaining women's managerial advancement as a joint outcome of gender, organization, and the larger system suggests the gender differences and the discrimination against women as the two main sources of factors influencing women's behaviour and their prospect for reaching to the top management positions. The gender differences and discrimination are viewed as interlinked with each other. The discrimination against women managers is embedded in societal institutions and organizational structure and culture creates and perpetuate actual or perceived gender differences from which discrimination may persists in organizations. For instance, the low ascribed status of women in society can influence the way women managers are perceived and treated in their organizations which in turn affects the attitudes and behaviour of women toward their careers.

The GOS approach represents a major advance over person and organization focused approaches, and offers a potential framework for conducting comparative studies of managerial advancement drawing from the experiences of women managers in different countries and cultures. However, the GOS approach is still in its infancy and has neither yet fully evolved nor have its tenets been fully put to an empirical test. While the GOS approach, assuming mutual interaction of person, organization, and societal context, presents a very strong case for conducting studies of women's managerial advancement in a single country or across different countries, it fails to identify what and how societal/or systemic variables should be included in such studies. More importantly, it does not clearly demonstrate what

causes discrimination and what causes gender differences and how these two are mutually interrelated. Hence, there is a serious need for developing models of women's managerial advancement employing the GOS framework to test mutual interaction of person, organizational context, and societal context and measure their joint effect on managerial advancement of women. Such models should also demonstrate clearly the interaction of discrimination or actual or perceived gender differences while examining women's managerial advancement as a joint outcome of gender, organization, and the larger system in which both women and organizations operate.

This study develops and proposes such a model, namely the Gender-Organization-Systemic model of managerial advancement to enhance the utility of the GOS approach for meaningful analysis of the factors affecting women's advancement in management careers. The model is applied to explore factors affecting advancement of women in the Federal Civil Service of Pakistan.

The Federal Government of Pakistan is the single largest employer of women in the country. According to the Federal Government Civil Servants Census Report 1993, the Federal Government employed 19,387 women which constitute 15.37% of its total work force. While an overwhelming majority of the female employees of the Federal Government (64.53%) are in clerical jobs, only 20.22% of women belong to supervisory and managerial jobs, and only 15.24% of women are in lower level jobs such as attendant, custodians. In the supervisory and managerial category, out of 20.20% women, 11.36% are in managerial jobs whereas 8.86% women are in

supervisory jobs. Among women in managerial jobs the majority are concentrated at entry and middle level of management, very few women are found at senior management level and women are almost non-existent at the top of the civil service hierarchy.

Since the 1980s, there has been a growing concern in Pakistan for gender development and gender empowerment to enhance the status of women in society. The Government of Pakistan has taken several steps towards this direction. The Women's Division in the Federal Secretariat was set up in 1979 to provide policy assistance to the government on women's issues which was later upgraded to a fully fledged Ministry in 1989. In 1983, a Federal Commission was constituted to review the status of women in Pakistan and give legal and policy advise to the Federal Government to enhance the status of women. In 1985, the country became a party to the forward-looking strategies for the advancement of women adopted at the UN Conference held in Nairobi which pledged gender equality and equity in all spheres. In order to have women's participation in decision making, in 1989, a 5 per cent quota was fixed for women in both the civil service and the judicial service.

The First Women's Bank was also set up in the same year to provide credit facilities to women to start up their own businesses. In 1993, Pakistan subscribed to the Vienna Declaration which recognised women's rights as human rights and in 1994 it actively participated in the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo and acceded to its programs of action reaffirming the principles of gender equality and equity including the empowerment of women. In

1995, Pakistan presented a report of strong commitment to gender development and gender empowerment at the Fourth Development Conference on Women held in Beijing. In 1996, Pakistan ratified the United Nations Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

In all the initiatives taken so far by the Government of Pakistan for the advancement of women, the under-representation of women in the civil services, specially at the top level, is well documented and the Report of the Commission on the Status of Women has particularly noted discrimination against female civil servants in promotion policies, in terms of foreign postings and higher level training abroad (Government of Pakistan, 1985). While there has been a growing realisation at government level that women are underrepresented in the senior management levels and not represented at all in the top administrative positions in the civil service hierarchy no concerted effort has yet been made to find out what restricts them from advancing to the top level. Although government reports do point to some cultural and legal barriers to women's advancement, the focus on the intra-organisational factors have been totally overlooked in these anecdotal reports. Hence, until and unless the barriers that impede women's advancement to the top in the civil service hierarchy are identified at all three levels gender, organization, and societal the government may not be able to develop an effective and long term strategy to address this problem. Thus, there is an urgent need for the identification of the factors that impede women's advancement in the civil service in Pakistan.

Theoretical Framework of the Study

The GOS model of managerial advancement, specifically developed for this study, provides a theoretical framework for the study. The model identifies gender, organization, and the overall system as three important dimensions of the issue of the managerial advancement of women. It is based on the basic premise that gender, organizational and systemic factors jointly affect women's managerial advancement. It also indicates that the joint effect of these three sets of factors appears either in the form of discrimination or gender differences in managerial ability, career commitment and/or role conflict . The model also assumes interaction between discrimination and gender differences.

The model demonstrates interaction between systemic, gender and organizational factors on managerial advancement by suggesting that: 1) women's ascribed status in the society reflected by the level of gender development and gender empowerment and their personal socioeconomic background affect their ability and career aspiration; 2) the ascribed status of women affect their status in organisation e.g., low status of women in society leads to low status of women managers in organizations reflected in organizational opportunities for women's development and women's empowerment in a particular organisational context; 3) the low status of women in organizations further creates and perpetuates the existing gender differences by offering differential treatment to women. Hence the model suggests that inequities constituted in the larger system create gender differences at the personal level and/or result in discrimination, both overt and covert, against women

at organizational level. It implies that a positive change at any of the three levels will stimulate change at other levels which in turn will facilitate women's advancement towards the top management positions.

Research Questions

This study being exploratory and descriptive in nature addresses the following research questions to investigate gender, organizational, and systemic factors that may affect women's career in the civil service in Pakistan:

1. Are women and men administrators different in terms of their personal characteristics, home status, parental and socio-economic background, and work behaviour?
2. Are women and men provided with the same organizational opportunities for advancement in their civil service careers ?
3. To what extent is the organizational context of the civil service in Pakistan gender neutral and conducive for women administrators?
4. What is the role and status of women vis-à-vis men in Pakistani society and are they provided with the same opportunities for their development and empowerment?
5. Do women and men in the Civil Service in Pakistan perceive any barriers/facilitators towards their managerial advancement and what are these barriers/facilitators?
6. How are the women administrators in Pakistan different from or similar to the women managers in other countries in terms of personal, organizational, and societal factors influencing their careers?

Research Proces

The research process adopted for the study includes a one-time survey of 300 Federal Civil Servants of Pakistan through a mailed questionnaire and 30 face-to-face interviews with civil servants working at the management level. A total of 300

questionnaires were distributed evenly between a randomly selected sample of females and males (150 each) civil servants after having been pretested on a small group of civil servants in Pakistan.

The survey was designed to investigate factors that impede or facilitate managerial advancement of civil servants in general and women civil servants in particular. Despite having a close monitoring of the response rate over the period only 150 questionnaires were returned, out of which 138 were useable. While the self-administered questionnaire generated data on 35 closed ended questions the interviews were semi-structured and conducted with respondents who wished to participate in the follow-up-interviews. Both the questionnaire and the interview surveys generated useful quantitative and qualitative data on personal and organisational factors that may impede or facilitate civil servants, particularly women civil servants, towards their managerial advancement.

The data collected through the questionnaire were analysed at three levels: 1) overall; 2) comparison of women and men; 3) comparison of management levels and all yielded valuable insight to the main objective of the study- the investigation of factors which impede or facilitate women civil servants' managerial advancement in Pakistan.

The data gathered from face-to-face interviews are used in the form of comments and remarks made by the civil servants on various aspects of their career advancement to support the findings of the questionnaire data where applicable.

The data generated through mailed questionnaire and face-to-face interviews consist of perceptions of respondents on personal, organizational, and systemic factors impeding or facilitating advancement of civil servants in Pakistan. To put these perceptions in proper perspective status of women vis-à-vis men both in Pakistani society and the civil service has been thoroughly reviewed in the light of the state policies, cultural and religious prescriptions, and civil service context. The findings of the survey and the analysis of the status of women in society and the civil service lead this study towards its conclusions regarding factors affecting women advancement in the civil service in Pakistan.

Significance of the Study

This study besides its theoretical, and methodological contributions to the literature on women in management has special significance in the context of Pakistan. Pakistan besides being an Islamic and developing country joins the rest of the world in reshaping gender relations in society through gender development and gender empowerment i.e., the participation of women in decision making positions. The following are some of the significant contributions of this study:

(1). It will contribute to the literature on managerial advancement of women by identifying personal, organisational and societal variables that may impede or facilitate women managers towards their managerial advancement in a different socio-cultural context. The existing literature suggests an inventory of factors affecting the advancement of women into managerial positions which is based largely on the experiences of women managers in industrialised and western

countries (Bullocks, 1995; Adler and Izraeli, 1994; Tharenou and Latimer, 1994; Tharenou, et al., 1994; Newman, 1993; Fagenson, 1993; Rowney and Cahoon, 1990; Andrew, et al., 1990; Gattiker and Larwood, 1990). This inventory of factors should be applied to the study of women's managerial advancement in other countries to determine whether or not the factors are similar and their impact is the same for the managerial advancement of women in different socio-cultural environments.

Pakistan provides a unique socio-cultural context for such a study where women despite various cultural and religious differences share many striking similarities and some sharp differences with those in the UK, the USA, and other developed and developing countries. Thus, exploring factors affecting career advancement of women in Pakistan will make an important contribution to the comparative literature on gender and management which is almost non-existent.

(2). A clear identification of barriers/facilitators to the advancement of male and female civil servants will help policy makers in Pakistan formulating policies towards gender equity including managerial equity. Once the government understands gender issues concerning advancement of women in the civil service and acts positively to reduce the barriers to their advancement, it may also initiate positive response from private and non-governmental organisations. To promote a gender neutral organizational culture in the country, the government has the capacity to take the initiative and may act as a role model for other organizations. Thus, the study of the advancement of civil servants in Pakistan with a special focus

on women will be an important mile stone in country's journey toward the improvement of gender relations in public as well as private organizations.

(3). The civil service in Pakistan represents the arena where key policies are shaped and implemented. Therefore, participation of women in the upper tiers of the civil service hierarchy is imperative for the success of the government's efforts towards improving the status of women in society. The concern for improving the status of women has grown in recent years and has become an important component of development policy in Pakistan. The enhancement of the status of women through providing women with equal opportunities for development and empowering them is not only a gender issue but also a development imperative. Women constitute about half of the population of Pakistan and an effective utilization of this important human resource component is only possible when women are represented at all levels in organizations, specially at the top.

(4). Above all, this study draws upon a theoretical approach, the GOS, which is new and has not yet been specifically applied to the issues of women's managerial advancement. This study by developing a GOS model of managerial advancement and applying it to the study of women's advancement in the Federal Civil Service of Pakistan will provide a useful insight to those who wish to adopt the GOS approach in their quest for understanding the phenomenon of the glass ceiling. The implications drawn from this research experience will bring further refinement both theoretical and methodological to the application of the GOS framework for managerial advancement

Overview of the Study

This study consists of eight chapters. Chapter 1 provides the general background of the study, defines the research problem to be investigated, lists specific research questions, and highlights the significance and contributions of the study.

Chapter 2 reviews the major theories underlying research studies on factors affecting advancement of women in the management profession. Theories are classified into two groups based on their perspective on the factors affecting women's advancement to top management: 1) gender difference theories that point to the differences between male and female managers based on their individual characteristics; 2) discrimination theories that focus on gender discrimination as the major factor. The discrimination theories are further distinguished by their levels of analysis and grouped into two sets. The first set of theories explains discrimination at organizational and managerial level. The second set of discrimination theories focus on discrimination at the systemic level. The chapter also reviews specific studies on women's managerial advancement which have been guided by these theories. The literature review leads to the research model for the study.

Chapter 3 describes the research model, the Gender-Organisation-System (GOS) model of managerial advancement developed for the study and delineates the methodology adopted to apply this model to the managerial advancement of civil servants in Pakistan with a special focus on women.

Chapter 4 reports the results of the survey conducted through mail questionnaire and face-to-face interviews with civil servants.

Chapter 5 reviews the status of women in Pakistan and examines the role of state, Islam, and culture. This chapter points to the systemic factors that may influence the advancement of women in the civil service in Pakistan.

Chapter 6 explains the organizational context of the civil service which may have different influences on advancement of male and female civil servants. Gender analysis of the civil service structure and its policies reveals these differences.

Chapter 7 presents analysis and interpretations of the survey results, findings of the review of the status of women in Pakistan, and the civil service system and its policies. In this chapter, a comparison has been made between the findings of the study and similar studies conducted in some selected developed and developing countries with a special reference to Malaysia which shares socio-cultural and religious similarities with Pakistan . The chapter also provides policy recommendations for the advancement of women managers in general and women officers in the civil service hierarchy in Pakistan in particular.

Chapter 8 summarises the key points of the study and presents the main findings in response to the research questions and the research objective set in the outset of the study. The chapter also underscores the limitations of the study and gives directions for future research in the area.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter reviews and examines the theoretical and empirical literature on the issues related to the advancement of women managers in organisations in order to develop a theoretical framework for the study. First, the leading theories and concepts underlying studies of managerial advancement of women are critically examined. Second, these theories are comparatively evaluated in terms of their explanation of the scarcity of women in the top managerial positions. Third, the major approaches to the study of managerial advancement of women are critically reviewed which leads to the theoretical framework of the study, the Gender-Organisation-System (GOS) Model of Managerial Advancement.

Women in Management: Leading Theories and Concepts

The burgeoning literature on women and management offers diverse explanations for the low representation of women in top managerial jobs in organizations. The different theories can be broadly classified into two groups. The first group of theories assumes differences between women and men in terms of their behavioral attitudes, personality traits, education, training, and skills. The literature which draws upon these theories argues that since women lack certain behaviors, attributes, abilities, and skills conducive for progression in their managerial careers they lag behind men in their managerial careers (Davidson and Burke, 1994; Haste, 1993; Powell, 1993; Hale and Kelly, 1989; Asplund, 1988; Riger and Galligan, 1980; Hennig and Jardim, 1977; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974). The leading theories

in this groups are the Human Capital Theory and the Theory of Sex Role Socialization. The second group of theories assumes discrimination against women as the critical factor in the slow progression of women in managerial careers. However, these theories differ in terms of their focus on where and why such discrimination occurs. These theories point to discrimination and bias against women at different levels i.e., individual, group, organizational, and systemic level and offer different explanations for why it exists and is perpetuated. The studies of women's advancement in management, grounded in discrimination theories, underscore structural discrimination at organizational and systemic level and social discrimination at personal and group levels as plausible explanations for the relegation of women managers at low and middle management levels (Holly, 1998; Davidson, 1997; Wilson, 1995; Davidson and Burke, 1994; Mills and Tancred, 1992; Davidson and Cooper, 1992; Morrison and Von Glinow, 1990; Fagenson, 1990; Gutek, 1987; Riger and Galligan, 1980; Terborg and Ilgen, 1975). In this section, the leading theories in each group are critically reviewed and comparatively evaluated to see the strength of their arguments for explaining the scarcity of women in top managerial positions.

Theories of Gender Differences

Human Capital Theory

Human Capital Theory offers an economic explanation of the paucity of women in management. It focuses on the level of voluntary investment in one's human capital i.e., education, training, and experience to explain differential outcomes for individual participants in the labour market (Becker, 1964, Schultz, 1961). The

theory suggests that any acquisition of skill and knowledge is the acquisition of capital and to a large extent education, on-the-job training and experience is a "deliberate investment" to take advantage of better job opportunities. The theory predicts that higher investment in human capital leads to better job opportunities offering positive rewards for individual. It views investment in human capital as a consequence of an individual's rational calculations of the costs and benefits associated with acquiring education, skills and experience.

Human Capital Theory has been widely used for explaining gender inequality at work. Based on this theory, it is argued that since women and men differ in terms of their planned investment in human capital, their differential treatment at work is a natural outcome of the labor market (Becker, 1964). It is believed that women, because of their traditional role socialisation, are responsible for a disproportionate share of domestic responsibilities which allows them less time, as compared to men, to invest in their human capital in the form of education, skills, on-the-job training, and experience (Bullocks, 1994; Walby, 1988; Baker, 1980). Furthermore, these domestic responsibilities when aligned with women's sex role identity make them acquire education, skills, and training in traditional female type occupations where opportunities for career progression are low. These occupations are less valued, less skilled, less developed, and have slower career tracks. Thus, Human Capital Theory explains the paucity of women in management positions in terms of their lesser investment in developing the human capital necessary for advancement in their managerial careers.

The validity of the arguments drawn from Human Capital Theory for explaining women's underrepresentation depends on: a) the strength of the assumptions of the theory; and b) empirical evidence in support of the belief that women, as compared to men, make less investment in their human capital. Human Capital Theory is examined here using this criteria.

Human Capital Theory rests on two basic assumptions. First, the labour market is assumed to have perfect competition as a result of which it operates in a non-discriminatory fashion rewarding individuals in accordance with quality of their human capital. This assumption, in the context of issues of gender inequality, implies that the labor market is gender-neutral meaning that gender is not a factor in the labor market. Second, choices about investment in human capital are individually determined through rational calculations of costs and benefits associated with it. There is ample empirical evidence to challenge the assumptions of Human Capital Theory with a particular reference to the issue of gender inequality in the labor market. The first assumption of the theory, that the labour market operates in a non-discriminatory manner rewarding workers in proportionate to their human capital (i.e., level of education, training, skills, and experience), is merely a speculation which is seldom supported by empirical evidence. Several research studies suggest that returns on investment in human capital for women and men are not the same rather they are greater for men than for women even when their investments in education, training and experience are similar. Adler and Izraeli (1988) report that the returns from education and occupational status are lower for women than men, even when previous work

experience and the number of hours are statistically controlled. Another study reports that potential rewards for acquiring MBA degree are not the same for women and men; the MBA is found less effective for women in terms of their career advancement and salary (Simpson, 1995). Morrison and Von Glinow (1990) cited less satisfaction on the part of women managers working in higher occupational levels with their pay as compared to their male colleagues. Davidson and Cooper (1992) also point to the wage gap in the earnings of women and men throughout the European Union (EC) countries despite the introduction of anti-discrimination laws and equal pay legislation. In the UK, for instance, women's gross weekly earnings are reported as 75 percent of men's earnings and this situation is repeated in the other European Union countries with some variance in the percentage (Vinnicomb and Colwill, 1995). Adler and Izraeli's (1994) comparative study reported similar trends in the earnings of women and men. Other studies also report differences between the earnings of men and women in developing countries (World Bank, 1995; Hassan, 1994, Agrodev, 1994). This empirical evidence, contrary to the assumption of Human Capital Theory, suggests that the effect of the gender on returns on investment in human capital cannot be ruled out.

The studies on the role of the institutionalised power of male workers and management practices in the labor market casts further doubts on the explanations derived from Human Capital Theory which is based on an assumption of a labor market free from any discrimination including sex-based discrimination. It is well documented that male workers, through the strengths of their trade unions, are more

likely to be able to get their jobs designated as more skilled and superior to those of women resulting in differential rewards. For example, Walby's (1990) and Cockburn's (1983) studies provide detailed description of such practices where male workers through their organised trade unions pressurised management and maintained a pattern of exclusion of women from authoritative positions in organisations. Horrell's (1994) and Game and Pringle's (1984) studies found how the very gendered nature of the term "skill" has put women at a disadvantage by under-evaluating, and un-recognising most of their capabilities.

The second assumption of Human Capital Theory that human actions and behaviours (i.e., investment in human capital) are consequences of a rational calculation of benefits, does not fully explain, if at all, why women make less investment in human capital. According to this assumption, low investment in human capital by women is an outcome purely of their own rational choices, whereas, in reality such decisions to a great extent are socially and culturally determined. Women's access to education and training largely depends on the decisions made by parents, guardians, and employers at both household and organisational levels that are guided by the socio-cultural norms and practices of the society. There is enough empirical evidence to suppose that these choices are made within the context of gender inequity. Women and men get access to education and advance in their careers on an unequal basis owing to pre-conceptions about male and female roles (Blau and Ferber, 1987,1985).

In many parts of the world the household educational expenditure is unequally allocated favouring boys at the expense of girls (World Bank, 1995; Agrodev, 1994, Yousaf and Seigal, 1994; Hafeez, 1990; Adler and Izraeli, 1988). The latest available figures show that 77 million girls of primary school age (5-10 years) are not in school as compared to 52 million boys (UNESCO, 1993 b). The gap remains higher at more advanced levels. Worldwide literacy rates and patterns in school enrollment reveal a division along gender lines whereby literacy rates for adult men far exceeds those for women but with varying degrees and fields (World Bank, 1995; UNDP, 1995; Adler and Izraeli, 1994). For example, in Pakistan, according to an official estimate, female enrollment at primary level is 57 per cent as compared to 89 percent male enrollment. These gender differences are in no sense the result of decisions made by individuals concerned rather they are outcomes of decisions made by others on behalf of female children and women. When these decisions are made, specially amidst scarcity of resources, it is the male offspring who gets priority and it is the female offspring who suffers at the expense of the male.

In the light of the above empirical evidence it is fair to say that Human Capital Theory while assuming rational and voluntary choices by individuals about investments in human capital, fails to account for social and cultural factors that adversely affect women vis-à-vis men in terms of developing their human capital. In many societies like Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, socio-cultural factors such as early marriage, attitude towards family planning, division of roles and responsibilities constrain women in making an investment in their human capital.

The argument that women make less investment in their human capital due to their disproportionate share of domestic responsibilities is also weak as it fails to account the new social realities. This argument for scarcity of women in top management is based on the traditional model of family and work which assumes these two arenas as "separate worlds" with the male as the primary bread winner and the female staying at home as the primary home maker and carer. In reality, these conceptions about family and work are subject to a great deal of change and are giving way to alternative roles and relationships. There are several factors including more egalitarian attitudes among couples towards each other, access to better health care and education, use of contraception, alternative day care arrangements, and the pursuit of a better quality of life, mounting economic pressures caused by inflationary practices that have drastically changed traditional family patterns and prompted an increase in dual career couples. For example a survey of 500 managers from the developed countries, conducted by Fortune (1987) reported an increase in the number of men who wanted to share household responsibilities by allocating more time to their families (Chapman, 1987). Similar trends have been observed even in developing countries with varying degrees and nature (Vinnicombe and Colwill, 1995; Hafeez, 1995; Adler and Izraeli, 1994).

Besides evidence of changing attitudes towards male and female roles, it is also well documented that women do not ignore the development of their human capital and make considerable investment in the education, training, and experience necessary for the advancement of their careers. For example, Blau and Ferber (1985), in their studies of patterns of careers and types of human capital

investments made by women and men in the United States, report that the number of women acquiring higher educational degrees and making investment in predominantly male fields has substantially increased in the previous decade. Similar trends have been observed in other countries including Britain, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, and Indonesia (Adler and Izraeli, 1994; Wiess, 1994; Mansor, 1994; Fagenson, 1993; Davidson and Cooper, 1992; Rees, 1992; Nieva and Gutek, 1981) In the United Kingdom, for instance, a BBC's documentary (1994) heralded the viewers by disclosing that women are opening up a commanding and increasing lead over their male counterparts in almost all subject areas with the exception of mathematics and science where they show relatively less progress in results. In Pakistan also during the period of 1980-81 to 1992-93 a substantial increase has occurred in the number of women enrolling in career oriented fields or professional education such as commerce, law, agriculture, engineering, medicine, and business education. Women are now making inroads in traditionally male dominated areas such as management, engineering, the foreign service, and the police force (Hafeez, 1995).

The empirical data also contradicts the perception that working women, because of their domestic responsibilities, make less investment in their careers. Dex (1984) and Martin and Robert, (1984) for instance, surveyed women employees in Britain and found that married women worked for longer periods, and that increased opportunities to attain qualifications and skills encouraged women to remain in their jobs. This pattern is reflected in labour force statistics throughout the decades of the 1960s and the 1970s where it is the 35+ age group which mainly contributed

to the increased female economic activity rates (Dex, 1984, Mincer, 1962). Similar findings are reported in a current study on the status of women conducted by the Government of Pakistan (1994) where a sizable proportion of women managers 65.3 percent were found to be married interfacing work and family requirements and developing a highly stable attachment to their careers (Hassan, 1994).

However, despite the above noted limitations, Human Capital Theory highlights important factors that have a significant influence on career advancement. The investment in human capital in the form of education and training is universally perceived as positive factor offering higher probabilities of promotion across occupations, within and across organisations. Higher education is considered an important prerequisite for women's access to managerial positions and their advancement into middle and upper levels of management (Hafeez, 1995; Hassan, 1994, Adler and Izraeli, 1994).

In the light of the above analysis and review of Human Capital Theory, the following conclusions may be drawn: 1) the labor market does not operate in a non-discriminatory manner contrary to the assumption of Human Capital Theory; 2) the human capital explanation fails to explain the persistent discrimination against women in the labour market despite their increased investment in human capital; 3) and it only offers a partial analysis of the phenomenon of women's under-representation in managerial positions by ignoring the role of socio--cultural and organizational factors.

Theory of Sex-Role Socialization

The theory of Sex-Role Socialization provides socio-psychological and cultural explanations of gender differences at work including women's under representation in the top tiers of the organisations. It explains many of the personal, organisational, and societal barriers that women may face in their attempt to penetrate and integrate into top organizational hierarchies. These barriers include the development of a passive self concept, role conflict resulting from the difficulty in managing work and family responsibilities, inadequate human capital investment resulting from the unequal distribution of work in the household, role incongruity due to perceptions of a lack of fit between what they think they are capable of doing/achieving and the society's and the organization's stereotypical expectations of their capabilities based on their gender, sex discrimination in hiring, promotions, training/education opportunities and establishing mentor relationships and networks (Powell, 1993; Hale and Kelly, 1989; Basow, 1986, Epstein, 1988,1970; Weitzman, 1979).

Sex-Role Socialization Theory is based on the premise that individuals' learn their prescribed roles, attitudes, and orientations culturally and socially through the process of socialization. "A role is defined as a cluster of socially or culturally defined expectations that individuals in a given situation are expected to fulfill" (Chafetz, 1978, p. 4). The content of a role is determined by the expectations and norms of other people and society. How individuals behave largely depends on what others/society believe is appropriate behavior for the people in a particular category. Individuals learn these expected role behaviors through the process of socialization.

“socialization is the transmission of behavior, roles, attitudes, and beliefs, to the next generation. By direct prescription, by example and by implicit expectation, a variety of people in a variety of relationships influence the growing individual. Gradually, the child internalizes what s/he has been taught” (Weinreich, 1978, p.18).

The sex-role system influenced by the social and cultural norms of the society functions from the time we are born to assign, allocate and invest personality traits, activities and values and continues to be reinforced and maintained through the different socialization of males and females (Hofstede, 1984, 1980). As children grow they learn more about how the male and the female are expected to behave which provides them with information to monitor their own behavior and take into account the behavior of those interacting with them. Socialization agents such as parents, teachers, peers, mentors, and media teach a society's expectations of appropriate dress, speech, personality, styles, leisure activities, and aspirations for each sex (Wilson, 1995; Powell, 1993; Basow, 1986, Weitzman, 1979;).

While viewing socialization as an on going process of behavioral development, Sex-Role Socialization Theory draws heavily on social learning which regards gender identity as a product of various forms of learning (Mischel, 1966; Spence and Helmreich, 1980). The advocates of this approach emphasise the role of many external and environmental factors, in addition to personality traits, in shaping an individual's gender identity through various intrinsic and extrinsic sanctions and rewards (Spence and Helmreich, 1980).

Since gender is a critical factor in an individual's upbringing, there are differences in the socialization of girls and boys. Boys from an early age are sex-socialized as

assertive, competitive, aggressive, independent and dominant, while girls, on the other hand, are socialized as nurturing, helpful, tender, dependent, and passive (Powell, 1993; Haste, 1993; Marshall, 1984). Although societies vary in terms of gender appropriate behavior for male and female, generally, masculine traits (aggressive, independent, dominant..) are associated with men and feminine characteristics (i.e., nurturing, sensitive, caring) are associated with women and the characteristics and traits associated with boys (masculine) are usually more highly valued than characteristics associated with girls (feminine) (Marshall, 1995a, 1984; Powell, 1993; Rounge, et al., 1981; Williams, et al., 1981, 1979, 1977).

Sex-Role Socialization Theory suggests that the ascription of different values and roles promote sex-role differences that may affect women in several ways in the job market such as their occupational aspirations, their entry into an occupation, and their prospects of advancement at work place (Newman, 1993; Hartnett, 1978; Hennig and Jardim, 1977). These sex differences are promoted in the form of sex role stereotypes and maintain a distinct occupational segregation with men more likely to be involved in pursuits requiring mental, technical, and physical skills and women more frequently to be engaged in tasks oriented to home-making. Therefore, women's traditional roles of daughter, wife, and mother continue to influence women's current status and their position in the labor market, with the majority of women working in support, not supervision; administration, not management; and conventional female areas (teaching, nursing, caring etc.), not non-traditional fields (management, engineering, law etc.). For instance, throughout all the EC countries, over half of women are employed in the service sector which includes trade,

education, retail, health care, and clerical duties (Davidson and Cooper, 1992, p. 3). A similar pattern of gender inequality in management positions is replicated across the world with the majority of the female labour force working in teaching, nursing, training, and administrative support, including clerical occupations (Adler and Izraeli, 1994; Hassan, 1994; Powell, 1993, 1990; Kazi and Sathar, 1993, Papps, 1992).

Sex-Role Socialization Theory explains gender inequality in organisations in terms of sex-role differences implying that the gender of a person determines largely who should do what rather than the characteristics of the job. It is argued that women because of their role socialization are oriented to their home and family and choose jobs that are compatible with their domestic responsibilities (Green and Cassell, 1996; Reskin and Padovic, 1994). Furthermore, women's domestic responsibilities in general and child bearing and child rearing in particular, hamper women's ability to compete with men for jobs and promotions resulting in their disadvantaged position in organisations.

There are serious consequences of identifying male and female roles purely based on gender especially for women planning their careers in management or aspiring for advancement in their managerial careers. One of the reasons for the paucity of women in management is that in the past women had been excluded from this profession because it was defined as a male field (Marshall, 1984; Hofstede, 1980). Women who work outside especially in traditional male dominated areas experience role conflict as traits required for their work roles may be in conflict

with feminine traits and behavior which they learned as part of their socialization (Weitzman, 1979). The role conflict may create internal barriers for women managers and adversely affect them in terms of their achievement motivation, self-concept, commitment, and capacity to manage.

However, contemporary societies are experiencing change with the demystification of several gender stereotypical assumptions about masculine/feminine roles and attributes. Until the 1970s masculinity and femininity were associated with men and women respectively. These behaviors were believed to be mutually exclusive each anchoring opposite ends of a single continuum. However, the traditional gender specific behavioral approach has been challenged by theorists in the 1980s who argue that masculinity and femininity are not sex specific behaviors but these are role characteristics influenced and determined by culture and situations (Bem, 1974, 1981). Studies show that both men and women cannot be described into consistent and contrasting trait categories without taking specific situations into account. It has been argued in these studies that the behavior of an individual is highly likely to be flexible falling anywhere on the continuum. Theorists in the 1980s have, therefore, added a new term "androgyny" to the continuum to refer to a cluster of both masculine and feminine traits within a single individual (Bem, 1980,1974; Kaplan, 1979) which denotes flexibility of behavior exhibiting both masculine and feminine sex-role behaviors as demanded by the situation. A women manager can for instance, be aggressive, assertive, and independent at work and nurturant, tender, and loving at home.

Several recent studies support the view that both men and women are capable of displaying masculine and feminine (androgynous) characteristics depending upon the demands of the situation. These studies suggest that both women and men have the potential of being a good manager regardless of their gender (Marshall, 1995a,1984; Powell, 1993, 1990; Newman, 1993; Rosener, 1990). However, despite the evidence that more women are now venturing into male dominated professions across the world, several myths about the differences in the roles of men and women and their traits still exist and continue to influence women's career advancement decisions (Kromrey and Kimmel, 1995).

It is well documented in the literature that socialization agents to a great extent are responsible for maintaining and developing the myths of differences between male and female roles and responsibilities. Among socialization agents parents, teachers, and peers play a critical role in transmitting culturally prescribed gender specific values to their children. Several studies suggest that socialization agents consciously or unconsciously imprint gender differences in children through a different socialization of both male and female children. For instance, Maccoby and Jackline (1980) in an observational study of parental assessment of personality indicate how deeply parents are influenced with such cultural assumptions that they sometimes start treating their children differently. There are other studies that reveal uneven parental socialization of girls and boys (Powell, 1993; Bassow, 1980; Weitzman, 1979). These studies provide evidence of both father and mother treating boys and girls differently as they believed girls as more vulnerable, fragile, and tender and boys as strong, achievement oriented, and independent.

The uneven parental socialization of girls and boys is also believed to be the result of parent's different expectations from them. Weinreich (1978) notes that parents have different expectations about their children and they socialize their children according to those value preferences. She further argues that in a society which evaluates achievements highly both sexes are encouraged towards achievement motivation, rewarded for good performance in school, and discouraged for aggressive behavior, poor grades, and disrespect for authority. However, there are researches that cite differences between the parents (father and mother) in the socialization practices of their sons and daughters based on their expectations. For instance, in many parts of the world such as Asia and the Middle East strong and consistent differences are found in the ways both sexes are treated by the parents (World Bank, 1995). Boys receive intense socialization as compared to girls assuming that boys would carry the family name and provide support to the parents in old age while girls would get married and do the household chores. Consistent with this are the findings of Maccoby and Jackline, (1974) and Spence and Helmreich (1980) who report an intense socialization of boys than girls towards development of gender appropriate behavior, which is contrary to the many Muslim countries where distinct sex segregation is appreciated, girls receive more pressures on their socialization especially when they reach puberty and tomboyshness is less tolerated (Nikie, 1980). Whereas, Hoffman's (1977) and Weitzman's (1979) studies found fathers exerting more pressures on their children both boys/girls for sex appropriate behaviors and mothers more flexible in terms of their children's rearing practices.

Differences are also reported in terms of birth order, number of siblings, sex of sibling, social class and parental education. The women who have a special placement in their families are probably less exposed to certain stereotypic molds. For example, high female achievements were reported by some researchers for first born, later born, or only children (Rose and Ann cited in Epstein, 1970). Consistent with these are the findings of Maccoby and Jackline, (1980) and Weitzman (1979) who reported more sharp division on gender lines in working class families than in middle class families. Several researches also shed light on parental education and encouragement towards the daughter's education, career aspirations and achievements. Almiquist, and Vogel, et al., (cited in Terborg, 1977) found an inverse relationship among parental education and gender role stereotypes. Their studies found that women who chose non-traditional professions mostly come from families with mothers who are well educated and work full time. They suggest that with greater parental education and different mother's working patterns gender stereotypes would probably disappear.

In addition to early socialization by parents, teachers are noted to be equally responsible for sharing the task of socialization.. Additional messages conveyed by teachers regarding sex-role development in the form of various sanctions, rewards, reinforcement, modeling, and communication practices have a subtle and strong impact on children towards their sex-role development. A number of research studies found teachers reinforcing both boys and girls differently. Fagot (1984), for example, observed teachers in a nursery school for his study and found them encouraging boys for being aggressive and girls for being dependent. The response

and attention given to the boys was also greater than that of given to the girls. Fagot noted that feedback given to the boys was more positive than that given to girls. For girls only sex-typed behavior received positive feedback by teachers in class such as; neat work, cleanliness, behaving well, etc. Sadker and Sadker's (1985) study of elementary school children also confirmed the same gender bias among teachers where boys were found leading all class discussions and interactions. More recently, studies conducted by Lindroos (1995) and Haste, (1993) support these findings, and argued that most of the teachers in their studies interpret a child's behavior based on the child's sex, believing that boys and girls behave differently in class rooms, therefore, needing a differential treatment. These differences are reflected in the later years of a child's schooling as well where both boys and girls are channeled into markedly different routes assuming, that boys have a special aptitude for science, mathematical and instrumental skills and girls for expressive and verbal skills (Lindroos, 1995; Haste, 1993; Weinreich, 1978) which leads to a sharp division of labour and occupational segregation in the subsequent years. Since teachers serve as important role models for children such behavior on their part can undoubtedly affect children's behavior, their feelings about themselves, and those they interact with.

However, empirical evidence provides weak support for such sex-related differences in cognitive abilities (Haste, 1993; Baker, 1987; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1980). More recently studies indicate that with a large number of female students stepping in the non-traditional professions (Jobs previously occupied by men) and with greater awareness on the part of parents, teachers, organisations, and society

towards an even development of human resources, many of these stereotypical assumptions are breaking away to alternative roles and responsibilities. Many of these changes have already been introduced by changes in the social and cultural norms and attitudes. As the process of change is slow, the traditional sex-typing of occupations still exists and affects women internally in terms of their self concepts, motivations, achievements, commitments, and their capacity to manage.

Since management in the past has been defined as a male profession many women have been kept away from it which might be a valid reason for women's lack of representation at different levels of the organisation (Hofstede, 1984, 1980). Recent studies, however, question this division of work roles in terms of masculinity and femininity, and indicate that women are much the same as men; they, like men, are hard workers, have a capacity to manage, and don't lack commitment, motivation, and achievement (Davidson, 1997; Deem, 1996; Marshall, 1995a, 1994; Ashburner, 1994; Newman, 1993; Powell, 1993; Rosener, 1990, Rynes and Rosen, 1983). These studies argue that women's motivation and commitment in similar organisational settings is shaped by the same factors as those of their counterparts when variables such as age and/or occupational level are controlled. However, few studies claim that differences among women and men in terms of their managerial capabilities and styles are the result of situational and environmental factors rather than gender (Aven, 1993; Andrew, et al., 1990). In other words, these differences are attributed to the different socialization of men and women in the past decades (Riger and Galligon, 1980). Women were socialized as warm, accommodating, and caring while men as autonomous, achievement oriented, and independent. It is

precisely for the same reasons that women managers in general behave differently, perform differently, and are evaluated differently in male dominated fields.

In recent years, strong arguments for the reconceptualization of women managers' styles as positive have been put forth by several researchers in the area of women in management (Calas and Smircich, 1996; Marshall, 1995a, 1984; Loden, 1992; Rosener, 1990). They argue that women's interactive, warm, cooperative styles can be more effective and penetrating in motivating others as compared to authoritative and commanding styles often associated with men. It is further argued that the integration of feminine values into organizational life offers a hope for organizations to survive in a highly competitive and increasingly diverse economic environment.

In view of the above discussions, it can be concluded that Sex-Role Socialization Theory provides a powerful socio-cultural explanation of gender inequality in the labor market including the management profession as result of pre-conceived notions about male and female roles. It explains how women and men are socialized into different beings with different attributes, attitudes, behaviors, and styles. The theory views the sex-role socialization as a learned process which implies that expected behaviors and values can be unlearned by unlearning the old ones provided that societies want to do so (Haste, 1993; Powell, 1993; Marshall, 1984; Weinreich, 1978). Although the process of unlearning stereotypic behavioural assumptions about men and women have been challenged and demystified as a result of industrialization and modernization, it will take a very long time for

societies to unlearn entirely centuries old sex-role divisions which are deep rooted in different cultures with varying degrees.

Theories of Discrimination

Theory of Discriminatory Taste

The Theory of Discriminatory Taste put forth by neo-classical economists (Becker, 1957; 1964; Arrow, 1972; Madden, 1974, 1985) postulates on those differences in the wages, promotion, and recruitment of individuals that are not caused by differences in the acquirement of human capital. The theory attributes such differences to unequal treatment in the labour market where two equally qualified individuals are treated differently because of their sex, age, and race characteristics.

This theory was originally proposed by Becker (1957) for analysis of racial discrimination which was later extended to sex-based discrimination in the labour market (Bergman, 1974; Berger and Glen, 1986; Blau and Ferber, 1986, 1987). The theory is based on the premise that individuals have tastes for discrimination if they prefer to make transactions with certain persons instead of others based on their group characteristics. Drawing upon the socio-psychological theory of prejudice, the theory suggests that the taste of discrimination varies from person to person depending on the degree of personal contact with members of other groups. Based on this premise, the theory predicts two extreme situations: 1) if contact with members of a certain group is completely lacking, there exists no taste for discrimination; 2) The taste for discrimination will be weak or non-existent if contacts are frequent and intensive. The theory suggests that the greater probability,

however, exists for having a taste of discrimination for all the cases falling between these two extremes. Three dimensions, size of the group, economic significance of the group, and level of the contact are considered important for measuring the degree of personal contact.

The proponents of the theory proposed the concept of “discrimination coefficient” to measure the effects of having the taste for discrimination. Discrimination coefficient is defined as the premium which discriminatory employers pay on wages of the preferred groups which they would not pay if they had been guided by the criterion of marginal productivity. This mechanism leads to wage differences and occupational segregation between discriminated against and preferred groups which in economic terms may not only be a monetary loss to employers but also a welfare loss to the society as a result of imperfections in resource allocation.

The Theory of Discriminatory Taste originally developed for racial discrimination has been applied with the same premises to describe discrimination against women in the labor market. It is argued that women employees are discriminated against by employers, co-workers, and customers as they have a taste for such discrimination. Employers discriminate against women even when they are a perfect substitute for male workers in the work place by setting differential wage rates and offering them differential organizational rewards. Employees dislike working with women especially, being in a subordinate position to them. Similarly, customers/client feel more comfortable dealing with men than women.

Employers, workers, and customers have different motives for discrimination against women. Schmid and Veitzal (1984) while elaborating Becker's theory suggest that employers might maximise more general form of utility than just profits by excluding women from certain jobs and offering them lower rewards. Whereas, employees might discriminate because of social customs and rules that support the perpetuation of the system and customers might have monetary reasons behind discrimination. The motives behind each of the three types of discrimination are different but all three would have an additive effect resulting in labour market discrimination in the form of occupational segregation and wage differentials in the earnings of men and women working at the same levels. Blau and Ferber (1987) note that employer's who hold a discriminatory bias against women hire them only at a wage rate lower enough to compensate for employer's discomfort or loss of utility in employing them. Wage gaps in the earnings of equally qualified women as compared to men, caused by the discriminatory policies and practices of the employers are well documented in the discrimination literature (Humphries and Rubery, 1995; Paci, et al., 1995; Blau and Ferber, 1987; Madden, 1985; Ferber, 1984; Schmid and Weitzel, 1984; Hakim, 1982; Lloyed and Niemi, 1979).

Since phenomenon of women's underrepresentation in management is also viewed as an outcome of discrimination against women, the Theory of Discriminatory Taste may offer a plausible explanation for such discrimination. The paucity of women in management may be viewed as an aggregate effect of discrimination against women by employers, employees, and customers. There is no dearth of literature pointing towards discrimination against women in management based on the presumption

that women are not suitable for management when compared to men (Holly, 1998; Davidson, 1997; Marshall, 1995a, 1994; Powell, 1993; Morrison and Von Glinow, 1990; Fagenson, 1990; Riger and Galligan, 1980). Deficiencies are perceived even when no actual differences exist in the performance of women and men (Hakim, 1995; Humphries and Rubery, 1995; Rees, 1992; Kelly, 1991; Blau and Ferber, 1987; Berger and Glenn, 1986).

What provides the basis for the discrimination against women in management is the argument that different groups of people have a taste for discrimination against women as a group. These groups of people assess individuals' productive capacities on the basis of their group affiliation. If women as a group are perceived to be less effective for managerial positions this negative perception about a group contributes towards biases against individual woman and employers consciously or unconsciously treat them differently. Discriminatory employers do not employ women in men's job and men in women's work and maintain a strict occupational and hierarchical segregation that affect women adversely specially those aspiring for promotions in traditional managerial professions (Crompton and Sanderson, 1993; Fagenson, 1993, 1990; Rees, 1992; Berger and Glen, 1986; Hakim, 1982; Riger and Galligan, 1980).

A growing body of literature suggests that employers treat women managers unequally on the basis of their negative perceptions about women (Dex and Swell, 1995; Rigdon, 1993; Lott, 1992; Rubery, 1988, 78; Blau and Ferber, 1987; Riger and Galligan, 1980; Hennig and Jardim, 1977). Several studies reveal that women

are rated less favorably as managers, extended minimum positions of power, and receive lower salaries as compared to men for management positions. For example, Schein's classic study (1975, 1973) on sex-role stereotyping and requisite management characteristics, and its replication across nations (1996, 1992) consistently uncovers the "think of male--think of manager" phenomenon which results in the devaluation of female traits and refusing women opportunities for growth in their management careers. In another study conducted in Canada, a strong influence of gender was reported on the suitability of male and female to different professions (Kalin, et al., 1980). The study while controlling the ability level of the participants selected a sample of 155 female and male university students to act as guidance counselors and asked them to rate the suitability of persons for training in "female" and "male" occupations. Sex-role congruency was reported for both male and female occupations.

Discrimination at the initial stage of recruitment might be a possibility if recruiters perceive incongruency between the position applied for and the sex of the applicant but it becomes critical when such discrimination permeates through the initial stages of recruitment to the decisions regarding training, promotion and advancement of women at workplace. Several researchers point to the existence of such discrimination at advanced levels. For instance, Rosen and Jardee (1974) designed a laboratory study to examine out-of-role behavior for supervisors. Using an in-basket exercise with 95 bank supervisors where four separate experiments were conducted by manipulating employees' sex and type of behavior, the study found that behavior matching sex-role expectations was evaluated more positively

for women than for men. This study reported a clear bias against women in personnel decisions related to training, promotion, and supervision.

Haste (1993) and Hartnett (1978) substantiate the view that male managers discriminate against women in decisions regarding promotion, career development, networking and mentoring. The authors observe that female candidates are not only less likely to be promoted to top positions, they are also less likely to be recommended for professional training or to attend any conference. Women managers also corroborate these observations and report that decisions and suggestions made by them are seldom appreciated by male superiors they are rather discouraged for bringing about any contribution to organizational meetings and are mostly excluded from receiving important information from male peers and supervisors (Reardon, 1993). It has also been observed that women are evaluated less favorably and nominated less frequently for the internal education and on-the-job training required for upward career mobility of potential executives. For precisely the same reasons, fewer women are to be seen at middle and senior management positions (Alimo-Metcalf, 1994).

Women and the issues of their powerlessness especially those working at the senior levels have also received sufficient attention in the literature. It is frequently cited that women are more commonly represented at lower and middle management levels rather than upper and top levels (Deem, 1996; Green and Cassell, 1996; Davidson and Burke, 1994; Davidson and Cooper, 1992; Fagenson, 1990; Morrison and Von Glinow, 1990). These researchers point to an interesting phenomenon

about women and their work patterns that women even when they are heavily represented in the occupations labeled as "female" such as personnel management, teaching, nursing, training, and office administration, are rarely represented at senior levels. A survey reports women managers in positions of powerlessness, receiving minimum senior management training essential for progression in their careers and drawing salaries lower than those of their counterparts (Long, 1984a, 1984b). Research by Adler and Izralie (1994) and Antal and Izralie (1993) confirm these patterns of women's work across the world and report that women despite having an increase in the rate of their labour force participation are still on the average, concentrated at lower and middle levels of the organisations, empowered with less authority and responsibility, and offered rewards lower than those of their male colleagues.

Differential allocation of organisational rewards such as salary and promotion on the basis of gender lie at the heart of discriminatory employment practices. The bulk of the data on male and female earnings points to the wide discrepancy in the salaries of men and women managers despite having equal level of position and qualification. Rigdon's (1993) study reports that women in the United States, despite the presence of equal pay legislation, earn nearly 70% of the amount that men earn for the same jobs. Davidson and Burke (1994) disclosed wage differentials in the earnings of both men and women especially in the management professions in the United Kingdom. Similarly, inequalities in the earnings of men and women executives have been reported by the British Institute of Management (1989) and the Department of Employment (cited by Wilson, 1995), where women

executives, on the average, were found to be earning 70 to 76% of male executive's earnings, even when jobs were classed broadly at the same level. The same trends are observed in other nations (World Bank, 1995).

The literature also provides ample evidence of discrimination against women managers by their co-workers and subordinates for a variety of reasons. For example, Lott (1992) and O'Leary (1988, 1974) suggest that workers may be overtly hostile to women in management positions or they discriminate against them by attributing their success to factors other than ability and hard work. Marshall (1995a) further argues that male bias and prejudices against women may not be based on the belief that women are less competent or less qualified than men but on the fact that having women as superiors upsets the traditional male managerial model. Since women who move up the hierarchical ladder in organisations upset this balance of power, male dominance, and the power structure of the organisation may threaten men and other colleagues (Marshall, 1995a). Some other researchers (Haste, 1993; Fagenson, 1990; Mayes, 1979) have also echoed this concern by suggesting that women in superior positions threaten men's concept of masculinity which puts them at a discomfort and they collide against women to deter their entry and advancement in management careers. Powell (1993) and Bern (1987) note that the majority of male managers do not feel comfortable working with a female boss having the belief that women in managerial position are more hostile towards colleagues and subordinates and have a bad effect on employee morale. Women's management styles are often identified by colleagues as non listeners, power brokers, non-management workers, or hesitant decision makers (Bern, 1987). Such

characterisation of female managers clearly sends a message that working with or for women is problematic for which one must learn to cope. The depiction of women in senior positions as problematic is pervasive which has severe consequences for women especially those who plan to adopt management as careers or aspire to promotion in this field.

The literature also discusses discrimination against women by customers who have negative perceptions about women. It is observed that customers, in order to reduce uncertainty, resulting from social and cultural beliefs, about women's performance prefer to make transactions with men rather than women (Arrow, 1972). The discrimination against women by customers is, however, perceived to be less of a problem as compared to discrimination by employers, superiors, and co-workers. Humphries and Rubery (1995) for instance, suggests that discrimination by customers can be avoided to a certain extent by placing women in the areas where they have minimum contact with discriminatory male customers. However, such discrimination when combined with other forms compounds the effect of discrimination based on sex.

The review of literature, in the light of Becker's Theory of Discriminatory Taste, reveals that the theory provides a comprehensive view of discrimination against women managers by underscoring unequal treatment of women by employers, fellow employees, and customers. Becker's treatment of discrimination as a matter of individual tastes and preferences rooted in social prejudices against certain groups may also be useful for describing the discrimination against women in

management. To draw its parallel, it would be appropriate to view women's discrimination in management as a matter of tastes and preferences of employers, employees, and customers triggered by negative stereotypes and misperceptions about women.

However, the theory's prediction that frequent contact between different groups reduces their taste for discrimination is refuted by empirical evidence in the case of discrimination against women. In the last few decades the contribution and participation of women in the labour force has risen significantly (Davidson, 1997; Humphries and Rubery, 1995; Davidson and Burke, 1994, Baack, et al., 1993). According to the theory's prediction, an increase in the number of women at different levels in the organisations should have reversed discriminatory trends against women but this did not happen (Hartmann, 1993; Northcraft and Gutek, 1993; Morrison and Von Glinow, 1990).

Since the Theory of Discriminatory Taste was originally developed for the analysis of racial discrimination, it is problematic to apply its premises to analyse discrimination against women in the labor market. For example, its premise that discrimination taste is likely to be weak or non-existent in the case of both no contact and frequent contact between different racial groups may not be equally applicable to discrimination against women by men as race and sex are two very different social categories. In the case of race, contact between two different racial groups can be avoided but it is absolutely impossible in the case of male and

female. Men have contact with women from cradle to grave in different forms and in different roles.

To conclude, the Theory of Discriminatory Taste provides a good description of discrimination at an individual level. However, it fails to capture discrimination rooted in the structure and system of organisations. The premises of the theory are also weak when they are applied to sex-based discrimination at work.

Rational Bias Theory

The Rational Bias Theory proposed by Larwood, Gutek, and Gattiker (1984) offers a situational and perceptual explanation for organisational discrimination. The theory posits that work place discrimination is influenced by various contextual factors in which sexual bias results in career rewards or punishments for the managers. The managers who make key decisions in organisations, rationalize their discrimination against women when they perceive that peers and superiors will reward them for such behavior. According to the Rational Bias Theory a manager's decision to discriminate or not to discriminate depends on whether such discrimination will be viewed positively or negatively by those having power over a manager's career. Discrimination is, therefore, conceived by the theory as a predictable outcome of a “rational” and “self-interested” managerial response to the perceptions and attitudes of those holding power positions in organisations.

Drawing upon organisational motivation theories such as Expectancy Theory, (Campbell et al., 1970; Vroom, 1964), and psychological theories of inference or

attribution, (John and David, 1965; Jones and McGillis, 1976), the proponents of the theory provide an explanation of “rational” and “self-interested” behavior of the manager. Rationality as implied in the theory is purely subjective and refers to manager's conscious or unconscious calculation/s about the perceptions of powerful others in organisations. Whereas, self-interest as spoken in the Rational Bias Theory expresses a manager's substantial concern with his or her own career advantages rather than those of the group or organisation.

The Rational Bias Theory assumes that a rational and self-interested manager based on his or her perception concerning expectations and preferences of power holders in organisations, actively seeks out information from social signals that may suggest what decisions are expected from the manager by powerful superiors and which are most personally advantageous. The theory predicts discrimination on the part of the self-interested managers if they perceive that those having power over their careers or major clients support such discrimination, even when they have no personal preference or prejudice for discrimination, or they may realize that people discriminated against are equally capable, or they may support regulations prohibiting discrimination. Conversely, managers will refrain from discrimination if it is disliked by owners, superiors, and major clients to show their solidarity with them based on the belief that any such show of bias will result in career penalties to the managers. Thus discrimination, which apparently seems to be irrational at the workplace, may be the product of a rational decision concerning a manager's own career interests and the preferences of powerful others.

To what extent the Rational Bias Theory offers a plausible explanation for discrimination against women in management can be seen in the light of the literature providing evidence of such discrimination. A number of recent studies provide considerable evidence of the existence and persistence of workplace discrimination against women despite a series of tough state and federal regulations prohibiting discrimination and increased activism of women's rights (Holly, 1998; Dex and Sewell, 1995; Humphries and Rubery, 1995; Winnicomb and Colwill, 1995; Davidson and Burke, 1994; Northcraft and Gutek, 1993; Davidson and Cooper, 1992; Collinson, et al., 1990; Madden, 1985; Larwood, 1988,1982; Chacko, 1982; Nieva and Gutek, 1981; Larwood and Wood, 1977). The reasons cited for such discrimination are implicit and explicit bias, prejudice, negative perceptions, and stereotypic beliefs held by owners, managers, co-workers, subordinates, and colleagues, about women's performance, roles, and attitudes, often based on their sex-characteristic stereotypes (Green and Cassell, 1996; Wilson, 1995; Harris, 1995; Morrison and Von Glinow, 1990; Riger and Galligan, 1980; Terborg, 1977).

Several studies of discrimination particularly focus on the rational bias behind discrimination against women as illuminated by the theory. A national survey of 2000 executives reported unfavourable attitudes of male executive towards female managers even when they were perceived to be as capable as men (Bowen et al. cited in Terborg, 1977). The survey found that women were not considered suitable for managerial positions because of anticipated resistance by co-workers and subordinates. Similarly, in another study, women managers reported discrimination

against them as a result of negative attitudes and perceptions of their employees, immediate subordinates, and employers (Itzin and Newman, 1995). The findings of the study support the arguments of the Ration Bias Theory that negative attitudes of people or group who matters in organizations provide enough basis for rationalization of discrimination against them as a result of which women face discrimination from even those persons who might otherwise feel positive about them. Gealy et al., (1979), in a study of 61 management consulting firms in California, reported discrimination against women consultants as a result of the owner's perceptions that women were at a disadvantage while dealing with clients. The owners believed that women were not good at making contacts with clients, and they could only be considered for limited consulting problems. Another study by Larwood et al., (1985) regarding clients' reactions to consultants provide parallel support for sex-based discrimination where client executives were found to strongly agree with owners in broadly rejecting them for problems of a technical or planning and policy nature and considering them only for marketing or personnel areas.

Although the above studies provide considerable evidence corroborating the notion of rational bias, the study conducted by Szwajkowski and Larwood (1986) provides a solid support to the theory. This study was particularly designed to test various predictions on the basis of the theoretical premises of the theory of Rational Bias by establishing a link between managerial behavior and the expectation of others who matter in organizations. The findings of the study substantiated the predictions concerning sex-based discrimination such as when it will, or will not occur. The managers in this study were found to be supporting discrimination when they

perceived power holders in and out of their organizations as having discriminatory preferences. In contrast, where power holders or major clients sounded against discriminatory practices, the managers were found all out for eliminating discrimination against women. Larwood et al., (1988) further extended the theory to predict racial discrimination in organisations and found it equally applicable. Larwood et al., (1988, 1986, 1985, 1984) conclude that if owners have expectations for discrimination against women and clients have preferences for it, a rational manager may find it difficult not to discriminate even when women are perfect substitutes for men.

A careful look at the Theory of Rational Bias reveals that this theory has added an important dimension to the prejudice and bias against the women in organizations and management which is well documented in the literature. Rational Bias Theory through its predictions concerning sex-based discrimination not only identifies sources of discrimination against women in organisations, but also illustrates why such discrimination continues to occur despite a substantial body of regulations against it.

The theory's particular focus on management and managerial behavior makes it specifically relevant to understand discrimination against women in organisations including their underrepresentation at higher organisational levels. The Rational Bias Theory provides a realistic view of discrimination by looking at the decisional processes in organisation. The theory suggests an analysis of discrimination based on the open system's view of organization by considering that organisational

decisions including discrimination against women are not taken in a vacuum. The decisions are rather influenced by several external and internal pressures and take into account the attitudes and preferences of others who matter, in and out of the organizations. The managers who discriminate against women do so to protect their own personal interests by pleasing or not offending those who may affect their careers. By approaching discrimination through the dimension of self-interest of those who discriminate, the theory presents a realistic view of managerial behavior.

However, despite the merits of the theory, the Theory of Rational Bias may not fully qualify as a full scale theory of discrimination to explain the complex phenomenon of differential treatment of women in the management profession. The theory provides a partial explanation of discrimination against women by focusing only on managerial behaviour. It overlooks other organizational and systemic dimensions of discrimination. Furthermore, the theory's over reliance on the notion of self-interest is problematic. It totally ignores the personal ethics and values of those managers who might disregard their career interest for the sake of their commitment to certain moral values and standards of fairness which reject all types of discrimination at work.

To conclude, the Theory of Rational Theory provides a powerful explanation of why sex-based discrimination against women perpetuates despite elaborated anti-discrimination legislation in various countries. By using the notion of rational bias embedded in the assumption of self-interest, the theory captures very well the

causes of discrimination against women which occurs at the level of individual managers.

Gender Role Stereotyping

Interpretation of women's behavior and performance based on the attitudes and expectations of others have received considerable attention in the literature on women and management (Adler and Izraeli, 1994; Davidson and Burke, 1994; Fagenson, 1993; 1990; Morrison and Von Glinow, 1990; Riger and Galligan, 1980). It is widely believed that a strong relationship exists between attitudes and behavior, therefore, studying attitudes towards women in organisations is important, as it may help to explain issues of women's lower representation at higher levels in organisations. Attitudes reinforce the gender role stereotyping that may result in personal and organisational barriers that women encounter in their attempt to integrate and penetrate managerial levels within organisations and across cultures.

Gender role stereotyping in organizations may be defined as the sex-based categorisation of women and men's values, styles and work behaviour which is not based on reality but on individual belief systems reflected in organizational goals and values (Oakes, et al., 1994; Haste, 1993; Powell, 1993; Basow, 1986; Marshall, 1984; Tajfel, 1981).

Individual system of belief, whether justified or not, will be reflected in the types of organisational goals and values espoused; the distribution of resources and power; the allocation of material and symbolic rewards; the content and style of communication, written, verbal and non verbal (the politics of touch); the nuances of informal interpersonal relationships and influence; recruitment; training and promotion policies; the temporal and technical structuring and design of work and division of labour..... In short, most aspects of an organisation are fabricated upon and shot through with the belief systems of its individual members and these beliefs in turn are influenced by the organisational environment in which individuals work (Hartnett, 1978, p. 77).

The pervasiveness of gender role stereotypes as the single most important impediment for women's entry and advancement in management careers is well documented in the literature. According to a report of the British Institute of Management (1992) male attitudes towards female managers are reported as the major road block for women's career advancement in management. This report recommends that a policy shift towards increasing the proportion of women in management by removing formal barriers such as training, education, alternate work schedules, and child care facilities may not be effective if implemented in a male dominated culture (Coe, 1992).

Jobs are often stereotyped according to the sex of the people performing them. Since traits associated with male are more valued than those associated with female, women often receive less favorable recommendations for positions of power and authority in organisations. A large number of studies point out that managerial positions are stereotypically associated with men and as a result women are perceived as less competent for these positions (Davidson and Burke, 1994; Antal and Izraeli, cited in Fagenson, 1993; Brener, et al., 1989; Hearn and Parkin, 1988; Powell and Butterfield; 1979; O'Leary, 1974). Employers and male managers who have bias and negative attitudes towards women act on these stereotypes when dealing with women in organisations. Studies provide widespread evidence of stereotypic beliefs held by employers, coworkers, and subordinates about the performance of women that adversely affected women in their employment process.

For instance, Fagenson and Jackson (1993) in their study of women managers in the United States, found over 80% of women managers reporting stereotyping and preconceptions about their behavior in managerial positions as the main reason for their underrepresentation at the top positions in organisations. Similarly, Adler (cited by Harris, 1995) reports institutional discrimination towards women managers based on society's "taken for granted" matrix of beliefs and behavior about men and women. It is further argued that in a society where "who should do what" is largely determined by the gender of the person, any effort on the part of women to overcome their personal disadvantages and becoming equal to men in terms of education, training, and experience, is unlikely to succeed.

Hearn and Parkin (1988) while looking at the perceived characteristics required for leadership found that in all the industrialised nations, whichever characteristics, styles, and temperaments are considered important for managers, appear to be identified more closely with men rather than women. They suggest that gender stereotypes lay behind the unequal treatment that women receive in organisations and consistency of male dominance in management across the world.

Virginia Schein (1975, 1973) conducted extensive research on gender role stereotypes and characteristics perceived as necessary for managerial success. Schein found significant resemblance in men and women's characterisation of good managers reflecting "Think Manager-Think Male" phenomenon. Fifteen years after the original research, Brener et al., (1989) replicated the study to investigate the effect of equal opportunity laws and affirmative action on male managerial

stereotypes. It was found that nothing was changed in male managers who still adhered to male managerial stereotypes. However, attitudes of female managers changed over time, female managers in this study viewed characteristics associated with managers as ones ascribed to both men and women in general. The two latest replications of the same study (Schein et al., (1996, 1992) in the cross cultural context found that “Think Manager-Think Male” is a global phenomenon especially among males. Two other studies (Baack et al., 1993 Heilman, 1980) reported similar findings. It was found in these studies that male managers believed that women lack commitment, task persistence, achievement motivation, and temperaments conducive for managerial advancement to the top. This negative stereotyping of women was found to adversely affecting the career opportunities of women managers.

The effect of gender stereotyping is so strong that despite remarkable changes in women's participation and progress in the work force and increased awareness of discriminatory practices against women, management positions are still stereotyped as requiring masculine characteristics. This has special implications for women planning to adopt management as a career or aspiring to promotion into responsible managerial positions, corporate leaders, legislators, and institutions promoting the cause of gender equality in organisations. However, there is no dearth of literature pointing to the contrasting view of women's leadership patterns and suggesting hope in the foreseeable future. Maccoby and Jackline (1974) for instance, in their critical look at sex differences and their implications for management note that there is no evidence that women lack commitment, motivation, task persistence,

and requisite management characteristics when compared with men. They argue that women are not deficient in managerial traits but are blocked by discriminatory selection, assessment, and promotion policies that favour men rather than women.

In a substantial review of the management styles of women and men, Powell (1993) found more similarities than differences in male-female managerial styles. Based on these findings, he claims that men and women are capable of displaying both masculine and feminine (androgynous) characteristics depending on the situation. A study of self-concepts of male and female managers in Britain support the view that men and women managers perceive themselves essentially similar at work (Alban Metcalfe, 1987). The study reported men and women managers as perceiving themselves equally creative, confident, forceful, ambitious, trusting, and optimistic and equally disliking uncertainty. Similarly, Marshall (1984), Rosener (1990), and Fagenson (1993) who made an extensive review of the literature on women and management suggest that men and women have equal potential of being a successful manager. They assert that any differences in men and women's managerial potential, if they arise, are not the effect of their gender, but the result of various cultural and biological pressures that women face in male-dominated organisations. They, therefore, recommend changes in the existing societal perspectives of male dominance and emphasize the need for acknowledging women's unique intuitive, cooperative, interpersonal, and participative management styles.

While a number of researchers when looking at sex role stereotypes view them to be ill-founded (Epsteine, 1988), deceptive (Basow, 1986), and non-representative of women's actual characteristics and capabilities (Marshall, 1984), it is rarely explained how these gender stereotypes have come into existence or once formed what makes them self-perpetuating. Basow (1986), however, traces the origin of gender stereotypes to the division of labour in societies. This division according to Basow has been enforced and maintained by organisations and their male members as a result of integrating organisational roles with prescribed societal roles. However, Basow does not provide a satisfactory account of why these prescribed societal roles are so strong that they shape organisational roles and why people hold them so rigidly and behave accordingly. In another attempt, Larwood and Wood (1977) investigated the origin of gender role stereotypes. They suggest two sources of gender stereotypes: 1) the society which tries to maintain and sustain itself by perpetuating its traditions such as division of labour and beliefs concerning the sexes; and 2) the effect of traditions on the individuals' psychology through the process of socialization and learning. The authors view both of the processes interacting and influencing each other to ensure the survival of gender role stereotypes. However, cross cultural comparisons have shown that different cultures divide labour in flexible ways (Reskin and Padovic, 1994; Bradely, 1989; Weitzman, 1979; Epstein, 1970). These flexible divisions indicate that societal traditions are not absolute fixtures. If most of the societal traditions are learned over time these can be unlearned as well. Therefore, current changes in the composition of the work force should have brought changes in traditional societal perspectives on the division of labour and overvaluation of men vis-à-vis women which has not

yet happened. Although more women have now gained access to traditional male dominated occupations across cultures, gender role stereotypes continue to influence decisions regarding women's promotion and advancement to higher levels in organisations.

To conclude, the concept of gender role stereotyping pinpoints an important socio-psychological factor behind discrimination against working women including women managers. The analysis of gender role stereotyping reveals that perceptions and attitudes towards women managers are based on the stereotypes rather than on reality. The origin of the gender role stereotypes is the societal and individual belief systems reflected in organizational cultures.

Dual Labor Market Theory

The Dual Labor Market Theory originated from the work of institutional economists (Doeringer and Piore, 1971; Reich et al., 1973; Barron and Norris, 1976; Cain, 1976; Loveridge and Mok, 1979) on the issues of underemployment and unequal treatment of women and minorities in the labor market. The central concept of the Dual Labor Market Theory is "labor market segmentation" defined as historical processes whereby political and economic forces within capitalism encourage the division of the labor market into separate sub-markets or segments distinguished by different labor market characteristics and behavioral rules (Reich et al., 1973, p.359).

Dual Labor Market Theory is based on the premise that labor market segmentation is part of the changes in the economics of production and employers' strategy of "divide and rule" to gain control over the work force. Barron and Norris (1976) suggest that the dual structure of a labor market is a consequence of employers' power to structure their demand for labor. They argue that employers retain those workers whose skills they need, buying the support of the best work force, and restricting workers from making coalitions for their common interests.

The Theory of Dual Labor Market suggests that the labor market is segmented into primary and secondary sectors based on the characteristics of occupations and their holders. It suggests that these two sectors of the labor market have contrasting features. While primary sector jobs offer relatively high earnings, good fringe benefits, good working conditions, a high degree of job security, and good opportunities for advancement, the jobs in the secondary sector offer relatively low earnings, no fringe benefits, poor working conditions, less job security, and little opportunities for advancement (Barron and Norris, 1976, p.49). It further suggests that the workers in the primary sector jobs are encouraged for having creative, problem solving, self-initiating, and professional standards of work. On the other hand, the workers in the secondary sector jobs are encouraged to develop personality characteristics of dependability, discipline, responsiveness to rules and authority, and acceptance of firms goals. Some theorists classify the primary sector into further two categories, upper and lower tier, to capture variations of job characteristics within the primary sector (Doeringer and Piore, 1971; Gordon, 1972; Reich, et al., 1973). It is argued that the workers mobility between the lower and

upper tier of the primary sector is extremely limited which create structured internal labor market for higher jobs within the primary sector. The existence of internal labor market create secure promotional opportunities for workers in the upper tier of the primary sector. Baron and Norris (19974) elaborate the concept and implications of the internal labor market as follows:

A highly structured internal labor market contains a set of jobs organised hierarchically in terms of skill level and rewards, where recruitment to higher positions in the hierarchy is predominantly from lower positions in the same hierarchy and not from the external labor market. Only the lowest positions in the firm's job hierarchy are not filled from within the organisation by promotion. Secondary jobs, on the other hand, are not part of a structured internal labor market, recruits to these jobs tend to come from outside the organisation and will go back outside the organisation onto the open labor market when they leave the job. Furthermore, because of low skill level requirement for most secondary jobs, training is non existent or minimal, so that secondary workers rarely acquire skills which they can use to advance their status on the open market (Barron and Norris, 1974, p.12-13).

The theory suggests that the existence of the primary and secondary sectors of the labor market promotes occupational segregation both horizontally, by placing workers in certain sectors of employment and occupations while excluding from others, and vertically, by concentrating workers at certain levels within occupations, industry, and organisation and views it economically efficient (Hakim, 1982).

The proponents of the theory posit that workers are routed into primary and secondary sectors based on their group characteristics as opposed to their individual characteristics (Doeringer and Piore, 1971; Gordon, 1972; Reich et al., 1973; Baron and Norris, 1976; Cain, 1976; Rubery, 1978). It is argued that since women are believed to be less committed to their careers due to their disproportionate share of domestic responsibilities (i.e., child bearing, child rearing, and care of elderly

parents) and different socialization, they are found to be perfectly suitable for the secondary sector jobs such as nursing, receptionists, and clerical work. Such a characterisation of women also explains the presence of women in lower management positions within the primary sector where women and minorities are located in disproportionate numbers and seldom get a chance to be promoted to top management posts.

The presence of women in the secondary and lower tier of the primary market is well documented in the literature. Women are more frequently found in the secondary jobs such as sales, nursing, teaching, clerical, and administrative support. For instance, in the United States, in 1992, women held 79.3% administrative support jobs, 98.4% of the secretarial positions, 65.5% of all the sales, retail and personnel jobs, and 94.3% of the registered nursing jobs (Davidson and Cooper, 1992). On the other hand, in 1994, according to a study, only 5% of the top executive positions in 1,000 large corporations in the United States were held by women and minorities (cited in Davidson and Burke, 1994, p.15).

The data on the UK's labor market shows a pattern of women's employment which is replicated throughout Europe. The empirical studies of employment patterns in the United Kingdom reveal that women who make up 44% of the labor force are segregated within organisations unevenly along horizontal and vertical lines (Hansard Society, 1990; Hirsh and Jackson, 1989). Hirsh and Jackson (1989) estimate that amongst approximately three million managers in the UK, about one fifth are women and of the million or so senior managers, women constitute only

4%. The Hansard Society (1990) reports 5% of women working as directors, and less than 1% in the posts of chief executives. These studies found women more frequently in limited occupations as compared to men in these studies. Similar findings were reported by the "Women of Europe" supplement (1989) wherein, over half of the working women were reported to be employed in the service sector including trade, education, retail, health care, and clerical duties, about a quarter in textile and food industries, and a large number in the electronic and chemical industries. On the other hand, men were reportedly employed in a wider range of occupations and industries. A number of other studies indicate women's increased participation rate in occupations heavily dominated by part time workers rather than full time workers (Hakim, 1995; Adler and Izraelie, 1994; The Economist, 1992; Horrell, et al., 1990; Rubery, 1988; Beechey and Perkins, 1987). These trends of women's work force participation are also observed internationally. According to a report of the International Labor Organization, men all over the world hold the highest management positions in the primary sector of the economy, with greater inequalities occurring between men and women, the closer they get to the top of organizational hierarchies (ILO, 1993).

The Theory of Dual Labor Market provides a convincing account of the structural discrimination both in the labor market and in organizations against women in general and women managers which is validated by empirical data on the patterns of women employment in different countries. However, the theory fails to address adequately why segregation of workers into primary and secondary, always takes a gendered form. Where do the gender divisions in the labor market come from and

why are they perpetuated is not explained. The theory views segmentation of the labor market as part of a capitalists' strategy to divide and conquer labor during the early 20th century whereas historical accounts on the gender division of labor reveal that segregation predates capitalism (Hartmann, 1979).

The theory's central argument that women, because of their domestic responsibility, are less interested in their career development and have higher turnover rates, lower job commitment and less motivation has been refuted largely by the current trends in contemporary societies. Substantial amounts of data from the global labor market over the last half of the 20th century reflect tremendous change in women's labor force participation patterns. Women despite having heavier domestic responsibilities and lower availability of child care facilities are making investments in their education, skill and on-the-job training (Norris, 1997; Davidson and Burke, 1994; Adler and Izraeli, 1994; Davidson and Cooper, 1992; Blau and Ferber, 1986). Married women are now staying longer in the work force and taking less career breaks during the child bearing and rearing years (Wilson, 1995; Davidson and Cooper, 1992; Blau and Ferber, 1987; O' Neill, 1985; Davidson and Cooper, 1984; Long, 1984). A wide body of literature on working women suggests that any differences in men and women's motivation, commitments, productivity, and career development might be the result of unequal treatment that women receive in the labor market (Marshall, 1995a, 1984; Wilson, 1995; Winnicomb and Colwil, 1995; The Economist, 1992; Fagenson, 1990; Morrison and Von Glinow, 1990; Dex, 1988). It is argued that women's work experience is different than that of the men's, therefore, the differences found between women's and men's work behavior should

be explained in terms of the differing circumstances. Dex (1988) claims that if some men would be put in segregated positions into secondary jobs and made responsible for child care and domestic responsibilities, their work attitudes would definitely vary from those of the other men. Dex (1988) concludes that as long as women are perceived as different from men in work attitudes and their differences are not valued, women will remain disadvantaged in the labor market.

The Dual Labor Market Theory's emphasis that employers hold power to structure demand for labor ignores the role of supply side factors such as the role of male trade unions and control of broader social forces in the structuring of the labor market as documented in some studies. For example, Cockburn (1983) and Coyle (1982) state that pressure from male trade unionists in the printing and clothing industry resulted in union/employer agreements to exclude/confine women from/to certain occupations and how male trade unionists subsequently exercised considerable influence over access to particular jobs, over the skill definition and wages associated with them. Walby (1986) also provides detailed accounts of policies and practices adopted by organised male workers from the engineering, cotton textile, and clerical work department to segregate women into certain occupations by restricting union membership, limiting organisational training for women and getting male jobs accepted as more skilled and more professional vis-à-vis female's to preserve pay differentials. The studies by Horrell, et al., (1990) and Game and Pringle (1983) substantiate the view that the very definition of the term "skill" has played a part in the maintenance of skill divisions on gender lines, where women's skills most of the time have been under valued or not recognised fully.

More recently, Norris (1997) in her study of gender and occupational change found women being excluded from apprenticeship in retail pharmacy as a result of a conscious attempt on the part of the male pharmacists who wanted to maintain their professional autonomy in the field to protect their professional privileges. This study reports gender as an important determinant of occupational prestige and skill level.

To conclude, the Theory of Dual Labor Market adequately capture discrimination against women in management as deep rooted in the structure of the labor market. The concept of the segmentation of the labor market and the internal labor market pinpoints fairly well the way discrimination against women managers is structured into organizational policies as a result of which women, despite having the required qualifications and experience, fail to reach the top positions in organizational hierarchies.

Kanter's Theory of Organizational Structure

Kanter's theory provides a sociological perspective on organization which has been widely used to explain the structural discrimination against women in management. Kanter (1977a) in her classic book "Women and Men in Corporations" identifies three key structures of organization: a) opportunity structure; b) power structure; c) and social composition of groups that have influence on employees' work behaviour. The basic premise of the theory is that these structures shape employees attitudes and behaviour in organizations.

Distribution of Opportunity

Opportunity is defined as expectations and future prospects of upward career mobility. The opportunity structure of an organization is shaped by a number of things including promotion rate, career tracks, access to job-related skills, and organisational rewards. Kanter argues that formal rules and policies and informal dynamics of organizations i.e., informal networks, mentoring, peer support plays an important role in determining career opportunities for employees. It is argued that the opportunity structure shapes employees attitudes and work behaviour. Those employees who see bright career prospects in a given opportunity structure develop positive attitudes and work behaviors. On the other hand, employees whose upward mobility is blocked, and they get stuck at certain level of organizations, behave differently. Kanter identifies three types of stuck groups: 1) employees located in low ceiling occupations; 2) employees who have lost out in competition for advancement; and 3) those employees who have taken the wrong routes in high ceiling occupations. These stuck groups may have a variety of responses to the lack of career opportunities including low commitment, non-responsibility, anti success peer solidarity, and/or criticism of the successful persons in the organisation. Applying the same arguments to women's work behavior, Kanter (1977a; 1977b) observes that women are always placed in low mobility jobs and low ceiling occupations which imposes certain behaviour and attitudes on them that are believed to be female stereotypes. The characteristics attributed to women such as feminine traits, fear of success, passive self concept, low levels of work motivation, external locus of control, and lower expectations for organisational rewards are

reflections of the structure of opportunity they are placed in, rather than the characteristics of their femaleness.

There is no dearth of literature providing support to the view that women and minorities are disproportionately located in the lower rungs of organisational hierarchies both horizontally, by placing them into different departments, and occupations, and vertically, by concentrating them at certain levels and grades vis-à-vis men (Hakim, 1995; Humphries and Rubery, 1995; Wilson, 1995; Davidson and Burke, 1994; Blau and Ferber, 1987). The major factor behind such segmentation, reported in several studies, is the lack of career opportunities for women both at formal and informal level such as their limited access to on-the-job training, informational networks, mentoring, and sponsoring opportunities. Crompton and Jones (1984) in their study of staff careers in banking, found that women were discouraged from taking the Institute of Bankers' examinations, a prerequisite for their promotions and career mobility. In contrast, male recruits were encouraged to take these examinations. Another study (Weisman et al, 1976) reveals differential counseling given to men and women candidates on admission into medical school. According to the findings of the study women candidates were warned of the difficulties they might face in the field and advised to change their career aspirations towards more female oriented professions such as nursing, caring, and administrative support. On the contrary, male candidates were encouraged to apply to different schools and/or also consider Ph.D. in the related field. Similarly, Chapman's (1989) study of UK. graduates reported limited opportunities for women in non-traditional professions. According to the findings of the study 23% of

women as compared to 45% of men specialists got promotions into higher grades three years after their graduation.

Studies also indicate discrimination against equally qualified women, working in similar positions as men, in the form of an exclusion from organisational informal networks that serve as an important source of information and/or restricting opportunities for training, mentoring, and peer support, regarded as extremely helpful for one's career progression (Holly, 1998; Hale and Kelly, 1989; Noe, 1988; Brass, 1985; Kram and Isabella, 1985; Kram, 1983; Powell and Butterfield, 1979; Kanter, 1977b).

The literature also support Kanter's (1977b) observation that organisations form an informal network of power relations outside of the formal structure which can be highly instrumental in enhancing the development of individuals' throughout the different stages of their careers. For example, Kram and Isabella (1985) view the development of informal relationships with peers and those influential in organisations as essential facilitators towards career success. Such relationships enhance one's potential of getting things done by having an access to critical information, resources, and support within organisation.

Kanter's emphasis on the role of mentors and peer support in determining career opportunities for employees in organizations has also received considerable attention in the literature on women in management. The studies investigating the effects of mentors and peer relationships find far reaching benefits ranging from

career development to personal growth and psychological satisfaction in establishing such relationships especially, in the middle and early career stages:

Mentors provide young adults with career enhancement functions, such as sponsorship, coaching, facilitating, exposure, and visibility, and offering challenging work or protection, all of which help the younger person to establish a role in the organisation, learn the ropes, and prepare for advancement. In the psychological sphere, the mentor offers role modeling, counseling, confirmation, and friendship, which helps the young adult to develop a sense of professional identity and competence (Kram and Isabella, 1985, p. 111).

While there are advantages in establishing mentor relationships the literature points to certain difficulties that women may have in establishing such relationships due to a number of organisational, personal and cultural barriers. A number of research studies suggest that women are often excluded or not well integrated into powerful, dominant, and majority male networks (Maddock and Parkin, 1995, 1993). Inherent in organisational structure is a perceived preference for working with those having similar attitudes, social values and experiences. Kanter's (1977a; 1977b) earlier research on gender dynamics and Alderfer's intergroup theory (1986) provides support to this view. Arguing on similar lines, Noe (1988) suggests that women's access to mentoring, networking, and peer relationships can be restricted due to certain perceptual factors that view cross-gender mentoring as problematic for women. Although female mentoring and female role modeling is offered as an alternative to male mentoring and male modeling. The literature, however, points to certain difficulties in this alternative (Noe, 1988; Kram and Isabella, 1985; Kram, 1983). Noe (1988) argues that the paucity of women at the top organisational hierarchies indicates that fewer women mentors are available. O'Leary (1988) maintains that the number of women mentors is further reduced when some women

"high fliers" suffer from the "Queen bee syndrome", (Stains, et al., 1973), which suggests that socially and professionally successful women act against the interest of other women subordinates and resist increasing their number in the top hierarchies to maintain their exceptional position and uniqueness in the male world.

Power Structure

For Kanter (1977a) the power structure refers to the distribution of organizational power among different groups and is the second major organisational structure. Power is defined as access to organisational resources, information, and support, and the ability to mobilize resources towards the attainment of organisational goals. Kanter views power as "autonomy" and "mastery" rather than command and control over others. She identifies two major sources of organisational power. First, the formal power which emanates from a particular position and is based on a manager's ability, performance, and seniority. Second, the informal power which refers to employee's power gained through social connections. Sponsors, mentors, peers, subordinates, and the ascribed status of a person are viewed as vital sources of getting power through networks. "Powerlessness, on the other hand, breeds bossiness and lacks the true characteristics of leadership" (Kanter, 1979, p. 65). It holds employees' accountable for the work done by others. The structure of a hierarchical organisation is viewed as imposing powerlessness on middle managers, superiors, and bureaucrats.

Drawing upon the main premises of her theory, Kanter (1977a) believes that the structure of power and powerlessness shape employees' behavior and attitude at the

work place. Wherein, power promotes independence, creativity, and power sharing behaviors, powerlessness generates tight control, command, dependence on rules and regulations. She suggests that power and powerlessness have self-fulfilling prophecies as power leads to more power in an ascending order, and powerlessness creates more powerlessness in a descending order.

Kanter (1979) while applying her arguments about the effect of power structure on women in organizations, points out that although power by definition is gender neutral, it certainly has a gendered aspect. While illuminating the maleness of power and consequent imbalance in its distribution she argues that male members in organisations are vested with more power and status within organisations as compared to women. They can obtain greater organisational rewards and can bestow more status on them. She maintains that people prefer to work with male managers not because of they are male but because they are powerful superiors. Women on the other hand are placed in positions of powerlessness, with low status and less authority which has reflections on their behavior and attitude at the work place. Kanter (1977a; 1979) states that male and female behaviors in the work environment are not the characteristics of their gender but are manifestations of power and powerlessness.

The empirical evidence shows that people tend to view men as better managers when compared to women and prefer to work with male bosses (Kanter, 1977a; 1977b; 1979; Schein, 1996; 1992; Brener, et al., 1989; Liden, 1985; Rosen and Jardee, 1974). For example, Liden's (1985) research on female perceptions on

female and male managerial behavior reported 80% of female subordinates having a preference for a male manager. Reasons cited for such preference were not personality traits, attitudes, ability, age, or educational differences but situational differences. The study concludes that women working on similar positions as men, without having the same power, status, and influence needed to provide support and rewards desired by subordinates, are not generally preferred by the subordinates. If the majority of men and women perceive men as having more power and more say within an organisation's policy and decision making process, it seems reasonable to prefer a more powerful superior (Kanter, 1979).

Male power in the form of organised unions, informal networks, and patriarchal organisational practices have also received sufficient attention in the literature. Over the years these male practices have played a vital role in putting women at a disadvantage by obtaining more opportunities for organisational training, education, skills, power, status, and financial rewards for men (Collinson, et al., 1990; Horrell, et al., 1990; Walby, 1986; Game and Pringle, 1983; Cockburn, 1983). Baron and Bielby (1985) argue that women lack power in organisations because of not possessing the required experience and skills. However, the fact is that women are denied the power to define their particular experience as relevant to the job requirement. Hale (1987) substantiates the view by suggesting that the structure of power in an organisation ensures the relegation of women to the bottom of the organisational hierarchy by limiting their access to informal networks and main power holders within organisations. Such power structures are maintained through patterns of exclusion, segregation and discrimination in organisations and society.

Hale (1987) maintains that less influence upward means less influence downward, since women managers have less upward influence, they have less powers to distribute rewards and privileges to earn more status in the eyes of their subordinates.

More recently, issues of sexual harassment at the workplace have also been attributed to the power imbalance in the organization. Having position and responsibility without power, status, and resources to adequately perform them arouse personal and psychological barriers in women towards their career advancement. When a lack of fit is perceived in equally qualified women and distribution of power, status, and rewards many women remove themselves from the situation. Therefore, personal, organisational, and societal support factors are essential for women to get a balanced share of organisational resources.

Social Composition of Groups

The social composition of group is the third major organizational structure which Kanter(1977,a) argues, has significant impact on employees' behaviour in organizations. The social composition of a group in an organization is defined in terms of group size and the proportional representation of its members within the organisational hierarchy. Kanter distinguishes between four types of groups on the basis of their proportional representation in the organizational hierarchy: 1) a uniform group which is homogeneous having only one social type of person; 2) a skewed group which has an unbalanced social composition, with one large social type dominating the other smaller one and those in the smaller segments of the

group called "tokens"; 3) a titled group which emerge as a result of coalitions formed by a minority to change the dominant culture and include members from both "majority" and "minority"; 4) a balanced group, representing all social types of person.

Applying the above typology of groups to women in management, Kanter (1977a; 1977b) describes them as "tokens" as professional and managerial women are located in the skewed group. Drawing upon the main premises of the theory, Kanter argues that most of the impediments that women managers encounter in their attempt to penetrate into top organisational hierarchies are caused by women's rarity and scarcity at those levels rather than their femaleness. She observes that since token women are highly visible in large organisations, they face tremendous performance pressures that make them more conscious of their decisions and presentation. Tokens are taken as a test case for future women so they have to work very hard to prove their performance. However, Kanter argues that if token women show too good a performance it may trigger another pressure on them, the fear of retaliation from the dominant group for violating the general image of femaleness.

Several research studies on women managers provide support to Kanter's view that the proportional status of women managers accounts for their underrepresentation in senior positions. For example, Andrew et al., (1990) in their study of factors influencing the career development of women managers found the minority status of women managers in both public and private sector organisations as one of the major barriers in women's career progression. They suggest that increasing women's

representation at hierarchical levels, eliminating their token status, and rewarding those who sponsor women's entry into managerial networks are key factors to achieve equal opportunity and gender equality in organisations and society.

More recently, findings of a research study by Fields and Blum (1997) substantiate Kanter's arguments by reporting higher levels of job satisfaction and better performance on the part of women and men working in gender-balanced groups. They debunk the assumption based on previous research that workers perform better while working with people having similar social and physical characteristics (Ely, 1995), and emphasize that cohesive and balanced work groups enhance competition and achieve the best results.

Evidence of women's lower representation in the managerial pool of organisations, their higher visibility in those positions, extreme performance pressures and isolation from informal networks are very well documented in the literature on the glass ceiling (Green and Cassell, 1996; Davidson and Burke, 1994; Calas and Smircich, 1993; Davidson and Cooper, 1992; Morrison and Von Glinow, 1990; Fagenson, 1990). Heilman (1983) for instance, in a study of male and female career prospects, found women managers expressing their interests and having more chances of success in those fields where the proportion of women executives was greater. Another study of Japanese women's career interests found that women had least preference for managerial positions because of the lack of female representation in that field. This study concludes that sex ratios in a job influence women's career choice (Lam, 1992). Similarly, a UK. study of women managers

found 26% of women managers reporting performance pressures and isolation related to their visibility in the organisation, whereas, 36% of women managers in this study felt the need to come up to the expectations of the dominant group to get acceptance (Scase and Goffee, 1989).

Nevertheless, Davidson's (1987) study revealed the positive aspects of visibility where women's symbolic status worked for them positively rather than negatively. Token in this study found their positions more challenging and enjoyed their visibility. These findings provide equal support to Kanter's view of typical token responses to performance pressures. Women in minority status either over-achieve and try to reconstruct public image about femaleness by stressing their differences in a positive way and act as a role model for those women who follow them or, try to become socially invisible by adopting the dominant group's values and turning against members' of their own gender (Kanter, 1977a).

To conclude, Kanter's Theory of Organizational Structure offers a unique perspective on the issue of the scarcity of women in top managerial positions by focusing on both formal and informal dimensions of organization. Three structures conceptualized by Kanter are interconnected and complement each other in determining organizational responses towards women aspiring for top positions in organizations. This theory has made a tremendous impact on the research on women in management with its strong account of organizational structure. The impact of organizational structures, conceived by Kanter, on work behaviour and progression of women has been well documented in the literature. However, while

the effect of these structure on women's advancement in management is unquestionable, other aspects of organizations such as history, ideology, organizational culture are also important in the study of women's status in a given organization.

Comparative Evaluation of Theories

The theories and concepts, reviewed in the previous section, offer two competing explanations to the phenomenon of the scarcity of women in management positions.

One group of theories emphasise the differences between women and men and explain the low representation of women in top managerial positions in terms of their different human capital characteristics and personality traits. The other group of theories point to discrimination against women embedded in individual attitudes, organizational policies and practices, structure of labor market, and social system as the root cause of women's under-representation at senior managerial positions. In this section, the theories in each group are comparatively reviewed in terms of their explanation of issues related to career advancement of women managers.

Theories Emphasising Differences

Human Capital Theory and Sex-Role Socialization Theory emphasise differences between women and men while explaining women's underrepresentation in top managerial positions. While Human Capital Theory focuses on deficiencies of women in the attainment of their human capital such as education, training, skills, and abilities, the theory of Sex-Role Socialization points to women's traits, attitudes, and behaviors. Women are perceived as sympathetic, passive, emotional,

and dependent - characteristics that might make them inadequate or unwilling for managerial positions. Although these two theories illuminate different sets of personal factors affecting advancement of women managers they complement each other as these factors interact with each other to a considerable extent.

The Human Capital Theory suggests factors such as education, training, skills, abilities, and experience that affect an individual's position in the labor market, including managerial careers. Applying Human Capital Theory to women's career advancement, it is often suggested that women being preoccupied with family responsibilities make less investment in education, training, and skills development which adversely affects their progression in managerial careers. Although empirical evidence, as presented earlier in the chapter, contradicts the view that women managers make less investment in human capital, this theory does, however, suggest important factors such as education, experience, abilities, and skills that must be considered in any analysis of issues related to women's career advancement.

Despite the fact that women managers are quite successful at managing familial and career demands (Green and Cassell, 1996; Dodd, et al., 1996; Marshall, 1995a; Bullard and Wright, 1993; Rosener, 1990), women are still believed to be deficient in human capital vis-à-vis men primarily due to the family demands on them. The human Capital explanation does, however, point to another set of factors (familial), that are relevant to the investigation of factors affecting women's advancement in management. However, the Human Capital Theory does not explain why women

are more affected by family considerations as compared to men. This question is adequately addressed by the theory of Sex-Role Socialization which also focuses on the differences between women and men, not in terms of human capital but in terms of personality traits and attitudes. The Theory of Sex-Role Socialization describes the whole process of socialization which tends to make women more family oriented and adopt the roles prescribed by society.

The Theory of Sex-Role Socialization points to the socio-psychological differences between women and men as a result of their different socialization patterns. Women are socialized as nurturant, soft, caring, dependent, passive, and gullible, while men are socialized as strong, aggressive, independent, competitive, assertive, and dominant. The typical feminine characteristics, attitudes, and behaviors have long been viewed as making women unfit for managerial positions. However, the current theoretical and empirical research on women managers not only negates this long held view but appreciates the importance of feminine characteristics in the working of modern organizations (Calas and Smircich, 1996, 1993; Marshall, 1995a; Ashburner, 1994; Fagenson, 1993). Despite these changing trends, gender stereotypes persist and women are still largely stereotyped as inappropriate for managerial positions because of their feminine characteristics.

The Theory of Sex-Role Socialization puts forth a number of personal factors such as self-concept, motivation, job satisfaction, locus of control and commitment that must be taken into account in an exploration of factors related to women's career advancement. However, this theory fails to explain why those women who have

entered the managerial professions after crossing all the socio-psychological barriers are not yet at a par with men in terms of their career advancement. This question is addressed by the different discrimination theories at different levels of analysis.

Discrimination Theories

Theories postulating on differences between women and men highlight a number of personal factors, human capital and socio-psychological, responsible for women's lower representation in the higher echelons of management. In other words, if women are not advancing in management careers, it is the result of either their lesser commitment to their jobs reflected in their lower investment in human capital or lack of certain personality characteristics critical for advancing to the top positions in management. However, there is no dearth of empirical studies on women in management that refute this view and argue that women managers as compared to their male counterparts, are neither less qualified in terms of both human capital and personality characteristics nor less committed with their jobs (Marshall, 1994a; Aven, 1993; Powell, 1993). The question, then, arises why those women who have entered into management careers by breaking all the so-called personal barriers and have proved themselves in management, traditionally classified as male's world, are not advancing to the top. Explanations guided by difference perspective fail to take into account factors other than personal that might play a part in women's career progression in management. Theories of Discrimination point to such factors.

Theories of Discrimination attribute women's slow progression in management careers to the unequal treatment of women. While all the theories single out discrimination against women as the root cause of their low representation in the top management, there are, however, variations on where, why, how and by whom such discrimination occurs. Each theory, though, offers a unique perspective on discrimination against women managers, but is additive and supplementary to each other in the explanation of discrimination.

Theories of discrimination can be classified into two sub-groups based on where discrimination takes place. One group of theories emphasises social discrimination which refers to unequal treatment of women because of others' attitudes and behaviors towards women. This discrimination occurs at inter-personal and group level. The second group of theories points to structural discrimination which is built in the structure, policies, and practices of the organizations and the labor market.

Theories of Social Discrimination

Three theories that emphasise social discrimination were reviewed in the chapter: theory of discriminatory taste; 2) theory of rational bias; and 3) theory of gender stereotyping. These theories offer different reasons for discrimination against women managers in their career pursuits. Theory of Discriminatory Taste suggests that men whether they are superior managers or employers feel uncomfortable working with women and as such they discriminate against women to offset their discomfort. Theory of Rational Bias focuses more on managerial behavior and suggests that senior managers discriminate against women as they think it will

please their superiors which will, in turn, help them to advance in their own careers. Thus, both of these theories view discrimination as an outcome of rational calculations by those who discriminate against women. The Theory of Gender Stereotyping, on the other hand, takes into perspective much broader basis of discrimination against women managers by suggesting that negative categorisation of women results in an unequal treatment of women vis-à-vis men. It points to a cause of discrimination which is one of the effects of sex-role socialization.

Theories of Structural Discrimination

Theories of Structural Discrimination point to structural factors causing discrimination against women in management. While the Theory of Dual labor Market emphasise the labour market structure, the theory of Hierarchical Structure points to key organizational dimensions responsible for discrimination against women managers. The Theory of Dual labour Market suggests that a labor market is segmented into primary and secondary sectors. While jobs in the primary sector are characterised as secure, better rewarded, career oriented and having good working conditions, jobs in the secondary sectors have relatively less earnings, low security and poor opportunities for advancement. The theory suggests that since women are believed to be less interested in seeking professional training and the skills required for primary sector jobs, they are located in the secondary sector.

Women are routed into secondary sector jobs on the basis of their group characteristics rather than individual characteristics. Women's characterisation as a group is largely due to negative stereotyping about women which is the basis of

social discrimination. Thus, the Dual labor Market Theory complements the Theories of Social Discrimination by adding a structural dimension to it and explains how discrimination against women is structured in the labor market.

The categorisation of labor market into primary and secondary sectors provides a useful insight into the problem of women's slow progression to top managerial positions. It points to occupational segregation which hinders women's advancement in management either by placing them in certain occupations (horizontally) or concentrating them at different levels (vertically) within organisations or industry.

Kanter's Theory of Organizational Structure points to the structures of power, opportunities, and group composition in organisations and society that are responsible for differential treatment of individuals based on their group membership. The basic premise of the theory is that members of those groups that hold more power, have more opportunities, and enjoy majority status have brighter chances to advance in organizations as well as in the society. The application of the theory to the issue of women's career advancement in management yields a unique view of discrimination which illuminates subtle forms of discrimination against women rooted in both formal and informal organizational structures and processes. It suggests a set of structural factors, interacting with each other, which may affect women's advancement in management. First, women constitute a weak group in the organizational power structure as women not only have less formal power because of having low positions in the organizational hierarchy, but also possess relatively

low level of informal power as a result of their exclusion from informal organizational networks. Second, women are not only deprived of formal access to opportunities of growth and development such as training, and education but also denied informal opportunities such as mentoring, job rotation, peer support, and sponsorship. Third, women managers being small in number constitute a token group in the social composition of organizations. Women managers having a token status in management which is still dominated by men are subject to extraordinary performance pressures to prove themselves.

From the standpoint of women's career advancement in management, Kanter's Theory of Organizational Structure distinguishes itself from other theories of discrimination in two ways. First, it is particularly focused on the organization and subsumes other explanations of discrimination provided by theories of social discrimination and the Theory of Dual Labor Market. While social discrimination leads to the gender biased structure of power, opportunity, and group representation, job segregation is the instrument through which structures of power and opportunity are sustained. Second, the theory pinpoints three interacting structural dimensions that contributes to both overt and covert discrimination against women.

To conclude, none of the theories discussed above captures the phenomenon of underrepresentation of women in management in its totality and yields a comprehensive view of factors causing either differences between men and women or discrimination against women. However, despite their partial explanation, each theory offers a unique insight into the issues related to women's slow progression in

management. Overall, these theories overlap and complement each other to the extent that questions unanswered by one theory become the focal point of the other. Thus, each of these theories make distinct contributions to understanding the phenomenon of women in management by suggesting personal, organisational or systemic factors affecting the advancement of women managers. Therefore, research models intended to investigate the issues of advancement of women in management must be holistic in order to include the personal, organisational and systemic variables suggested by different theories and concepts. Although earlier research in this area focused on gender and/or organisational factors, the current trend is towards developing holistic frameworks to integrate gender, organisational, and systemic dimension of the issue.

Towards Theoretical a Framework for the Study

The theories reviewed in the chapter have led to the three main approaches that are prominent in the literature on women in management: 1) gender-centered; 2) organization-centered; and 3) gender-organization-system (GOS) approach. The issues related to career advancement of women managers have also been addressed within these research approaches. As indicated above, the GOS approach represents the current trend and subsumes the previous two approaches. This section compares the GOS approach with the gender-centered and organisation-centered approaches and evaluates it as a theoretical framework for investigating issues such as advancement of women in management in general and for this study in particular.

The Gender-Centered Approach

The Gender-Centered Approach focuses on gender differences between men and women as managers. The Human Capital Theory and Theory of Sex-Role Socialisation provide the main impetus to this approach. Much of the early research on women in management revolves around perceived differences between women and men. The gender-centered approach attributes women's behavior and limited representation in top managerial positions to factors that are internal to women (Bartol and Martin, 1987; Chushmir, 1985, Riger and Galligan, 1980; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974).

The Gender-Centered Approach draws its arguments from the theories that postulate on difference between women and men managers. Human Capital Theory and the Theory of Sex-Role Socialisation are prominent among these theories and have been critically reviewed earlier in the chapter. According to this perspective, any differences in work behaviour between women and men managers such as career commitment, ability to manage, motivation to advance are attributed to their personal background, education, training and personality. Although empirical evidence presented earlier disputes the basic premises of these theories and indeed the gender-centered approach, it has proven useful in the analysis of women managers' experiences, actions, and impact in organisations. This view ignores the situational variables in organisations that may affect women's attitudes, behaviour, and movements.

Organisation-Centered Approach

Recognising the problem of the Gender-Centered Approach, the Organization-Centered Approach underscores the importance of the organizational context in the study of women in management. The organisational perspective suggests that organisational structures, policies, and practices impede women's advancement to top managerial positions (Martin, 1994; Marshall, 1994b; Mills and Tancred, 1992; Dreher and Ash, 1990; Ragins and Sundstrom, 1989; Jaskola, et al., 1985; Martin, et al., 1983; Stewart and Gudykunst, 1982; Kanter, 1977a). As compared to the Gender-Centered Approach, Organization-Centered Approach is less developed. The Discrimination Theories and Kanter's Theory of Organisational Structure, reviewed earlier, provide the theoretical basis for studies which have adopted this approach in their analysis of issues faced by women in management.

According to this perspective, women's and men's beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours are the result of their different experiences because of different organisational structures, policies, and environments. Thus, any observable difference between men and women managers such as the slow advancement of women compared to men is attributed to structural or situational factors such as the token status of women, limited access to organisational power, negative attitudes of men towards women, limited access to organisational opportunities such as training and mentoring. The organisational perspective, though it takes into account the factors overlooked by the gender-centered perspective, ignores the broader social/systemic context within which organizations function. Therefore this approach like the

gendered centred approach presents a partial view of the phenomena of women in management.

Gender-Organisation-System Approach

Building upon the previous two approaches, the Gender-Organization-System Approach brings social/systemic context into the analysis of gender relations within organizations. The GOS approach reflects the latest and broadened discourse which underscores the interaction of gender, organization, and larger social system while investigating various issues faced by women in management such as their career advancement.

The organisation-centered perspective agrees with the basic premises of both gender-centered and organisation-centered approaches and makes two additional assumptions: “a) an individual and his or her organisation cannot be understood separate from the society (culture) in which he or she works, and (b) when the individual, the organisation, or the system in which they are embedded changes, the other components change as well” (Fagenson, 1993, p:6). The proponents of the GOS approach suggests that the systemic factors that can influence the individual and the organisation can be the laws, public policies, sex role stereotypes, expectations, ideologies, cultural values, and histories (Fagenson, 1990). The GOS approach further suggests that the organisational context affects individuals’ behaviours, experiences, and orientations. The organisational context includes factors such as corporate policies, history, ideology, and culture as well as the organisational structure (Fagenson, 1993). In essence, the GOS perspective

examines the status and experiences of women and men in organisations taking into account their status in the societal and organisational system in which they function. Thus, according to the GOS approach, any differences in men and women manager's behaviour, attitudes, traits, career, etc. are attributed to individual, organisational, and/or systemic factors.

The gender-organization-system (GOS) approach offers a promising framework to the researchers in the field of women in management and represents an advance over the gender-centered and organisation centered approaches. This approach offers a holistic and an overarching framework which allows cross-cultural comparisons. To make the best use of this approach, there is a serious need for developing models incorporating the basic tenets of the GOS framework to examine specific issues related to women such as their career advancement. Such models ought to be tested in different societies and cultures to highlight the cultural differences and their impact on women in management. Nevertheless, there has not been any notable progress towards this direction. The GOS approach has, so far, been used only in the form of an overarching framework, but has not yet led to models that incorporate all three dimensions, personal, organisational, and systemic to explain career aspects of women in management. One of the possible reasons for the absence of such models may be the lack of cross-cultural research in the field of gender and management which has left the systemic dimension unexplored.

Applying the GOS perspective to the career advancement of women managers, any differences in men and women managers' career would be attributed to the

interaction among gender, organizational, and systemic factors. Although the proponents of the GOS framework offer this explanation, in a broader sense, to the slow progression of women managers in their careers but no specific model with clear and sharp variables at all three levels, personal, organisation, and systemic has yet come forward. Although Fagenson, while articulating the GOS framework, listed broad categories that could be included in the GOS models, she has not put forward personal, organizational, and systemic variables that are clear, sharp, and theoretically interlinked to yield a holistic and coherent model. Therefore, it is imperative that a GOS model of managerial advancement with clearly defined and well connected variables is developed to examine personal, organisational, and systemic factors affecting career advancement of women managers.

Recognising the above need, a GOS model of managerial advancement is proposed in the next section. Since this model incorporates systemic/societal aspects along with personal and organisational dimensions, it has special relevance to this study. The socio-cultural and systemic context in which Pakistani women managers and administrators pursue their career interests is very different from that of women managers in the western and industrialised countries in which most of the studies on the issue have been conducted. Pakistan is an Islamic and developing country which despite being tradition bound is embracing values of modern and industrial societies. While women are seen in all walks of life including their participation in the public sphere, a rigid sex-role demarcation persists in the society which defines the role and status of women at large. Thus, to understand clearly the factors affecting women managers in a transitional society like Pakistan, it is absolutely

necessary that the societal context of women managers be thoroughly examined. This makes the GOS approach particularly relevant and more useful in the context of the present study vis-a-vis gender-centered and organisation-centered approaches. None of the two alternate approaches alone can yield a comprehensive view of the phenomenon of career advancement of women managers in Pakistan or generate information which can be thoroughly understood while overlooking the societal context. For instance, a model built around any of the two approaches, gender-centered or organisation-centered, would only identify either personal or organisational factors affecting women managers in the Civil Service of Pakistan while ignoring the societal and systemic factors that shape personal and organisational context. Therefore, such models will yield information about women managers in Pakistan which beside being superficial and partial will be of limited utility to those unfamiliar with the socio-cultural and systemic environment of Pakistan. The GOS model of managerial advancement, on the other hand, promises both a comprehensive view of the factors affecting women civil servants in their careers and information needed for meaningful cross-cultural comparisons. Thus, the GOS model in the context of this study is better than any other model structured around either gender-centered or organisation-centered approaches.

The Gender-Organization-System Model of Managerial Advancement

Drawing upon the GOS framework, the basic premise of the model is that the advancement of women managers to the top positions is influenced by the interaction of gender and organization within the context of a larger social system which shapes values, attitudes, and behaviors of both individuals and

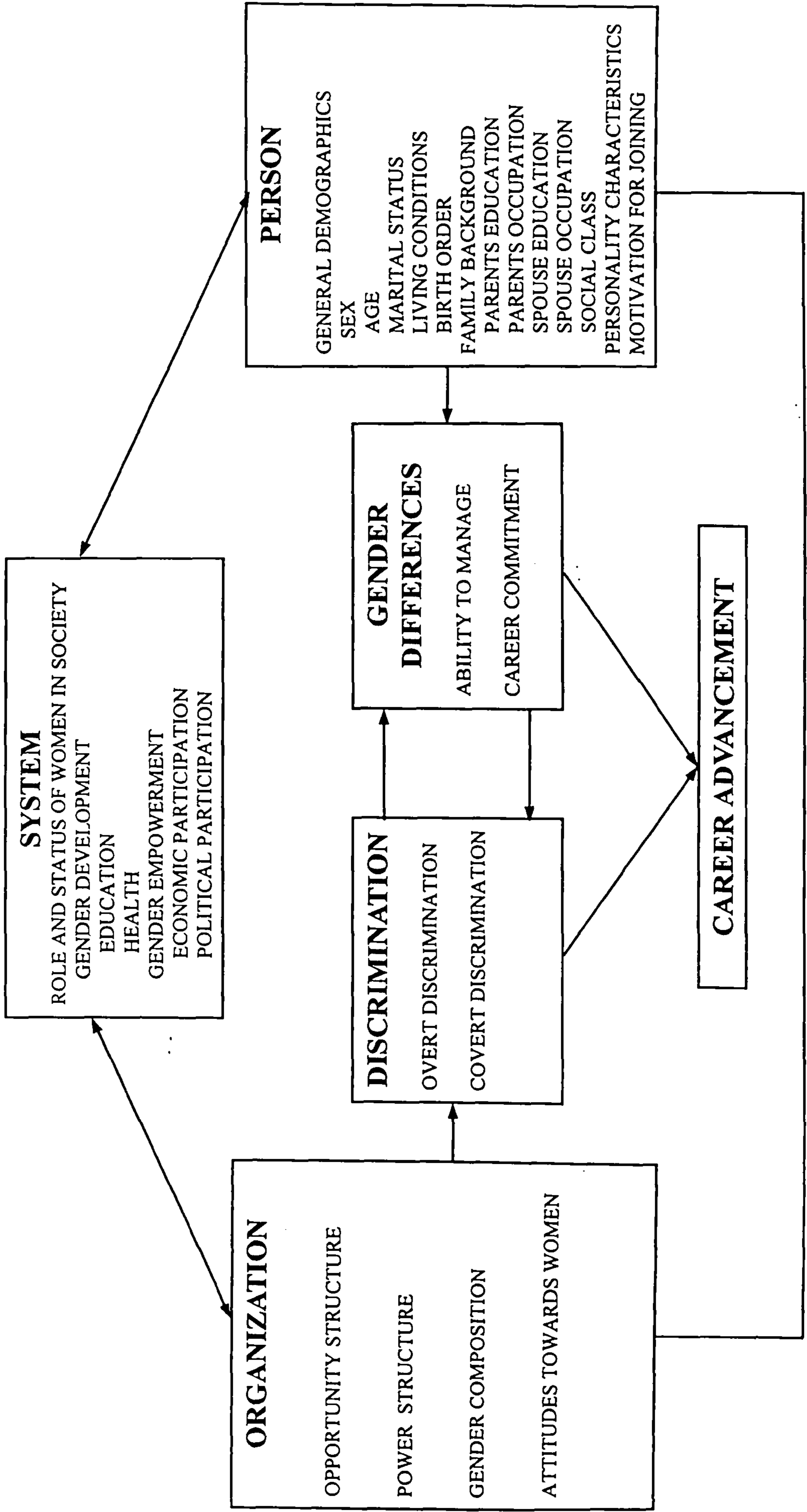
organizations. Using the insights provided by the theories and empirical studies reviewed in the chapter, the model suggests that the progression of women to managerial positions is adversely affected by gender differences and/or discrimination against them as a result of structural and personal factors. The model identifies the capacity to manage, career commitment, and motivation to advance as critical to managerial advancement and gender differences in these areas which may cause differential outcomes for women and men in their career pursuits.

A number of personal factors such as education, experience, training, socio-economic background, home situation, early socialization, and personality traits may create differences among women and men in terms of capacity to manage, career commitment, and motivation to advancement. Although minimal gender differences between men and women in management are well-documented in the literature on women in management (Jacobson, 1995; Haste, 1993; Powell, 1993; Gregory, 1990; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1985; Riger and Galligan, 1980), they can't be left out in any theoretical discourse on managerial advancement as both actual and/or perceived gender differences adversely affect women in management. The theoretical and empirical literature suggests that gender differences among women and men managers are based more on perceptions than reality. Moreover, interpretation of gender differences, capacity to manage, career commitment, and motivation to advance are quite often made within the framework of male norms and values that are deep rooted in organizational structure, policies and practices. So gender differences, actual or perceived, should be seen as an interactive effect of gender, organizational and social/systemic factors.

The GOS model suggests discrimination, a well documented factor in the slow progression of women to the top managerial positions, as the outcome of both formal and informal organizational dynamics. The model identifies five organizational factors that have considerable impact on managerial advancement of men and women: 1) power structure; 2) access to opportunities 3) numerical representation of groups; 4) attitudes towards women managers; and 5) sex-role stereotyping. These factors if unfavorable to women, give rise to discrimination against women managers. An examination of these organizational dimensions may well capture both formal and informal organizational aspects to see how overtly and covertly women are treated unequally within organizations which ultimately has a negative impact on their career advancement.

The model incorporating the assumption of the GOS perspective suggests that women and men managers' behaviour and experiences in organisations cannot be studied in isolation from the larger societal system (Fagenson, 1990; Martin, et al., 1983). Organisations on one hand are instruments of an existing power structure in the society, artifacts of social and cultural values, and more precisely are reflections of larger social system. On the other hand, organizations are instruments of change in the entire system (Grant and Porter, 1994). Thus, organizations are recipient of existing norms and values that permeate to organizations through its interaction with the larger social system in the form of government rules and regulation and people who join the organization with their cultural and attitudinal baggage. However, organizations being open systems also give to the society new values through their products and the socialization of their employees within the

FIGURE 3.1: THE GOS MODEL OF CAREER ADVANCEMENT



framework of their respective organizational culture. Thus, within the context of the managerial advancement of women, the status of women in society, attitudes towards women as managers, and sex-role stereotypes all affect the status of women and attitudes towards women in organizations. In turn, changing the norms and values of organizations with respect to women managers would send a different signal. The research model presented in the figure 2.1 clearly depicts the cyclical process.

Conclusion

Theories emphasising either women's differences or discrimination against women suggest a number of factors affecting women's advancement in management careers that can be grouped into three sets namely: 1) gender/personal factors; 2) organizational factors and 3) systemic/societal factors. Gender/personal factors relate to human capital and personality characteristics, attitudes, behaviors, and the home situation. Organizational factors include the structure of power, access to organizational resources, and numerical composition of men and women. Systemic/societal factors centre around the division of roles, patterns of socialization, and cultural traditions.

All the reviewed theories are found to be complementary and overlapping to each other towards their explanation of the slow progression of women in management careers. Therefore, no single theory can offer a comprehensive framework for the investigation of factors affecting women's career advancement which is a result of a myriad of factors. There is a serious need for developing a holistic framework to

comprehend the phenomenon of the underrepresentation of women in its totality. Recognising this need, a Gender-Organisation-System model of managerial advancement has been developed using the tenets of the most current theoretical discourse, the GOS approach. This model provides a theoretical basis for this study.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter explains the key components of the research process which includes a one time survey of Federal Civil Servants through questionnaire and interviews, and a review of published material to examine the status of women in Pakistani society and the Civil Service. It describes the sample, defines the variables included in the study, and discusses methods of data collection and analysis. The chapter also briefly explains how the status of women in Pakistani society and in the Civil Service has been examined through the use of secondary sources. To put the research methodology in proper perspective, the research objectives are laid down at the outset.

Research Objective

The objective of this research study is to explore factors affecting women in the Civil Service in Pakistan. To accomplish this objective, the following research questions were framed in the light of the GOS model to identify the gender, organizational, and systemic factors that may influence careers of women civil servants.

1. Are women and men administrators different in terms of their personal characteristics, home status, parental and socio-economic background, and work behavior?
2. Are women and men provided with the same organizational opportunities for advancement in their civil service career ?
3. To what extent is the organizational context of the Civil Service in Pakistan gender neutral and conducive for women administrators?

4. What is the role and status of women vis-à-vis men in Pakistani society and are they provided with the same opportunities for their development and empowerment?

5. Do women and men Civil Servants in Pakistan perceive any barriers/facilitators towards their managerial advancement and what are these barriers/facilitators?

6. How are women administrators in Pakistan different from or similar to women managers in other countries in terms of personal, organizational, and societal factors influencing their careers?

To address the above questions, the research methodology adopted for the study includes: 1) a survey of men and women civil servants; 2) a structural analysis of the Federal Civil Service; and 3) an analysis and review of the role and status of women in Pakistani society. The findings of all these three components of the research study provide the basis for the analysis and discussion of the factors affecting the careers of women civil servants in Pakistan. A brief description of how each component was carried out is given below.

Survey of Civil Servants

The first and major component of the study was a one time and cross sectional survey of men and women in the Federal Civil Service of Pakistan. The survey method has a long term history in social science research. It is probably the most frequently used mode of information gathering in the social sciences (Robson, 1993; Babbie, 1992; Bryman, 1992; Kerlinger, 1986). Survey research is specifically recommended when a population is too large to be observed directly or is widely separated geographically. It is also appropriate to apply this method when the purpose is to collect information from people about their perceptions, attitudes, aspirations, values, and social, educational, and economic back ground or when

seeking information about the incidence and distribution of particular characteristics and of possible relationships among them.

The survey method specially through questionnaire has several advantages. It allows unanimity, confidentiality, and consistency of the responses. It also provides respondents with adequate time for well thought out answers. Through a survey questionnaire, it is easy to approach respondents such as senior public administrators who otherwise are difficult to be approached. It is best advised when there are time and monetary limitations (Robson, 1993; Bryman, 1992; Fink and Kosecoff, 1985; Dillman, 1978; Nachmias, 1976).

Nevertheless, the survey method using questionnaires only is not free from shortcomings such as low response rate, the possibility of ambiguous replies or omission of replies to certain questions, lack of control over the environment within which the survey is completed and difficulty in masking the purpose of the study. Researchers, however, suggest that there are ways to overcome these limitations. For instance, a pilot testing of the questionnaire before conducting the actual survey, personal follow ups, a cover letter, clear wording and proper designing of the questionnaire can help to overcome these limitations (Noelle-Neumann, 1970). Follow-up interviews are also recommended for more clarity and validation.

In view of the above limitations, maximum effort was made to overcome the shortcomings of the survey through the questionnaire. A pre-tested questionnaire, which fitted with the objectives of the inquiry, was distributed among a randomly selected sample of civil servants working for the Federal Government of Pakistan.

The questionnaire was sent with a cover letter explaining the importance and purpose of the study, instructions for completion, and a contact telephone number in case any clarification needed by the respondent. To avoid delay, two weeks were given to complete the questionnaire. The response rate was monitored closely over this period. Two follow-up letters were sent to secure a reasonable response rate. The questions included in the questionnaire were framed in the light of the relevant studies conducted in different contexts in order to make some broad comparisons.

Face-to-face interviews of the respondents who agreed to participate further in the research were also conducted. They were asked to respond to a set of semi-structured and open ended questions. Such follow-up interviews are recommended by researchers for purpose of validation (Gill and Johnson, 1991; Hammersley, 1989; Faules, 1982; Schuman and Presser, 1979). These interviews allowed the researcher to further probe the respondents on the important issues and reduce ambiguities, if any, in their responses.

Sample

A sample of 300 civil servants was drawn from the population of the Federal Civil Servants in managerial grades 17-22 who belong to the Central Superior Services (CSS) also referred to as Cadre Services¹. The sample was evenly distributed over male and female civil servants. Out of 300 civil servants, 150 were male randomly selected from the male population and 150 were female selected by matching the male sample. The sample frame used for drawing the sample was based on the civil

¹. See chapter 5 for detailed classification of federal civil servants and grading system.

servants' data compiled by the Establishment Division which plays the role of a central personnel agency of the Federal Government of Pakistan.

Variables and Their Measurements

The variables included in the survey questionnaire were drawn from the GOS model, the conceptual framework of the study. There are three sets of variables personal, organizational, and systemic. Given below are the variables in each three categories and their operational definitions and measurements.

Personal Variables

The personal variables as suggested by the GOS model are general demographics, family background, personality characteristics, motivation for joining civil service, ability to manage, and career commitment. These variables were measured as follows:

General Demographics: Demographic variables included sex, age, marital status, living condition, domicile, mother tongue, and birth order. All these variables except age were discrete variables that were measured using nominal scales provided in the questionnaire. The age being a continuous variable was measured on interval scale with open ended question by asking the actual age of the respondents.

Family Background: The family background of the respondents were assessed by parents' education, parents' occupation, spouse's education, spouse's occupation, and social class. These variables were measured on nominal and ordinal scales.

Personality Characteristics: These characteristics include competitiveness, creativity, dominance, independence, and friendliness. These characteristics were measured on ordinal scales included in the questionnaire. The respondents were asked to self-assess their personality characteristics on these different scales.

Motivation for Joining the Civil Service: Eight motivators, salary, benefits, public service, job security, social status, power and influence, greater challenge, and autonomy were included in the questionnaire to identify motivations of the respondents for joining the civil service. The respondents were asked to rate each of these motivators on an ordinal scale ranging from least important to very important.

Ability to Manage: Ability to manage was defined in terms of managerial skills and performance of managerial functions. Management skills, writing, and oral communication, knowledge of rules and regulations, and management functions decision making, coordination, and conflict management were included in the questionnaires. The respondents were asked to rate themselves on a five point scale ranging from not good to very good for each of these management skills and functions.

Career Commitment: Several indicators were used to measure the career commitment of the civil servants such as the time given to the work, leave pattern, training opportunities availed and motivation to advance. An ordinal scale for each indicator was provided to the respondents for their self-assessment.

Organizational Variables

The GOS model suggests that overt and covert discrimination against women managers occur as a result of their limited access to organizational power, their

token status in organization and negative attitudes towards them. Thus, power distribution, gender composition, attitudes towards women administrators, overt and covert discrimination were key organizational variables in the survey. These variables were measured as follows:

Power Distribution: It was measured by salary grade, number of employees supervised and occupational group of the respondents. These are important indicators of the power position of an administrators within the context of the Civil Service in Pakistan². The relative power position of male and female civil servants as two distinct social groups in the civil service was assessed by these indicators.

Gender Composition: It refers to the male-female ratio in the civil service. The gender composition was measured in terms of gender of colleagues in the immediate organizational environment and sex ratio at the top in their parent occupational group. Nominal scales were used in the questionnaire to assess gender composition in the immediate organizational environment of the respondents.

Attitudes towards Women: To assess the prevailing attitudes towards the women civil servants, the respondents were asked to respond to a set of 11 statements on a five point scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. These statements reflect stereotypical beliefs about women's suitability and capacity vis-à-vis men for administrative positions.

Discrimination: Both overt and covert discrimination were studied by asking respondents about their access to opportunities for development such as training, mentoring, and the extent of their participation in formal and informal meetings. Sexual harassment was also treated as a form of discrimination. Sexual harassment

². See chapter 5 for further information.

was measured in terms of unwelcome sexual advances by superiors, sexual favors by colleagues, superior's sex biased attitude, and offensive verbal behavior or comments. The respondents were asked if they have ever heard or experienced any of the above type of behavior to detect the incidence of sexual harassment at their work place. Both nominal and ordinal scales were used to identify various forms of overt and covert discrimination.

Career Advancement: Salary grade was used as a measure of the career advancement of respondents. There are 6 salary grades 17 to 22 which reflect different management levels in the civil service hierarchy from the lowest to the top.

Analysis of Survey Data

Data generated through the survey was quantitative as well as qualitative. The quantitative data was based on the questionnaires received. Out of 300 questionnaire distributed by mail to the selected sample of civil servants, 146 questionnaires were received , out of which 138 were found useable. The qualitative data was obtained from 30 face-to-face audio-recorded interviews with those respondents who completed the questionnaire and gave their consent for an interview.

The responses to the questionnaire were coded and analyzed by using the "SPSS" (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) program. Analysis of the questionnaire data was conducted at three levels: 1) overall; 2) comparison of women and men; and 3) comparison of three management levels, top, middle, and lower

management. Analysis of data at these three levels was meant to provide useful information on the overall personal profile of respondents and their perceptions about the organizational aspects under study and how respondents differ both by gender and management level in terms of their responses.

Descriptive statistics were computed on all the variables to profile the respondents at all three levels. To find the differences among respondents by gender and three management levels, simple first-order statistical tests, chi-square, Mann Whitney U test for discrete variables and t-tests for continuous variables were performed.

The interview data in the form of the respondents' statements and remarks on various personal, organizational, and societal aspects related to their career advancement was generated by transcribing each of the 30 audio recorded interviews. It was used to supplement the results of the analysis of quantitative data wherever applicable.

Status of Women in the Civil Service

To examine the status of women in the civil service, an analysis of its organisational structure was conducted in the light of the variables suggested by the GOS model. The model incorporates four organizational variables, organizational opportunities for advancement, power distribution, gender composition, and attitudes towards women which constitute an organizational climate having serious implications for women's career advancement. It suggests that women either face discrimination, both overt and covert, or/and their work behavior i.e., ability to

manage, and career commitment is adversely affected as a result of organizational climate not conducive for women managers. These variables were included in the survey questionnaire as well as interviews and respondents' perceptions were sought. In addition to the survey, a structural analysis of the civil service was conducted and data on women's representation in the civil service was reviewed to shed light on the organizational variables as suggested by the model. Government archives, relevant publications, and various civil servants' census reports were consulted to carry out this analysis. The findings of the structural analysis of the civil service system provides an important basis for analysis and discussion of organizational factors affecting women's career in the civil service by supplementing the survey results.

Status of Women in Pakistani Society

The GOS model is based on the assumption that personal and organizational attitudes and responses to the issue of women's advancement in management is determined by the nature of gender relations in the overall society. Based on this assumption, the model incorporates the status of women as one of its important components through which gender relations in society can be adequately understood. The term 'status of women in society' in a broader sense refers to the social, economic, and political status of women vis-à-vis men in society. The model incorporates gender development and gender empowerment as two key indicators of women's status in society. To examine the status of women in Pakistani society, both of these two broad indicators were adopted using various operational measures.

Gender Development

The level of gender development was measured by the educational and health status of women in society. The operational measures used for health status of women were, adult female literacy, enrollment in educational institutions, and mean years of schooling, whereas health status was measured by life expectancy, maternal mortality rate by 100,000 live births, total fertility rate and percentage of women using contraception.

Gender Empowerment

Gender empowerment has two components, economic empowerment and political and administrative empowerment. Various indicators used to assess the economic empowerment of women in Pakistan were labor force participation, employment status, occupational representation, and unemployment level. Political and administrative empowerment was assessed by the representation of women in positions of authority and power. Women's representation in the National Parliament, Federal Cabinet, and administrative positions were used as indicators of political and administrative empowerment.

To explain the given status of women in Pakistani society, the role of the state, Islam, and culture were reviewed. The findings of the analysis and the review of the status of women in Pakistan, in conjunction with the survey results, has been used to identify systemic factors affecting women's career in the civil service.

The information for the analysis of the status of Pakistani women and the review of the role of the state, Islam, and culture in determining the position of women in Pakistan was drawn from a number of sources which includes government documents such as five years plans, annual surveys, reports of international agencies i.e., the World Bank, UNDP and ILO, and relevant books and journals on the subject. The analysis also reflect the author's experiential knowledge gained through living as a women in Pakistani society.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the research methodology adopted to apply the GOS model of managerial advancement to the Federal Civil Service of Pakistan has been described. The chapter explained the triangulation of methods used to examine the factors affecting women's careers in the civil service in Pakistan at three levels, personal, organizational, and systemic. The methods used to conduct the enquiry include mailed questionnaire, face-to-face interviews, and documentation. These methods generated both quantitative and qualitative data and information that provided the basis for the analysis of factors affecting women's career in the civil service in Pakistan.

CHAPTER 4

STATUS OF WOMEN IN PAKISTAN: ROLE OF THE STATE, ISLAM AND CULTURE

Introduction

The GOS model of managerial advancement, the theoretical framework for this study, identifies personal and organizational factors as having a direct impact on women's career advancement either in the form of discrimination or/and gender differences. The model is based on the premise that women face personal and organizational barriers to their upward mobility in their managerial careers as a result of cultural attitudes and organizational biases against them. It assumes that the extent to which women managers face these barriers in a particular country depends upon the role and status of women in society at large.

This chapter explains the role and status of women in Pakistan in order to provide a basis for understanding personal, organizational, and societal implications for women in management in general and the Civil Service in particular. The position of women vis-à-vis men in four areas: education, health, employment, and access to political power has been examined to investigate the status of women in Pakistan. The current status of women has been explained within the legal framework provided by the state, Islamic values and the cultural realities of Pakistani society.

SECTION I

Pakistan: An Overview

Pakistan emerged as an independent nation on August 14, 1947 when British India was divided into two sovereign Hindu and Muslim states. It resulted from a struggle of the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent for a separate homeland to promote their own culture and ideology by following the Islamic way of life, under the leadership of Mohammed Ali Jinnah. The demand for a separate homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent of India was presented by Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, in his address at Allahabad on March 22, 1940 in the following words:

The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literature. They neither intermarry nor interdine and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their outlooks on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Muslims derive their inspiration from different episodes..... To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built for the government of such a state. (Saiyyed, 1953, p: 432)

Pakistan had two wings, East and west, until 1971 when East Pakistan became the independent country--Bangladesh as a result of internal strife and external aggression by India. Geographically, Pakistan shares a common border with China in the north west and Afghanistan in the west. The Islamic Republic of Iran is in the south of Pakistan. Indian territory of east Punjab and Rajasthan has a common border with Pakistan to the east. The Arabian Sea lies in the south of Pakistan (Ali, 1992).

Historically, the land which comprises the area of Pakistan has a rich historical heritage and produced the great Indus vally civilization in the past. The area formed

the gateway for the spread of Islam in South Asia and was the site of many of the greatest achievements of the Islamic culture. The area now comprised of Pakistan was closely associated with the Moghul dynasty (1526-1857) that ruled much of the subcontinent, and the city of Lahore was one of their capitals.

The current population of Pakistan is estimated at 135.28 million, with an area of 307,374 square miles twice the size of the United Kingdom. The female population was estimated at January, 1997 as 62.8 million which constitutes 48.38 per cent of the total population (Economic Survey 1996-97). The two mega cities of Pakistan, Karachi and Lahore, have a population of close to 10 million each (Burki, 1993). Another dozen cities have population of more than or approaching one million (ibid). An overwhelming majority (97.2%) of the population is Muslim, minorities includes Christians, Hindus, Parsis, and Buddhists (Pakistan year Book, 1996).

Constitutionally, Pakistan is an Islamic and federal state with a parliamentary system of government both in the Center and its four provinces: 1) Baluchistan; 2) North West Frontier Province (NWFP); 3) Punjab; 4) Sind. Outside the provinces, federal and federally administered tribal and northern areas also form the territories of Pakistan. The President is the head of the federation while the Prime Minister is the chief executive of the federal government. Their counterparts in each province are the Governor and the Chief Minister. Each province is divided into administrative divisions and districts.

There are wide variations in population density and land area among provinces. Punjab is the largest province in terms of population(56% of total population) with only about 26 per cent of the land area. In contrast, Baluchistan is the smallest province in terms of population(5% of population) while it spreads over 44 per cent of total land area of the country. The other two provinces NWFP and Sind stand second and third respectively in terms of population and area. Each province, besides several dialects, has its own native language, Punjabi, Sindi, Pushto (NWFP), and Balochi. The majority of the people speak their native language as well as Urdu which is the national language. English is the official language and medium of instruction in professional colleges, universities, and private elite elementary schools.

Pakistan is an agricultural country with about 72 per cent of the population living in rural areas, and about 57 per cent of its civilian labor force employed in agricultural occupations. Overall, the labor force participation rate is 37.15 per cent. Labor force participation rate differs from rural to urban areas. In rural areas, the participation rate is 26.96 per cent which is higher than that of the urban areas (10.19%) as agriculture is more of a family occupation than mere work. Women's participation rate is lower than men's both due to cultural taboos and the non-availability of suitable job opportunities. The unemployment rate estimated for the year 1996-97 is 5.37 per cent. Urban unemployment rate(6.9%) is higher than that of rural areas(4.8%). Similarly, women's unemployment rate is higher than men's (Economic Survey, 1996-97).

The literacy rate in Pakistan in the year 1991-1992 was estimated at 26.3 per cent. The literacy rate for women is low as compared to men and is about half that of men. Comparing urban and rural areas, the literacy rate is significantly lower in rural areas, particularly for women (FBS, 1995). The per capita income of Pakistan is estimated at \$380 (Burki, 1993). This figure, although, higher than India which is \$320, is among the lowest in the world. Pakistan has maintained an average GDP growth rate of 6 per cent per annum for the last five decades which has dropped to 4.4 per cent per annum during 1990-1995. As a result of a sharp economic decline, the proportion of poor increased from 20 per cent of the population in 1990, to 30 per cent in the year 1995 (Haq, 1997; Khan, 1997).

Pakistan has been politically an unstable state in the fifty years of its existence. During this period, three separate constitutions were promulgated: in 1956, 1962, and 1973. For about 25 years, it was ruled by the military under two major martial laws of General Ayoub Khan and General Zia-ul-Haq. Although, since 1988 there has been no direct military intervention in the democratic process, the influence of the military has remained an important factor in Pakistan's politics. During this democratic transition, 1988-1998 the country has experienced 5 elections, and 5 governments. However, there is a visible silver lining as despite frequent changes in civilian governments, the military has exercised restraint and resisted taking over direct governmental control.

Pakistan has now entered into a new phase after the election of Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister for the third time in early 1997. Nawaz Sharif's party, The Muslim League, has won the election with a large mandate resulting in a strong

government. Sharif's government has made necessary amendments to reduce the power of the President of dismissing an elected government which had been the main cause of frequent changes in the government since 1988.

An overview of Pakistan may best be summed up with a quotation from Dr. Mahbub-ul-Haq's most recent and famous report on "Human Development in South Asia". Dr. Haq describes Pakistan as a country which presents a fascinating combination of many contradiction:

The country has one of the lowest of the literacy rates in the world, yet some of its highly educated people have dominated many international forums. Besides, Pakistan's human capital abroad represents some of the finest talent available and millions of dollars of investments. The country treats its women very poorly, with some of the lowest indicators of gender development. And yet it elected the first-ever women Prime Minister in a Muslim country, not just once but twice within five years..... Fascinating contradictions abound in a country of weak institutions and strong individuals, of economic growth without human development, of private greed and lack of social compassion, of election rituals without real democracy(Haq, 1997, P:37).

Section II

Status of Women in Pakistan

The literature suggests two broad approaches to the study of the status of women in a society. Some researchers view the status of women in terms of their access to resources such as education, health services, employment and positions of authority (Shah, 1986; Oppong, 1980; Dixon, 1978). Others focus on women's place in the social structure, her ability to exercise rights regarding her marriage, education, work and participation in public life (Youssef, 1980; Zia, 1980; Rahman, 1980). Combining these two approaches, the term "status of women" refers here to their economic, social and political roles in society.

To examine the status of Pakistani women, their education and health profile, access to economic opportunities, and the extent of their political participation are discussed. A number of indicators in these four areas have been looked upon. However, to present a composite picture of the status of women in Pakistan, two specific indices, Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) have been used (UNDP, 1995). While the GDI adjusts the measure of average human development concerning education, health and employment, to take account of gender disparities, the GEM reflects gender disparities in political participation. Using these two indices, the position of Pakistani women has also been compared with other South Asian and Muslim countries.

Women and Education

Access to education is universally accepted as a key to the enhancement of the status of women in society (Jalil, 1993; Lockheed, et al. 1991). Unfortunately, the majority of Pakistani women are deprived of this essential component of gender development. Although educational indicators do not present a bright picture about men, women however, suffer the worst in terms of educational deprivation in Pakistan. The situation is more extreme in rural areas and some regions. This section presents and discusses women's education profile based on three indicators: 1) adult literacy rate¹; 2) enrollment in educational institutions; and 3) mean years of schooling. While examining the overall gender profile in education, an effort is made to highlight regional disparities wherever data permits.

Adult Literacy

About two-thirds of Pakistan's total adult population and 77 per cent of its women are illiterate. According to the latest survey conducted by the Pakistan Census Organization(PCO) the overall adult literacy rate in 1991-1992 is 39.9 per cent. Although the overall literacy rate is low, the situation is even worse in rural areas. While the adult literacy rate in urban areas is 60.5 per cent it is 30.3 per cent in rural areas, almost 50 per cent lower than that of urban areas (PCO, 1992).

Comparison of the overall literacy rates of women and men and on a rural-urban basis reveals glaring gender disparities in general and in rural areas in particular.

¹. Using the 1972 UNESCO's definition of literacy adult literate is a person who is 15+ years old and can read and write a short statement in everyday life with understanding in any language.

2. The figure for urban Punjab is taken from the second source as the first source does not contain female literacy rate for the Punjab.

Overall, the literacy rate for men is 52.8 per cent and for women it is 26.3 per cent. While the literacy rate for men in urban areas is 70 per cent, for women it is 50.3 per cent. In rural areas, literacy rate is 44.6 per cent for men and 15.3 per cent for women. These figures clearly indicate that women lag behind men in literacy both in urban and rural areas, but the gender gap is much wider in rural areas.

Besides the rural urban divide in literacy rates there are widespread regional disparities which make the situation even worse. The adult literacy rate ranges from 17 per cent in rural Balochistan to 50 per cent in urban Punjab, and 52 per cent in urban Sind (Haq, 1997). Regional gender disparities are more alarming. The female literacy rate in rural NWFP is only 5.4 per cent, and lower still at 3.2 per cent in rural Balochistan, compared to 41.3 per cent in urban Sind and 48 per cent in urban Punjab²(Haq, 1997, P:38).

Enrollment in Educational Institutions

Overall enrollment in educational institutions for both sexes is quite low. According to the Education and Youth Survey 1991-1992 the enrollment ratio by age is provided in the following table.

Enrollment Ratio By Age and Sex
Table 4.1

Age	Total	Women	Men
05-09	55.31	43.91	65.82
10-14	62.61	47.79	75.24
15-19	35.07	22.71	46.29
20-24	9.14	4.99	13.30

Source: EYS, Federal Bureau of Statistics, 1991-92.

Table 4.1 indicates that the overall enrollment ratio for both women and men is lower for higher age groups and the female enrollment ratio is even lower for all age groups as compared to men. The rural-urban disparities make the situation even worse. While the enrollment ratio for rural area vis-à-vis urban is low, a gender comparison within urban and rural areas highlight glaring gender disparities in the enrollment ratio of both urban and rural women. Enrollment ratio for the rural women is far lower than that of the urban women's as exhibited by table 4.2.

Enrollment Ratio By Area and Sex
Table 4.2

<u>Age</u>	<u>Urban area</u>		<u>Rural area</u>	
	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
05-09	69.26	75.88	34.11	61.86
10-14	75.05	82.40	33.58	54.74
15-19	43.71	56.60	11.41	40.49
20-24	12.29	21.59	1.50	8.54

Source: EYS, Federal Bureau of Statistics, 1991-92

While enrollment by age and sex provides a good overview of gender disparities, it does not provide information about the female-male representation in different levels of educational institutions. Table 4.3 displays male and female enrollment differences at three levels of education--primary, secondary, and tertiary.

Estimated Enrollment by Sex 1994-1995
Table 4.3

<u>Level</u>	<u>Male (%)</u>	<u>Female (%)</u>
Primary	69	31
Secondary*	63	37
Tertiary		
Colleges	58	42
Prof.Colleges	75	25
Universities	87	13

*secondary includes high schools and vocational institutions.

Source: FBS, Government of Pakistan, 1995.

Table 4.3 indicates shocking gender disparities in enrollment at all three levels specially in professional colleges and universities.

Mean Years of Schooling

Mean years of schooling is another indicator of gender development. It has been well documented that boys spent more years in school than girls in South Asian countries including Pakistan (World Bank, 1995; Government of Pakistan, 1994). According to a Human Development Report 1997, mean years of schooling for female in Pakistan is 0.7 which is lower than some of the South Asian and several Muslim countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia, Morocco, and Tunisia (Haq, 1997, P:25).

Women and Health

Good health is one of the universally accepted determinants of socio-economic status of individuals in a society. It enhances human potential and capacity for participation in gainful economic activities. Unfortunately, the overall picture about the health status of people of Pakistan is not very encouraging; life expectancy is 58 years; about half of the population does not have access to basic health services, and one-fourth of newborn babies are under weight and malnourished. The women's situation further deteriorates because of biological and cultural factors i.e., early marriage and resistance to family planning. A women's health profile is presented here by using four health indicators of gender development, life expectancy, mortality rate, fertility rate, and use of contraceptive measures.

While overall life expectancy in Pakistan is 62 years, it is 63.5 years for women and 62.5 years for men. Maternal mortality rate for the year 1993 was 340 per 100,000 live births. Total fertility rate for the year 1995 was estimated as 5.6 children per woman. While comparing rural and urban areas, the fertility rate among rural women is higher than urban women. For example, an estimated fertility rate for the year 1995 was 4.7 children for urban women and 6.1 children for rural women. The high fertility rate is linked with the lower percentage of women using contraceptive. According to one report prepared by UNICEF, only 12 per cent of Pakistani women use contraceptive measures (UNICEF, 1992). Differences in the usage of contraceptive measures can be seen in urban and rural women as 15.1 per cent of urban women and 7 percent of rural women use contraception (ibid). Based on the available figures it is not difficult to say that Pakistani women have a very low health status overall and women in rural areas lag behind urban women on the above indicators of gender development because of extremely low adult literacy and poor access to health services. Table 4.4 exhibits health profile of Pakistani women on the above indicators of health development.

Health Profile of Pakistani Women
Table 4.4

<u>Health Indicators</u>	<u>All Areas</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>
Life expectancy	63.5	-	-
Maternal mortality rate- per 100,000 live births	340	-	-
Total fertility rate	5.6	4.7	6.1
Women using contraception	12.0	15.1	7.0

Source: (1) Planning and Development Division, 1995.
 (2) Human Development in South Asia, 1997.
 (3) Pakistan Demographic Survey, 1995.
 (4) UNICEF, Government of Pakistan, 1992.

Women and Employment

The level and kind of women's participation in gainful employment is an important indicator of the economic status of women in a society. In Pakistan, women lag behind men not only in the overall employment participation level but also are less represented in important occupations. This section reviews statistics in these areas to explore the economic status of Pakistani women.

Labour Force Participation

The overall labour force and employment participation rate in Pakistan, as estimated on the basis of the existing population of 135.28 million is 27.46 per cent with a total labour force of 37.15 million for the year³. According to the latest available labour force survey 1993-1994, the overall labour force participation rate is 27.88 per cent, for male it is 45.74 per cent and for women it is 8.86 per cent.

Differences in labour force participation rates however, exist in rural and urban areas. In rural areas, the participation rate is higher than the urban areas as agriculture is more of a family occupation than mere work. Women's participation rate in both urban and rural areas is lower than that of men. According to the Labour Force Survey of 1994-1995 the urban participation rate is 26.12 per cent and the rural participation is 28 per cent. In urban areas, while the male participation rate is 45.6 per cent, the female participation rate is 4.94 per cent. In rural areas, the participation rate is 46.03 per cent for males and 8.66 per cent for females⁴ (FBS, 1995).

³. Source: Government of Pakistan, Economic Survey 1996-1997.

Employment Status

Employment status in Pakistan is officially defined in terms of four categories: employer, self-employed, unpaid family helper, and employee (FBS, 1995). Women differ from men on all these components of employment status. Gender disparities are more pronounced when rural and urban comparisons are made. The official figures on employment status by sex and on an urban-rural basis for the year 1991-92 provided in the table 4.5 point to gender disparities in the employment status of the employed labour force both in urban and rural areas.

The table shows that overall, 57.2 per cent of employed women fall into the unpaid family helper category as compared to 22.2 per cent men. On the contrary, 42.4 per cent of men and 16.4 per cent of women are self-employed. While 34.2 per cent of men are employees 26.3 per cent of women have employee status. Only 1.2 per cent of men and 0.1 per cent of women are employers.

⁴. These are official figures for rural labour force participation which distort drastically female participation by omitting an estimated over 12 millions female agricultural workers. The World Bank reports using 1981 Agricultural Census pointed out this omission (World Bank, 1989). According to World Bank's estimates, the female participation rate should have been 73 per cent if taken in account female agricultural workers.

**Distribution of Employed Persons-
by Employment Status (1991-92)**
Table 4.5

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
<u>All Areas</u>			
Employer	1.2	0.1	1.3
self-employed	42.4	16.4	46.8
Unpaid Family Helper	22.2	57.2	16.4
Employee	34.2	26.3	35.5
<u>Urban Area</u>			
Employer	2.9	0.4	3.1
self-employed	32.6	15.8	34.2
Unpaid Family Helper	9.2	18.6	8.3
Employee	55.3	65.2	54.4
<u>Rural Area</u>			
Employer	0.5	0.1	0.6
self-employed	46.2	16.6	52.1
Unpaid Family Helper	27.2	64.8	19.7
Employee	26.1	18.5	27.6

Source: LFS, Federal Bureau of Statistics, 1992.

Gender disparities are more conspicuous between urban and rural areas. In urban areas, 65.2 per cent of women are employees as compared to 54.4 per cent of men. While 18.6 per cent of urban women are unpaid family helpers, only 8.3 per cent of men fall in this category. In contrast, 15.8 per cent of urban women are self-employed as compared to 34.2 per cent of men. While 0.4 per cent of urban women and 3.1 per cent of urban men are employers.

In rural areas, 64.8 per cent, a large majority of women are unpaid family helpers when compared to 19.7 per cent of men. On the contrary, the majority of rural men, 52.1 per cent, are self-employed compared to 16.6 per cent of women. While 18.5

per cent of rural women are employees, 27.6 per cent of rural men are employees. Only 0.1 per cent of women and 0.6 per cent of men are employers.

It can be concluded from the above statistics that: 1) the majority of women are unpaid family helpers in rural areas in contrast to urban areas where the majority of women are employees. This sharp contrast between urban and rural women's employment status is obvious as agriculture is a family run activity where rural women work as unpaid family helpers and other employment opportunities are almost non-existent as it is the case in urban areas; 2) the majority of rural men, on the other hand, are self-employed as compared to majority of the urban men who are employees; 3). the number of women and men who have employer status is small in both rural and urban areas but in case of women it is profoundly low.

Occupational Representation

Most of the official reports and labour force surveys classify employed persons by occupation as professionals, administrative and managerial workers, clerical and related workers, sales workers, service workers, agriculture worker, and production workers. Although there is no dearth of data on the distribution of employed labour persons over different occupational categories, data on female representation vis-à-vis men in these occupations is extremely limited. Based on the only available data compiled by the Ministry of Manpower and Overseas Pakistanis, percentages of males and females in seven occupational categories have been computed for the year 1991 and produced in the table 4.6.

**Distribution of Employed Persons-
by Major Occupational Groups (1991)**
Table 4.6

Major Occupations	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
Professional and related	20.4	79.4
Administrative and related	15.2	84.7
Clerical and related	18.9	81.1
Sales and workers	3.4	96.5
Service workers	16.9	83.1
Agriculture and related	2.9	97.1
Production and related	3.8	96.2

Source: Pakistan/Netherlands Project on Human Resources,
Ministry of Manpower and Overseas Pakistan, 1991.

Women in all occupations are underrepresented as compared to men. Based on the figures provided in table 4.6 women's representation in different occupations from high to low is as follows:

1. Professionals and related workers
2. Clerical and related workers
3. Administrative and Managerial Workers
4. Service workers
5. Production and related workers
6. Sales and workers
7. Agriculture and related workers

More representation of women in professional and technical jobs as compared to other professions is linked with women's enrollment patterns in professional colleges as more women enroll in medical, home economics, and education as compared to engineering, commerce, law, and agriculture. An element of "gender streaming" or sex-segregation by field of study is reflected from choices of women

for professional education as medical and teaching professions are valued and considered suitable for women.

Unemployment

Besides women's low labour force participation, unemployment is also high among women as compared to men. The overall unemployment rate estimated for the year 1996-1997 is 5.37 per cent, while for men it is 4.2 per cent for women it is 13.6 per cent⁵. The differences are even more pronounced in rural and urban areas as evidenced from latest Labour Force Survey 1990-91. According to the survey, unemployment rate for urban areas was 8.19 per cent and for rural areas it was 5.48 per cent. Women unemployment in both urban and rural areas was lower than that of men. While in urban areas, the unemployment rate for women was 27.81 per cent for men it was 5.91 per cent, and in rural areas the rate was 13.78 per cent for women and 3.92 per cent for men.

Women and Politics

Access to political power is an important indicator of the gender empowerment considered necessary for the enhancement of women's status in society. The role of Pakistani women in politics is extremely limited as compared to men despite the fact that Pakistan is the first Muslim country to have elected a women prime minister twice. The current representation of women in the National Parliament and cabinet is extremely low. In 1994, out of 217 seats of National Assembly, only

⁵. Source: Government of Pakistan, Economic Survey 1996-97.

4 were women⁶. Similarly, there were only 2 women in the Senate of 87 members. In the same year, there was only one woman minister out of 22 cabinet ministers and one woman out three special assistants to the Prime Minister. The same pattern is reflected in the current government. The gender disparities in political representation are extreme in a country where women constitute almost half of the population. Pakistan stands lowest in terms of gender representation in politics among South Asian countries .

Gender Profile of Pakistan and Selected Countries

Pakistan being a Muslim and South Asian country shares history, culture, and religion with its neighbours. Therefore, it is important to know where other South Asian and Muslim countries stand in comparison with Pakistan on the status of women. A gender profile of Pakistan and some selected South Asian and Muslim countries based on education, health, employment, and political power indicators is presented to provide a comparative picture of the status of women in these countries. Table 4.7 exhibits the comparative gender profile of Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Malaysia, and Indonesia.

The figures in table 4.7 suggest that Pakistan lag behind all four countries on women's education, economic opportunities, and political participation. However, its gender profile on health sends mixed signals. While life expectancy of Pakistani women is less than Malaysia and Indonesia, it is better than for Bangladesh and

⁶. Untill 1988 there were 20 special seats reserved for women in the National Assembly which constituted over 8 per cent of the total seats. Currently there are no such special seats for women. Women groups and liberal political parties are striving to get these seats restored again. The present government has promised to restore these seats, but have not yet acceded to it.

slightly higher than India. On maternal the mortality rate, while Malaysia has the lowest maternal mortality rate, Pakistan stand second among the five countries. However, Pakistan is far behind Malaysia with a differential of 260 in the maternal mortality rate. Pakistan stands lowest on the use of contraception, as only 12 per cent of its women use contraception and not surprisingly it has the highest fertility rate among the five countries.

Besides, figures on each social and economic indicators table 4.7 also provides a composite picture of the status of women using the Gender Development Index(GDI) and Gender Empowerment (GEM). Pakistan's score on both of these indices is low as compared to the other four countries with only one exception, its GDI score is slightly higher than that of Bangladesh which is mainly because of sharp differences in the life expectancy and maternal mortality rate of these two countries.

Gender Profile of Pakistan and Selected Countries
Table 4.7

	<u>Pakistan</u>	<u>India</u>	<u>Bengladesh</u>	<u>Malaysia</u>	<u>Indonesia</u>
Education Profile					
Adult literacy(%)1993	23	51	25	76	77
Combined enrollment(%)	24	55	34	62	58
Mean years of- schooling 1992	0.7	2.4	0.9	5.2	3.1
Health Profile					
Life Expectancy 1993	63	61	56	73	65
Maternal mortality- rate per 100,000- live births 1993	340	570	850	80	650
Total fertility- rate 1993	6.1	3.7	4.7	3.6	3.1
Women using- contraception(%)1986-93	12	43	40	48	50
Economic opportunities					
Earned income share- (%)1993	19	33	23	29	32
Economic activity rate (age 15+) (%) 1994	14	34	62	45	37
Administrators and- Managers (%) 1992	3	2	5	8	7
Political Representation					
Share of females in- parliament(%) 1994	2	8	10	11	12
Share of females at- ministerial level(%)1995	4	-	5	8	4
Human Development Indicators					
Gender Development- Index-HDI) 1993	0.383	0.410	0.336	0.772	0.616
Gender Empowerment- Measure (GEM) 1993	0.165	0.235	0.291	0.425	0.367

Source: Human Development in South Asia, HDC, 1997.

Section III

Women, the State, Islam, and Culture

Despite several discrepancies and limitations in the available figures on the socio-economic status of women noted in the previous section, it can be said with a great deal of certainty that widespread gender disparities exist in Pakistan. Women in Pakistan are less educated than men, have limited access to economic opportunities, are less represented in positions of power and authority and are victims of the highest fertility rate coupled with poor health facilities. The reasons why these gender disparities persist in Pakistan are diverse, and complex. State, culture and Islam represent three forces that shape the role, status, and destiny of women in Pakistan. While a cursory look at the institutional, cultural and religious norms of Pakistani society suggest state, culture, and Islam as mutually reinforcing forces determining socio-economic status of women, a careful analysis of socio-cultural and religious prescriptions and realities find them at odd with each other.

Pakistan is constitutionally an Islamic state where 97 per cent of the population is Muslim. The 1973 constitution declares Islam as the state religion and ensures that all existing laws shall be brought in conformity with the Injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and Sunnah⁷ and no law shall be enacted which is repugnant to such Islamic Injunctions (Mahmood, 1994). On the other hand, while living with Hindus in the sub-continent of India before the partition of British India, Pakistan inherited many cultural traditions from Hinduism and these cultural traditions still largely persist in Pakistan and influence the role and status of

⁷. Sunnah is an arabic word which refers to the life of the Prophet Mohammad(PBUH).

Pakistani women. While both constitution and Islam guarantee equality of rights and opportunities for women, the centuries old cultural traditions inhibit women's equal participation vis-à-vis men in all walks of life and accord her a lower status. However, the extent to which state, Islam, and culture may be held responsible for the low status of women greatly depends upon one's individual perspective. There are some (secular) who view Islam as the regressive force in the country which is the main reason for backwardness of women (Haq, 1994; Saeed, 1994; Qutb, 1994) while others hold cultural attitudes that discriminate against females against males as responsible (Shah, 1986, Government of Pakistan, 1995), to some the state being the extension of patriarchy reflects religious and cultural biases against women's advancement (Ahmad, 1996; Weiss, 1994; Mumtaz and Shaheed, 1987). Without being caught up by a single point of view, an attempt has been made here to examine the extent to which state, Islam, and culture influence the status of women in Pakistan.

Women and the State

There are complex reasons for the existing gender disparities in the education, health, employment, and political status of the people of Pakistan. While socio-cultural and religious factors play a significant role in the low status of women, the effect of State laws, government policies and programs cannot be ignored. The state being the most powerful social institution influence the status and position of women in society. The legal rights and opportunities provided to women by the State's constitution, laws, and policies that govern social, economic, and political life have a far reaching impact on the status and position of women vis-à-vis men in the country. This section reviews the Constitution of Pakistan, employment laws,

and public policies and initiatives in education, health, and employment to determine the extent to which the State of Pakistan is sensitive to and how it has responded to gender issues and disparities over time, and also to identify the areas that require state action to enhance the status of women in society.

The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan guarantees equal status to women and safeguards their rights. Article 25 of the Constitution provides that “all citizens are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection of law and there shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone. It further states that nothing in this article shall prevent the state from making any special provision for the protection of women and children”. Article 27 of the Constitution protect women from discrimination in appointments in the Civil Services by stating that “No citizen otherwise qualified for appointment in the services of Pakistan shall be discriminated against on the basis of race, religion, caste or sex”. Article 34 indicates the state’s commitment to ensure the full participation of women in all spheres of national life provide that “steps shall be taken to ensure full participation of women in all spheres of national life”. Article 38 of the Constitution provides for state responsibilities for the well being of the people including women in these words “the state shall secure the well being of the people irrespective of sex, caste, creed or race, by raising the standard of living by preventing the concentration of wealth and means of production in a few hands.....the state shall provide the basic necessities of life, such as food, clothing, housing, education, and medical relief, for all such citizens irrespective of sex, caste, creed or race and for those permanently or temporarily unable to earn their livelihood on account of infirmity,

sickness, or unemployment (Dogar, 1996; Mehmood, 1994; Khosa, 1992). Besides these constitutional provisions, The Muslim Family Laws Ordinance 1961 provides protection for women's rights regarding inheritance, marriage, polygamy, divorce, maintenance of wife and children, and payment of dowery and is of a great importance to women.

However, despite constitutional guarantee of women's rights and commitments to equal opportunities for women, public policies in education, health and employment remained gender blind during the first two decades of the existence of Pakistan. Women's development remained disguised in the government's overall efforts to economic growth and development. It was for the first time in the late 1970's, when government began addressing clearly and in an insitultised way the issues of gender development. The Government of Pakistan established a full-fledged Women's Division in 1979 as the national machinery for the advancement of women. The President of Pakistan in his message on the occasion of International Women's Day on March 8, 1981 clearly highlighted the role of the Women's Division as follows:

A Women's Division has been specially created to draw up and implement plans and projects aimed at enhancing women's participation in the national development. In recognition of the special role that women can play in the field of education, a wing has been established in Ministry of Education to ensure the promotion of general and vocational education among women, and to look after their specialised requirements. All organisations and agencies of Government have been directed to make adequate resources available for the advancement of women's welfare, particularly in respect of employment opportunities, education and health (Heinz, 1986, P: 194).

In later years, women's development became an integral part of the development planning. From the Sixth Five Year Plan (1983-1988) a separate chapter was devoted to the development of women outlining the forms of discrimination in

various areas including education, health, employment and putting forward aims for their improvement. In each plan specific targets were set for gender development in different areas such as health, education, enrollment at various educational level and vocational training. The adult education also received considerable focus in various plans to combat female illiteracy. Also, the government introduced a concept of integrated development in the form of the Social Action Program in 1992 under which women's educational and health issues received adequate attention.

Education

As a result of increasing gender sensitivity in development planning, the 1992 Education Policy under Social Action Program⁸, for the first time, included women's education as one of its main objectives. In order to achieve its objectives, policy focused on opening new primary schools, upgrading the existing primary schools to elementary level, increasing the ratio of female teachers to 50% by hiring female teachers for primary schools. It also emphasised the need for diversifying the curriculum at secondary level and raising the quality of education through in-service teachers' training programs. The policy set specific targets in each area along with the budget requirements.

The philosophy outlined in the 1992 Education Policy provided the basis for women's education in the Seventh(1988-93) and Eighth Five Year(1993-1998)

⁸. The Social Action Programme(SAP) was launched in 1992-93 to accelerate integrated development of social sector. Basic education, including primary education, functional literacy, and female education, forms the largest component of the SAP. This programme is still in operation and provides a framework for social development in Pakistan.

Plans. In order to achieve the proposed targets during the Eighth Five Year Plan, the following priorities were identified: adoption of a comprehensive approach to the realization of universal primary education⁹ by the year 1998 in conjunction with the Social Action Program and enhancement of female literacy from 22.3 per cent to 40 per cent by the end of plan period with the focus on rural areas through the use of alternative delivery systems, in both the formal (i.e., primary schools) and non-formal (i.e., open university, mosque schools, Mohallah schools, NGOs¹⁰) systems (Government of Pakistan, 1995, 1994). The Eighth Plan placed emphasis on enhancing enrollment at secondary and higher education levels by introducing more opportunities for vocational training and technical education and by raising the quality of education by diversifying the curriculum to make it relevant to the needs of the 21st century (8th FYP, 1993-98).

With regards to tertiary education, the Education Policy 1992-2002 stressed increasing the number of degree colleges from 359 in 1992 to 795 in 2002, and for an increase in the present enrollment from 0.142 million to 0.267 million. This will increase the present enrollment ratio from 2.8 per cent to 5 per cent. However, policy is silent on the proportion of female and male colleges. Since college education is gender-separated, it is obvious that there will be considerable increase in women colleges if the said target is achieved.

⁹. Pakistan is signatory to many UN conventions for universalisation of primary education or "Education for All".

¹⁰. There are several Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) running various educational projects. These organisations are sponsored by the private sector.

In addition to increase in degree colleges, the 1992 Education Policy also plans a more than one hundred per cent increase in the enrollment of university education by opening four universities in the public sector and sixteen universities in the private sector. The total enrollment will be almost doubled from the present 86,000 to 186,000 and the total number of universities will increase from 23 to 43. Since universities have co-education the new universities will certainly enhance opportunities of higher education for women (Government of Pakistan, 1995, 94)..

To what extent the 1992 Education Policy will reduce gender disparities and improve educational status of women depends on how effectively the policy is implemented. Based on past experiences where many of the public policies have failed due to shortages of funds, poor coordination of federal and provincial bodies, lack of proper motivational campaigns, and misappropriation of available funds by public officials, a high level of commitment and sincerity of the task is required to make the policy a real success. The success of the policy also depends on how the society responds to the opportunities offered by the state in the wake of the 1992 Education Policy.

Health

Overall, the government of Pakistan has failed to address the health needs of the vast majority of the population specially in rural areas due to inadequate health policies and programs. However, women are the worst sufferers of poor and limited health facilities in Pakistan and face higher risks: 1) due to social and cultural factors that affect their mobility and hence their access to basic and

reproductive health care which is mostly available at distant locations, and 2) inattention to the special needs pertaining to their reproductive role.

Prior to 1992, health policies intended to offer broad-based health care system remained largely unimplemented, as a result Pakistan had failed to extend the basic health care system to the rural areas. The focus in the policy remained on tertiary health sector restricted to urban areas only. Consequently, the majority of women, especially in rural areas had limited access to basic health care facilities. Moreover, women's reproductive health was largely ignored because of a failure to integrate family planning with the health care system. For over 40 years the Family Planning Program only targeted at reducing total fertility per women. The family planning services remained limited particularly in rural areas. Even where services existed they were of poor quality and failed to encourage or motivate women to adopt family planning as means of enhancing their reproductive health which is the main reason for low contraceptive prevalence rate in Pakistan (Khan, 1996).

Nevertheless, in recent years, there has been some significant development in addressing women's health care needs including reproductive health. The Social Action Program (SAP) initiated in 1992, emphasised the need for social sector development to catch up with all other development initiatives. SAP has particularly singled out improved and increased primary health care within the overall health sector, and population planning as one of its broad aims.

The other initiatives include the Village-Based Family Planning Workers (VBFPW) Program launched in 1992 and the Prime Minister's National Health and Family Planning Program (PMNHFP) started in 1994. While VBFPW aimed at the training of 12,000 female workers (by the end of the Eight Five Year Plan in 1998) to provide family planning outreach services in their villages, The PMNHFP targeted the training and recruitment of 30,000 village women to provide family planning motivation, advice, supplies, and referral services to women in their own villages. In addition to these programs the Ministry of Health is also starting to provide family services along with the primary health care through its Basic Health Units and rural health centres.

Efforts are also underway to suitably alter the medical curriculum to incorporate training in family planning counseling and services. The training of mid-wives to improve child delivery practices, and to reduce the risk of maternal mortality through reduction in obstetric risks is also continuing. The government is also financing public health campaign particularly on the radio and television regarding reproductive roles, child feeding, hygiene and family planning. Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) are also actively promoting female health and family planning. However, despite these government's initiatives, Pakistan has a long way to go to improve the health status of women as it has yet to evolve a broad-based and effective primary health care system. The current initiatives are *ad hoc* and reach only to a small proportion of population.

Employment

Since the creation of the Women's Division in 1979 and treatment of women's development as a separate component in development planning, employment has received considerable attention at government level. However, so far government interventions focused only on the supply side of female employment. Various steps taken by the government mainly concentrated on: 1) enhancement of women's potential by expanding training facilities in the form of more polytechnics and vocational training centres, and diversifying training skills including secretariat work, computer training, and community work; 2) facilitating women to avail employment opportunities through the provision of support services including, transport, hostels, and day care centres; and 3) providing credit facilities to facilitate women to start up their own businesses.

During the period of the Seventh Five Year Plan (1988-1993), the Ministry of Women's Development in collaboration with provincial governments sponsored a number of projects for women employment including literacy/ education centres, training centres, industrial homes, day care centres, working women hostels, industrial homes, women cooperatives, and credit schemes. While these projects represent understanding of female employment issues and familiarity with the right approaches to address them at government level, they are narrow in scope and are not in accessible to all women in all regions.

In 1989, the First Women's Bank was established to extend outreach credit facilities exclusively to women. The bank which, in 1995, had 32 branches

throughout the country is controlled, managed, and entirely staffed by women. The bank has considerably improved credit availability for women. However, urban middle class women benefited largely from the facilities provided by the bank. While women with low income in urban areas also availed the credit facilities to some extent, women in rural areas due to constrained mobility remained out of the bank's reach.

The Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan (ADBP), which is the principal lending institution for agriculture and rural cottage industries, initiated two programs for extending credit facilities to rural women, the Gujranwala Agricultural Development Project (GADP) introduced in 1985, and the Agricultural Credit Program (ACP) established in 1992. However, there has been little progress in these credit projects, despite provisions for women mobile credit officers, as well as female village assistant. The main obstacle to their implementation has been to the Bank's reluctance to substitute other forms of guarantees in place of asset-based collateral.

Besides government initiatives to address gender disparities in employment, NGO's with the help of government and foreign donors are also playing considerable role in enhancing women's capacity for engagement in gainful economic activities through provision of training, education, and credit facilities. However, the services provided by NGOs are mainly restricted to urban areas despite the fact that the government, in the Eighth Five Year Plan, has clearly

recognised the need for sensitizing and encouraging the NGOs to expand their activities to rural areas.

As far as the demand side of female employment is concerned, the government has not yet made significant progress in this direction except introduction of 5 per cent quota for women in the public sector appointments. The Government does however, recognise the existence of employers' prejudices and biases and employment laws that discriminate against women in the formal employment sector. For example, the Eighth Five Year Plan (1998-1993) clearly spells out problems of gender discrimination in employment suggests an affirmative approach to deal with it:

The participation of women in employment is low and lags far behind men in this field. Special efforts will be made to improve their education, skill, and employability. This includes,.....(c) reservation of special quota in public sector jobs,(d) creation of congenial atmosphere in offices and factories for women and (e)removal of sex bias in employment(8th FYP, P:133).

Affirmative action approach will be adopted to protect women's rights of inheritance, ownership of property, access to education, employment and credit facilities etc. The legal structure will be reviewed with a view to weed out all discriminatory laws and practices. To fill the key positions involved with the formulation, implementation and monitoring of the women development programs, preference will be given to women candidates(8th FYP, P:134).

The Government of Pakistan reiterated its commitment to addressing gender discrimination in employment in a much more elaborated way in its report submitted to Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995. In this report, the government set the following objectives to combat sex biases in employment(Government of Pakistan, 1995):

- a) taking affirmative action to encourage the recruitment of qualified women at all levels in the public sector;

- b) enhancing the minimum quota for women in the public sector employment from 5 per cent to 15 per cent by the year 2000;
- c) removing age restrictions for women's entry into government sectors caused by reproductive responsibilities;
- d) strictly enforcing labour legislation in the formal manufacturing sector;
- e) increasing the recruitment of women in labour inspectorates to monitor the working conditions of female labour;
- f) inducting women into the trade unions.

A recent report (1997) prepared by the Government of Pakistan's Commission on Status of Women is a significant advance towards the above objectives. The commission after a through review of the existing labour and service laws has identified discriminatory provisions and made necessary recommendations to combat gender discrimination. The Commission recommended particularly for affirmative action, anti-discrimination approaches and the use of gender neutral wording of labour laws. To deal with issues of sexual harassment at work the Commission recommended the introduction of stiff penalties for offenders (Government of Pakistan, 1997).

However to implement the Commission's recommendations effectively an integrated effort is required on the part of all government bodies involved to enforce strict legislation for establishing standards. While issues of sexual harassment and anti discrimination policies can be enforced through making amendments in labour legislation the terms such as affirmative action are not very familiar in the context of Pakistan. Such terms need to be elaborated first in order

to avoid any confusion between women's quotas and governmental policies to facilitate women in employment on a par with men.

Political Participation

Pakistan is a signatory to the Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1952). Women have the right to vote, contest for membership of all elected bodies, and hold all public offices on a par with men. Even in the past some affirmative action measures in the form of special seats for women have been taken to encourage women in the political process. However, constitutional provision for 10 per cent of the national and 5 per cent of provincial legislative seats for women lapsed as it was for certain specific period. Efforts to restore these seats have not been so far successful. As long as the constitution provided for special women seats, women's participation in national and provincial elections was quite noticeable. In 1985, there were 22 women in the National Assembly and 25 altogether in the four provincial assemblies of whom only four had contested in general elections. However, after the enabling provision lapsed in 1988, women's representation in National and Provincial Assemblies has sharply declined.

Besides the lapsing constitutional provision for special seats for women in legislative bodies, no effective measures have been taken to mainstream women into the political process. Women's membership in political parties continues to lag behind men's, and women are rarely represented in policy making levels of political parties. However, there has been a significant development since 1985 and

women issues continued to receive considerable attention in parties' manifestoes during elections.

Women and Islam

Women and Islam is a widely discussed and debated subject within and outside Islamic countries. It has been approached at different levels and with different orientations. This section, however, is restricted to the issues of gender disparities in education, employment, health, and political participation which are essential to the enhancement of the status of women in society. There is a general impression that Islam accords a low status to women vis-à-vis men and treat them differently which is the main reason for backwardness of women in Muslim societies (Haq, 1996; Qutb, 1994; Saeed, 1994). The practice of veil/purdah, sex segregation, and the reproductive role of women in Islam are widely perceived as barriers to women's access to opportunities for gender development and participation in socio-economic and political activities. Thus, an effort is made here to determine the extent to which the aforementioned elements restrict women's access to education, employment, health care - particularly reproductive health -, and political power by reviewing Islamic prescriptions and practices in Pakistan as well as in other Muslim countries.

Islam teaches a doctrine of equality and justice between women and men. God, the almighty, (SWT) has made men and women equal in their religious, ethical, and civil rights, duties, and responsibilities. The Quran establishes religious equality between the two sexes in the following verses:

Whether, male or female, whoever in faith does a good deed for the sake of Allah will be granted a good life and rewarded in proportion to the best of what they used to do (16:97)¹¹.

Their lord responded to them that He will never permit any of their good deeds to be lost, whether done by males or females. They proceed one from another(3:195).

On civil equality of women and men, the Quran says:

To men is allotted what they earn, and to women what they earn.....(4:32).

However, there are a few exceptions that pertain to the functions of motherhood and fatherhood. While motherhood includes home-care and child bearing and caring, fatherhood consists of home protection, livelihood-earning and overall responsibility. These two roles call for a different physical, psychic, and emotional constitution as necessary for self-fulfillment of both sexes. This role differentiation is neither discrimination nor segregation as observed by Dr. al Faruqi, a renowned Islamic scholar of the twentieth century:

Both roles are equally subject to the religious and ethical norms; and both require all the intelligence, talent, energy, and self-exertion that subjects can muster. Equally, this role differentiation says nothing about the areas of activity where men's and women's overlap, nor about those others areas where no overlapping is in question. Where natural aptitude make it desirable, or necessity makes it expedient, men's and women's activities may cross into each other's realm without prejudice to the main role differentiation established by God in nature. Otherwise the Quran would not have granted to women the full civil rights it did, and which nobody questions(al Faruqi, 1992, P:134).

In addition to laying down the general principle of equality between women and men, the Quran and the Sunnah also provides guidance on the issues relevant to gender development such as education, employment, reproductive health, and

¹¹ . The translation of all Quranic verses referred in the chapter is from English translation of Quran by Abdulla Yousaf Ali (1989).

political participation that suggests “Allah(SWT) did not intend the Muslim woman to isolate herself from society behind the veil or within the walls of a harem”(al Farugi, 1992, P:135).

The Quran and Hadith¹², the main sources of teaching of Islam, stressed the importance of knowledge not only for a particular class or sex but as an essential need for every Muslim, women and men. The importance of general education was the subject of the very first revelation of the Quran:

Recite in the name of your Lord, the creator..... Recite, for the Lord who is most gracious. He taught the art of writing. He taught a human what he never knew before (Quran, 16:15).

Islam made it obligatory for every Muslim to acquire knowledge to understand the true spirit of Islam and emphasised being well-versed in different branches of knowledge to distinguish between the lawful and the unlawful, between the good and the bad. The Qur’an describes the true Muslim who always prays to God by reciting:

My Lord: Increase me in knowledge (Quran, 20:114).

Islam impressed equally upon women and men to achieve perfection through acquisition of knowledge. Several provisions of the Ahadith¹³ shed light on the importance of seeking knowledge for women for example, the Prophet once said, “The acquisition of knowledge is the duty of every Muslim man and woman”. “Seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave”. Thus, it is absolutely clear that Islam does not discriminate against women in terms of their rights pertaining to education.

¹². Hadith is a saying or tradition of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH).

¹³. Ahadith is plural of Hadith which means sayings or traditions of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH).

With regards to the question of female employment, Islam again does not bar women from seeking employment and careers and participating in any gainful economic activity. Several Quranic verses and examples from the life of Prophet clearly support the idea of Muslim women working to earn their livelihood as the Quran says:

There is a guaranteed share for those who seek and endeavor (41:10).

In another verse the Quran says:

And be not like a women who breaks into untwisted strands The yarn she has spun After it has become strong (16:92).

Several examples from the days of the Prophet also indicate that Muslim women worked outside whenever it was needed. Women tend to lead families due to desertion, divorce and death of husband. For example, the Prophet Mohammad's (PBUH) wife Khadija who was a widow earned her living by trade before her marriage with the Prophet. Thus, Islam does not forbid women to go out and work in such institutions as required their services such as, education, nursing, and medical treatment of women. Similarly, women are not denied to participate in state affairs and public dealings as is evidenced from the Quranic verses:

O' Prophet: When believing women come to you to take the oath, take a pledge that they will not associate in worship any other thing whatever with Allah, that they will not steal.....(60:12).

The believers, men and women, are protectors, one of another: they enjoin what is just, and forbid what is evil: they observe regular prayers, practice regular charity, and obey Allah and his Messenger. On them will Allah pour His mercy: for Allah is exalted in power, Wise(9:71).

And their Lord hath accepted of them, and answered them: "Never will I suffer to be lost The work of any of you, Be he male or female: you are members, one of another; Those who have left their homes, And were driven out therefrom, And suffered harm in My Cause, And fought and were.... (3:195).

The verses clearly indicate that women can participate in state affairs, elected or nominated as members of sura or the parliament, enjoin public affairs and advice of a woman is as valued as that of a man.

It is evident from the above Islamic Injunctions that Islam acknowledges women's right to work, buy, and sell their properties. Thus, Islam entitle them to their earnings and does not deny their economic independence. However, it is often alleged that the Islamic provisions of Purdah¹⁴ confines women and restricts their mobility in public and precludes their participation in education and occupational activities(Haq, 1996; Qutb, 1994). The extent to which purdah imposes restrictions on women's movements outside their homes can be understood only by referring back to Qur'anic injunctions on the matter as Qur'an says in the Surah¹⁵ "Nur":

Say to the believing men that they should lower their gaze and guard their modesty..... and say to the believing women that they should lower their gaze, and they should not display their beauty and ornaments except that most ordinary appear thereof (Qur'an, 24: 30-31).

The two important points in the above Ayah¹⁶ that men should lower their gaze and women should not display their beauty indicate that neither women were shut in their houses in the Prophet's time nor they covered their faces. Otherwise, the command given to men would have become meaningless. Islamic history also points that women attended mosques alongside men, they perform the Pilgrimage along with men and participated in the warfare although, special arrangements were made for them when required. For instance, the prophet's wives, especially Hazrat Aishah taught women as well as men and many of the Prophet's

¹⁴.Purdah literally means curtain, here the word refers to veiling of women.

¹⁵.Surah is a chapter in the Qur'an.

¹⁶.Ayah is one verse of the Qur'an.

companions learnt the Quran, hadith and Islamic studies from her (Maududi, 1996). Therefore, exclusion of women from development activities including education, employment and public participation based on religious orthodoxy's would be a mere misinterpretation and misunderstanding of Islam. Thus, Islam by its original teachings did not pose threat to women's advancement.

With regards to women's reproductive roles with special reference to family planning, the Quran neither clearly prohibits nor approves it. However, the Islamic scholars draw inferences from certain Ahidh and rudimentary form of contraception practiced by companions of the Prophet and suggest that there is no prohibition in Islam against family planning through birth control. "It is left to the practical wisdom of the individual concerned or of the community to regulate their behavior as they choose with due regard for the objectives and need of the Muslim community"(Ishaque, cited in Commission of Enquiry for women, 1997, P:174).

Purdah and Family Planning

It is evident from Quranic Injunctions that Islam accords Muslim women a status equal to men. However, the way Islamic decrees are interpreted and practiced in the Muslim countries have far reaching impact on the status of women. While a great majority of the Muslim countries state that Islam is the state's religion, there are very few, for example, Saudi Arabia, who enforced Islamic laws strictly. Otherwise, many variations exist within the Muslim countries in terms of implementation and practices of Islamic Shariah.

While Pakistan is also an Islamic country and the Constitution of Pakistan declares Islam as the state's religion, an analysis of Pakistan in terms of the implementation and practices of Islamic Shariah reveals that the way Islam has so far been interpreted, understood and practiced is almost at variance with the actual teachings of Islam. In practice, many customs, traditions and rituals that have been accepted as Islamic govern most of the personal and social matters including observance of Purdah and reproductive affairs rather than true Islamic Injunctions (Malik, 1997). Unlike the true spirit of Islamic teachings, purdah/veil in Pakistan which includes covering of the entire face is largely interpreted by religious ulema¹⁷ as a mean of seclusion of women concerning their access to the rights regarding education, employment, basic health care and public participation as gleaned from the statement made by a leading political party in 1984:

Open violation of Islamic ethics, rebellion from Islamic teachings has now reached an alarming point in our society. The public media organisations, with the connivance of certain corrupt officers, are bent upon converting our society into a mix and shameless one..... mixed education, employment of women in certain government departments to make them attractive and the day-by-day rising process of seating men and women under one roof in government and business offices and even in local councils are all "red" signs of dangers against the society and Islamic ethics. This meeting condemns all these things very strongly and demands to the government that it should take immediate steps to stop such shameless, vulgar and obscene activities and fulfill its promised safety of chadder and chardiwari¹⁸ (cited by Saeed, 1994, p:83).

Although the strict observance of purdah/veil is practically non-existent in the villages, larger cities and among the upper social class, it still exists in smaller towns and among lower-middle class families in larger cities. Besides this the prevalence of purdah/veil is different in different provinces of Pakistan. The

¹⁷. The term denotes a person who is a religious scholar.

¹⁸. The term literally means veil and four walls which is used here as an alternative to women's seclusion.

uneven practice of purdah among various provinces, areas and social classes indicates that purdah in Pakistan reflects more of the cultural traditions than of the religious norms. Even the virtual disappearance of purdah/veil has not removed from the society the implications attached to the purdah/veil system, which still largely persist in the form of seclusion and preclusion of women from all developmental activities and affect their participation in areas such as education, employment and politics.

Similarly on the issue of family planning people of Pakistan are divided. While family planning with the use of contraceptives is interpreted by religious leaders and parties as against the spirit of Islam, it is being encouraged by the government and widely practiced by educated, urban, middle class families. Pakistan's family planning program is one of the oldest programs among Muslim countries. It was started in 1959, however, it could not penetrate to the masses; besides several structural and administrative problems, one of the factors for failure of this initiative has been resistance from religious leaders who have made the majority of people to see birth control measures as un-Islamic. Even the Islamic Council of Ideology¹⁹, has advised the government in 1984 to abandon the Family Planning Program. The council in its report wrote:

Because of birth control, the country shall suffer a turn to apostasy, shamelessness, and sexual corruption on a national level. And the country will suffer from a shortage of manpower, which is needed for national defense and economic development"(CII, 1984, P:81).

¹⁹. The Council of Islamic Ideology is a constitutional body whose role is to ensure that the government only enact legislation which is in accordance with Islamic teachings. The membership of the body is broad based and represent all religious sects.

However, the government has ignored this recommendation and continued its efforts to tackle the problem of overpopulation through family planning initiative.

Pakistan's position on both issues Purdah/veil and fertility control seems paradoxical when compared to some of the other Muslim countries. While religious leaders take extreme position on these issues, the government and the people specially the urban middle class, are generally more pragmatic. The tension between religious forces and state institutions is one of the factors for failure of the state to resolve issues like family planning, purdah etc. In contrast in the countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, the religious leaders adopt relatively soft approach on these issues and get along well with the government policies. Therefore, neither purdah nor fertility control is an issue there, and they have been more successful in launching fertility control programs and aligning Islamic decree of veil with the needs and compulsions of the changing realities of the modern world.

Women and Culture

Although both the Constitution of Pakistan and Islamic teachings guarantee equal treatment to women in society concerning their participation in developmental and economic opportunities, social realities bring a completely different and mostly negative images of women. Pakistani women are subject to discriminatory customs, traditions, and social practices deep-rooted in the culture that are neither Islamic in spirit nor in conformity with the ideals of the state outlined in the Constitution. The origin of these customs and traditions can be traced back to the history of the subcontinent.

The areas now included in Pakistan was part of the Indian subcontinent before the partition of British India in 1947. When Islam was adopted in India in eight century A.D., traditions, attitudes and beliefs of local inhabitants about women were deeply influenced by the Hindu religion. A women is described by a multitude of derogatory attributes in the Hindu religion: fickle minded, sensual, seducer of men, given to falsehood, trickery, folly, greed, impurity and thoughtless action, root of all evil, inconsistent and cruel. With regard to her appropriate roles the Hindu religion states; “in her childhood a women must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, and when her lord is dead to her son; she must never be independent. Service and obedience to the husband are of paramount importance and a wife has no separate existence of her own. Furthermore, the widow’s expectation of immolation on the deceased husband’s pyre(sati)²⁰ was an extreme expression of the notion that a women’s worth is nil without her husband(Government of India, 1974, p:40-41). These negative images about the role and status of women continued to define the role and status of Muslim women and their influence can still be perceived in present day Pakistan.

The attitude towards women as an inferior being is visible from the way in which the birth of a baby girl is received. It is greeted with guilt or despair on the part of the mother, shame or anger on the part of the father, and the general feelings of sympathy towards the parents among the entire circle of friends and family. These feelings are more intense if the baby girl is the first child in the family. On the other hand, the birth of a male child is an occasion of rejoicing and celebrations.

²⁰. Sati refers to a Hindu tradition according to which widow used to burns herself alive with the dead body of her husband.

Pakistani culture has a very clear role demarcation of women and men in everyday life. The most appropriate roles considered for women are to be mothers and housewives. Girls from an early age are trained to possess the domestic and child rearing skills to cope with their basic roles of house-wives and mothers. Marriage is considered the ultimate goal in a young woman's life. However, a young women do not have any 'say' in this important decision of her life. Parents are the sole decision makers regarding the marriage of their daughters. Paradoxically, the burden of making the marriage successful lies solely on the daughter who is advised by her parents that her husband's house is the ultimate place for her which she should not leave until her death. Thus, a young woman after marriage is under a constant pressure to make the marriage a success at any cost as divorce is a stigma for the woman and her parents which makes the chances of her remarriage almost nil.

A woman's worth is judged by her power of reproduction. Marriage without children has serious consequences for marital relationship, and it is often the wife/woman who is blamed in case of infertility. Therefore, having a child in the early years of marriage is considered vital for marital bonds. The more children a woman produces the more strong she feels and is accepted among her in-laws.

Defining woman only in the reproductive role has its own repercussions. A woman throughout her life face an identity crisis. "As a person, a woman is denied an identity of her own. She is seen as a commodity, eventually owned by her husband.

This leads to the concept that a woman is only a 'visitor' in her father's family to be kept in trust until claimed"(Mumtaz and Shaheed, 1987, P:23).

The perception of women as burden and liability and an overemphasis on their reproductive roles in Pakistani culture has serious consequences for gender development as it restricts women's access and participation in education, employment, health care, and other social activities. In the case of education, parents have very modest goals about their daughters education. In many tradition bounded families, education of a female child suffers at the cost of a male child specially when resources are short which is one of the reasons for low enrollment of female in education. Even in cases where female children gets this opportunity, their education ends with their marriage which is preferred at an early age.

All media forms such as text books, newspapers, magazines and television project a stereotyped role of women as well as negative images of educated and employed women, who are portrayed as deviant of the social and traditional norms(Govt of Pakistan, 1984; Pervaiz, 1982; Anwar, 1982). While a married working woman is constantly made conscious of the neglect of her prime responsibilities as a wife and mother, a single working woman is criticised for her unacceptable marital status. The only acceptable professions considered for women are teaching and medicine which is visible from women's choice of the field of study in professional colleges and universities. While women outnumber men in medicine and education and master degree programs, they are underrepresented in engineering, law, commerce and agriculture (Hafeez, 1995).

Women's health continues to suffer and deteriorate because of their resistance to fertility control (i.e., child spacing and numbering). Women's avoidance to adopt birth control measures is not a matter of their own choice rather it has its basis in the cultural norms where a male child is preferred over a female child. A woman keeps on bearing children until a son is born. Son preference leads to a strong desire for additional living sons as they are considered a sign of wealth and power who are expected to support their parents in the old age. Women's lack of authority in decision making about their reproductive health, immobility, and their hesitation of discussing their ailments even with doctors are some of the cultural reasons that have direct bearing on women's health.

Sex segregation as a cultural norm impedes women ability to fully participate in national and local politics. Other cultural norms such as women being subservient to men severally curtail women's chances of sharing power and authority with men in public affairs. Women's lack of power to choose their occupation including politics and their immobility further undermine their prospects for coming on a par with men in politics. The women who overcome these cultural barriers and participate in politics are generally stigmatised as more liberal.

The above review of the position of women in Pakistani society fairly describes an average Pakistani women, but without mentioning the class, regional and provinces differences in women's life would tantamount to overgeneralizations. In the less populated provinces of Balouchistan and Northern Western Frontier Province, tribal culture is more prominent. The tribal women face more stringent

rules of conduct and behavior. A woman has no say even in the critical decisions affecting her life including marriage. Women in these areas are strictly secluded through the practice of the veil. Even, in some remote areas, the marriage of a daughter is arranged on the basis of the price paid to the parents by the groom.

In the more populated and feudal provinces of Punjab and Sind, women relatively are more visible. In agro-based villages, women work on field side by side with men, and are seen collecting fuel, water, and even on the construction sites. Strict observance of purdah specially veil is not very common in these areas.

The urban areas scattered throughout the country offer completely different social and material environment. These urban centres represent a blend of traditional and modern life which created a new matrix of socially acceptable behavior including gender relations. These are the areas where change in gender relations is more prominent at all levels, education, employment, politics, and attitudes towards reproductive roles of women: Women are seen in all walks of life i.e., medicine teaching, universities, civil service, businesses, politics; women are conscious of their health and tend to have less children. Whatever little representation women have in modern professions and occupations come from the urban areas. Veil is increasingly becoming less a norm but more an exception in these urban centres.

Finally, the economic class a woman belong to makes a significant difference in her life. A woman of upper economic class whether in urban or rural, tribal or non

tribal areas is relatively less vulnerable to social and cultural restrictions than a woman who come from other economic classes.

Conclusion

To conclude, women in Pakistan lag behind men on all indicators of human development including education, employment, health except life expectancy, and political power. These indicators also make for dismal reading when Pakistan is compared with other South Asian and some Muslim countries. While analysing the role of the state, Islam, and culture in gender disparities, it has been observed that the inferior position and negative image of women is deep-rooted in Pakistani culture and is the root cause of low socio-economic status of Pakistani women. The culture has such a strong hold on people's perception of women's role that even state sponsored gender development initiatives and the egalitarian spirit of Islam are quite often ignored. However, attitudes towards women and perceptions of their role in society are changing in the cities where women have relatively greater access to education, health, and employment opportunities. The increasing cost of living in the wake of changing life styles have made people more pragmatic towards the role of women; more and more women are shattering the traditional barriers and are increasingly seen in all walks of life. However, for an even gender development in the entire country, the government has to make a concerted effort to widen human development and economic opportunities in order to reach women in all areas and regions.

CHAPTER 5

STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE FEDERAL CIVIL SERVICE OF PAKISTAN

Introduction

This chapter examines the status of women in the federal civil service of Pakistan by critically reviewing its organisational structure. The Gender-Organisation-System model, the theoretical framework of the study, suggests that organisational structure has significant influence on the advancement of women managers. The model, drawing upon Kanter's theory (1977a), identifies three structural dimensions that affect women's career in organisations. First, the power structure which determines the level of women's access to power and authority in an organization. Second, the opportunity structure which determines the extent to which women have access to opportunities for personal growth, development, and career progression. Third, the numerical distribution of women in organisation. The model suggests that organisations, where these factors are unfavourable to women as compared to men, would be less positive to women managers and more likely to discriminate against them in their career advancement. This chapter reviews the civil service system of Pakistan to examine the extent to which these structural factors are conducive to the advancement of women civil servants.

The chapter is organised into five sections. The first section provides an overview of the administrative system of Pakistan to highlight the constitutional and administrative context of the civil service. The second section briefly discusses the salient features of the civil service system. The third section explains the

management of the personnel functions in the Federal Government. The fourth section provides an overview of women's numerical strength in the civil service as a whole, at different hierarchical levels, and in various important decision making bodies. The last and fifth section presents the implications of the organisational structure for women in the civil service.

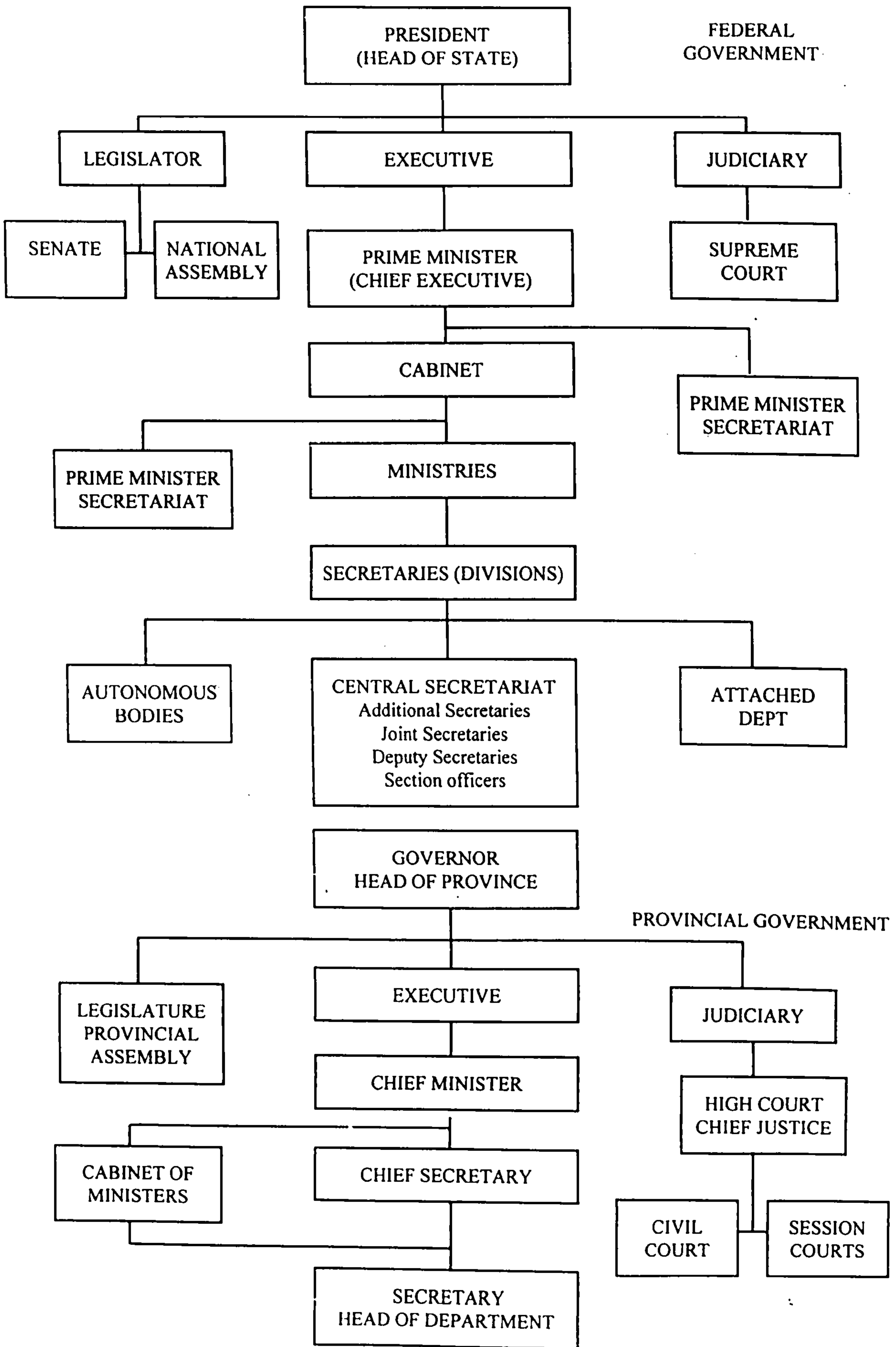
Section I

Administrative System of Pakistan: An Overview

The Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan provides a federal-cum-parliamentary system of government. The President of Pakistan is the constitutional head of the Federation which consists of four provinces namely Punjab, NWFP, Sind, and Balouchistan and the federally administered tribal areas. The Prime Minister is the chief executive of the Federal Government. The Prime Minister is assisted by his/her cabinet of ministers in running the affairs of the Federal Government. Both the Prime Minister and the cabinet are members of National Parliament. The parliament consists of a lower house, the National Assembly, and an upper house, the Senate. While the National Assembly is directly elected by the people, the Senate is elected by provincial legislatures based on the principle of parity in representation. The highest court in the country is the Supreme Court.

To run the affairs of the Federal Government, there is a permanent Federal Secretariate which houses various Federal Ministeries and Divisions. Each Ministry consists of one or more divisions responsible for particular portfolios as provided in

FIGURE 5.1 : CONSTITUTIONAL AND ADMINSTRATIVE SYSTEM OF PAKISTAN



the Rules of Business, 1973¹. A Division is headed by a Secretary who is a senior civil servant. The Secretary may divide the work of Divisions into various Sections. The Secretary is assisted by Additional Secretaries, Joint Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries and Section Officers. The number of these officers in each division depends upon the size of the division.

In each of four provinces, the Governor is the constitutional head of the province appointed by the President of Pakistan. The Chief Minister is the chief executive of the province who is a member of the Provincial Assembly. The Chief Minister is assisted by the cabinet of ministers who also are members of the Provincial Assembly. Each province has a High Court and a network of lower courts that deal with civil and criminal cases.

The executive responsibilities of the Provincial Government are carried through a Provincial Secretariate which consists of various functional departments. The policy decisions in each functional area are taken in their respective departments in the Provincial Secretariat which are implemented by their Field Offices throughout the province.

A province is geographically divided into Divisions each headed by the commissioner. A Division is further divided into Districts each headed by a Deputy Commissioner. The Districts are sub-divided into Tehsils/Tehlukas in rural areas

¹. These rules have been made by the federal government in exercise of the powers conferred by Articles 90 and 99 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. These rules provide a framework for conduct of business of the federal government.

and Sub-Divisions in urban areas. District is the basic unit of the administrative system where the implementation of public policy takes place. All the major departments of provincial governments have their Field Offices in the Districts. A District Administration is headed by a civil servant who belongs to the District Management Group. The District Administration besides various executive and development functions is responsible for law and order in the district.

Section II

Salient Features of the Civil Service System

The Secretariate System

The Government of Pakistan, under the 1973 Constitution, has a ministerial form of organization. There are about 25 Ministries, each is responsible for different portfolios. A Ministry is headed by a Minister who is a politician and member of the parliament. It is composed of one or more Divisions whose functions and responsibilities are defined by the Rules of Business 1973 made by the Federal Government. Each Division, in turn, is composed of a Central Secretariate, subordinate offices of the Division, Attached Departments, and Autonomous Corporations.

The Central Secretariat of each Division provides staff support for making policy decisions. The Division is headed by a Secretary who is one of the Senior Civil Servants. The other officers in a Division are Additional Secretary, Joint Secretary, Deputy Secretary, and Section Officers who are career civil servants.

The concept underlying the Secretariat System is the dichotomy of policy making and policy implementation. While the Central Secretariate of a Division gives policy directions, the Subordinate Offices, Attached Departments, Autonomous Corporations are responsible for policy implementation in their respective domains. The strict dichotomy of policy making and policy implementation accords Secretariate Staff more status and prestige as compared to the Officers of the Attached Departments and autonomous corporations. For instance, officers of attached departments are placed lower in the rank hierarchy of the service structure as compared to the Secretariat Officers holding comparable posts. Consequently, secretariate officers have brighter prospects of promotions than their counterparts in other departments.

Preference for Generalists

The civil service system has built-in preference for generalist administrators because of its secretariat system of authority. The secretariat system favors generalists over specialists. As indicated previously, specialists who even head the line departments report to secretaries in the secretariat who are generalists.

The system of recruitment of officers through CSS examinations who mainly fill the top positions in the secretariat also reinforces the preference for generalists. The basic qualification required for appearing in the CSS examinations is a Bachelors degree in arts or science (BA/Bsc). The CSS selection system tests candidates' general educational ability through examination in compulsory and self-selected subjects followed by psychological tests and interview. The CSS selection system is

heavily biased towards liberal arts education and fluency in the English Language. A common pre-service training in the Civil Service Academy for probationers of all service cadres also reflects its generalist orientation.

Besides recruitment and training, several other organizational factors further reinforce the preference for generalists. Once officers are selected they are subject to frequent transfers in the field which adhere them to acquiring or gaining general rather than specialized knowledge and experience in a single particular field. Generalist administrators find little incentive for developing expertise in functional areas as the career prospects are much brighter for generalists than for specialists.

The Cadre System

The civil servants are classified into various occupational cadres which, prior to administrative reforms in 1973, were referred to as "services" and after, as "groups". The candidates selected through CSS examination system are assigned to different occupational cadres prior to pre-service training. An officer once assigned to a cadre remains its member throughout his/her career in the civil service. The status, prestige, and promotional aspects of officers are determined by their membership with the originally assigned occupational group.

A striking feature of the cadre system is the inequality among different occupational groups/cadres in terms of prestige, status, and career prospects. For instance, the District Management Group a lenial decendent of Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP) and Indian Civil Service (ICS) still maintains a prestigious position among all

occupational groups as members of this group predominantly occupy top positions in the secretariat.

Rigid and Formal Pattern of Rank Hierarchy

The pay and benefits of civil servants are determined on the basis of their formal ranks in the civil service hierarchy. Under the 1973 administrative reforms, the ranks in the civil service were classified into 22 national pay grades. Grades 1 to 4 were designed for unskilled tasks; grades 5 to 15 for clerical personnel; grade 16 for superintendents; and grades 17 to 22 for officers. The fundamental pattern of grades has remained the same despite several revisions since inception.

The Quota System

In 1947, after gaining independence, Pakistan inherited a civil service with disproportionate representation from different regions due to a number of historical, social, economic, and political reasons. East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) despite having the majority of the population had relatively low representation in the higher bureaucracy as compared to West Pakistan. On the other hand, even within West Pakistan bureaucracy was not regionally representative as Sind, NWFP, and Baluchistan had lower representation than Punjab.

Soon after independence, the political leadership of Pakistan realized the importance of a regionally and ethnically representative bureaucracy and introduced the quota system in 1949. Each province was allocated a certain percentage of posts at the time of recruitment to the Federal Civil Service. Though the quota system

was initially introduced for five years with the expectation that within this period it will serve its purpose, it is still in place despite the fact that virtually every reform committee/commissions have recommended its dismantlement. Although the quota system has served its purpose as the representation of various provinces in the civil service is more or less proportionate to their populations, its elimination, however, seems politically impossible due to the expected reaction from smaller provinces (Daily Jang, July 1, 1998)².

Section III

Management of Personnel Functions

The Civil Servants Act 1973, incorporating the structural changes under the 1973 Administrative Reforms, provides the legal framework for the public personnel system of Pakistan. This act regulates personnel aspects such as recruitment and selection, training, job classification, compensation, promotion, discipline, and performance evaluation, for all the employees of the federal government including members of the Central Superior Services (CSS).

The public personnel functions are performed by two major federal agencies, the Establishment Division and the Federal Public Service Commission. While the Establishment Division, as provided in the Rules of Business 1973, is responsible for all the major public personnel functions, the Federal Public Service Commission

². The last extension in the time limit of constitutional provision for quota expired in 1993. However, since then, the government kept the quota system in-tact through Presidential orders. Recently, an opposition member from a smaller province Sind has moved a resolution before the National Assembly for extension of quota system for twenty more years (The Daily Jang, London, July 1, 1998). The resolution has been accepted, and the speaker has constituted a parliamentary committee to deliberate on the issue and report to the National Assembly. To restore the quota, the parliament has to make an amendment in the constitution. The quota issue has recently become more complicated as the Supreme Court of Pakistan has declared the quota system as unconstitutional and un-Islamic.

acts as the central recruitment and testing agency. The commission is responsible for conducting competitive examinations, tests, and interviews for recruitment to various grades of civil service. This section reviews the public personnel system with a focus on the major personnel functions.

Jobs Classification

The civil service jobs are classified in several ways. For the purposes of the administration of salary and benefits, the 1973 Administrative Reforms introduced a unified grade system to classify all civil service jobs into 22 unified grades also called National Pay Scales (NPS). Grades 17 to 22 are assigned to jobs/positions carrying executive responsibilities ranging from entry level to top management. Grade 16 is assigned to supervisory level jobs whereas grades 5 to 15 are meant for clerical and skilled jobs, and grades 1 to 4 are designed for unskilled jobs. Table 5.1 illustrates the classification of the civil servants into various salary grades according to their ranks.

**Classification of Civil Service Ranks and Salary Grades
from highest to lowest
Table: 5.1**

<u>Grade</u>	<u>BPS</u>	<u>Ranks</u>
22	BPS-22	Secretary/Chief Secretary
21	BPS-21	Additional Sec/I.G.Police, etc.
20	BPS-20	Joint Sec/Divisional Commissioner
19	BPS-19	Deputy Sec/Deputy Fianacial Advisor
18	BPS-18	Section Officers
17	BPS-17	Section Off/ Research Off., etc.
16	BPS-16	Sec. Superintendent, etc.
15	BPS-15	Assistants, etc.
14	BPS-14	Stenographers/ Superintendents
13	BPS-13	Appraisers, etc.
12	BPS-12	Assistant-in-charge
11	BPS-11	Assistant/Stenographer
10	BPS-10	Assistant, etc.
9	BPS-9	Aerodrome Assistant
8	BPS-8	Stenotypist
7	BPS-7	Upper Division Clerk
6	BPS-6	Draftsman/ Compounder
5	BPS-5	Lower Division Clerk
4	BPS-4	Staff Car Driver
3	BPS-3	Duplicating Machine Operator
2	BPS-2	Record Sorter
1	BPS-1	Draftry, Peon, Sweeper, Chowkidar,

Source: Asian Civil Service, Raheem and Husain (1980)

The jobs in grades 17 to 22 are further classified as cadre and ex-cadre. Cadre jobs/posts belong to the Central Superior Services (CSS) that are filled at entry level (grade 17) through annually conducted CSS examination³. The ex-cadre jobs/posts are mainly professional in nature such as doctors, engineers, educationists, and economists that are filled when such jobs/posts stand vacant in different ministries and departments. The ex-cadre jobs as the name indicates do not belong to any occupational group or cadre. The cadre and ex-cadre distinction has serious implications for personnel system of the Federal Government. The incumbents of cadre posts are career civil servants and as such have brighter career prospects in terms of reaching the top positions in the secretariate. Table 5.2 exhibits the number of cadre and ex-cadre civil servants in grades 17-22 for the year 1993.

**Federal Government Civil Servants in Grades 17-22
for the Year 1993
Table 5.2**

Grades	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>22</u>
Cadre	1868	1901	1124	650	189	67
Ex-Cadre	4907	1831	799	263	18	7

Source: Civil Service Census Report, 1993

³. The lateral entry recruitment was introduced under the 1973 Administrative Reforms carried out by Bhutto regime. However, when Zia-ul-Haq took over the charge of the government through martial law in 1977, this program was discontinued. The programme was widely criticised by the Zia regime to discredit the Bhutto regime for recruitment of political favourites to the civil service disregarding the professional merit and competence.

The table illustrates that while ex-cadre civil servants outnumber cadre civil servants at the entry grade 17, their number declines in the higher grades because of having limited prospects of progression.

The cadre jobs (CSS) are further classified into different occupational groups based on different functional areas. The following are the main occupational groups:

1. District Management Group
2. Police Group
3. Secretariate Group⁴
4. Income Tax Group
5. Customs and Excise Group
6. Accounts Group
7. Information Group
8. Postal Group
9. Commerce and Trade Group
10. Foreign Affairs Group
11. Office Management Group
12. Military Lands and Cantonment Group
13. Railways Group
14. Economists and Planners Group

The above occupational groups are further grouped into All Pakistan Unified Grades and Federal Unified Grades. The members of occupational groups that belongs to All Pakistan Unified Grades⁵ serve both federal and provincial governments while the members of the occupational groups under Federal Unified Grades only serve the Federal Government throughout their career. All Pakistan Unified Grades include the District Management Group, the Police Group, the

⁴. The grade 19 and above officers are inducted in the secretariat group. Therefore, this group is not in access to entry level officers.

⁵. The federal government maintains effective control over provincial administrations through members of these groups. They occupy important positions in provincial secretariats, districts and divisional administration despite the fact that law and order is a provincial subject. The members of provincial civil services view this aspects of federal service as infringement of provincial autonomy.

Secretariate Group, and the Tribal Areas Group. All other occupational groups belong to the Federal Unified Grades.

Recruitment and Selection

There are several different ways through which Federal Civil Servants are recruited. Grades 1-15 positions are filled by the concerned ministries and departments through their own selection procedures. The recruitment to the positions in grades 16 to 22 is primarily done through the Federal Public Service Commission. There are three avenues of recruitment to grades 17 to 22, namely, direct recruitment, military recruitment, and initial recruitment.

The direct recruitment is made, through CSS examination, to various occupational groups. The CSS examination is administered by the Federal Public Service Commission. Military recruitment refers to the induction of military officers into the Central Superior Services on the recommendation of high powered commission chaired by the President of Pakistan. Military recruitment is done both on permanent basis and on contract basis. While 10 per cent CSS posts at grade 17 and 18 levels are filled by military officers on permanent and regular basis, 10 per cent of senior positions (grade 19 and above) are filled by military officers reemployed on contract basis (Kennedy, 1987, p:109). Initial recruitment is made to the ex-cadre positions, professional in nature, by the Federal Public Service Commission. The temporary vacancies in the ex-cadre category can also be filled through ad hoc appointment subject to the authorisation of the Federal Public Service Commission.

Since the present study is focused only on the central superior services, the process of direct recruitment to the civil service is discussed below with some detail.

The Federal Public Service Commission annually conducts the CSS competitive examination to recruit officers in grade 17 to various occupational groups. The basic qualification for appearing in this examination is a Bachelor's degree with a 2nd division in any subject area. The age limit for appearing in CSS examination is 21 to 28 years. Both men and women are eligible for this examination provided they fulfill the required conditions.

The CSS examination comprises of written test, psychological test, and interview. The written test is in two parts, compulsory subjects and optional subjects. The compulsory subjects carry 500 marks and include Essay, Precis Writing, Every Day Science, Current Affairs, and Islamic Studies. The optional subjects carry 600 marks in total and include wide range of subjects in liberal arts, natural sciences, commerce, law, and public administration. There are several restriction on choice of optional subjects. The written examination is administered in English.

The candidates who qualify from the written portion of CSS examination are called for psychological test designed to assess their personality characteristics and aptitude for various civil service occupations. The psychological test carries no marks, however, the assessment report of this test is given due consideration while allocating occupational groups to successful candidates. The psychological test is

conducted by a team of experts consisting of psychologists using standardized tests pre-selected by the Federal Public Service Commission.

The candidates who have qualified from the written examination and have taken the psychological tests are invited to appear for interview before the Viva-Voce Board which consists of the chairman and members of the Federal Public Service Commission and also one or more representatives of the Establishment Division. The members of the Board have before them, the report of the psychological test, a copy of written result, and a record of both academic and extramural career of each candidate. The viva-voce interviews carries 300 marks.

The final result of the CSS examination is compiled on the basis of the written examination as well as Viva-Voce. A merit list is prepared on the basis of total marks secured by each candidates. Thereafter, the final selection of candidates to each occupational group is made on the basis of their position in the merit list and the regional and provincial quotas allocated to the various occupational groups. The selected candidates attend one year common training program at the Civil Service Academy, Lahore before they undergo specialized departmental training.

Training and Development

The Federal Civil Service has comprehensive pre-service and inservice training and development programs. While the preservice training is meant for only direct recruits who join the civil service through CSS examination, the in-service training is offered to all the civil servants at various stages of their careers. The pre-service

training comprises of one year common training program at the Civil Service Academy, Lahore for all successful candidates of CSS examinations, called probationers, and one year specialised training conducted for probationers in each occupational groups.

Pre-Service Training

The pre-service common training was introduced under 1973 administrative reforms. Prior to reforms, probationers were assigned directly to their services, now called occupations, where they underwent separate pre-service training programs. The rationale of a common training program is the education and socialization of probationers who have diverse educational, social, and regional background. This training helps them to equalise their educational level and provides them with an opportunity to develop strong bonds as batchmates despite belonging to different occupational groups.

The curriculum of common training consists of public administration, Pakistan studies, development finance, social developments in Pakistan, law and international relations. The probationers take these courses and are examined by the academy. The final allocation of probationers to their respective occupational groups is made on the basis of their performance in the tests conducted by the academy and CSS examination held by the Federal Public Service Commission prior to joining the academy which determine their seniority in their respective occupational group.

In-Service Training

There is a network of training institutions that impart in-service training to federal civil servants at different stages of their career. National Institute of Public Administration (NIPA) in each province offers advance courses in administration and development for grade 18-19 officers and various short courses. Grade 19-20 officers attend advanced training courses at the Administrative Staff College, Lahore. There are several institutes run by different departments that offer specialised training courses to their employees. These institutes include Secretariat Training Institute, Audits and Accounts Institute, and Pakistan Academy for Rural Development.

The NIPA and Pakistan Administrative Staff College (PASC) training is linked with the promotion of civil servants. Grade 19 officers of all occupational groups are required to attend NIPA's long course (3 months) for moving from grade 19 to grade 20 in addition to meeting other requirements. Whereas, promotion to 21 and above grades requires completion of PASC long course. However, training requirement (NIPA & PASC courses) can be waived for those who have: 1) served as heads of a training institution for at least once year; 2) served on the directing staff of a training institution for at least two years; 3) taken an equivalent course⁶; exceeded the age of 56 years. Both the NIPA and PASC long courses include domestic and foreign study tours.

⁶. NIPA course requirement is waived if an officer has completed a regular course at the Staff College/National Defence College. PASC course requirement is waived if an officer has completed a regular course at the National Defence College.

Performance Evaluation

The main component of the performance evaluation is the Annual Confidential Report (ACR) which is completed by senior officers on their subordinates. The ACR consists of three parts. Part I contains personnel information about the officer reported upon for example his/her qualifications, training, and position held. Part II contains evaluation of personal qualities such as intelligence, judgment, initiative, ability to plan, perservance and behaviour with public, interest in economic development, observance of security measures, and punctuality. Part III of the ACR forms consists of a general assessment of the officer. The reporting officer, in this part, provides a pen picture of the personality, assesses the effectiveness of the work of the officer, and makes recommendations about his/her fitness for promotion. The ACR as its title suggests is strictly confidential, however, adverse remarks on any portion, must be communicated to the concerned officer who can make representation against these remarks.

Promotion

As discussed earlier, there are two types of posts in the Federal Civil Service, cadre posts and non-cadre posts. The cadre posts in grade 17 and above are linked up in a well defined career path in each occupational group. However, contrary to cadre posts, ex-cadre posts do not follow strict career path and even some posts are dead-end jobs with no promotion prospects.

The cadre posts for promotion purposes are classified into two categories: 1) non-selection posts, and 2) selection posts. While promotions to non-selection posts are

processed by the Departmental Promotion Committee on the basis of seniority-cum-fitness, promotions to selection posts are processed through the Central Selection Board on the basis of fitness. Posts carrying grade 18 and below are non-selection posts. Whereas, posts in grade 19 and higher are selection posts. Promotion to the non-selection posts which is based on seniority-cum-fitness requires five years service and a minimum score of 50 marks in confidential report which are calculated in accordance with a multiple step formula⁷(Govt of Pakistan, 1989).

Posts in grades 19 and higher are selection posts and requirements for promotion to each grade are clearly specified in the promotion rules. Promotion to posts in grade 19 requires: 1) 12 years of service; 2) minimum score of 60 marks in the confidential reports; 3) relevant experience to the posts to which promotion is being made. The score on two criteria “quality and output of work” and “integrity” in confidential reports is an important factor in determining the comparative merit of the officers.

An officer to be considered for promotion to posts carrying grade 20 requires: 1) 17 years of service; 2) a minimum score of 70 marks in the confidential reports; 3) relevant experience; 4) completion of training at NIPA or an equivalent course attended at another institution. Quality and output of work and integrity as reflected in the score on these items in the confidential reports is given importance while

⁷. The quantification of annual confidential reports(ACR) for promotion purposes was introduced in 1982. An elaborate multi-step procedure has been provided in the Civil Establishment Code to calculate overall score of a civil servant being considered for promotion. Different minimum scores are required for promotion to different grades.

determining the comparative merit of officers being considered for promotion. Variety of experience acquired by officers is given a considerable weight in the decisions to promote to the grade 20 posts. Variety of experience includes work experience in field administration, autonomous bodies and corporations, attached departments, different ministries, divisions, and foreign missions.

Posts in grade 21 are senior management positions involving important policy making or extensive administrative jurisdictions. Promotion to these posts require:

- 1) 20 years of service;
- 2) a minimum score of 70 marks in the confidential reports;
- 3) relevant experience;
- 4) training at Pakistan Administrative Staff College/National Defence College.

As in the case of grade 20 posts, quality and output of work and integrity and variety of experience are crucial in promotion to grade 21 posts. However, “top management potential” is an added factor considered for promotion to these posts. The “top management potential” include officer’s maturity, balance, and ability to assume top management positions (i.e., Secretary of Division/Ministry, Chairman of a major corporation) even at a short notice (Govt of Pakistan, 1989, P:250).

Grade 22 posts are the top most management positions. The incumbents of grade 22 positions are called Secretaries who head a division, ministry, provincial secretariate, or a corporation. The secretaries are appointed on the recommendations of the ministers concerned instead of the Central Selection Board as in case of grade 19, 20, and 21. Under the rules, the Establishment Division is required to submit a factual report about possible candidates for the position of

Secretary/Acting Secretary covering matters such as service, eligibility, tenure etc., together with their Character Rolls. However, in practice ministers tend to make these appointments without consulting the Establishment Division (Govt of Pakistan, 1989, P: 190).

Salary and Benefits

The Federal Government on March 1, 1972 introduced a scheme of National Scales of Pay, Allowances and other fringe benefits. There are 22 National Pay Scales as illustrated previously. The NPS 17 to 22 are officer grades. The civil service rules, besides salary and benefits, also provide pension scheme, benevolent grants, and group insurance to provide social security to the civil servants.

The underlying principle of salary and benefits administration in the Federal Civil Service of Pakistan is strict adherence to the rank in the hierarchy. The rank instead of nature of the job and labour market consideration determines the salary and benefits attached to different civil service positions. For example, the grade 17 civil servants in different occupational groups receive the same salary and benefits despite performing jobs of a different nature. However, different occupations carry different non-monetary benefits and level of prestige.

Discipline

The Civil Servants Act, 1973 and Efficiency and Discipline Rules govern the procedure for disciplinary action against civil servants. There are various grounds of disciplinary action such as inefficiency, misconduct, corruption, and subversion.

The minor penalties that can be given are, for example, withholding of promotion or salary increment. The major penalties include demotion to a lower rank or post, compulsory retirement, removal or dismissal from service. The civil service rules lay down the detailed procedure for disciplinary action such as appointment of enquiry officer, penalties, and appeal system.

Section IV

Numerical Distribution of Women in the Civil Service

Women in Pakistan were never prohibited to join the civil service, however, prior to 1973, their entry was not open to all the services. Women were not allowed to join certain prestigious services namely Civil Service of Pakistan, Foreign Service of Pakistan, Police Service of Pakistan. These services were considered unsuitable for women based on the perception that women might face difficulties to cope with the job environment in these services which involve public dealings, frequent postings and transfers, assignments in hard areas, and field postings home and abroad.

However, under the 1973 Administrative Reforms, when all the different civil services were organized into occupational groups, women were allowed to join all occupational groups except the Police Group. Hence, these reforms are generally regarded as a major breakthrough for women's entry into the civil service. However, despite the fact that women's entry was never prohibited to the civil service and 25 years have passed since women were allowed to join thirteen out of

fourteen occupational groups, their representation in the civil service is still extremely low both in terms of number and power.

Women, according to the Federal Government Civil Servants Census Report 1993, constitute 5.36 per cent of the total Federal Civil Servants in grades 1-22. In managerial grades 17-22, total share of women is 7.82 per cent. Within ex-cadre and cadre managerial positions⁸, women representation is 11.47 per cent and 2.89 per cent respectively. It is clear from these figures that while women's participation in managerial jobs in the civil service is very low, it is even lower in the central superior services (cadre posts).

It is not only that overall representation of women in managerial grades (17-22) is low, but they are also either underrepresented or not represented at all in top managerial positions, prestigious occupational groups, and other important bodies which relegate them to low position in the power structure of the civil service.

Table 5.3 exhibits women's representation in various managerial grades 17-22 for both cadre and ex-cadre posts. The table indicates that women are not only marginally represented at various managerial grades, their representation at top managerial grades 20 and 21 is very stark and non-existent at grade 22. While in Ex-cadre posts women can be seen upto grade 20, beyond that they are not represented at all.

⁸. Cadre posts refer to managerial positions in (grade 17-22) under Central Superior Services organized into 14 occupational groups. While ex-cadre posts refer to grades 17-22 positions in federal secretariate, attached departments, autonomus corporations which are not filled through CSS examination.

**Women's Representation in Federal Civil Services
Grades 17-22 for the Year 1993
Table 5.3**

	<u>Grades</u>						<u>Total</u>
	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>22</u>	
Cadre	2.62	3.31	3.82	1.69	1.05	0.0	2.89
Ex-Cadre	13.40	8.73	8.51	4.56	0.0	0.0	11.47

Source: Federal Govt Civil Servants' Census Report, 1993.

The table clearly indicates that only those women who are in the cadre posts, though relatively low in number as compared to women in ex-cadre positions, have reached grade 21 which is a top managerial grade. It is mainly because the cadre officers enjoy more power and prestige in the civil service system of Pakistan as compared to those who belong to ex-cadre category which is also reflected in the label, "CSS officers"⁹, used for these officers. However, not all the cadres/occupational groups carry the the same prestige and power. Four out of fourteen occupational groups namely; District Management Group, Police Group, Foreign Service, and Secretariate Group enjoy relatively more prestige and the senior management positions are mostly filled by members of these service groups/cadres (see table 5.4). Among these four groups District Management and Secretariate Group take the lion's share of top slots (grade 21-22) in the civil service hierarchy (see table 5.4). In other words, the District Management Group (DMG) dominates the civil service hierarchy, as most of the Secretariate Group's officers originally belong to the DMG before induction into the Secretariate Group.

⁹. CSS stands for Central Superior Services.

The representation of women in the DMG and Secretariate group is low (table 5.5) as compared to other occupational groups. Even women who belong to these groups have not been able to reach to the top as there is not a single women in the grade 22. In grade 21, there is only one women who belong to the Income Tax which is the exception not the rule. Women are also not represented in important civil service bodies such as Public Service Commission, Central Selection Board, and Departmental Promotion Committees.

**Representation of Occupational Groups
in Top Management (Grade21-22)
Table 5.4**

<u>Occupational Groups</u>	<u>Grade 21</u> (%)	<u>Grade 22</u> (%)
Secretariat	38	49
District Management	9.2	18
Foreign Service	11.6	8
Police	5.8	12
Income Tax	7.3	3
Other Occ. groups	19.4	0
Ex-Cadre	8.7	10

Source: Federal Government Servants Census Report 1993

**Women's Representation in Federal
Civil Service by Occupational Group and Grade
Table 5.5**

<u>Occ.Group</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Grades</u>					
		<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>22</u>
1. Accounts	14	7	5	2	0	0	0
2. Commerce & Trade	4	1	3	0	0	0	0
3. Custom & Excise	16	5	9	2	0	0	0
4. District Management	18	6	5	6	1	0	0
5. Economists & Planners	8	4	3	1	0	0	0
6. Foreign Service	18	1	9	6	2	0	0
7. Income Tax	25	4	12	8	0	1	0
8. Information	14	9	2	2	1	0	0
9. Military Lands & Cantonment	3	1	1	0	1	0	0
10. Office Management	7	6	7	4	0	0	0
11. Police	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12. Postal Service	5	3	2	0	0	0	0
13. Railways	9	2	5	2	0	0	0
14. Secretariat	17	0	0	10	6	1	0
15. Ex-cadre	898	658	160	68	12	0	0

Source: Federal Government Civil Servants Census Report 1993

Section V

Structural Implications for Women Civil Servants

There is no legal bar on the entry and progression of women in the civil service in Pakistan rather the Article 27 of the 1973 Constitution protects women from discrimination by stating “no citizen otherwise qualified for appointment in the service of Pakistan should be discriminated against in respect of any such appointment on the ground of sex”. However, a gender analysis of the civil service system suggests that while apparently there exists no discrimination against women, the very nature of the system and power structure within the federal bureaucracy puts women at disadvantaged position and encourages women discrimination against women in more subtle and complex ways. Although in 1973, the government have paved the way for the entry of women and their advancement in the civil service by allowing women to join all occupational groups in the light of the constitutional provision which prohibits sexual discrimination in appointments in the civil services, no effort so far has been bring fundamental changes in the bureaucratic structure and system to make the civil service gender neutral. In this section, an effort has been made to identify the gender biases that are built in the bureaucratic structure of Pakistan which puts women at disadvantaged position vis-a-vis men in the civil service.

Occupational segregation on the basis of sex is deep rooted in the bureaucratic structure of Pakistan despite the fact that women are eligible to join all occupational groups (except Police) of the Central Superior Services (CSS). Even, the

constitutional provision prohibiting sexual discrimination allows for occupational segregation by stating “However, specified posts may be reserved for members of either sex if such posts entail the performance of duties and functions which can not be adequately performed by members of the other sex” (Article 27, Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973).

Certain occupational groups in the federal civil service have traditionally been regarded as suitable only to men because of perceived masculine nature of the jobs and functions involved in these groups. The most prominent in this category are the district management, foreign service, and police. Women were not permitted to join these services prior to the 1973 Administrative Reforms. Although there is no such restrictions on women and their presence is quite visible in the so-called masculine and prestigious occupations of civil service, women representation is still very low as compared to other occupational groups.

A possible reason for low representation of women in the prestigious groups might be gender biases in the selection process. The psychological test which evaluates the suitability of the candidates for different occupations is the same which was used before the women were allowed to join all the occupational groups. Thus, psychological tests are potentially biased towards masculine characteristics and tend to stream the candidates into different occupations on the basis of their personality characteristics. Not all the women who may otherwise be competent may have the same psychological profile as required for the so-called masculine jobs. The composition of the Public Service Commission which conducts viva voce

interviews carrying 300 marks, may further push the women into occupations felt more suitable for women by the all male members of the viva voce board. Thus, gender streaming takes place at the entry point which restricts women from joining the prestigious occupational groups whose members have bright career prospects and have greater chances of reaching to the top positions in the civil service hierarchy.

Despite the gender biases in the selection process, several women manage to join the prestigious groups, District Management, Foreign Service, and Secretariate Groups, and according to the Federal Civil Servants Report 1993, there were about 43 women officers in these groups. However, ironically, not a single women could reach to the top managerial grade (grade 22) which can also be explained by the practice of occupational segregation even within the occupations. Despite being in the same occupational group, women may not have the same level of access to all the positions as their male counterparts. Women in the District Management Group have so far been deprived of field postings such as Deputy Commissioner. Similarly, women in the Foreign Service may not have the same opportunities of postings abroad in foreign Missions due to complexities of foreign posting rules applicable to female officers. Once women are deprived of the field experience, it diminishes their chances of promotion to top managerial grades because of the requirement of “variety of experience” for promotion to grade 21 and 22. Having not served in the field administration and foreign Missions puts the women at disadvantaged positions while competing for top managerial grades. Thus, even in case of women officers in prestigious occupational groups, chances of their promotion to top

grades are very bleak as a result of work segregation within these occupational groups.

The very composition of the Central Selection Board which process and recommend promotions to the senior management grades makes women officers more vulnerable. Although since 1980, a quantitative criteria has been in place to decide cases of promotion to senior positions, still the Board has considerable discretion as stated in the promotion rules:

In addition to the circulation value and variety of experience the incumbents must possess proven analytical competence, breadth of vision, emotional maturity, and such other qualities that determine potential for successfully holding the posts in top management. This potential can not be judged by mathematical formula. The Selection Board will have to apply its collective wisdom to determine the same (Estacode, 1989, P: 249).

An all male Selection Board, using its collective wisdom to judge the management potential of women candidates, may have serious implications for women officers aspiring for senior positions. While women officers in the prestigious groups may also be the victim of potential male bias in the Selection Board, women from other occupational groups are potentially more vulnerable as being women and members of those occupational groups which are given less share of top managerial positions owing to the system's preference for generalists.

The NIPA and PASC training is linked with the promotion to grade 20 and grades 21 & 22 respectively. Both of these courses are residential and of three months duration including a foreign tour. Women with family and other domestic responsibilities may face difficulty in taking these opportunities at the earliest opportunity as it may not be possible for them to stay away from the family for such

a long period. On the contrary men do not face such problems. The delays in acquiring mandatory training may delay women's promotion to senior positions.

Another aspect of the recruitment which is the induction of serving military officers against 10 per cent share of CSS posts also has negative repercussions for women officers competing for higher positions. Since women are not permitted to join the military in its officer ranks, with an exception of doctors and nurses, the induction of military officers simply adds to the number of male civil servants and lowers their representation which may reduce their chances of upward mobility vis-a-vis men.

Women's low representation both overall and at different hierarchical levels has itself serious implications for the advancement of women in the civil service. The low visibility of women in the civil service hierarchy may grant them token status which put pressure on them. Women have to go an extra mile to prove themselves as competent as men in different occupations and at different levels in a male dominated civil service. Unless women move from a token presence to a balanced share in the civil service positions, they are most likely to face a hostile organizational environment as a result of unfavourable and biased attitudes.

Conclusion

To conclude, women have an extremely low representation in the Federal Civil Service of Pakistan both horizontally and vertically. This is mainly due to : 1) gender biases in opportunity structure which appears in various forms such as gender

streaming, military recruitment, work segregation and male-oriented structure of training; 2) low access of women to power and authority positions; 3) numerically low representation of women in the civil service which further perpetuate the system of gender inequality in the civil service. Thus, to grant women civil servants an equitable share in career opportunities would require a fundamental change in the bureaucratic structure by removing structural barriers to women's entry as well as advancement and granting them due representation in the decision making bodies to counter the male construction of gender in the civil service.

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS OF THE SURVEY

Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the survey of Federal Civil Servants conducted through questionnaire and interviews. The results are based on analysis of quantitative as well as qualitative data generated from 138 questionnaires anonymously completed by the civil servants and 30 follow-up face-to-face interviews. The data reveals respondents' demographic, personality, social, and organisational characteristics, and their perceptions on societal and organisational dynamics causing gender disparities in career advancement either by creating gender differences or/and in the form of gender discrimination.

The survey results are presented at three levels: 1) overall; 2) comparison of women and men; 3) comparison of management levels. All these levels of analysis yield valuable information towards the main objective of the study, the investigation of factors affecting women's career advancement in the Federal Civil Service of Pakistan. While the first and the second level yields an insight into gender differences and similarities in terms of career advancement of civil servants, the third level uncover differences and similarities among the top, middle and lower management levels. The information gathered from interviews is used in the form of the views and comments of female and male respondents on various aspects of career advancement and organizational life in the civil service of Pakistan to supplement statistical results wherever applicable.

The chapter is divided into three sections. In the the first section, the results on the personal variables are presented . The personal variables are broadly classified into the demographics of the respondents, their family background, home-status, personality characteristics, motivation for joining civil service, ability to manage, career commitment, and their motivation to advance. In the second section, the results on the organisational variables are presented. The organisational variables are classified into four sets: 1) power distribution; 2) gender composition; 3) attitudes towards women administrators; and 4) discrimination, overt as well as covert. The third section presents the results on direct questions on the potential facilitators and barriers towards their career advancement, and appropriate measures to support gender equality in the civil service.

SECTION I

PERSONAL VARIABLES

General Demographics

The demographic profile of the respondents includes data on sex, age, marital status, living conditions, domicile, mother tongue, and birth order. Tables 6.1, 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4 exhibit the general demographic characteristics of the respondents at three levels: 1) overall; 2) comparison of women and men; and 3) comparison of management groups.

Overall

The overall demographic profile is presented in table 6.1. The respondent are, on average, middle aged (mean age = 42.76). The majority of the respondents are male

(55.1%) and married (88.4%) who live with spouse and children (61.6%) in households with children or adult (s) as their dependents (66.7%). A relatively large number of the respondents (26.1%) have more than 50% share in their household income.

In terms of their residential status (domicile), the majority of the respondents belong to the province of Punjab (62.3%) but only 38.4 per cent speak Punjabi language. A significant proportion (25.4%) of the respondents despite being Punjabi speak Urdu the national language of Pakistan. In terms of their birth order 50 per cent are middle born, 32.6 per cent are first born and 17.4 per cent are last born.

A large proportion (81.3%) of the respondents are highly qualified out of which 55 per cent hold a Master Degree, 22 per cent hold professional degrees in law, medicine, and management, and 4.3 per cent are Ph.D. However, only 19.6 per cent of the respondents hold a Bachelors Degree which is the minimum educational requirement for entry into the civil service.

Overall general demographic
Table 6.1

<u>N=138</u>	<u>Median</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>
<u>Age</u>	42.76	43.50	8.02

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Percent of Responses</u>
Male N=76	55
Female N=62	45

Marital Status N=138

Unmarried	11.9
Married	88.4

Living Condition

Living alone	5.1
Living with spouse	7.2
Living with spouse and- children	61.6
Living with joint family	19.6
Living with parents	6.5

Domicile

Punjab	62.3
Sind	8.7
NWFP	10.9
Baluchistan	13.0
FATA/Northern Areas	5.1

Overall General Demographics (Continued)

Table 6.1

<u>Mother Tongue</u>	<u>Percent of Responses</u>
Urdu	25.4
Punjabi	38.4
Sindhi	7.2
Pushto	11.6
Baluchi	5.1
Kashmiri	2.9
Saraiki	5.8
Other	3.6
 <u>Birth Order</u>	
First born	32.6
Middle born	50.0
Last born	17.4
 <u>Share in Household Income</u>	
Less than 25%	23.2
25% or over	13.8
50% or over	26.1
75% or over	19.6
100%	17.4
 <u>Education</u>	
Bachelors	19.6
Masters	55.1
Professional degree	21.0
Doctorate	4.3

General Demographics: Comparison of Women and Men

Descriptive statistics on all demographic variables reveal some differences between women and men, however, not all the results are statistically significant. While gender differences in terms of respondents' age, education, birth order, domicile, mother tongue are statistically not significant, differences on marital status, living conditions, and their share of household income are found to be statistically significant.

The demographic profile of both women and men is presented in table 6.2. Women are slightly younger than men (mean age: female=40.42; male=44.67). Similarly some differences are found in terms of female and male respondents' educational achievements . More women (80.7%) than men (72.3%) hold master and professional degrees. There are however, no differences in the case of Ph.Ds. On the contrary, more men (23.7%) than women (14.5%) only hold bachelor degrees. The differences, however, on both age and education are statistically not significant.

The differences on education, though statistically not significant, are consistent with observations of some of the interviewees. Both women and men acknowledged that women, if not more qualified than men, are not in any way less educated than men. Rather one of the interviewees, a senior male administrator in the Punjab Civil Secretariat, while acknowledging the relatively higher quality of female candidates appearing in the civil service examination said:

The results of civil service examinations testify to an overall impression these days that female are better educated than men. The percentage of women passing the civil service examination every year is higher than that of men. The only problem is that not many women appear in civil service examination.

Another respondent, a female officer working as Deputy Commissioner, Income Tax, Lahore made a similar observation. She emphatically expressed the view that women are replacing men in higher and professional education:

More women than men now apply for admission into universities and medical colleges. When I graduate from medical college in 1984, there were only 26 female students who graduated from my college. Surprisingly, now women have outnumbered men in medical colleges, for example, out of 300 medical students in the same college, about 200 are women.

Some slight gender differences are also observed in the respondents on their birth order, where (51.6%) women and (47.3%) men fall in the first or last born category. The data gathered from interviews also support this finding. One of the respondents, a senior female officer of Income Tax Group also confirmed this view while explaining her reasons for joining the civil service:

My father was a prominent civil servant. It was his utmost desire that someone from his children should join the civil service. None of my brothers showed any interest in taking civil service examination. Being the eldest in the family I took my father as a role model and decided to come up to his desire. I owe much to my father for his encouragement as I think I do not have an aptitude for teaching or for science so, this is the right track for me.

Another female respondent who works in the Pakistan Railways also mentioned that the main reason for her being in the service was that she was the eldest among her brothers and sisters, however, her circumstances were quite different. She illustrated:

My father died when I was doing my masters, it was a major disruption in the family. To me, being the eldest in the family, finding some work was a financial requirement. My preference was to get a job anywhere. After completing my masters degree, I was selected by the Public Service Commission and was appointed as lecturer in a college. During my first year in the job at college, one of my colleagues persuaded and guided me for taking the CSS examination. I appeared in the CSS examination same year and got through.

The gender differences on the variable, birth order, although statistically not significant lends support to the view that women who enter into male dominated fields and aspire for advancement are either first born or last born (Hale and Kelly, 1989).

There are no significant differences in women and men respondents in terms of their domicile, however, in terms of mother tongue some meaningful differences are found. The majority of the men respondents who belong to the province of Punjab (60.5%) speak Punjabi (43.4%) whereas the women respondents (30.6%) who even belong to the Punjab speak Urdu. This difference may be explained by the cultural norm which expects women to be more reserved and formal while speaking with their male colleagues in order to maintain a distance between the two sexes (Shah, 1986; Hafeez, 1984).

Gender differences on marital status are quite noticeable despite the fact that majority of the respondents are married. The percentage of married women (80.6%) is considerably less than that of men (94.7%). This difference is statistically significant (Chi-square =6.61, DF=1, $P \leq .01$). Apparently, this finding tend to support the view of some researchers that sometimes there is a trade off between marriage and managerial posts, and women administrators who view marriage and marital responsibilities as incompatible with their administrative positions choose to remain single (Adler and Izraeli, 1994, 1988; Newman, 1993; Fagenson, 1993; Davidson and Cooper, 1992; Hale and Kelly, 1989). However, such generalization cannot be made about female civil servants in Pakistan based on

observed differences on marital status for two reasons. The exact association of managerial responsibilities and marital status cannot be determined unless taking into account the salary grade or age of the respondents. The interviews with female civil servants, the majority of whom were married, suggest that women civil servants do not see a conflict between their marriage and their managerial responsibilities. One of the female administrators working at the middle management level stated:

It is such a delight for me to be a mother as well as an officer. To me my children are a day-light, I love them and want them to bloom into successful people and do something remarkable wherever they are in their lives. Nature has bestowed this duty upon me to take care of my family and I find a lot of satisfaction in taking care of my husband and my children. I believe that the more you adhere to nature the better it is.

Another female interviewee while pointing to the current trends in the work force where more married women are taking up career services said :

There was a phase during 1960s, 1970s and even in mid 1980s that many working women prefer to remain single because of the role conflict which might interfere with their careers. We also hear about some very bright doctors and excellent teachers but in their family lives they were empty vessels as they avoided taking family responsibilities. Men do not like that kind of attitudes. Now, trends are changing, no matter, how senior officer I am, I am my husband's wife and my children's mother first and this is what all working women should remember.

In terms of living conditions, again some significant gender differences can be observed. Very few women (3.2%) live alone when compared to their male counterparts (6.6%). Women who are unmarried live with their parents (14.5%) (Chisquare=12.4, DF=4, $P \leq .01$). Differences between women and men respondents can also be captured in their share of household income. The majority of the women respondents' contribution to their family income is less than 25%. Whereas, the majority of the men respondents' make 100 per cent contribution to their family's income. This difference is statistically significant (chisquare=19.41, DF=4, $P < .01$).

Comparing Women and men - Individual Demographics
Table 6.2

	N=62 Females Mean (Median)	N=76 Males Mean (Median)
<u>Age</u>		
Respondent's age	40.42 (42)	44.67 (46)
<u>Percent of Response</u>		
<u>Marital Status #</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>
Single/Never married	19.4	5.3
Married	80.6	94.7
<u>Birth Order</u>		
First born	29.0	35.5
Middle born	48.4	52.7
Last born	22.6	11.8
<u>Domicile</u>		
Punjab	64.5	60.5
Sind	11.3	6.6
NWFP	8.1	13.2
Baluchistan	14.5	11.8
FATA	1.6	7.9
<u>Mother Tongue</u>		
Urdu	30.6	21.1
Punjabi	32.3	43.4
Sindhi	9.7	5.3
Pushto	9.7	13.2
Baluchi	4.8	5.3
Kashmiri	1.6	3.9
Saraiki	8.1	3.9
Other	3.2	3.9

Significant gender differences using chi-square at 90%. --

Comparing women and Men on General Demographics
 Table 6.2 (continued)

	<u>Percent of Response</u>	
	N=62 Female	N=76 Male
<u>Living Condition # *</u>		
Living alone	3.2	6.6
Living with spouse	6.5	7.9
Living with spouse and children	56.5	65.8
Living with joint family	19.3	19.7
Living with parents	14.5	0.0
<u>Education</u>		
Bachelors	14.5	23.7
Masters	58.1	52.6
Professional degree	22.6	19.7
Doctorate	4.8	3.9
<u>Share in household income # *</u>		
Less than 25%	33.9	14.5
25% or over	17.7	10.5
50% or over	30.6	22.4
75% or over	11.3	26.3
100%	6.5	26.3

Significant gender differences using chisquare. at 90%.
 * Significant gender differences using Mann Whitney U test at 90%.

General Demographics: Comparison of Management Groups

A comparative demographic profile of the three management groups, presented in table 6.3 reveals that respondents within each group share similarities and differences on a number of demographic variables. There are, for instance, no significant differences in management groups in terms of domicile, mother tongue, birth order and share in household income. However, differences do exist among the three management groups in terms of respondents' age, education, marital status and living condition.

In terms of birth order, minor differences can be found among management groups where more respondents in the top management group (67.5%) were first or last born as compared to those in the middle and lower management groups (middle management = 45.2%, lower management = 48.4%). Similarly, more respondents in the top management group (28.7%) contribute 100% to their family income when compared to those in the middle and lower management groups (middle management = 11.2%; lower management = 16.1%). However, differences on both of these variables, birth order and share in household income are not statistically significant.

The management groups also differ significantly in terms of age where respondents in the top management group have a higher mean score on the age variable (50.8) than those in the middle or lower management groups (middle management = 43.6; lower management = 31.7). This difference is obvious as seniority is a significant factor in the upward mobility of the civil servants in Pakistan. Likewise, more

respondents in the top and middle management groups are married (top management = 97.1%, middle management = 93.1%) than those working at the entry level of management (67.7%) with statistically significant results (chisquare = 17.03, DF = 2, $p \leq .002$).

The management groups also differ on their educational qualification. Both top and middle management groups are found to be better educated than the entry level group with statistically significant results (chisquare = 8.3, DF = 3, $p \leq .04$). It may be inferred from the findings that administrators in the middle management group may be looking at their superiors in the top management group as role models and perceiving that attainment of higher education might have helped them in their career advancement. Whereas, those in the top management group might have benefited more from in-service educational opportunities while being in service for a longer period of time.

Comparative Demographic Profile of the Management Groups
Table 6.3

<u>Age</u>		<u>Mean</u>	<u>Median</u>
Top Management	N=35	50.8	52.0
Middle Management	N=72	43.6	43.0
Entry level Management	N=31	31.7	30.0

Percent of Response

N=35	N=72	N=31
Top	Middle	Lower
Management	Management	Management

Domicile

Punjab	64.5	68.5	64.5
Sind	6.9	14.2	3.2
NWFP	15.2	12.2	9.7
Baluchistan	20.7	9.5	19.4
FATA	13.8	3.6	3.2

Mother Tongue

Urdu	25.2	29.4	29.0
Punjabi	37.5	45.3	35.5
Sindhi	3.4	11.3	3.2
Pushto	20.7	12.7	9.7
Baluchi	10.3	4.7	3.2
Kashmiri	10.3	0.0	3.2
Saraiki	10.3	5.5	6.5
Other	16.7	0.0	9.7

Birth Order

First born	47.4	29.2	25.8
Middle born	32.5	54.8	51.6
Last born	20.1	16.0	22.6

Comparative Demographic Profile of Management Groups
 Table 6.3 (Continued)

	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	<u>N=35</u> Top Management	<u>N=72</u> Middle Management	<u>N=31</u> Lower Management
<u>Marital Status@</u>			
Single/Never married	2.9	6.9	32.3
Married	97.1	93.1	67.7
	<u>Top</u> Management	<u>Middle</u> Management	<u>Lower</u> Management
<u>Share in House hold Income</u>			
Less than 25%	16.9	19.9	41.9
25% or over	17.2	13.2	12.9
50% or over	16.9	33.2	19.3
75% or over	27.6	22.5	9.7
100%	28.7	11.2	16.1
<u>Education@</u>			
Bachelors	20.7	31.8	25.8
Masters	69.3	60.5	41.9
Professional degree	15.3	20.9	32.3
Doctorate	10.3	5.5	0.0
<u>Living Condition</u>			
Living alone	2.9	4.2	9.7
Living with spouse	5.7	8.3	6.5
Living with spouse and- children	65.7	69.4	38.7
Living in joint family	25.7	13.9	25.8
Living with parents	0.0	4.2	19.7

@ Significant differences among management groups using
 Chi-square at 90%.

Family Background

Recognising the family as a critical agent of socialization, gender researchers view family background as an important influence on a person's personality, upbringing, career choice and career advancement (Newman, 1993; Hale and Kelly, 1989). Family background is considered important not only in providing motivation and encouragement for women to seek higher education and training in non-traditional, male-dominated areas, but also in providing the resources required for the attainment of higher education and advanced training necessary for career success. Parents, spouse, and socio-economic status of the family influence, in one way or the other, career choices and career progressions of women. For example, mothers play an important role in the sex-role ideology of their daughters; those women who have well educated mothers who are engaged in working outside the home are more likely to get encouragement from them towards their career progression (Tharenou et al., 1994; Newman, 1993; Hale and Kelly, 1989; Hennig and Jardin, 1977).

Drawing upon theoretical and empirical literature, the research model of this study includes family background as an important factor in the career advancement of civil servants. Family background represents a cluster of individual variables in the model. The respondents were asked about their parents' education, parents' occupation, spouse education and occupation, and their social class to determine differences and similarities in their family background. The analysis of their responses to all these questions is presented at the three levels to see how family background does influence the career advancement of civil servants in general and women in particular.

Overall

An overall picture of the respondents' family background is presented in table 6.4. The results show that the majority of the respondents have parents with less than high school or who did not acquire any formal education (fathers = 30.4%; mothers = 44.9%). More mothers have completed high school (mothers = 18.8%, fathers = 13%), but at higher level of education, more fathers hold masters and professional degrees than mothers (fathers = 24.6%, mothers = 7.9%). However, some notable differences can be captured in terms of occupation of the respondent's parents. The majority of the fathers of the civil servants have professional careers. They are either engaged in professional careers (26.1%) or in administrative professions (23.2%) whereas, the majority of the mothers are house wives (83.3%).

With regards to spouse's education, the majority of the respondents (59.4%) have a spouse who is a degree holder (bachelors degree = 31.9%; masters degree = 27.5%). In terms of the occupation of the spouse, it has been found that a large number of the respondents' spouse (34.9%) stand in the category of house wife/not working, 19.6 per cent fall in the category of professional workers, 12.3 per cent are engaged in their own business and 10 per cent are either civil servants or officer in the armed forces.

In terms of the socio-economic status of the family, 52.9% of the respondents reported themselves belonging to the middle class. Whereas 32.6% think they belong to the upper middle class. However, very few respondents reported themselves belonging to the upper, lower middle, and lower class (see table 6.4).

Family Background - Overall
Table 6.4

<u>Parent's Education</u> N=138		<u>Percent of response</u>	
	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>	
Less than high school	30.4	44.9	
High school	13.0	18.8	
Some college	8.0	13.0	
Bachelors	20.3	15.2	
Masters	22.5	7.2	
Professional	4.3	0.7	
Doctorate	1.4	0.0	
 <u>Parent's Occupation</u>			
<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>	
Professional	26.1	10.1	
Manager/administrator	23.2	1.4	
Sales/clerical/technical	6.5	0.7	
Business	15.9	1.4	
Agriculture	17.4	2.2	
Army/civil service/house wife	10.9	83.3	
 <u>Spouse's Education</u>			
Less than high school	4.3		
High school	10.1		
Some college	8.7		
Bachelors	31.9		
Masters	27.5		
Professional degree	4.3		
Doctorate	3.6		
Not applicable	9.4		
 <u>Spouse's Occupation</u>			
Professional	19.6		
Manager/administrator	11.6		
Sales/clerical/technical	2.2		
Business	12.3		
Army/civil service	10.0		
House wife/not working	34.9		
Not applicable	9.4		
 <u>Social Class</u>			
Lower	1.5		
Lower- middle	4.3		
Middle	52.9		
Upper-middle	32.6		
Upper	8.7		

Comparing Women and Men

A gender comparison of respondents on various measures of family background presented in table 6.5 shows that civil servants differ significantly on a number of family background variables. There are for instance, significant gender differences in the educational attainment of respondent's parents. The parents, fathers as well as mothers, of women respondents are more educated as compared to those of men. These differences between women and men are statistically significant (fathers: $\chi^2=12.3$, $DF=6$, $P \leq .05$; mothers: $\chi^2=20.6$, $DF=5$, $p \leq .01$). These findings support the view that parents who are educated are more likely to have daughters who are non-traditional and achieving in their careers (Yousaf and Seigal, 1994; Tharenou and Conroy, 1994; Papps, 1992; Hale and Kelly, 1989).

The interviewees have also recognised the role of their parents and parents-in-laws in their decisions to join the civil service. A female administrator said:

When I completed my masters, my aim was to be a working women. In fact my father inculcated a lot of confidence in me and made me understand that after I grow up, I have to look after myself. He encouraged me to say whatever I wanted to say and got whatever I wanted to get. At that time, probably, that was not a very welcoming attitude and people around condemned and asked my father not to raise his daughter like that as she would be a non-conformist, she would not adhere to the eastern norms of the society. My father not only encouraged me throughout my education but also motivated me to take my css examination as many of my male friends were preparing for this examination. I followed my father's suggestion and took it up as a challenge and got a very good position in my civil service examination.

Another female administrator indicated her mother as the motivator for her joining the civil service:

I highly respect my mother who despite belonging to a very conservative family of NWFP always encouraged her daughters in their academic pursuits. It is because of her encouragement and positive attitude that one of my sisters first took her CSS examination and then following her I also papered in the examination and got through.

Another female civil servant even pointed to the influence of members of the extended family on career choices of women in Pakistan:

At the time of my marriage my husband was against my joining civil service as a career. Since my father-in-law has passed away, one of my husband's uncle who is considered as the head of the family and everyone in his family has a great respect for him convinced my husband on my behalf. He realised the fact that I have got a very prominent position in the examination and I am going to be a highly placed officer. He told my husband that it would be a matter of pride for the whole family if our daughter-in-law would be a civil servant and what the silly thing it would be to ask her not to join this service.

Gender differences can be observed on parent's occupation when fathers and mothers of the female and the male respondents are compared. More fathers of the female respondents are engaged in professional occupations (33.9%) than fathers of the male respondents (19.7%). Likewise, a greater number of mothers of the female civil servants are found in professional careers (19.4%) as compared to the mothers of the male respondents (3.9%). The findings are statistically significant (chisquare=14.7, DF= 5, $p \leq .01$).

Differences in the education of the spouse can be observed when both spouse of female and male respondents are compared. Table 1.5 shows significant differences in terms of spouse's education of the respondents. While, the majority of the spouse of male respondents possess lesser qualification, a larger number of the female respondents' spouse are highly qualified in terms of education (chisquare=35.6, DF=14, $p \leq .001$).

The interviews provide further support to the above findings. The majority of the female interviewees were found having educated and cooperative husbands. They

pointed out that without the cooperation of their husbands, it would not have been possible for them to carry on with their work successfully. A senior female officer while appreciating her supportive husband said:

No matter where you are and what religion do you believe in, the working women have same expectations from their husbands' and that is 'support from their husbands' without which they can never be successful in their life. This is the time of changing roles and educated men should take the lead. If women are coming out to work for their families' betterment, men should also give up the mannish attitudes and share with women in household activities. I am fortunate to have a supportive and caring husband who fully realises the problems of working women. He helps me in household chores without asking.

Similar thoughts were shared by another female administrator who acknowledged her husband's contribution towards meeting her family and career commitments :

My husband is very liberal as he allowed me to work in a male dominated organisation. He understands the type of culture prevailed here. He is very cooperative and sharing. He takes responsibility of the children and other domestic work. He also inculcates in children a sense of appreciation for their mother that gives me a lot of sustenance.

Another senior female administrator described her husband as a driving force in her career. She said:

My husband is a highly educated person. He himself is a thorough and professional man. He realises that his wife is not doing an ordinary job. His attitude towards my job is very encouraging. He has been a great support for me throughout my career. He did not mind even when I could not give much time to my home. The project I am handling right now is very demanding in terms of time. Before taking this project, I discussed with my husband about the nature of the project, he encouraged me and said that it would be very unprofessional on my part if I refuse taking a challenges assignment. He is in fact a driving force for me.

Gender differences on spouse's occupation can be observed when comparison is made between the spouses of females and males. Table 6.5 shows that the majority of the female respondent's spouse are in professional occupations (30.6%) when compared to their counterparts (10.5%). Majority of the male respondents' spouse

are house wives (62.9%) with statistically significant results (chisquare=35, DF=5, $p \leq .00$).

There are some slight differences in respondents' on their social class. Table 6.5 highlights these differences in respondents' social class. While, more women than men reportedly belong to upper middle class than men (women=38.7%, men=27.6%) more men, on the other hand, report them belonging to the middle class (men=57.9%, women=46.8%). These differences, however, are statistically not significant.

Family Background - Comparing Women and Men
Table 6.5

	<u>Percent of Response</u>	
	N=62 <u>Females</u>	N=76 <u>Males</u>
<u>Father's Education #*</u>		
Less than high school	11.3	27.6
High school	8.1	17.1
Some college	6.5	9.2
Bachelors	40.3	22.4
Masters and professional	25.8	19.7
Doctorate	1.6	1.3
<u>Mother's Education #*</u>		
Less than high school	25.8	60.5
High school	22.6	15.8
Some college	14.5	11.8
Bachelors	25.8	6.6
Masters and professional	9.7	1.6
<u>Spouse's Education #</u>		
Less than high school	1.6	6.6
High school	3.2	15.8
Some college	1.6	14.5
Bachelors	24.2	38.2
Masters	37.1	19.7
Professional degree	8.1	1.3
Not applicable	16.1	3.9
<u>Father's Occupation *</u>		
Professional	33.9	19.7
Manager/administrator	22.6	23.7
Sales/clerical/technical	8.1	5.3
Business	14.5	17.1
Agriculture	8.1	25.0
Army/civil service	12.9	9.7

Family Background - Comparing Men and Women
 Table 6.5 continued

Mother's Occupation *

Professional	19.4	3.9
Manager/administrator	3.2	0.0
Sales/clerical/technical	1.6	0.0
Business	1.6	1.3
Agriculture	0.0	3.9
Housewife	74.2	90.8

Spouse's Occupation #

Professional	30.6	10.5
Manager/administrator	14.5	9.2
Sales/clerical/technical	3.2	1.3
Business	17.7	7.9
Army/civil service	17.7	4.2
Housewife	0.0	62.9
Not applicable	16.1	3.9

Social Class

Lower	0.0	1.3
Lower-middle	3.2	6.6
Middle	46.8	57.9
Upper-middle	38.8	27.7
Upper	11.3	6.6

 # Significant gender differences using Chi-square at 90%.
 * Significant gender differences using Mann-Whitney U test at 90%.

Comparison of Management Groups

Comparison of the three management groups, lower, middle, and top management on various family background variables reveals some important differences, as reported in table 6.6. On father's education, fathers of respondents in the top management group are reportedly more educated as compared to those in middle and lower management groups. The fathers of 68.6 per cent respondents in the top management, 48.7 per cent in the middle and 61.3 per cent in lower management

group hold bachelor and above degrees including masters, professional, and doctorate. However, these differences are statistically not significant.

Unlike fathers the mothers of the respondents in the top management group are relatively less qualified as compared to mothers of respondents in the other two management groups. The mothers of 17.1 per cent of the respondents in the top management group, 25.3 per cent of respondents in the middle management group, and 48.4 per cent of respondents in the lower management group hold degrees Bachelor and higher. These differences are statistically significant (chisquare=24.3, DF=10, $p \leq .007$).

The above findings about the educational level of fathers and mothers of respondents in three management group suggest that parents especially mothers of civil servants working at entry/lower level of management are relatively more educated. This observation is consistent with the current trends in education where more women are seeking higher education.

While comparing the management groups on parents' occupation, more fathers of the middle management (40.2%) and entry level administrators (40.2%) than those of in top management group (22.6) are(were) in professional careers. However, a considerable number of fathers of top civil servants (10.5%) work or retired as officers in the civil service or armed forces. This is a significant as military or civil service have always been considered as the most influential institutions in Pakistan

and it might be assumed that besides the merit and qualification of the respondents some push and pull factors might have played a part in their reach to the top.

While comparing management groups on mother's occupation, very minor differences are observed. The mothers of the top management administrators are more likely to be engaged in work outside their homes (20.4%) when compared to either middle management (14.3%) or entry level management administrators (19.3%) but the difference in the percentages is so low that statistically the findings are not significant. However, these findings do indicate that the overwhelming majority of mothers of respondents in all three groups are or were domestic wives.

In terms of the education of the respondents' spouse, significant differences among three management groups are observed. The highest number of spouse of civil servants in the top management group (63.8%) hold bachelor degrees as compared to either of the other groups (middle management=31.3% and entry level=29%) (chisquare=51, DF=28, $p \leq .005$). It may be inferred from the findings that an educated spouse of the top management administrators might have assisted them towards their career advancement by being more sharing and understanding. Several male and female respondents during interviews acknowledged the contribution of their educated spouse to their careers as illustrated in the comments of a senior male administrator:

My wife is an educated and fully emancipated lady. She knows the kind of work I am doing here. As most of our day is gone in public dealings, I usually have to sit for extra hours after the office timings to finish my day's work. She never complained about that. She takes care of the things in my absence that is why when I am in my office I can work with a free mind.

On comparing management groups on spouse occupation, there are also some significant differences among groups. A large number of male respondents (61%) in the top management group have spouse that are house wives than either of the other groups (middle management=40.5%, entry level=41.9%). Whereas, female respondents in the top and middle management groups have a higher percentage of spouses who have professional and administrative occupations(top management = 28.5%; middle management group= 37.5%). These results are statistically significant (chisquare=33.3, DF,10, $p \leq 0.004$). It might be inferred from the findings that educated and professional spouses have better understanding of the organisational culture in which their better halves are working. Keeping in view the demands of their career they might lend an extra hand for help and assistance. As one of the female interviewees mentioned:

My husband is foreign qualified. He is fully aware of the nature of my job and my career commitment. He drops me and picks me up whenever needed. In my absence he looks after the children and also does the household help. In terms of equality of women and men rights he believes in 50, 50 not even 49,51.

Female officers who have their spouse in the civil service particularly mentioned their spouse' role as more positive and sharing, as illustrated by one female officer:

My husband is also in the services, I have learned a lot from his field experience. We have common acquaintances, he knows about my boss, I know about his boss. It is so easy to talk about many things. Although, I discuss more as compared to him, but this all day story is a daily routine. We discuss our daily problems, issues at work very comfortably. I think if I were in some other profession it would have not been so easy to communicate as it is now or had I been a house wife.

Another senior female administrator, working as a Secretary in the Punjab Civil Service Secretariat, recognised the contribution of her spouse to her career. She said:

My husband is also my colleague. My male colleagues respect me and they have accepted me in a senior position, may be I am wife of their male colleague. I think it is a silent contribution of my husband towards my career.

With regards to the social class of respondents in three management groups, some significant differences are observed. The top management group has the highest number of respondents who reported themselves belonging to middle (54.3%) and upper class (17.1%) as compared to middle and lower management groups as shown in the table. These findings tend to support the view that being born in a “right family” or “right socio economic class” positively assists women and men managers towards their career enhancement (Hale and Kelly, 1989; Adler and Izraeli, 1988). One of the interviewees made a similar observation:

Till grade 19 promotion is smooth and automatic unless one has any serious problem but after that so many factors come into play, your family back ground, your gender, the political group you are associated with, the group you are affiliated with within the organisation, occupational group you come from. All these extraneous influences apart from your merit and work performance start counting more and more.

Family Background - Comparing Management Groups
Table 6.6

	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	N=35	N=72	N=31
	<u>Top Management</u>	<u>Middle Management</u>	<u>Lower Management</u>
<u>Father's education</u>			
Less than high school	20.0	22.2	16.1
High school	11.4	16.7	6.5
Some college	0.0	12.5	16.5
Bachelors	31.4	27.8	25.9
Masters	31.4	15.3	29.0
Professional degree	2.9	5.6	3.2
Doctorate	2.9	0.0	3.2
 <u>Mother's Education @</u>			
Less than high school	60.0	48.6	19.4
High school	14.3	18.1	25.8
Some college	8.6	8.1	6.5
Bachelors	11.4	18.3	35.5
Masters	5.7	5.6	12.9
Professional degree	0.0	1.4	0.0
 <u>Spouse's Education @</u>			
Less than high school	5.7	5.6	0.0
High school	14.3	6.9	12.9
Some college	14.3	9.7	0.0
Bachelors	40.0	29.2	29.0
Masters	22.9	33.3	19.4
Professional degree	0.0	6.9	3.2
Doctorate	2.9	4.3	3.2
 <u>Father's Occupation</u>			
Professional	20.0	23.6	38.7
Manager/administrator	22.9	22.2	25.8
Sales/clerical/technical	8.6	5.6	6.5
Business	14.1	19.4	6.5
Agriculture	22.7	18.3	12.9
Army/civil service	11.7	10.9	9.7

Family Background--Comparing Management Groups
Table 6.6 (continued)

	<u>Top Management</u>	<u>Middle Management</u>	<u>Lower Management</u>
<u>Mother's Occupation</u>			
Professional	11.4	8.3	16.1
Manager/administrator	0.0	1.4	3.2
Sales/clerical/technical	0.0	1.4	0.0
Business	2.9	1.4	0.0
Agriculture	8.6	0.0	0.0
House wife	77.1	87.5	80.6
<u>Spouse's Occupation @</u>			
Professional	11.4	25.0	16.1
Manager/administrator	17.1	12.5	3.2
Sales/clerical/technical	0.0	4.2	0.0
Business	14.3	13.9	6.5
Army/civil service	3.3	3.9	2.8
House wife	53.8	36.4	39.1
Not applicable	0.0	4.2	32.3
<u>Social Class</u>			
Lower	0.0	2.9	2.9
Lower-middle	5.7	8.6	3.2
Middle	54.3	52.6	45.2
Upper-middle	22.9	31.8	39.0
Upper	17.1	4.2	9.7

@ Significant differences among management groups using
Chi-square at 90%.

Personality Characteristics

As indicated in the literature review, there is no consensus among researchers on whether personality characteristics differ by gender. There are some who report no differences between women and men in terms of their personality (Deem, 1996; Dodd et al., 1996; Powell, 1993, 90; Marshall, 1995a, 1984; Rosner, 1990) while others characterise women and men managers' personality differently (Noe, 1988; Cardwell, 1982; Riger and Galligan, 1980; Hennig and Jardim, 1977). The civil

servants in Pakistan were asked to reflect upon their personalities and assess themselves on personality traits such as competitiveness, creativeness, dominance, independence, and friendliness which are generally considered as important for managerial effectiveness. The results at all three levels of analysis are presented in table 6.7 and discussed below.

Personality Characteristics: Overall

The majority of respondents perceive themselves as competent (71.7%). While a small number of the respondents (21%) view them as “average” in terms of competency, very few reported themselves as competent “to some extent” (4.3%). An insignificant number (2.2%) checked the “not at all” category in the scale measuring competency. The response pattern on the creativeness scale is also similar to that of competency. The majority of the respondents (62.4%) view themselves as “creative”. One third of the respondents (31.2%) rated their competency as “average”. However, only 6.5% of the respondents perceive themselves as creative to some extent. The majority of the civil servants (59.4%) perceive that they have a dominant personality. However, a significant proportion of the respondents (35.5%) scored themselves as average on dominance. An insignificant number of respondents (1.4%) perceive that they are “not dominating at all”.

While assessing their personalities in terms of independence, an overwhelming majority (84.8%) reported themselves as independent. Very few respondent, however, view themselves as independent “to some extent” or “not at all” (2.9%).

Similarly a large majority of the respondents (74.7%) perceive them as “friendly”, while 22.5 per cent view themselves as “average”, very few (2.9%) think that they are friendly “to some extent”.

Interviews with civil servants not only confirm some of the above response patterns, but also support the view that these personality characteristics are not static and can be learned as required by the job. For instance, a senior female officer identified the above mentioned personality characteristics as requirement of her position:

The kind of job I am doing requires a dominating, independent, and assertive personality. My job involves a lot of public dealings, I, sometimes, do not have a single minute of peace. Initially, I was more close to my natural in style but over the time, I have realised that people are not willing to listen to you if you are very kind and soft. They have their own problems and that is the main thing for them in the world. They want to achieve their goals by hook or by crook, either by political pressure or any other way. If you are goody good all the time the problems can not be solved. One has to be assertive and dominating to respond to all these issues.

Personality Characteristic -- Overall
Table:6.7

<u>Personality</u>	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	<u>Competitive</u>	<u>Creative</u>	
Not at all	2.2	0.0	
To some extent	4.3	6.5	
Average	21.0	31.2	
Much	39.1	39.9	
Very much	32.6	22.5	
	<u>Dominant</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Friendly</u>
Not at all	1.4	0.7	0.0
To some extent	3.6	2.2	2.9
Average	35.5	12.3	22.5
Much	36.2	49.3	46.4
Too much	23.2	25.5	28.3

Personality Characteristics: Comparison of Women and Men

A gender comparison on personality characteristics reported by the respondents interestingly reveals no sharp differences between women and men. The majority of women and men respondents perceive themselves to be competent (women=72.4%, men=73.7%). Similarly, not many differences are observed between men and women on other personality characteristics, dominance (women=64.5%; men 60.3%), independence (women=71%; men=78%), and friendliness (women=74.2%; men=75%). However, all these results are statistically not significant.

Gender differences, are seen in terms of the respondents' perception about creativeness as part of their personality characteristic. More women vis-a-vis men perceive themselves to be creative (women=62.9%; men=45.2%). This difference is statistically significant (chisquare=7.7, DF=3, $p \leq .05$).

The majority of the interviews for both females and males supported these findings. There are no clear cut personality differences between women and men, rather personalities vary from person to person irrespective of gender. For example, one of the male respondents, the head of a provincial department in the Punjab Secretariat made the following comments on personality differences between women and men:

I don't believe that there are any stereotyped personality differences between men and women. Styles vary from person to person and situation to situation. Somebody, you may find very dominating and assertive as well as soft and humane. For women I know they put forth their view point very assertively whenever they want so.

Personality Characteristics - Comparing women and men
Table 6.8

Percent of Response

<u>Personality</u>	<u>N=62</u>	<u>N=76</u>	<u>N=62</u>	<u>N=76</u>
	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
	<u>Competitive</u>		<u>Creative #</u>	
Not at all	1.6	2.6	0.0	0.0
To some extent	1.6	6.6	4.8	7.9
Average	25.8	17.1	32.3	30.3
Much	37.1	40.8	30.6	47.4
Too much	32.3	32.9	32.3	14.9
<u>Personality</u>	<u>Dominant</u>		<u>Independent</u>	
Not at all	1.6	1.3	0.0	1.3
To some extent	1.6	5.3	8.3	3.3
Average	32.3	33.2	19.7	16.5
Much	41.9	36.6	35.5	42.5
Too much	22.6	23.7	35.5	35.5
<u>Personality</u>	<u>Friendly</u>			
Not at all	0.0	1.3		
To some extent	4.8	1.3		
Average	21.0	23.7		
Much	40.3	51.3		
Too much	33.9	23.7		

 # Significant gender differences using chi-square at 90%.

Personality Characteristics: Comparing Management Groups

Significant differences in the perceptions of the respondents on the personality variable can be observed when groups are compared at the management levels. The percentage of the respondents who reported themselves to be competitive is higher in the top management group (82.8%) as compared to that of middle(65.3%) and lower management group (74.2%). These differences are statistically significant (chisquare=15.5, DF=5, $p \leq .05$).

Similarly, in terms of creativeness, the number of respondents in the top management group who reported they had a creative personality is more than that of respondents in other groups (top management = 77.2%; middle management = 55.5%; lower management = 61.3%). These differences are, however, not statistically significant.

Unlike the above, respondents in the top management group do not perceive themselves to have dominating personalities as compared to other two groups. The percentage of respondents who reported themselves as having a dominant personality in the top management group is less than that of middle and lower management group (top management = 54.2%; middle management = 61.2%; lower-management = 61.3). These findings are statistically significant (chisquare = 14.0, DF=8, $p \leq .08$). However, relatively more respondents in the top management group perceive that they are independent and friendly than those in the middle and lower management group, as exhibited in table 6.9.

**Personality Characteristics-
Comparing Management Groups
Table 6.9**

	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	N=35 Top <u>Management</u>	N=72 Middle <u>Management</u>	N=31 Lower <u>Management</u>
<u>Personality</u>			
Competitive@	82.8	65.3	74.2
Creative	77.2	55.5	61.3
Dominant @	54.2	61.2	54.2
Independent	88.6	82.0	82.1
Friendly	74.2	70.8	74.2

@ Significant differences among management groups using Chi-square at 90%.

Motivation for joining the Civil Service

An individual's motivation for taking any occupation is often believed to be a critical factor in determining their career aspirations. To see what motivated civil servants in Pakistan to establish this career they were asked to rate eight motivators that were salary, benefits, public service, job security, social status, power and influence, greater challenge, and autonomy. An analysis of the respondents' ratings on these motivators is presented at three levels, overall, comparison of women and men, and comparison of management groups.

The combined score in terms of percentage of respondent who rated the respective items as "important" and "very important" is given in Tables 6.10 and 6.11. Based on this score, the motivators can be rank ordered from high to low at three levels of analysis, overall, comparison of male and female, and comparison of management groups. At the first level of analysis, based on the percentage of respondents who rated different motivators important and very important, the following ranking is observed:

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Public Service | 2. Greater Challenge |
| 3. Social Status | 4. Job security |
| 5. Power and influence | 6. Benefits |
| 7. Autonomy | 8. Salary |

While comparing women and men in terms of their responses on motivation scales, no gender differences were found on social status, job security, autonomy, and salary. However, gender differences are observed in the case of Public Service and Greater Challenge. Slightly more women respondent(93.6%) reported Greater Challenge as an important motivator as compared to men(89.2%), On the contrary,

more men(93.5%) vis-a-vis women(87.1%) have reported Public Service as important motivator for joining the civil service. The differences are only significant in case of Greater Challenge (chisquare=9.7, DF=3, $p \leq .02$). (Based on these differences, the following ranking of motivators for female and male is observed:

<u>Motivators</u>	
<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>
1. greater challenge	1. public service
2. public service	2. greater challenge
3. social status	3. social status
4. job security	4. job security
5. benefits	5. benefits
6. power and influence	6. power and influence
7. autonomy	7. autonomy
8. Salary	8. Salary

The perceptions of the interviewees on motivation for joining the civil service are also consistent with the statistical findings. For example, a male respondent while reflecting upon his motivation for joining said:

In our society, social status, power and autonomy are the things people aspire for. They want to attach themselves with the institutions where they could have more autonomy, power, influence, social status and prestige. People look towards civil servant for resolution of their problems. Social insecurity in people's minds bring them more towards civil service. Being a civil servant one can have ample opportunities to serve the public. This is what motivated me to take civil service as a career.

Another senior administrator illustrated:

By the time I did master degree, I realised that the civil service offers a young graduate the best opportunities in terms of prestige, self esteem, sense of belonging, social status and autonomy but that was the time when women's entry into the civil service was not very common. Many of my male college fellows were preparing for the civil service examination I also took it as a challenge and decided to take my css examination.

While comparing respondents in the management groups slight variations in terms of percentages can be captured on some motivators. More respondents in the top management group report greater autonomy (51.4%) and benefits (62.9%) as important motivators for joining the civil service when compared to other two groups as shown in table 6.11. However, this difference is small and also not statistically significant.

More respondents in the top and middle management groups view Greater Challenge, Social Status and Power and Influence as important motivators for being in the civil service as compared to the respondents in the lower management group. These differences are also not statistically significant. However, the respondents in all three management groups share similarities on Job Security, Public Service, and Salary as their motivators for joining the civil service.

**Motivation For Joining Civil Service -
Overall and Comparing Women and Men
Table 6.10**

<u>Motivation</u>	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	<u>N=138 Overall</u>	<u>N=62 Females</u>	<u>N=76 Males</u>
Salary	29.7	22.6	35.5
Benefits	52.2	42.0	60.5
Public service#	90.6	87.1	93.5
Job security	70.3	66.2	73.6
Social status	77.5	74.2	80.3
Power and influence	44.9	46.8	48.4
Greater challenge#	88.4	93.6	89.2
More autonomy	39.9	42.0	48.1

Significant gender differences using Chi-square at 90%.

**Motivation For Joining Civil Service -
Comparing Management Groups
Table 6.11**

<u>Motivation</u>	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	<u>Top Management</u>	<u>Middle Management</u>	<u>Lower Management</u>
Salary	42.9	23.6	29.1
Benefits@	62.9	45.8	54.9
Public service	94.3	88.9	90.4
Job security	68.6	72.2	67.7
Social status	80.0	78.5	77.7
Power and influence	51.5	44.4	38.8
Greater challenge	91.4	91.6	77.4
More autonomy@	51.4	41.6	22.6

@ Significant differences among management groups using Chi-square at 90%.

Ability To Manage

Ability to manage is recognised as an important factor in the advancement of both men and women in managerial careers (Tharenou and Conroy, 1994; Tharenou, et al.,1994; Hale and Kelly, 1989). One of the assumptions of this research study is that gender disparities in career advancement may arise as a result of gender differences in the ability to manage. In order to determine whether the ability to manage differ by gender in the civil service of Pakistan, the respondents were asked to assess themselves on various managerial skills and functions considered critical for managerial positions. While managerial skills included writing, communication, and knowledge of rules and regulations, managerial functions constituted decision making, coordination, and conflict management. Tables 6.12 and 6.13 present percentages for those respondents who checked “good” or “very good” on each scale.

The majority of the respondents reported that they have good writing (78.9%) and communication (83.3%) skills, and have good knowledge of the rules and regulations (59.4%). On managerial functions, the majority of the respondents perceive that they are good in co-ordination (68.1%) and conflict handling (71%). However, in case of decision making, only 45 per cent think that they are good in decision making, and the majority places themselves in the “average” category.

Gender comparison on ability to manage reveals that more women than men presume that they have good writing skills (women = 85.5%, men = 73.7%) and good communication skills (women = 90.3%, men = 77.6%), statistics is also significant here (chisquare = 7.6, DF=3, $p \leq .05$). Likewise, slightly more women perceive them as good in coordination (women = 69.4%, men = 67.1%) . This difference is also statistically significant (chisquare = 9.7, DF = 3, $p \leq .02$). More men, on the other hand, view themselves to be having good knowledge of rules and regulations (60.6%) (chisquare = 8.5, DF = 4, $p \leq .03$). Likewise, in terms of decision making and conflict handling men supercede women, (conflict handling, chisquare =10.9, DF = 3, $p \leq .01$).

It can be inferred from the above findings that women are not in any way less than men in terms of their skills and abilities to perform managerial functions. It was further reinforced in the interviews where not only women respondents expressed confidence in their skills and abilities, but also men acknowledged their managerial capabilities. For example, a senior male officer summerised the uniqueness of women civil servants vis-a-vis men in these words:

Women are more meticulous, they spend less time in gossiping, socialising and doing non-productive things. They spend more time in office related activities and therefore, are considered to be more productive than men. People also take them a little more serious than their male colleagues.

Another male officer of the Custom and Excise group shared a similar observation based on his experience of working with female colleagues:

During my 17 years of service I got an opportunity to work with two female administrators, one was my boss and the other was my colleague. Both of these gentle ladies were very competent, and upright. They were more inclined to their assigned jobs and their work output was more than those of the male officers. I have a great respect for both of them.

Another male officer of the foreign service, presently working as Program Director at the civil service academy, Lahore describes the significance of having women in the civil service:

My personal experience of working with a female officer at the civil service academy is that women are more meticulous, more organised and more cautious. As compared to male colleagues they are less approachable. People are afraid to ask women to do something which is wrong as freely as they can ask to men. It is such a pleasure to have female officers in the working organisation. It would be unfair to not recognise the contribution of a female officer for this particular organisation who basically came from the income tax department. I would say that the gentle lady is a real asset for this organisation.

Female officers also expressed a high opinion about female officers working at the senior levels. A female respondent while describing a senior female administrator in her department said:

In our department, only one female officer is working in grade 21, she is near retirement now. Apart from her no other female officer has ever been elevated to such a senior position in the history of the department. She is very competent and brilliant administrator. She is well respected by colleagues and enjoys very good reputation.

Comparing respondents in three management groups, it was found that more respondent in the top management group as compared to the other two, perceive

that they have good managerial skills and perform managerial functions well. The percentages on each scale are shown in tables 6.13. The differences between management groups on each variables are found statistically significant (writing: chisquare = 72.5,DF = 6, $p \leq .00$; communication: chisquare = 77.0, DF=6, $p \leq .00$;rules and regulations: chisquare =122.7, DF = 6, $p \leq .00$; decision making: chisquare =108.7,DF = 6, $p \leq .00$; coordination: chisquare = 87.0, DF = 6, $p \leq .00$; conflict management:chisquare = 114.5,DF = 6, $p < .00$). These finding are consisting with the view that managerial ability is a critical factor in the upward mobility of managers. (Davidson, 1997; Davidson and Burke, 1994; Newman, 1993, Hale and Kelly, 1989).

Ability to Manage - Overall and and Comparing Women and Men
Table 6.12

	<u>Percent of Responses</u>		
	N=138 Overall	N=62 Female	N=76 Male
<u>Managerial Skills</u>			
Writing	78.9	85.5	73.7
Communication #	83.3	90.3	77.6
Rules and regulations#	59.4	57.1	60.6
<u>Management Functions</u>			
Decision making	45.0	35.5	52.7
Co-ordination #*	68.1	69.4	67.1
Conflict management#*	71.0	67.8	73.7

Significant gender differences using Chi-square at 90%.

* Significant gender differences using Mann-Whitney U test at 90%.

Ability To Manage Comparison of Management Groups
Table 6.13

	N=35 Top Management	N=72 Middle Management	N=31 Lower Management
<u>Ability to Manage</u>			
<u>Managerial Skills</u>			
Writing	97.1	94.4	64.5
Communication	94.2	80.6	77.4
Rules and regulations	97.1	61.1	12.9
<u>Management Functions</u>			
Decision making	94.3	38.9	3.2
Co-ordination	90.8	72.3	32.2
Conflict management	91.4	79.2	29.1

Career Commitment

Career commitment is one of the important factors that affect both women and men managers' advancement in their careers. The literature is also largely consistent in pointing to the fact that women managers are in no way less committed to their careers as compared to men (Green and Cassell, 1996; Marshall, 1995, 19984; Aven, 1993; Powel, 1993). However, some research studies do find gender differences in terms of career commitment, and find women less committed to their careers (Epstein, cited in Newman, 1993; Bassow, 1986; Friez, 1978). In order to determine if there are any gender differences in terms of career commitment of civil servants in Pakistan, they were asked a set of questions about time given to the work, leave patterns, training opportunities availed. In addition to these indicators of career commitment, the respondent were also asked some direct questions on their career commitment and motivation to advance.

The analysis of responses to the questions intended to measure career commitment are presented below at three levels of analysis, overall, comparison of women and men, and comparison of respondents in three management group. On the variable, time given to work, the majority of the respondent (73.3%) reported that they work more than 40 hours even up to 50 hours a week despite the fact that by law they are supposed to work 40 hours per week. The detail are given in table 6.14.

In response to the question on leave pattern, 39.9 percent of respondent reports that they have taken leave for less than 5 times for a period of 1 to 2 weeks during the last three years. Whereas, 31.2 per cent reportedly have taken leave for less than 10 times, 13 per cent have taken leave for more 10 times, and only 11.6 per cent have availed leave for less than two times. In response to the question, how many time they have availed themselves of a training opportunity, 23.9 per cent of the respondents reported that they have availed every opportunity offered to them for their career development in the form of training and education while in service. Whereas 31.9 per cent of the respondents indicated that they have taken an in-service training opportunity “only one time”. It is uncertain whether they have been offered training opportunities lesser times or they did not take it for certain reasons.

In addition to the above indirect measures of career commitment, the respondents were also asked direct questions on their perception of their career commitment and motivation to advancement. The majority of the respondents (94.9%) reported that they are committed to their career, and perceive that it has played an important role

in their advancement. Similarly, the majority of the respondents (84%) also view that they have vigor and motivation to excel and advance in their careers.

A comparison between women and men civil servants reveals no significant gender differences between respondents on time given to the work, leave patterns, and their perception of career commitment as a factor contributing to their career success. However, statistically significant differences can be captured in terms of training opportunities availed by women and men respondents. More men said that they have taken training opportunities “every time” (26.3%) or “two to three times” (25%), more women, on the contrary, state that they have availed themselves of training opportunities “only one time” (40.3%) or not at all (30.6%) (chisquare =10.3, DF = 4, $p \leq .3$). Whether women respondents are less committed to their careers cannot be determined from this finding unless considering the number of times these women have been offered any such training and development opportunities. Face to face interviews with female civil servants, however, shed some light on the question of training opportunities for women in the civil service.

A female office illustrated:

In this country nothing comes to you without follow ups. Men are very good in running after such opportunities. We the women are socially at a disadvantage either because of our personal problems at homes or due to organisational policies. Men are also very good in net-working and socialisation. They are, therefore, in the good books of the seniors, we the women can never reach up to that level so men get more opportunities for training than women.

Another female administrator shared similar observation:

In the books opportunities are equal for both women and men civil servants. But in practice things work in a different way, because it is the people who are going to deal it and it is the society where you have been dealt with and here is where the differences start. We the women never get equal opportunities in terms of training and postings. If one or two women are provided with such opportunities that is a cosmetic effect which is to

impress international organisations, non governmental organisations (NGOs), or to impress media.

In the comparison of responses of women and men to direct questions on perception of career commitment and motivation to advance no gender differences are found. Majority of both women and men respondents reported that they were committed to their careers (women = 93.1%; men = 93.5%) and were motivated to advance and excel in their careers (women = 88.7%; men = 80.2%). Although in the case of motivation the percentage for women is slightly higher than men, but this difference is statistically not significant. It can be inferred from these results that both women and men feel equally committed to their career and motivated for advancement. The comments and observations made by female respondents during interviews further strengthen this finding. For example, one of the female office of the secretariat group expressed her zeal and zest for her career in these words:

I always find pleasure in doing challenging things. During my college days it was one of my ambitions to be a civil servant although at that time it was uncommon for girls to think about civil service career. Now that I am in the civil service, I have a strong desire to reach to the peaks of my career. My husband knows about my career commitment since the time we got married, he does not mind even if I do not give much time to home.

Another female officer while reflecting upon her career commitment said:

At the time of joining the civil service I was absolutely clear that the road I was going to travel on is not very smooth for women, the path is unpaved and full of hurdles. My vigor and motivation is still alive and never turned into a cynicism even in the deteriorating conditions.

Comparing respondents in three management groups indicates that the higher the management level, the more time is devoted to work. Top management administrators give more time to work or work related activities (31.4%) than either of the middle or entry level administrators (26.4% and 19.4% respectively) and have taken leave fewer times (chisquare = 17.4, DF = 8, $p \leq .02$). They are slightly

more committed to their careers than the others but differences are not significant. They have been offered more opportunities for their career enhancement and they have availed themselves fully of these opportunities as compared to either the middle or entry level administrators and the statistics are also significant on this variable (chisquare =24.3, DF = 8, $p \leq .00$). This is true, since they have been in service for a longer period of time than their counterparts working at middle or entry levels of management. While responding to the direct questions on career commitment and motivation to advance, respondents in all three management groups share similarities. No significant differences are observed in their perception of their career commitment and motivation to advance.

The interview data also confirms the statistical results on variables of career commitment as discussed above. Several senior administrators expressed that they had to work much harder to meet the demands of top positions. For example, one of the female interviewees working at a senior administrative position in the provincial secretariat said:

My job involves too much public dealings. I often have to sit after office hours to complete my days work and to get my files ready for national or international meetings. I work extra hard and go in the meetings very well prepared to present my department.

Career Commitment -- Overall and Comparing Women and Men
Table 6.14

	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	<u>N=138</u> <u>Overall</u>	<u>N=62</u> <u>Females</u>	<u>N=76</u> <u>Males</u>
<u>Time Given to Work</u>			
32 hours or less	2.9	3.2	2.6
33 to 40 hours	26.8	27.4	26.3
41 to 50 hours	34.1	33.9	34.2
51 to 60 hours	26.1	27.4	25.0
61 hours and over	10.1	8.1	11.8
 <u>Leave Pattern</u>			
More than 10 times	13.0	12.9	13.2
More than 5 but less- than 10 times	31.2	22.6	38.2
More than 2 but less- than 5 times	39.9	48.4	32.9
Less than 2 times	11.6	9.7	13.2
Not at all	4.3	6.5	2.6
 <u>Training Opportunities- Availed#*</u>			
Not at all	26.8	30.6	22.4
One time	31.9	40.3	25.0
Two or three times	17.4	8.1	25.0
Every time	23.9	21.0	26.3
 <u>Career Commitment</u>	 94.9	 96.8	 93.4
 <u>Motivation to advance</u>	 84.0	 88.7	 80.2

 # Significant fender differences using Chi-square at 90%.

* Significant gender differences using Mann-Whitney U
 test at 90%.

Comparing Respondents at Management levels
Table 6.15

	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	N=35 Top <u>Management</u>	N=72 Middle <u>Management</u>	N=31 Lower <u>Management</u>
<u>Time Given to Work@</u>			
32 hours or less	2.9	2.8	3.2
33 to 40 hours	31.4	25.0	27.8
41 to 50 hours	20.0	40.3	35.5
51 to 60 hours	31.4	26.4	19.4
61 hours and over	14.3	5.6	14.1
<u>Leave Pattern@</u>			
More than 10 times	0.0	13.9	25.8
More than 5 but less- than 10 times	48.6	27.8	21.4
More than 2 but less- than 5 times	28.6	45.8	38.7
Less than 2 times	17.1	9.7	9.7
Not at all	5.7	2.8	4.5
<u>Training Opportunities Availed@</u>			
Not at all	5.7	30.6	38.7
One time	20.0	34.7	38.7
Two to three times	28.6	15.3	9.7
Every time	45.8	19.4	12.9
<u>Career Commitment</u>	100.0	93.1	93.5
<u>Motivation to advance</u>	77.1	87.5	83.9

@ Significant differences among management groups using
Chi-square at 90%.

SECTION II

ORGANISATIONAL VARIABLES

This section presents the results on a number of organizational variables broadly classified into four sets: 1) power distribution; 2) gender composition; 3) attitudes towards women administrators; and 4) discrimination, overt as well as covert. The findings on these sets of variables are presented at the three levels of analysis: 1) overall; 2) comparison of women and men; and 3) comparison of management of levels, top, middle, and lower.

Power Distribution

Power distribution among various social groups is considered as one of the important factors which determines their relative position and status in organization (Slanick and Pfeffer, cited in, Natemeyer and Gilberg, 1989; Kanter, 1977). Drawing upon this view, women's scarcity in the managerial hierarchy is often attributed to the unequal distribution of power between women and men in organizations. Women are assumed to have limited access to resources and opportunities that constitute the basis of power in organisations (Itzen and Newman, 1995; Baron and Bielby, 1985; Ferguson, 1984; Kanter, 1979, 1977a; Bartol, 1978).

To understand the power distribution between women and men in the civil service of Pakistan, the respondents were asked to provide information on their current salary grade, number of employees supervised, and occupational group. While salary grade and number of employees supervised are general indicators of one's

power position in an organizational hierarchy, occupational group has special significance in the context of the Pakistani civil service. The strict cadre system and occupational groups are the important indicators of power and influence, enjoyed by the incumbents in the civil service hierarchy. Power and influence varies across occupational groups. Some occupational groups such as district management, foreign service, police, and secretariat groups are considered more prestigious and those affiliated with them have relatively more power and influence (Chapter, 5).

The overall findings on the above variables along with gender comparison is presented in table 4.16. In terms of salary grades, the majority of the respondents fall in the middle management group (grade 18=12.3%, Grade 19=39.9%). The average number of employees supervised by the respondents is over 23 (mean=23.7). On occupational group, while over 44% of the respondents belong to three groups, income tax(18.1%), district management (14.5%), and Secretariat (11.6), the rest of the respondents are distributed across the other eleven groups.

A comparison between women and men respondents reveals significant differences and shows that on average, men administrators supervise more employees than women administrators (men, mean=24.7; women, mean=21). The findings are significant statistically (t-value= -1.72, DF=136, $p \leq .08$). Men also hold more powerful positions in terms of salary grades as more men come from top management group (grade 20=28.9% and grade 21=7.9%) when compared to women. On the contrary, more women belong to middle management (grade 18=14.5% and grade 19= 48.4%) and entry level (25.8%). Very few women

respondents belong to the top management group (grade 20=28.9%) when compared to their counterparts and there is not a single woman respondent in grade 21. The findings are also statistically significant (chisquare =13.1, DF = 4, $p \leq .01$).

In terms of occupational groups again, men dominate in most of the prestigious groups. While, the majority of the men respondents belong to the district management group (19.7%) and secretariat group (15.8%), the majority of the women respondents come from the income tax group (21%) and office management group (12.9%), with findings significant statistically (chisquare=20.5, DF=13, $p \leq .08$).

Upon asking the interviewees the reasons for not having many women in some of the prestigious occupational groups i.e., district management, foreign service, respondents pointed to a variety of cultural and organizational factors responsible for it. One of the female interviewees while reflecting upon her choice of occupational group said:

I had a great ambition to join foreign service group but at that time women were not encouraged to join this service. There were several restrictions for women opting for foreign service, like unmarried women would not be posted out of the country, married women would not be allowed to take their families with them and if families accompany in some cases the husbands would not be permitted to work over abroad. Of course in our culture, all parents are concerned for their daughters to get married at proper age and have a settled family life. Although my mother was an emancipated lady but she was an eastern mother as well, she had her own apprehensions that if I joined foreign service I might had unsettled family life . My mother did not discourage but I also did not find her very supportive at that time. For the first time, I felt very discouraged and discriminated, anyway, I reconciled myself and opted for another occupational group.

Another female administrator of the Income Tax service working at the middle management level said:

When I was a child I had a great desire to be an ambassador for Pakistan. When I took my CSS examination after doing my masters in psychology, I put foreign service as my first choice. I got my choice as I had a very good position among my badgemates. As there were certain restrictions for women in joining that occupational group I was also allowed to opt for other groups. Although I personally wanted to take my first choice but parents did not agree purely on family considerations. Thinking more practically, I opted for Income Tax group which I think has helped me a lot to balance my conflicting roles as officer and wife and mother of children.

In the words of another female officer:

Women face more hurdles in the occupational groups which are more demanding. There is bar on women to join police service group, there are a few women in police service in junior or non gazetted grades. Women are not posted abroad if they join foreign service group. If they are going to be stagnant in Islamabad (federal capital), there is no fun in joining foreign service. These occupational groups are inherently unsuited to women who have stronger family ties. Women who are in District Management Group (DMG) are not offered field jobs. Where more exposure and public dealings are involved hurdles are more obvious and glaring for women. For example, if there is a law and order issue and a woman officer goes to handle the situation and if somebody touches the woman over there that would be another scandal. I think this is our culture.

Men on the other hand are free to join any occupational group of their choice.

According to one senior male administrator:

I have heard about foreign service group that it is a very clean service group where so called political pressures are less, one can be a little more independent and can be recognised earlier in career. And that is true, just in four years of service, I got several opportunities to go in different countries as an ambassador for Pakistan that provided me great opportunities for learning and self development.

The comparison of respondents in management groups reveals differences in terms of number of employees supervised, whereas, administrators at the top management level supervise more employees (mean = 28.6) than either of the middle management administrators (mean = 23.6) or entry level administrators

(mean=16.8). These differences are statistically significant (F ratio=8.05, DF = 2, p ≤ .005).

**Distribution of Power- Overall-
and Comparing women and men**

Table 6.16

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Median</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>
<u>Employees Supervised \$</u>			
Overall - N=138	23.0	20.0	12.5
Female - N=62	21.1	18.0	13.6
Male - N=76	24.7	21.0	11.3
<u>Percent of Response</u>			
	<u>N=138 Overall</u>	<u>N=62 Females</u>	<u>N=76 Males</u>
<u>Salary Grade #*</u>			
Grade 17	22.5	25.8	19.7
Grade 18	12.3	14.5	10.5
Grade 19	39.9	48.4	32.9
Grade 20	21.0	11.3	28.9
Grade 21	4.3	0.0	7.9
<u>Occupational Group #</u>			
Accounts	8.7	6.5	10.5
Commerce and Trade	2.9	4.8	1.3
Custom and Excise	8.0	9.7	6.6
District Management	14.5	8.1	19.7
Economists and Planners	2.9	1.6	3.9
Foreign Service	3.6	0.0	7.4
Income Tax	18.1	21.0	13.2
Information	3.6	1.6	5.3
Military Lands- and Cantonment	1.4	6.4	1.3
Office Management	8.7	12.9	5.3
Police	4.3	0.0	7.9
Postal	5.1	6.5	3.9
Railways	6.5	11.3	2.9
Secretariat	11.6	9.7	15.8

Significant gender differences using Chi-square at 90%.

* Significant gender differences using Mann-Whitney U test at 90%.

\$ Significant gender differences using independent sample t-test at 90%.

**Distribution of Power
Comparing Management Groups
Table 6.17**

<u>Employees Supervised £</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Median</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>
Top Management	92.2	50.0	78.6
Middle Management	39.4	20.0	46.3
Entry level Management	30.5	12.0	49.9

	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	N=35 Top Management	N=72 Middle Management	N=31 Lower Management
<u>Salary Grade</u>	25.4%	52.2%	22.5%

£ Significant differences within management groups using One-Way ANOVA at 90%.

Gender Composition

It is generally agreed that the social composition of an organization affects its behavior, performance, and acceptance of workers with different social characteristics. Researchers in women and management have particularly examined the effect of the gender composition of an organization on the acceptability of women vis-a-vis men. It is suggested that the number of people in terms of their gender affects the acceptability of women as co-workers. If the number of women in an organization is greater than men women will be more acceptable and compatible and vice versa (Newman, 1993; Chaftz, 1990; Kanter, 1977).

In order to explain to what extent gender acts as an impediment to women's advancement in the civil service, gender composition of respondents' work environment was explored by asking about the overall composition of their service/organization and whether or not they worked with female officer(s) as co-officer, boss, or subordinate. The findings are presented in the table 6.18. While 31.2% of respondents reported that they were working with all male colleagues, only 3.6% have all female colleagues. On overall gender composition of their organisations 34.1% of the respondents reported that men constitute a majority in their organisations. Only (.7%) of the civil servants considered that the gender proportion is about 50-50 in their respective organisations. The majority of the respondents (81.9%) reported that they had worked with female officers, among them, 19.6% have worked with women as fellow officers and subordinates and 9.4% as their boss. Whereas, 18.1% of the respondents reportedly have never got a chance to work with female in any capacity.

There are hardly any differences found between women and men's responses on overall gender composition in their organization and in their immediate work environment. However, statistically significant differences can be observed in women and men respondents on their responses on "work with female civil servant" and particular "capacity". More women (88.7%) than men (76.3%) reported that they have worked with female civil servants with statistically significant finding (chisquare = 3.5, DF=1, $p \leq .6$). More women also view that they have worked with female civil servants as their bosses (women = 12.9%, men=6.6%), (chisquare=15.9, DF=8, $p < .04$).

A comparison of management groups highlights differences among respondents. More respondents in the top management (40%) as compared to other two groups report their colleagues all male, statistics is also significant on this variable(chisquare = 8.1, DF = 4, $p \leq .08$). Similar trends are observed on overall gender composition of their organizations. While, there is not much difference found in the opinions of middle and entry level administrators on the particular capacity in which they have worked with female civil servant, differences can be observed at the top management level. Very few administrators at the top management level (5.7%) reported that they have worked with female officers as their bosses.

**Gender Composition- Overall-
and Comparing Women and Men
Table 6.18**

	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	<u>N=138</u> <u>Overall</u>	<u>N=62</u> <u>Females</u>	<u>N=76</u> <u>Males</u>
<u>Gender of Colleagues</u>			
All female	3.6	3.2	3.9
All male	31.2	32.3	30.3
Female and male	65.2	64.5	65.8
<u>Proportion of groups - at the top</u>			
About 50,50	0.7	0.0	1.3
Majority of men and - minority of women	65.2	67.7	63.2
All men	34.1	32.3	35.5
<u>Work With Female #*</u>			
Yes	81.9	88.7	76.3
No	18.1	11.3	23.7
<u>Capacity #</u>			
Sub-ordinate	16.7	12.9	19.7
Fellow officer	12.3	17.7	7.9
Boss	9.4	12.9	6.6
Fellow and sub-ordinate	19.6	21.0	18.4
Boss and sub-ordinate	7.2	9.7	5.3
Boss and fellow officer	4.3	0.0	7.9
Boss, fellow and - sub-ordinate	12.3	14.5	10.5
Not applicable	18.1	11.3	23.7

Significant gender differences using Chi-square at 90%.

* Significant gender differences using Mann-Whitney U test at 90%.

**Gender Composition
Comparing Management Groups
Table 6.19**

	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	N=35 Top Management	N=72 Middle Management	N=31 Lower Management
<u>Gender of Colleagues @</u>			
All female	2.9	1.4	9.7
All male	40.0	33.3	16.1
Female and male	57.1	65.3	74.2
<u>Proportion of Groups at the top</u>			
About 50,50	0.0	1.4	0.0
Majority of men and- minority of women	60.0	62.5	77.4
All men	40.0	36.1	22.6
<u>Work With Female</u>			
Yes	80.0	81.9	83.9
No	20.0	18.1	16.1
<u>Capacity</u>			
Sub-ordinate	25.7	16.7	6.5
Fellow officer	5.7	11.1	22.6
Boss	5.7	8.3	16.1
Fellow and sub-ordinate	20.0	19.4	19.4
Boss and sub-ordinate	8.6	5.6	9.7
Boss and fellow	8.6	4.2	0.0
Boss, fellow and- sub-ordinate	5.7	16.7	9.7
Not applicable	20.0	18.1	16.1

@ Significant differences among management groups
using Chi-square at 90%.

Attitudes towards Working Women

Organizational attitudes towards working women in general and women managers in particular are one of the important variables of the research model of this study. The model suggests that if the majority of the people in an organization have negative attitudes towards working women, women managers are confronted with hostile work environment which is likely to impede their upward career mobility and vice versa.

To investigate the prevailing attitudes in the civil service of Pakistan towards women administrators, the respondents' perceptions were sought on a set of eleven statements reflecting stereotypical beliefs about women's suitability and capacity vis-a-vis men for administrative positions. Some of the statements were: it is not desirable for women to hold a position with administrative responsibility; on average women are less capable in contributing to the civil service's overall goals; to be a successful administrator a woman does not need to sacrifice some of her femininity; women are not ambitious enough to be successful in their careers. The findings are presented at the three levels of analysis in the form of mean score of 138 respondents computed on the basis of aggregate score of each respondents ranging from 11 to 55 points reflecting very negative to very positive attitudes respectively.

Overall, the majority of the respondents are found to have positive attitudes towards women administrators with a mean score 43.4 on a five point scale. However, a gender comparison between respondents reveals slight differences between women

and men in terms of their attitudes towards women administrators (women's mean = 45.8; men's mean = 41.4). These findings are statistically significant (t-value = 4.07, $P \leq .00$) and suggest that women have more favorable attitudes towards women officers as compared to their counterparts men.

A comparison of respondents within three management groups also points to significant differences in terms of respondents' attitudes towards women. Respondents in the lower and top management groups have slightly conservative attitudes towards women administrators as compared to those in the middle management group (mean score: top management = 43.1; lower management = 42.5; middle management = 43.9). Although, these differences are not statistically significant it might be inferred from the finding that women's balanced representation at all management levels can turn the table around in their favor. Since out of the three management levels women are more equally represented at the middle management level, the respondents in this group have relatively more positive attitudes towards women.

**Attitudes Towards Working Women-
Overall- and Comparing Women and Men**

Table 6.20

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Median</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>
<u>Attitudes Towards Working Women</u> £			
Overall	43.4	44.0	6.7
Females	45.8	47.0	5.9
Males	41.4	42.0	6.7

£ Significant gender differences using independent sample t-test at 90%.

**Attitudes Towards Working Women
Comparing Management Groups
Table 6.21**

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Median</u>
<u>Attitudes Towards Women</u>		
Top management	43.1	44.0
Middle management	43.9	45.0
Entry level management	42.5	35.0

Discrimination

One of the premises of the research framework of this study is that discrimination against women in their career advancement, both in overt and covert form, occurs due to a number of organizational factors such as personnel policies and rules, distribution of power, gender composition of groups, and attitudes towards women. While it is easy to detect discrimination against women which is overt, it is hard to uncover discrimination which is covert. One of the major objectives of the study was to uncover discrimination which women face in the form of subtle and invisible barriers, termed as the glass ceiling, towards their upward career mobility. To explore whether women face any such barriers the respondents were asked about opportunities for development such as training, mentoring, participation in formal and informal meetings, and issues of sexual harassment. The respondents were further asked whether they have ever lost promotion as a result of any type of discrimination. Their responses on training opportunities offered and taken are displayed in tables 6.22 and 6.23 at the three levels of analysis. Overall, a large number of respondents (38.4%) have been offered training opportunities from two to three times within the last five years of their service. While 23.2% have been given training opportunity for one time only, 19.6% have been offered such opportunities four or more times.

In response to the question on the number of times the respondents have availed themselves of offered training opportunities, 23.9% reported that they have always accepted the opportunities, 31.9% only one time and 26.8% not at all. Further examination of the subject reveals that out of those who were offered training

opportunities but did not use them, 15.6% missed the opportunities due to organisational reasons, 11.6% missed because of personal reasons and only 6.5% missed such opportunities for career development for societal reasons. The rest of the respondents checked the “not applicable” category in their particular case. It is uncertain whether they have taken every offered opportunity for their career enhancement or they have never been offered any such training opportunity.

The detailed interviews with some of the respondents provide further support to the above findings. A number of respondents expressed the view that they could not participate in the training and development opportunities because of the subjective nature of organisational policies. One of the female officers from the Pakistan Railways said:

We are not informed about most of the scholarships and training opportunities abroad. Sometimes we receive circulars for training or scholarship when deadline is about to finish and it is really hard to meet all the formalities required for it. Men who are good in networking and running after such opportunities usually grab such offers.

An exploration of gender differences in training opportunities uncover significant differences between women and men. The findings show that more men have availed themselves of training opportunities two or three times when compared to their women counterparts (men = 25%, women = 8.1%). These findings are Statistically significant (chisquare = 10.2, DF = 4, $p \leq .03$). Likewise, more men have been offered training opportunities four or more times (men = 21.1%, women = 17.7%). More women respondents, on the other hand, report that they have not been offered training opportunities even for a single time when compared to their counterparts (women = 22.4%; men = 15.8%) but the findings are not statistically

significant. More women administrators also report that they have not participated in training opportunities due to organisational reasons (women = 17.7%, men = 13.2%). While, no male respondent mentioned that he has missed training opportunities due to societal factors, a significant proportion of women respondents (8.1%) checked that they have missed training opportunities for societal reasons. Although in terms of percentages minimal differences are found between women and men who missed training opportunities due to personal or familial reasons.

Comparison of respondents within management groups reveals significant differences on all three variables. The findings show that administrators in the top management group have been offered more opportunities for their career development in the form of training, more administrators at this level have availed themselves of such offers and very few mention that they have missed the offers for organisational reasons when compared to the other two management groups as shown in the table 4.23. Statistical results on all three variables, training opportunities offered; training opportunities availed; and reasons for missing such opportunities are found significant (chisquare = 16.2, DF=6, $p \leq .01$), (chisquare = 24.3, DF = 8, $p < .00$), (chisquare = 18.6, DF = 8, $p < .01$).

**Discrimination - Overall-
and Comparison of Women and Men
Table 6.22**

	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	N=138 <u>Overall</u>	N=62 <u>Female</u>	N=76 <u>Male</u>
<u>Opportunities for Training offered #*</u>			
Not at all	18.8	22.6	15.8
One time	23.2	22.6	23.7
Two to three times	38.4	37.1	39.5
Four or more times	19.6	17.7	21.1
<u>Opportunities for Training Availed #*</u>			
Not at all	26.8	30.6	22.4
One time	31.9	40.3	26.3
Two or three times	17.4	8.1	25.0
Every time	23.9	21.0	26.3
<u>Reason (s) For Missing</u>			
Personal	11.6	11.3	1.3
Organisational	15.6	17.7	10.5
Societal	6.5	8.1	13.2
Not applicable	66.7	62.9	74.7

Significant gender differences using Chi-square at 90%.
* Significant gender differences using Mann-Whitney U test at 90%.

**Discrimination -
Comparing Management Groups
Table 6.23**

	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	N=35 Top Management	N=72 Middle Management	N=31 Lower Management
<u>Opportunities for- Training Offered @</u>			
Not at all	2.9	20.8	32.3
One time	22.9	22.2	25.8
Two to three times	37.1	41.7	32.3
Four or more times	37.1	15.3	9.7
<u>Opportunities for- Training Availed @</u>			
Not at all	5.7	30.6	38.7
One time	22.9	34.7	38.7
Two to three times	28.6	15.3	9.7
Every time	42.9	19.4	12.9
<u>Reason (s) For Missing @</u>			
Personal	14.3	12.5	3.2
Organisational	11.4	19.4	3.2
Societal	0.0	4.2	19.7
Not Applicable	74.3	63.9	64.5

@ Significant differences among management groups using Chi-square at 90%.

Mentoring Opportunities

Mentoring plays an important role in an individual's personal and career development. One of the invisible barriers to women's reaching to the top hierarchy in an organization is the unequal access of women vis-a-vis men to mentoring opportunities.(Noe, 1988; Kram and Isabella,1985; Kram, 1983; Larwood and Blackmore, 1978). It has been largely cited in the literature that women administrators often find it hard to get mentors of their own gender because of the phenomenon of having so few women at the top (Noe, 1988; Kram & Isabella, 1985). In order to determine the extent to which civil servants have access to mentors, the types and gender of their mentors, they were asked about mentoring opportunities available to them.

The findings illustrated in table 6.24 show that overall more male mentors are available in the roles of peers, superiors and teachers. The percentage of male mentors available in the form of spouse is also slightly higher than female spouse mentors (male = 26.8%; female = 23.2%). However, both female and male mentors are reported as friends in other occupational groups and parents.

Differences in the types and gender of the mentors available to women and men civil servants can be captured by comparing respondents by their respective gender. Women are as likely as men to report to having male mentors in the roles of peers, superiors, teachers and friends as shown in table 6.25. Although, statistically the findings are significant only on superiors as mentors (chisquare = 8.4, DF = 3, $p \leq .3$). The findings reinforce the fact that there are very few women in the senior

positions, therefore, their availability as mentors is not as common as men. Although, some women respondents reported to have female mentors but the percentage of male mentors to women is much larger than those of the female mentors to women. Both women and men report to have female and male mentors as parents, friends and spouse. However, statistically the findings are significant only in case of parents and friends as mentors (parents, chisquare = 6.3, DF = 3, $p \leq .09$, friends, chisquare = 15.4, DF = 3, $p \leq .00$).

Some interesting and statistically significant differences in the type and gender of the mentors can be observed when respondents are compared at management levels. Table 6.26 illustrates that the percentage of male mentors defined as peers and superiors is larger at all three levels of management with statistically significant findings (peers: chisquare = 24.7, DF = 6, $p \leq .00$), (superior: chisquare = 15.0, DF = 6, $p \leq .02$).

The respondents in the top management group reported having more female mentors defined as spouse than either of the middle or entry level administrators (chisquare = 10.7, DF = 6, $p < .09$). Both female and male parents are reported as mentors by administrators working at all three levels of management., although the findings are not significant statistically.

Mentoring Opportunities- Overall
Table 6.24

Percent of Response N=138

<u>Mentoring Opportunities</u>	<u>Gender of Mentors</u>		
	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female and Male</u>
Peers	12.3	33.3	9.4
Superiors	10.9	58.7	4.3
Teachers	15.9	30.4	5.8
Spouse	23.2	26.8	0.0
Friends	24.6	31.2	23.9
Parents	9.4	20.3	46.4

Mentoring Opportunities-
Comparing Women and Men
Table 6.25

Mentoring Opportunities #*

N=62 Females

	<u>Gender of Mentors</u>		
	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Female and Males</u>
Peers	17.7	27.4	9.7
Superiors	8.1	50.0	8.1
Teachers	17.7	22.6	8.1
Spouse	0.0	38.7	0.0
Friends	37.1	16.1	25.8
Parents	12.9	21.0	51.6

N=76 Males
Gender of Mentors

	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females and Males</u>
Peers	7.9	38.2	9.2
Superiors	13.2	65.8	1.3
Teachers	14.5	36.8	3.9
Spouse	35.5	0.0	0.0
Friends	14.5	43.4	22.4
Parents	6.6	19.7	42.1

Significant gender differences using chi-square at 90%.

* Significant gender differences using Mann-Whitney U test at 90%.

**Mentoring Opportunities
Comparing Management Groups
Table 6.26**

N=35 - Top-Management

Gender of Mentors

	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females and Males</u>
<u>Mentoring Opportunities@</u>			
Peers	5.7	48.6	20.0
Superiors	8.6	68.6	2.9
Teachers	14.3	45.7	2.9
Spouse	37.1	22.9	0.0
Friends	20.0	40.0	17.1
Parents	11.4	20.0	34.3

N=72 - Middle Management

Gender of Mentors

	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females and Males</u>
<u>Mentoring Opportunities@</u>			
Peers	16.7	36.1	2.8
Superiors	16.7	56.9	1.4
Teachers	19.4	26.4	5.6
Spouse	20.8	30.6	0.0
Friends	29.2	30.6	26.4
Parents	4.2	20.8	54.2

N=31 - Lower Management

Gender of Mentors

	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females and Males</u>
<u>Mentoring Opportunities@</u>			
Peers	9.7	9.7	12.9
Superiors	0.0	51.6	12.9
Teachers	9.7	22.6	9.7
Spouse	12.9	22.6	0.0
Friends	19.4	22.6	25.8
Parents	19.4	9.4	41.9

@ Significant differences among management groups using Chi-square at 90%.

Participation in Formal and Informal Meetings

As discussed earlier in the chapter, covert discrimination against women in managerial careers is complex and subtle and may appear in various forms including the exclusion of women from formal meeting and informal discussions and gatherings. In order to find the nature and extent of such exclusion, if any, in the civil service of Pakistan, the respondents were asked about their involvement in formal and informal meetings and discussions at the workplace.

While reporting their involvement in formal meetings, both women and men report that they are rarely excluded from such meetings. Majority of the administrators working at the top level of management report they are not excluded from formal discussions/meetings at all (54.3%) or very rarely when compared to the administrators working at the middle or entry levels of management. This finding suggests that exclusion is more prevalent in lower management than at the top management.

The findings of the interviewees equally support the above results where administrators in the senior positions expressed that they are rarely excluded from formal discussions in the department. Female respondents also reported their full participation in formal meetings as illustrated by a senior female administrator who is Secretary, Social Welfare and Women Development, Government of the Punjab:

I participate actively in all the meetings and formal discussions in the department or unless there is a very serious reason for missing. I realize that being a women I am the lone voice representing all women of the society so I go with full preparation while attending meetings inside or outside the organization or at an international level.

Another female administrator working at the middle level of management said:

Initially, I used to feel uncomfortable in the circle of male colleagues even during the meetings. I feel different now when I look back to my earlier years in the civil service. Over the years, I have become more confident. In our society, you feel more secure and confident if you are married. So, after getting married, I feel more secure and confident since I know that no one is going to gossip about me if I am in the circle of male colleagues.

Male respondents also acknowledged female administrators' contribution during the departmental meetings and discussions as illustrated by a senior male officers:

Women do participate in the meetings and bring forth point of view very strongly, they know how to present things in order and how to make others listen to them.

However, differences in the exclusionary practices are found on informal discussions and meetings. More men than women report a rare exclusion from informal meetings and discussions where important organisational decisions can be taken and the findings are significant (chisquare= 12.8, DF= 6, P< .05). When respondents in the three management groups are compared, significant differences appear in the perception of respondents on their involvement in informal meetings and discussion at the work place. More respondents in the top management and lower management groups report that they are rarely excluded from informal organisational discussions than those of the middle level administrators with statistically significant findings (chisquare = 17.9, DF = 10, p< .05).

**Exclusion From Formal Discussions
Overall and Comparison of Women and Men
Table 6.27**

	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	N=138	N=62	N=76
	<u>Overall</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
<u>Exclusion from- Formal Discussions</u>			
Often	4.3	6.5	2.6
Sometimes	3.6	11.3	11.8
Occasionally	35.5	4.8	2.6
Rarely	26.8	43.5	40.8
Not at all	18.1	33.9	42.1

**Exclusion From Formal Discussions
Comparing Management Groups
Table 6.28**

	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	N=35	N=72	N=31
	Top	Middle	Lower
	<u>Management</u>	<u>Management</u>	<u>Management</u>
<u>Exclusion from- Formal Discussions</u>			
Often	2.9	4.2	9.7
Sometimes	8.6	11.1	16.1
Occasionally	2.9	2.8	3.2
Rarely	31.4	50.0	35.5
Not at all	54.3	31.9	35.5

**Exclusion From Informal Discussions-
Overall and Comparing Women and Men
Table 6.29**

	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	<u>N=138</u> <u>Overall</u>	<u>N=62</u> <u>Females</u>	<u>N=76</u> <u>Males</u>
<u>Exclusion from- Informal Discussions *#</u>			
Often	9.4	9.7	9.2
Sometimes	35.5	35.5	35.5
Occasionally	10.1	12.9	6.6
Rarely	26.8	25.8	27.6
Not at all	18.1	14.5	21.1

Significant gender differences using Chi-square at 90%.
* Significant gender differences using Mann-Whitney U test at 90%.

**Exclusion From Informal Discussions-
Comparing Management Groups
Table 6.30**

	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	<u>N=35</u> <u>Top</u> <u>Management</u>	<u>N=72</u> <u>Middle</u> <u>Management</u>	<u>N=31</u> <u>Lower</u> <u>Management</u>
<u>Exclusion from- Informal Discussions @</u>			
Often	5.7	15.3	0.0
Sometimes	34.0	33.3	35.5
Occasionally	0.0	11.1	16.1
Rarely	28.9	27.8	29.0
Not at all	28.6	12.5	19.4

@ Significant differences among management groups using Chi-square at 90%.

Sexual Harassment

The issues of sexual harassment are increasingly gaining attention as subtle forms of discrimination against women at the workplace and as highly insidious to women's careers (Hale and Kelly, 1988; Col, 1985; Bayes, 1985). The administrators in the civil service of Pakistan were asked if they have heard of or experienced, any type of behavior that may have caused harassment to them at the workplace. The responses indicate that the percentage of those who report the experience of sexual harassment at the workplace are very low. A large number of the respondents, however, indicate that they have heard about the incidence of sexual harassment in one form or the other in the organisation.

Significant gender differences exist. More women than men report the incidence of sexual harassment in the form of offensive verbal behavior and comments with statistically significant findings (chisquare = 10.8, DF = 2, $p < .00$). Likewise, more women report that they have heard about the issues of sexual harassment at workplace.

The above findings are further supported by the observations and experiences of some of the female interviewees. While discussing the issue of sexual harassment one female civil officer shared her personal experience in these words:

I faced this kind of situation at my first posting where I was working with one female and three male colleagues. Both me and my female friend found some negative element on the part of a male colleague. We were very disturbed and stressed due to his behavior, it was quite difficult to cope with. Luckily my husband was posted out of Lahore at that time. I also took leave and joined my husband. I thought this was the best time to be out of the situation. At the time I was leaving, I got a chance to discuss the matter with another female friend whose husband was one of my senior colleagues. He suggested to me to bring the matter into the light by reporting it formally. But, I realized that it is better not to open the issue to every one. On my

rejoining the office, I requested for a posting to another office which was more close to my home and this is how I overcome this problem.

Another female administrator while sharing her experience said:

Although incidences of sexual harassment are more common at junior level but it is not very uncommon to face it at upper level. I am in my late thirties now and am working at a middle management level. Even at this stage, I received sometime obnoxious calls. I am sure it must be some crazy person sitting somewhere in this department, but in Pakistan the best way is to shut up such calls otherwise bringing it to light may make the things worst as people might start talking that there must be something going on, there must be a scandal or story behind it, that would be more like exposing yourself.

During interviews, mostly women reported that they have heard about the issues of sexual harassment at workplace but never personally experienced. It is evident from this finding and the comments of female officer quoted above that women in Pakistan are more reticent to discuss such issues publicly or officially for the sake of their integrity and the element of exposure and publicity attached to it.

Differences in the perceptions of respondents are also noticeable when three management groups are compared. Findings at this level indicate that officers working at middle and entry levels of management are more vulnerable to issues of sexual harassment when compared to officers at the top management echelons. However, statistically significant findings can be observed only on variable, “unwelcome sexual advantages by superiors”, (chisquare = 7.9, DF = 4, $p \leq .09$).

**Sexual Harassment at Workplace -
Overall and Comparison of Women and Men
Table 6.31**

<u>Sexual Harassment</u>	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	<u>N=138 Overall</u>	<u>N=62 Females</u>	<u>N=76 Males</u>
<u>Unwelcome sexual- advantages by superiors</u>			
Experienced	2.9	3.2	2.6
Heard	20.4	19.0	11.6
Not applicable	76.7	77.7	85.8
<u>Sexual favors by- colleagues</u>			
Experienced	8.0	6.5	0.7
Heard	29.1	28.4	11.6
Not applicable	62.9	65.2	87.7
<u>Superior's sex - biased attitude</u>			
Experienced	10.9	9.7	4.8
Heard	38.6	22.3	20.8
Not applicable	50.6	68.1	74.4
<u>Offensive verbal- behavior and comments#</u>			
Experienced	15.2	11.7	4.7
Heard	29.9	23.5	19.6
Not applicable	54.9	64.8	75.6

Significant gender differences using Chi-square at 90%.

**Sexual Harassment at Work
Comparing Management Groups
Table 6.32**

	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	N=35	N=72	N=31
	Top	Middle	Lower
	<u>Management Management Management</u>		
<u>Sexual Harassment</u>			
<u>Unwelcome sexual- advantages by superiors@</u>			
Experienced	0.0	2.8	6.5
Heard	15.7	28.9	16.1
Not applicable	84.3	68.3	77.4
<u>Sexual advantages- by colleagues</u>			
Experienced	0.0	2.5	3.2
Heard	17.1	20.3	28.7
Not applicable	82.9	67.2	68.1
<u>Superior's sex- biased attitude</u>			
Experienced	1.4	7.5	6.5
Heard	14.3	23.3	21.9
Not applicable	84.3	69.2	61.9
<u>Offensive verbal- behavior and comments</u>			
Experienced	0.0	9.4	9.7
Heard	12.9	24.4	28.4
Not applicable	87.1	56.1	61.9

@ Significant differences among management groups using Chi-square at 90%.

Lost Opportunity For Promotion

One of the premises of the research model is that women are not always victims of discrimination, rather they sometime make hard choices like giving up promotional opportunities due to their personal values, beliefs, and family roles. To investigate to what extent civil servants in Pakistan specially women perceive discrimination as a barrier to their advancement, the respondents were asked to identify the reason(s) such as unwillingness to relocate, time required to be away from family, superior's biased attitude, occupational group, gender or age discrimination for any lost opportunity for promotion.

Various reasons for losing promotional opportunities reported by respondents, rank-ordered on the basis of response rate, are as follows:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------|
| 1. occupational group discrimination | 44.2% |
| 2. unwillingness to relocate | 27.0% |
| 3. time away from family | 25.5% |
| 4. Superiors' biased attitude | 15.5% |
| 5. gender discrimination | 14.6% |
| 6. age discrimination | 03.6% |

It may be inferred from the above that gender discrimination is less a problem in promotion than affiliation with occupational groups and other family reasons.

On comparing women and men respondents, significant differences are observed among their perceptions of reasons for loosing an opportunity for promotion. More women than men report they have lost such an opportunity because of their unwillingness to relocate and time required to be away from the family

(chisquare = 4.6, DF = 1, $p < .3$), (chisquare = 3.2, DF = 1, $p < .07$). This has been supported by the interviews as well where more women civil servants view their family circumstances and domestic responsibilities as a major impediment in their mobility.

It is the women respondents only, though very few in terms of percentage (14.6%) who view gender discrimination as one of the reasons for losing promotional opportunity. None of the men respondents report gender discrimination as a reason for losing any promotional opportunity. This finding is statistically significant (chisquare = 2.8, DF = 1, $p < .09$).

The data collected from interviews provide further support to the above findings. A number of women interviewees disclosed that they have suffered discrimination in their careers. They, however, point to subtle ways of discriminating against women.

A female officer illustrates:

Although many women are now working in the district management group, they are handling public affairs very well but still those sitting at the top believe in cultural taboos and perceive women unsuited for positions which involve much public exposure and public dealings. There are some members sitting in the promotion and selection boards who are averse to the sight of a female officer. These members sometimes ask quite embarrassing questions such as, why are you joining civil service, why do not you marry and get settled first. Women receive the similar treatment when considered for a good posting or training abroad.

Another female officer pointed out:

For promotion annual confidential reports are plays an important role. These reports are also critically reviewed and examined while taking promotion decision in the Selection Board. The element of male bias is always there in the board as no female has ever been on the board. The board usually consists of retired justices, retired army generals, and senior bureaucrats, all males, never ever in the history of civil service any women have been given this opportunity. So, the built in biases in the promotion system trigger the

impact of lowering down women's representation in the most senior level positions.

Table 4.34 illustrates that when respondents are compared at the management levels more administrators working at top and middle levels of management point to their inability to relocate and time required to be away from family as major impediments to their promotional opportunities. Officers working at entry or middle levels of management, on the other hand, report superior's biased attitude, gender discrimination, and occupational discrimination as major barriers to their upward career mobility. A few respondents at the top and entry level of management report age as a discriminating factor towards their career advancement. This may be inferred from the findings that administrators at the top may have been discriminated for being too old and those at entry level may be because of being too young in age.

**Lost Opportunity for Promotion-
Overall and Gender Comparison
Table 6.33**

	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	<u>N=138 Overall</u>	<u>N=62 Females</u>	<u>N=76 Males</u>
<u>Lost opportunity for-promotion#*</u>			
1. Unwillingness to relocate	27.0	36.8	18.9
2. Time away from family	25.5	33.5	18.9
3. Superior's biased attitude	15.5	17.7	20.3
4. Occupational group-discrimination	44.2	43.5	44.7
5. Gender discrimination	14.6	14.6	0.0
6. Age discrimination	3.6	3.2	3.9

Significant gender differences using Chi-square at 90%

* Significant gender differences using Mann-Whitney U test at 90%.

**Lost Opportunity for Promotion
Comparing management Groups
Table 6.34**

	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	N=35 Top Management	N=72 Middle Management	N=31 Lower Management
<u>Lost opportunity- for Promotion</u>			
1. Unwillingness to- relocate	31.4	43.1	29.0
2. Time required to 3. be away from family	31.4	40.3	29.0
3. Superior's biased- attitude	11.1	17.1	15.6
4. Occupational- discrimination	25.7	45.8	61.3
5. Gender discrimination	9.4	19.8	18.8
6. Age discrimination	5.7	1.4	6.5

SECTION III

Perceptions of Civil Servants on Facilitators, Barriers, and Appropriate Measures towards Gender Equality

The major objective of the study was to investigate the facilitators and barriers to career advancement of women and suggest possible policy measures towards gender equality in the civil service of Pakistan. The previous two sections present data on personal and organizational variables which will be used to draw inferences about facilitators and barriers toward career advancement of women, and propose adequate policy recommendations. However, in order to make the findings more meaningful and reliable, the respondents were also asked about their perceptions of facilitators and barriers and their views on the possible measures towards gender equality in the civil service. This section presents analysis and interpretation of data generated through questionnaire and interviews regarding respondents' perception of personal, organizational, systemic factors facilitating or impeding their upward

career mobility, and on the extent to which they support employment issues to reduce the gender disparities in the civil service careers.

Facilitators

The respondents were asked to identify personal, organisational and societal factors from a given list that might have contributed to their career advancement. The findings are presented at the three levels of analysis, overall, gender comparison, and comparison of management groups.

Overall, the respondents perceive that their hard work, self confidence, work style and education have contributed towards their career advancement as shown in table 4.35. While pointing towards organizational factors, a large number of respondents (49% and 69.6%) reported that in-service training and mentoring opportunities have facilitated them in their career advancement. Only 28.4% of the respondents perceive that promotional opportunities have contributed to their success in the career. A significant proportion of respondents (44.9%) also pointed to professional networks as facilitators towards their careers. This lends support to the view that in Pakistan besides merit some push and pull factors are also required for reaching the top positions (Wiess, 1994; Shah, 1986; Hafeez, 1981). Relatively, few respondents (28.6%) cite luck as a factor in their career advancement.

Significant gender differences are observed in respondents' perceptions of factors that have facilitated their career success. More women vis-a-vis men report that

their self-confidence (women = 88.7%; men = 80.2%) and educational attainment (women = 82.3%; 61.1%) have contributed positively to their careers.

Face to face interviews with some of the respondents strengthen these findings where female officers more particularly pointed to their self-confidence as an important factor in their career advancement. For example, a senior female administrator highlighted the role of her self-confidence in her career success in these words:

My key success factor is my confidence which I have gained over time. It gives me such a good feeling that I have overcome my lack of confidence over the years. When I was teenager, I was very shy and always felt uncomfortable to go in public, my cheeks would start burning while standing by the road side. In our culture, particularly in remote areas, it is one of the most scary things for women to come to the office and face the public. But, now in my present position, I have to do a lot of public dealing and man handling. Initially, I was scared of it, but now I have got over it through my self-confidence. One can imagine the personal transformation I have gone through.

Another female officer also indicated her-self confidence as one the facilitators to her careers in the civil service:

I am quite aware of my personal strengths and one of which is my self-confidence. I like to develop the same confidence in my sub-ordinates specially women as I believe that self-confidence is key to success, it can take people any where they want to.

While no gender differences are observed in terms of the work style of the respondents, some statistically significant differences are however noticed on hard work as more women administrators report hard work as a factor in their career success (chisquare = 4.4, DF = 1, $p \leq .03$). Likewise, statistically significant differences can be captured on organisational level facilitators where more men administrators report access to mentoring and promotional opportunities offered and their professional networks as career facilitators (mentoring, chisquare = 5.2, DF=1,

$p \leq .02$), (promotional opportunities: $\chi^2 = 4.1$, $DF=1$, $p < .04$); professional networks: $\chi^2 = 5.6$, $DF = 1$, $p < .02$).

The interviews with female officers also confirm the above findings where most of the women interviewees found themselves networking and socialising. A female officer expressed while pointing to cultural impediments to networking necessary for enhancing career opportunities, said:

Men are very active in public relationing and networking. Therefore, they manage to get good postings and training opportunities. Being a women if I do the same and develop contacts with relevant officers, I would be labeled as very liberal and fast. I might suffer from a scandal or gossips, on the contrast, a male officer doing the same would be known as very bright and smart.

Another female officer made a similar observation:

In our set up women are socially at a disadvantaged position, they can not mix freely with men. Although my husband, who is a physician, is liberal enough to accept my coming to the office and working and dealing with men, but being an eastern husband he still likes me to draw a line somewhere at least. When you don't mix with other people social contacts are lacking, and this scarcity of contact start mattering more and more when you are aspiring for senior positions. Men profit from such networks and public relations and are relatively at advantageous position.

Slightly more men than women respondents reported in-service training opportunities as a career facilitator. There is no difference between men and women on luck as a facilitator towards their careers which contradicts the view that women in managerial position having low self-esteem attribute their career success primarily to luck (Yousaf and Seigal, 1994; Davidson and Burke, 1994; Davidson and Cooper, 1992; Hale and Kelly, 1989).

Comparing respondents in management groups, differences in their perceptions of factors contributing to their career have been observed. While respondents in all three management groups, top, middle, and lower, have identical or slightly different perceptions on self-confidence, hard work and their work style as career facilitators, relatively more respondents in the top management group view as an important factor in their career advancement. This finding lend support to the views of various researchers who find education/training as positive indicators of career success (Newman, 1993; Gattikar and Larwood, 1990; Blau and Ferber, 1987).

Statistically significant differences in the perceptions of top level administrators can be captured on all organisational level facilitators. Administrators working at the top level of management report organisational factors such as training, mentoring, promotional opportunities and professional networks as more contributory towards their career advancement than those working at middle and entry level positions. No sharp differences, however, can be observed on administrators perceptions on luck as a positive facilitator towards their careers.

**Facilitators to Career Advancement -
Overall and Comparing Women and Men
Table 6.35**

	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	<u>N=138 Overall</u>	<u>N=62 Females</u>	<u>N=76 Males</u>
<u>Facilitators to Careers</u>			
<u>Personal Attributes #*</u>			
Self-confidence/attitude	84.0	88.7	80.2
Hard work	79.0	87.1	72.4
Work style	84.1	84.5	82.9
Education	76.1	82.3	61.1

Table 6.35 continued....

Organisational Characteristics #*

Training opportunities	49.3	43.5	53.9
Mentoring opportunities	69.6	59.7	77.6
Promotional opportunities	28.4	29.0	46.1

Other Important Facilitators #*

Professional networks	44.9	33.9	53.9
Luck	28.6	28.4	28.7

 # Significant gender differences using Chi-square at 90%.

* Significant gender differences using Mann-Whitney U test at 90%.

**Facilitators to Career Advancement
 Comparing Management Groups
 Table 6.36**

	<u>Percent of Response</u>		
	N=35 Top Management	N=72 Middle Management	N=31 Lower Management

Facilitators to Career

Personal Attributes

Self-confidence	87.1	87.5	83.9
Hard work	77.1	73.3	71.0
Work style	84.3	81.9	77.4
Education	82.9	73.6	74.2

Organisational Characteristics

Training opportunities	80.0	45.8	22.6
Mentoring opportunities	82.9	72.2	48.4
Promotional opportunities	65.7	38.9	6.5

Other Important Facilitators

Professional networks	55.7	30.3	22.3
Luck	18.6	22.8	18.7

Barriers

The civil servants were asked in the questionnaire as well as in the interviews to identify barriers to their careers from a series of personal and social factors that might have interfered with their careers in the civil service. The findings displayed in table 6.37 show that overall, the majority of the respondents disagree that any of the listed personal and social factors such as personal health, children's', Parents' and spouse's health, elderly care, domestic responsibilities, child bearing, child caring, spouse's career, and family's attitude to their work have been a barrier to their career advancement.

Gender differences, however, can be observed in respondents on their perceptions about career interference's. More women than men report that child care, elderly care, domestic responsibilities/ household tasks, family's attitude towards work and spouse's career have interfered with their careers to a certain extent. Although, differences on all of these variables are not found significant statistically. However, statistically the differences are significant only on "family's attitude towards work" (t-value = 1.80, DF = 136; $p \leq .07$) and "spouse career" (t-value = 1.95, DF = 136, $p \leq .05$). These issues more clearly surfaced during interviews with female officers.

A female respondent while illustrating her domestic role hinted at the familial constraints and pressures on women civil servants:

When I go home from the office, I am not supposed to say that I am tired. Because of a centuries' old role embibed in me unconsciously or consciously or through old wise tales or by seeing my mother looking after her children I simply cannot ignore all the domestic responsibilities around me. I may avoid but can't deny that being a mother my first and foremost responsibility is my children and taking care of my family's needs. Like a man who is a father as well I can't say, "Shut up everybody, go to the other room, I have come from office, let me take some rest". Being a working mother, I can't act like men, I have to take my original role in any way.

Another female officer while reflecting upon the dual roles of women officers made a similar observation:

For both women and men, encouragement and smooth marital life matters but, women develop dual personalities. At work they are different and at home they are in different roles, probably here the differences start. A man when reaches home from his office, he expects from his wife to welcome him and attend him. Every body in the home is supposed to be more cautious about his rest whereas a woman's situation is different. When I reach home after day's work, first, I rush towards my baby to see if he needs to be changed or to be fed, then I go to the kitchen to take care of things lying in jumble, even without taking a cup of tea or any snacks.

One of the female respondents pointed to child care pressures on women officers and said:

To me it is a blessing that now I live in a joint family, my mother-in-law is at home to keep a supervisory eye on my child's maid. I can work with a free mind that at least my child is in caring and trusting hands. Before this I used to drop my children to my mother who lives far from my house that took me a long time and a lot of hassle but I never left my children at home with their nanny alone because of the stories we hear about child abuse quite often.

Female interviewees also pointed to spouse's career as an impediment to their own careers. This is illustrated by one of the respondents:

To me marriage has its advantages and disadvantages. Both me and my husband being in the civil service is a big plus. He is very supportive and sharing as he fully understands the kind of working environment I am working in. But, on the other hand I feel that my career has disrupted twice. This is common in our culture as when both husband and wife are working, more emphasis is on the husband's job than that of wife. When my husband was posted out of Lahore twice, I was the one who took leave and joined him. This, I think has affected my excellent reputation at work. It is very hard to manage two careers, two careers at one station are OK but two careers at different station are very hard for those having a family.

This strengthens the previous findings where more women report their unwillingness to relocate due to time required to be away from family. The findings provide support to the theory of role socialisation which suggests that working

women more often face role accumulation and role conflict due to their family and work roles (Adler and Izraeli, 1995; Hale and Kelly, 1989).

The comparison of respondents in the management groups highlights the differences in perceptions of administrators on a number of personal and social variables. Officers in the lower management groups agree more strongly that child care and family's attitude towards work have affected their careers negatively than those in the middle and top management group. This difference seems quite obvious as officers in the lower management group particularly, women are expected to pass through the stage of child bearing and caring of younger children where domestic responsibilities/ household tasks are more than ever before or after.

Differences can also be found in the perceptions of top and middle management officers as compared to lower management group. The respondents in the top and middle management groups agree more strongly that elderly care has been a barrier to their career enhancement. Administrators at these levels also report family commitments as a hindrance to their careers. Top level administrators also identify their personal health, spouse's health and parents health as major interferences to their careers than administrators working at the middle and lower levels of management. Although, the differences on all variables except spouse career are not statistically significant (spouse career, F ratio = 5.81, DF = 1, $p \leq .02$).

Barriers/Impediments to Career- Overall

Table 6.37

Overall N=138

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Median</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>
<u>Personal and Familial Factors</u>			
1 . Health personal	4.1	4.0	0.85
2 . Health children	4.3	4.0	0.66
3 . Health parents	4.1	4.0	0.88
4 . Health spouse	4.1	4.0	0.77
5 . Child bearing	4.3	4.0	0.58
6 . Child caring	4.1	4.0	0.59
7 . Elderly care	3.7	4.0	0.79
8 . House hold tasks/ family commitments	3.7	4.0	0.94
9 . Family's attitude- towards work	3.9	4.0	0.87
10. career of spouse	3.9	4.0	1.04

**Barriers/Impediments to Career-
Comparing Women and Men
Table 6.38**

	N=62 Females	N=76 Males		
	Mean	Median	Mean	Median
<u>Barriers to Career\$</u>				
1 . Health personal	4.1	4.0	4.0	4.0
2 . Health Children	4.3	4.0	4.0	4.0
3 . Health parents	4.1	4.0	4.0	4.0
4 . Health Spouse	4.2	4.0	4.0	4.0
5 . Child bearing	4.2	4.0	4.5	5.0
6 . Child caring	3.9	4.0	4.0	4.0
7 . Elderly care	3.2	4.0	3.7	4.0
8 . House hold tasks/ commitments	3.8	4.0	3.6	4.0
9 . Family's attitude- towards work\$	3.8	4.0	4.5	5.0
10. Career of spouse\$	3.7	4.0	4.1	4.0

\$ Significant gender differences using independent-samples t-test at 90%.

**Barriers/Impediments to Career
Comparing Management Groups
Table 6.39**

	N=35		N=72		N=31	
	Top		Middle		Lower	
	Management		Management		Management	
	Mean	Median	Mean	Median	Mean	Median
<u>Barriers to Career</u>						
1. Health personal	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.4	4.0
2. Health children	4.2	4.0	4.2	4.0	4.4	4.0
3. Health parents	3.9	4.0	4.1	4.0	4.1	4.0
4. Health spouse	3.8	4.0	4.2	4.0	4.3	4.0
5. Child bearing	4.5	5.0	4.2	4.0	4.0	4.0
6. Child caring	4.4	5.0	4.0	4.0	3.9	4.0
7. Elderly care	3.7	4.0	3.7	4.0	3.9	4.0
8. House hold tasks/ commitments	3.5	4.0	3.7	4.0	3.8	4.0
9. Family's attitude- towards work	3.9	4.0	3.9	4.0	3.8	4.0
10. Spouse career@	4.1	4.0	3.7	4.0	4.2	4.0

@ Significant differences among management groups using one-way ANOVA.

Measures to Address Gender Disparities

To see how civil servants feel about the existing and potential policy measures to overcome glaring gender disparities in the civil service, the respondents were asked to respond to a set of statements to indicate the extent to which they support different employment issues such as affirmative action, child care, flexible working hours, and elderly care. The findings at all three levels are presented below.

The respondents were requested to give their opinion for a series of employment issues related to the working individuals in general and women in particular. Tables 6.40, 6.41 and 6.42 exhibit the opinion of respondents at all three levels of analysis.

Table 6.40 shows that overall, respondents are found to be supportive to employment issues like women's representation, flexible work and affirmative action. However, their strong support is reflected only on issues of child care and maternity leave. The respondents during interviews also emphatically stressed the need for child care. One of the respondents said:

I strongly feel that at official level government should come forward and establish day care centres and nurseries to facilitate working women. At present, private organisations have established many day care centres that are quite expensive to afford. This would, of course, be a new development which will facilitate women who are working and those who want to but unable to work because of having small kids at homes.

Another senior administrator also strongly emphasised the increasing need for child care facilities and said:

Child care is a very sensitive issue at present, which requires immediate state intervention. If the government wants to utilise its human resources more effectively in every field, it must play an active role to facilitate working women by dealing with the issues of child care and other natural limitations created by nature on females.

On asking how far the Government of Pakistan has addressed the needs of working women including child care, one of the interviewees, who is working for the Government of Punjab as the secretary, Department of Social Welfare and Women Development explained the governmental response to the issue of child care:

Our government is fully aware of the needs of working women and is trying to promote female culture in organisations. Government has recently opened three day care centres in Lahore (metropolitan city) that would offer day care facility to the working mothers at very cheap and subsidised rates. Similar facilities have also been provided in other big cities like Karachi, Islamabad, and Faisalabad. Now, government is also considering to open day care centres close to the places or organisations where women work in large number to facilitate them in dropping and picking up their children.

Upon enquiring the interviewees about the issue of maternity leave, the majority expressed the view that this facility is already provided to women working in the

governmental organisations. Maternity leave is a fully paid leave for a period of three months, six weeks before and six weeks after the birth of a child. Previously there was no limit on the number of times a woman can avail herself of maternity leave, but since 1980 it has gradually been reduced to a maximum of two in the wake of government efforts to cope with the populationary pressures (Interviews with civil servants). One of the female interviewees while commenting on maternity leave shared her experience in these words:

Working women are entitled to two maternity leaves. I have three children. I worked until the last day of my confinement and took two months off after the birth of my third arrival and came back to my work afterwards. I did not get any extra favor, my male colleagues view that I should compete if I am working with them as an officer.

On elderly care, the majority of the respondents' were found not very supportive. The reason for lack of support on this issue surfaced during interviews where several respondents said that elderly care was not yet a serious issue in Pakistan because of a strong family system. One of the interviewees responded to a question on elderly care in these words:

The kind of system we have grown up in considers elders as part of the family and accord them special and respectful status in the family. They should not be shunted out to the old homes. It does not suit to our cultural values.

Another female civil servant made a similar observation on elderly care issue:

Our family system is still intact. Having elders at homes is a source of pleasure and barkat (blessing) for us. I hate my parents to be dumped at a place like that, where they lose contact with the outside world. Our parents feel happy and active when they see or meet children, younger, and older people at home. Every stage of life has its own joys and sorrows, elders should be given as much a chance to be a part of life as possible.

Table 6.41 shows differences in the opinion of women and men civil servants' on the above issues. Statistically significant differences in the opinion of women and

men respondents can be observed on child care, maternity leave and reflection of gender make up issues. While in general respondents support these issues, women were found more supportive than men on these issues (child care: t-value = 2.85, DF = 136, $p \leq .005$); maternity leave: t-value = 2.39, DF = 136, $p \leq .02$); (gender make up: t-value 1.86, DF 136, $p \leq .07$). Slight differences in terms of percentages and mean scores of the respondents' opinion can also be captured on women's representation and flexible work schedule, where more women support flexible work schedule though findings are not statistically significant. This has been supported widely by the interviewees as well where the majority of the civil servants, particularly females, view flexible work schedule as a wonderful idea which may facilitate women who are already working outside and encourage those at the same time who intend to do so but are reluctant because of their circumstances/responsibilities at home. One of the administrators working at the middle level of management responded to flexible schedule in these words:

To me, flexible work schedule is a great idea to encourage women's participation to work. Organisations should give employees a certain target and allow them to sit any where with a free mind and do the work according to their convenience.

Another female officer while highlighting the benefits of flexible work schedule specially for women said:

Flexible work hours can be of a great help to women especially those having infants or school going children. For instance, if office starts at 8 O' clock in the morning, working women should be allowed to come an hour later so that they may attend the infants at home or drop their children to the nurseries or schools without any rush and hassle and come to the office in time.

However, surprisingly, the majority of women, were not found to support affirmative action policies if it means a quota or some preferential treatment for

women. The women during interviews stressed that merit was the only criteria for promotion to the higher positions. One of the female respondents said:

I strongly believe that only open merit should be the criteria for selection and promotion in the civil service. Any preferential treatment or quota for women would basically be a compromise on their capabilities and would cause resentment among male colleagues. Women can also earn more respect if they have achieved something on merit.

Another female administrator while expressing her views on women quota in the civil service said:

Women should not hide themselves behind quota. We the women are able enough to compete with men. I would like to narrate an interesting incident here that a few years ago one of my big boss was coming to the department. My immediate boss invited me and my other two female colleagues at tea. Upon asking if he had invited all the other male colleagues at tea too, he replied that only ladies were invited so that they could serve tea as well. We the ladies got annoyed and told him that we had not come in the service on female quota. He, then, had to invite rest of the male colleagues as well rather than only three female colleagues.

While comparing management groups, differences are found in the opinion of respondents on child care and flexible work schedule in terms of mean scores. More respondents in the middle management strongly support both child care and flexible work schedule than those in entry/lower management groups. It may be inferred from the findings that there is some association between variables child care and flexible work schedule. Although the differences are not found statistically significant, however, more support for these issues in middle management group may be due to two reasons: first, these officers are at a stage where, on the one hand, they have younger children and, on the other hand, their career have more serious demands on them; second, in the sample, women constitute the majority in the middle management group. Therefore, facilitation in child care, or work

schedule may facilitate middle level administrators in general, and women in particular, towards their careers advancement.

Slight differences in terms of percentages can also be observed on the need for gender make up of bureaucracy, elderly care, and affirmative action. While, administrators working at middle and top levels of management provide more support for a balanced representation of women and men in the civil service of Pakistan, administrators at top management level render slightly more support for elderly care, whereas, both entry and middle level officers express more support for affirmative action than those of the top management administrators. Within management levels women civil servants are comparatively more supportive of the issues than men civil servants.

Support For Employment Issues - Over all
Table 6.40

<u>Issues</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Median</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>
1. Reflection of gender make-up of population- in civil service	3.2	3.0	1.01
2. Child care	4.3	4.0	0.73
3. Maternity leave	4.5	5.0	0.70
4. Elderly care	3.5	4.0	0.96
5. Flexible work schedule	3.7	4.0	1.06
6. Affirmative action	3.5	3.0	1.07

**Support For Employment Issues -
Comparing Women and Men
Table 6.41**

<u>Issues</u> §	N=62 Females		N=76 Males	
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Median</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Median</u>
1. Reflection of gender make-up\$	3.4	3.0	3.0	3.0
2. Child care\$	4.5	5.0	4.1	4.0
3. Maternity leave\$	4.6	5.0	4.3	5.0
4. Elderly care	3.7	4.0	3.4	4.0
5. Flexible work	3.9	4.0	3.6	4.0
1. Affirmative				
2. action	4.4	3.0	3.1	3.0

§ Significant gender differences using independent-sample t-test at 90%.

**Support For Employment Issues -
Comparing Management Groups
Table 6.42**

<u>Issues</u>	Mean (Median)					
	N=35 Top Management		N=72 Middle Management		N=31 Lower Management	
1. Reflection of-gender make up-of population	3.2	(3.0)	3.3	(3.0)	3.0	(3.0)
2. Child care	4.4	(4.0)	4.4	(4.5)	4.1	(4.0)
3. Maternity leave	4.4	(5.0)	4.6	(5.0)	4.4	(5.0)
4. Elderly care	3.5	(4.0)	3.5	(3.5)	3.7	(4.0)
5. Flexible work	3.5	(4.0)	3.9	(4.0)	3.6	(4.0)
1. Affirmative-						
2. action	3.3	(3.0)	3.4	(4.0)	3.0	(3.0)

Conclusion

The results on the personal variables reveal that male and female civil servants in Pakistan share similarities as well as differences on various personal aspects. The results suggest no gender differences in respondents on their age, birth order, domicile, mother tongue, educational status, ability to manage, and personality characteristics. However, gender differences are observed on a number of other personal variables. More men are married than women, more men than women live alone, men's contribution to the family income is greater than women, women's parents are more educated than those of men, and the prime motivator for joining the Civil Service for women is Greater Challenge and for men it is the Public Service.

On the contrary, the results on organizational variables reveal more gender differences than similarities. Women have less access to organisational power than their men counterparts as they lag behind on all the indicators of power such as representation in prestigious group, number of employees supervised, and salary grade. Women work in almost all male environment both horizontally and vertically. More women than men have positive attitudes toward women administrators. Both women and men perceive overt discrimination as a problem. However, more women than men feel that covert discrimination exists in various forms such as sexual harassment specially in the form of verbal comments and sexual favours, exclusion from informal networks, occupational and work segregation on the basis of sex, less limited networking opportunities, and limited training opportunities.

The male-female difference is sharper on respondents' perceptions of facilitators and barriers to their careers. On facilitators, while women perceive self-confidence, handwork, parental encouragement and support, educational qualification have facilitated them in their career, men on the other hand identify career opportunities, networking, mentoring as facilitators. Similarly, on barriers, it is largely the women civil servants who report certain factors that have interfered in their career that include domestic responsibilities, attitudes of family to their work, and spouse career.

The results on the extent to which civil servants support gender equality measures to facilitate women in their careers are quite interesting. Overall, the respondents were found supportive to various measure to enhance gender equality at work such as affirmative action, flexible hours, child care, and maternity leave policy. However, more support has been observed for child care and maternity leave. Interestingly, both women and men reject the idea of women quotas as an instrument of affirmative action.

The comparison of three management groups reveals peculiarities of civil servants in the top management that distinguish them from the middle and lower management groups. On personal variables, the results suggest that civil servants at the top are mostly married, better educated, well trained, and more competitive. They have spouses who are well educated and are mostly in professional careers and mothers who are relatively less educated. However, women supersede their male counterparts both on mother's education and spouse career. Similarly, on

organizational variables, the results suggest that the top management group is different from lower and the middle management groups. They have had more training opportunities in their careers, their colleagues are almost all male, they supervise more employees, they have spouse mentors, and surprisingly they view spouse career as a barrier to their careers. The problem of sexual harassment is less reported by respondents in this group and most of them feel that they are rarely excluded from informal meetings. Interestingly, women share similarities with men on most of these variables except that more women view spouse's career as a barrier and they supervise less employees.

CHAPTER 7

FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN'S ADVANCEMENT IN THE CIVIL SERVICE IN PAKISTAN

Introduction

This chapter explores the factors affecting women's career in the civil service of Pakistan. Based on the analysis and interpretations of the survey results in conjunction with the findings of the review of the status of women in Pakistan and analysis of the organisational structure of the civil service (chapters 6, 4, and 5), conclusions are drawn on various aspects of women's career in the civil service.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section illuminates the survey results on whether men and women differ on their personal characteristics, perceptions of their managerial ability, career commitment, organizational context including treatment they receive in terms of opportunities for advancement, attitudes towards women administrators, barriers and facilitators to managerial advancement, and their support for gender issues at work. Based on the results of analysis of the survey responses at the three management levels, this section identifies unique features of civil servants at the top management that distinguish them from the civil servants at the middle and the lower management levels. It also points to the similarities and differences between senior male and female civil servants in terms of their distinct characteristics. The second section presents personal, organisational, and systemic factors that may affect careers of women civil servants in Pakistan. In the third section a comparison has been made between Pakistan and some selected developed and developing countries such as the USA,

UK, and Malaysia. This section also provides policy recommendations for facilitating women civil servants in their career advancement.

Section I

Analysis and Interpretation of Survey Results

Personal Characteristics

The results reported in the previous chapter suggest that male and female civil servants in Pakistan have some differences in their demographic characteristics and family backgrounds, but they share similarities in terms of personality traits, motivation to join the civil service, managerial ability, and career commitment. These results are quite interesting because they both confirm and reject some widely held notions and beliefs about women in management, and also highlight the peculiar characteristics of Pakistani women administrators.

On demographic characteristics, while women and men administrators differ on their marital status, living conditions, and share in household income, there are no gender differences in age, birth order, domicile, mother tongue, and their educational status. In terms of marital status, although an overwhelming majority (over 80%) of the women Civil Servants are married, the proportion of married men is greater than that of women. Apparently, it tends to support the view that there is a trade off between marriage and managerial career. Some researchers suggest that women administrators who view marriage and marital responsibilities as incompatible with their administrative positions choose to remain single (Davidson,

1997; Adler and Izraeli, 1994; Newman, 1993; Fagenson, 1993). However, such generalisation cannot be made about female civil servants in Pakistan based on the observed difference on marital status for two reasons. First, the majority of unmarried women administrators are found at the entry level of management, and it is uncertain whether their single marital status is the result of the trade off between marriage and career or simply a temporary delay due to other factors. Second, there are very few unmarried or single women at the middle and senior management level positions where more pressure can be expected on women in terms of their family life due to relatively greater managerial responsibilities.

In terms of living conditions, very few single women administrators live alone when compared to their counterparts. The majority of them live with either their parents, brothers, sisters, or members of their extended family which is typical of the Pakistani culture. In Pakistani society, it is not considered appropriate for single women to live by themselves due to the cultural belief that women are more safe in the domestic environment. Men, on the other hand, do not face such cultural restrictions (Hafeez, 1986; Shah, 1984).

Women's contribution to their family income is less than those of men which again has a cultural explanation. In Pakistan, women despite major changes in the work force patterns are still considered to be the secondary earners for their families and men as the primary bread winners (Government of Pakistan, 1996, 1995; Wiess, 1994; Kazi and Sathar, 1993). This is primarily due to a culturally prescribed demarcation of female and male roles. While the most appropriate roles considered

for women are to be mothers, and house wives, men are expected to earn a living for their families. The women who work outside the home are largely considered as deviants or violators of these cultural norms.

The result on the educational status of civil servants reveal no gender differences which is quite interesting as it contradict the myth that women, because of their domestic responsibilities and cultural roles, invest less in developing their human capital in the form of education and training (World Bank, 1995; Blau and Ferber, 1987, 1985). This finding rather stands in line with the current upward trends in the higher and professional education among women in Pakistan which has already been reported in chapter 5. It was observed that the number of women in universities and professional colleges had risen significantly in the past decade.

The women and men administrators also differ on their family background. The parents and spouse of women administrators are more qualified and have/had professional and administrative jobs as compared to those of men administrators. The results on parental background support the view that parents who are educated and have a professional background are more likely to have daughters who are non-traditional and achieving in their careers (Tharenou et al., 1994; Yousaf and Seigal, 1994; Newman, 1993). Similarly, educated and professional husbands are more likely to be broad minded, sharing, and understanding. Hence, they might have supported and facilitated their wives in the pursuit of their career in the civil service by having positive attitude towards their work. In a tradition bound society like Pakistan where a woman has identity problem and is known by her parents before

marriage and by her husband after marriage, parental and spouse support are critical to women's entry and advancement in the non-conventional careers like the Civil Service.

More women administrators have reported themselves belonging to the upper middle class when compared to the men administrators. Although these results are not generalizable due to the lack of statistical significance but are quite consistent with the observation made earlier that "....economic class a woman belongs to makes a significant difference in her life. A women of upper economic class whether in urban or rural, tribal or non-tribal areas is relatively less vulnerable to social and cultural restrictions than a women who comes from other economic classes"(chapter 5, p:). This finding tends to support the view that being born in a "right family" or "right socio-economic class" positively assist women and men managers towards their career enhancement (Adler and Izraeli, 1994, 1988; Newman, 1993; Tharenou, et al., 1994; Hale and Kelly, 1989).

The results suggests that women and men administrators have similar perceptions of their personality characteristics. Both female and male civil servants equally perceive themselves as independent, competitive, dominant, and friendly. This finding is consistent with the view that the personality of an individual does not vary by gender, it rather varies from person to person and situation to situation (Deem, 1996; Dodd, 1996; Marshall, 1995a; 1984; Powell, 1993; Rosner, 1990). However, these results present an image of a women which contradicts the image of a typical Pakistani woman who seems to be more dependent, submissive, humble,

and reserved as compared to men. There are two plausible explanations for the similarities in the personality characteristics of men and women administrators in the civil service of Pakistan: 1) the women who join the civil service are exceptional and non-traditional who have been brought up in an environment which encourages them to overcome most of the personality stereotypes between women and men.; 2) the civil service has traditionally been a male dominated institution. Despite women's entry into the civil service, its organizational culture is still driven by masculine norms. The selection process guided by masculine norms and values screen in women with similar personality characteristics as those of men and training process further equalizes them in terms of personality characteristics.

There are similarities as well as differences in the perceptions of civil servants' on their motivation of joining the civil service, ability to manage and career commitment. While women administrators view greater challenge as the top motivator for their joining the civil service, the men administrators perceive public service as the major motivating force for being in the civil service. However, both women and men civil servants share similarities in their ratings of other motivators such as social status, job security, benefits, power and influence, autonomy and salary. Similarly, women view themselves relatively better in communication and coordination while men perceive themselves relatively well versed with rules and regulations and more skilled in conflict handling. Women and men administrators are found equally committed to their careers.

A possible explanation for difference in the motivation for joining the civil service is that women who join the civil service find a greater challenge in the civil service which is a male-dominated and non-traditional profession for women. The same factor may explain men administrators' ability to handle conflict. It might be easier for men administrators to handle conflicts since men being in the majority are more likely to be involved in organisational conflicts. Women's better communication and coordination skills may be attributed to their minority status in the civil service. Being in token status, women tend to keep themselves away from bureaucratic politics which may make them non-threatening and non-controversial among their colleagues and staff. This may enhance their ability to coordinate and communicate with their colleagues.

Organizational Context

The results on variables measuring gender empowerment, gender composition, and attitudes towards women administrators suggest that the women administrators as compared to the men administrators are relatively less powerful, have minority status both horizontally and vertically, and have more positive attitude towards women administrators. Women on all three indicators of gender empowerment, number of employees supervised, salary grade, and representation in prestigious occupational groups lag behind men administrators. These results corroborate with the findings of several empirical studies that find women in less powered positions in the managerial hierarchy (Green and Cassell, 1996; Hakim, 1995; Humphries and Rubery, 1995; Wilson, 1995; Davidson and Burke, 1994). The results are also in line with the latest data reported in the Federal Government Servants Civil Servants

Report 1993¹ (Government of Pakistan, 1993). Women administrators' powerlessness in the Civil Service in Pakistan may be attributed to the occupational and work segregation on the basis of sex built in the structure of the civil service. Authority, power, and prestige of civil servants in Pakistan come with their occupational groups and the job assignments. Since women are largely routed into the occupational groups that are considered more suitable for women and are less likely to be given field assignments that carry more power and prestige and enhance the chances of upward career mobility, they have limited access to power and authority in the civil service.

The results on gender composition suggest that male administrators constitute the majority status in the civil service. It also suggest that men administrators as compared to women are less likely to have women colleagues as well as women bosses. This may be due to the fact that the women administrators are overall less in number and are concentrated mostly into certain occupational groups which may increase the possibility of having women bosses and colleagues only in those particular occupational groups.

Interestingly, both women and men administrators are found having positive attitudes toward women administrators although women tend to be more positive than men. This finding, although, quite revealing in the context of a tradition bound society like Pakistan is not surprising. The civil servants are considered as the most enlightened segment of the population. They are well educated, well

¹. Last census report on the Federal Government Civil Servants was prepared in 1993. Since then no census data has been compiled yet.

traveled, and have experience of working with women since the government is the largest employer of women. Therefore, it is not surprising that the men administrators have managed to overcome most of the negative stereotypes against women through their education and experience. The reason women feel more positive about women administrators may be that the women in the civil service are exceptional and non-traditional women who have managed to join a non-conventional and male-dominated profession despite all the social and cultural restrictions. This finding does however suggest that while education and experience bring a positive change in attitudes towards women, men still cannot escape fully from the cultural influences.

In terms of organisational opportunities for advancement such as training, mentoring and organizational involvement both formal and informal, the results suggest that: 1) men as compared to women are offered more training opportunities; 2) superiors who are available as mentors are mostly male; 3) women are given equal participation in formal meetings, but are more likely to be excluded from the informal gatherings. There can be several possible and interrelated reasons for these gender differences. First, the proportion of women in the prestigious occupational groups is low where training opportunities are relatively greater. Second, women due to cultural restrictions may restrict themselves only to formal official roles, and exclude themselves from informal get-togethers and networks which could be a useful source for having an access to training and development opportunities. Third, since the proportion of women in senior management positions is very low their availability as mentors in these positions is also low and

one of the possible reason for more men being offered training opportunities may be the availability of male superior mentors who may have played a role in getting such opportunities for their male protégés. The male mentors as superiors may be available to women administrators as well but cross gender mentoring in the context of Pakistani culture may restrict women's equal access to such male mentors. Fourth, off-the-job training opportunities that may involve foreign and domestic travel, boarding in training institutions, and living in foreign countries may not be accessible to women administrators. Women are likely to be screened out by the authorities or they may exclude themselves from such training programs based on the perceived difficulties they might encounter during the training period.

On the issue of sexual harassment, both women and men have similar perceptions with one exception. The majority of women and men find various indicators of sexual harassment at workplace i.e., unwelcome sexual advances by superiors, sexual favors by colleagues, superior sex-biased attitude, offensive verbal behaviors and comments as not applicable to them. Quite a significant proportion of civil servants, both male and male, have only heard about these incidences in one form or the other. Very few civil servants have actually experienced sexual harassment. However, among those who have experienced sexual harassment, women outnumber men in one form of sexual harassment, offensive verbal behavior and comment. These findings apparently lead to the conclusion that sexual harassment is not an issue in the work environment of the civil service. However, such an inference would be too simplistic if one brings into account the cultural context of Pakistan. The women in Pakistan are more reticent to discuss such issues publicly

or officially for the sake of their integrity and the element of exposure attached to it. The absence of special legislation and institutional arrangements to deal with sexual harassment at the workplace further makes it difficult to identify the incidences of sexual harassment.

The results on reasons for losing any promotion opportunity suggest that both women and men view occupational discrimination, unwillingness to relocate, and time away from family as the major reasons for losing a promotion. However, more women perceive that they have lost a promotion opportunity for their unwillingness to relocate and time away from family. Women administrators though very small in number also view gender discrimination as a reason for losing a promotional opportunity. Men administrators, on the other hand, do not perceive that they have ever lost an opportunity for their promotion as a result of gender discrimination.

These findings reinforce our analysis of the civil service system (chapter 5) and review of the status of women in Pakistan (chapter 4). It was observed in chapter 5 that due to strict observance of the cadre system, the occupational group of civil servants plays a crucial role in their promotion to higher grades and there are certain occupational groups i.e., District Management, Police, Foreign Service and Secretariat are considered more prestigious in the Civil Service hierarchy. The incumbents of these occupational groups have far better access to good postings, training, education and other development opportunities that enhance the civil servants potential for upward career mobility. Women's unwillingness to relocate and time away from family for losing promotion opportunity is understandable as

domestic and family roles are considered the most appropriate roles for women. Therefore, it is not surprising that women administrators may willingly forgo promotional opportunities if it requires relocation or time away from family.

Perceived Facilitators and Barriers to Advancement

The majority of the civil servants, both men and women, perceive hard work, self confidence, work style, education, inservice training, mentoring opportunities, and professional networks as facilitators to their career advancement. Interestingly very few civil servants point to any barriers to their advancement. However, more women view hard work as a key factor in their upward career mobility. These findings suggest that women administrators in Pakistan view themselves on a par with men in education, hard work, self-confidence, and work style. They are in no way less than men on any of the personal attributes that may facilitate civil servants' career advancement. These results are consistent with the findings of several other similar studies conducted in other countries (Marshall, 1995a, 1994a; Tharenou and Conroy, 1994; Tharenou et. al., 1994; Yousaf and Seigal, 1994; Newman, 1993; Hale and Kelly, 1989). These studies conclude that women who made inroads in male dominated fields are exceptional women who prove themselves in male professions by their education, hard work, extra-ordinary self-confidence and managerial abilities.

More men administrators on the other hand perceive mentoring, promotional opportunities, and professional networks as facilitators to their careers. This finding suggests that while women administrators in Pakistan have managed to enter the

male and unconventional professions like the Civil Service, through personal strengths, they still have to go a long way to get assimilated with the masculine organizational culture in order to have an equal access to organizational opportunities for advancement. Women administrators are not only less in number, but also are less empowered as a result of being absent from positions of authority and power, and their token presence overall and specially in prestigious occupational groups. Therefore, women find less opportunities for mentoring and networking among themselves and consequently may have limited access to promotional opportunities. The cultural restriction on women which requires them not to mix freely with men further complicates this problem by reducing their chances of benefiting from cross gender mentoring and networking. Male administrators on the other hand have plenty of mentoring and networking opportunities and are free from such cultural and societal restrictions. So it is not surprising that more men than women administrators perceive mentoring, networking, and promotional opportunities as facilitators to their career advancement.

The results on perceived barriers to career advancement are quite revealing and suggest that the majority of the civil servants in Pakistan, both men and women do not view personal health, health of their dependents (i.e., parents, children, spouse), elderly care, domestic responsibilities, child bearing, child caring, spouse's career, and family's attitude to their work as impediments to their career advancement.

However, among those who feel that any of the above has been a barrier to their

advancement, more women than men administrators feel that spouse's career and family's attitude to their work have in some way or the other affected their careers.

It is not surprising to find that some women view a family's attitude to their work and their spouse's career as impediment to their own careers. In Pakistani society marriage and motherhood are regarded as important aspects of women's lives and often take priority over their career demands. Therefore, it is quite obvious that some women administrators find family (parents as well as in-laws) attitudes toward their work and spouse's career as impediments to their career advancement. Women's career is generally considered as secondary to their family role. Whenever, there is a conflict between the career of a woman administrator and her marital goals or responsibilities, family pressure may exert on her to compromise her career aspirations. Since man is still considered as the primary bread winner in the family, it is the wife who has to make sacrifices even of her career for the sake of her spouse's career.

It is, however, revealing that women administrators who are mostly married and have children do not perceive domestic responsibilities (i.e., child care, elderly care, child bearing, household tasks) as a hindrance in their careers despite their strong commitment to the familial role (Chapter 4). There seems to be several factors that may facilitate women administrators to manage effectively the potential conflict between their marital responsibilities and career demands. Women may have been facilitated by a joint or extended family system which is still common in Pakistan. It is easier for women administrators to seek domestic support (i.e., child care,

domestic chores) from the members of their joint and extended families. The availability of domestic helpers due to cheap labor also facilitates women administrators in their domestic tasks. The service rules and benefits such as maternity leave, family friendly posting and transfer policy², chauffeur driven official transport, and personal attendants may be the other possible factors that facilitate women administrators to cope with their family and career pulls.

Support for Gender Issues

The results on support for gender issues suggest that overall civil servants in Pakistan support policy issues such as affirmative action, flexible hours, child care, maternity leave and gender representative bureaucracy³. However, not surprisingly, women administrators are more supportive than men to the issues of child care, maternity leave and gender representative bureaucracy. There could be several reasons why women's support to these issues is more intense than men: 1) child care and maternity leave are primarily the issues directly related to women; 2) the working women who are living in the nuclear family are facing the problem of child care due to lack of child care centres; 3) the women administrators who have managed to enter in a non-conventional profession - the civil service are more aware and conscious of gender disparities in the society and probably think that gender representative bureaucracy could help promoting gender equity in the society. However, interestingly, women do not think that affirmative action which compromises the principle of merit is the right course to make the Civil Service

². The civil service rules allow posting of husband and wife at one station if both are civil servants subject to the availability of vacant posts. Even otherwise, women civil servants generally do not face frequent transfers.

³. Gender representative bureaucracy refers here to the civil service which reflects the gender make up of the population.

gender representative. Therefore, they strongly reject the quota system⁴ as a policy measure to promote gender equality in the civil service.

Male and Female Civil Servants in the Top Management

The results of comparison of the respondents within three management levels suggest that while the civil servants in the top management share many similarities with those in the middle and entry/lower management, they are different on a number of important aspects related to the career. These differences distinguish the top civil servants from their colleagues working at the other two levels of management. Interestingly, gender comparison on the peculiarities of the top civil servants point out that women in the top management are not much different from their men counterparts.

The results suggest that the civil servants at the top are mostly married, better educated, well trained, and more competitive. They have spouse who are well educated and are mostly in professional and administrative careers. Their mothers are relatively less educated. However, there are differences between women and men on spouse's career and mother's education. Women administrators supercede their counterparts in terms of their mother's education and spouse's career. Their mothers are comparatively better educated and their spouse are mostly in professional and administrative careers.

⁴. Quota system is one salient features of the civil service system in Pakistan. Regional and military quotas in the Central Superior Services jobs is already there. Recently 5% quota for women in the lower jobs in the federal government has been introduced.

The civil servants at the top management level also distinguish themselves from the civil servants at the middle and lower management level in terms of their perceptions of organizational context and facilitators and barriers to their careers. They have had more training opportunities in their career, which they have fully utilized. Their colleagues are almost all male and they supervise more employees than those in the middle and lower management. The more civil servants at the top have spouse mentors but, surprisingly, more view spouse career as a barrier to their career than those at the other two levels. The incidences of sexual harassment are also less at this level and more civil servants feel that they are rarely excluded from informal meetings. Interestingly, women share similarities on all these organizational and personal aspects with the exception of the number of employees supervised and spouse career as a barrier to their career. Women administrators comparatively supervise less employees and it is they who view spouse career more as an impediment to their career aspirations.

These findings suggest that women who have entered into the top management level of the civil service hierarchy have equalized themselves with men on all the important personal and organizational career related aspects through their personal efforts, and guidance and support of their educated mothers and husbands. However, they still feel constrained by cultural and organizational traditions that define their role in the households and in the civil service.

Section II

Factors Affecting Women's Advancement in the Civil Service

Drawing upon the findings of the survey reported and discussed in the previous section, the status of women in society, and structural analysis of the civil service, this section illuminates the systemic, organizational and personal factors that affect women's advancement in the civil service in Pakistan. These three sets of factors are not mutually exclusive rather are interrelated and influence each other.

Systemic Factors

There are five major systemic factors that affect the advancement of women in the civil service in Pakistan: 1) culturally prescribed roles; 2) gender development; 3) occupational/work segregation on a sex basis; 4) lack of anti-discrimination and equal opportunity legislation; 5) gender empowerment.

1. Culturally Prescribed Roles of Women

Marriage and family are highly valued institutions in the Pakistani society. Both Islam and native culture place a high degree of primacy on these institutions for fulfillment of individual and social needs. Preeminence of marriage and family in Pakistani society underlies the division of prescribed roles and responsibilities for women and men. While women are assigned roles largely restricted to the private sphere, men, on the other hand, are expected to perform the roles and responsibilities related to the public sphere. The roles considered most appropriate for women in the Pakistani society are parental role, conjugal role, domestic role, and kin role. These roles restrict women's full participation in social, economic, and community/political arena and may even affect their occupational aspirations.

The parental role has high priority in the lives of Pakistani women. Fertility is considered a blessing while childlessness is a cause of pity. The role of the mother is highly valued and respected in the religion. Muslims generally believe that 'heaven lies under the mother's feet. Motherhood brings more respect, security, and grace to the married women. Therefore, it is not customary to delay children after marriage; women wish to have children in the early years of marriage even if they have to compromise their career goals.

All Muslims, male and female, are required to marry and fulfill their sexual and procreative needs within marriage. Being a Muslim country, extra-marital sex and children are strictly prohibited in Pakistan. Extra marital sex is a major sin in the religious sense and a crime under Pakistan's criminal laws for which there is a severe punishment. Therefore, marriage is almost universal in Pakistan. Divorce though allowed by Islam, is very rare, and considered shameful. Divorce carries a stigma which makes remarriage of divorced woman highly difficult. Divorced men do not face the same problem. Therefore, it is, generally, the woman who makes sacrifices to keep the marriage intact, no matter how hard it is and whatever it takes including their career.

The domestic role is also very important in Pakistani women's lives. Household work and chores are the responsibility of woman. Men are not expected to do domestic work such as cooking, cleaning, dish washing, laundry. Those who do this are looked down upon by others and given derogatory labels⁵. Although, these

⁵. Labels such as *Run Mureed* & *Joroo Kaa Ghulam* means husband led by wife and slave of wife respectively.

cultural taboos are changing now specially among educated couples but still domestic work is largely considered the wife's responsibility. In the homes where there are family servants for domestic help, the primary responsibility of supervision rests with the wife even if she is a career women.

The extended family system in Pakistani society which is consistent with Islamic prescriptions and cultural traditions emphasises the importance of kin role for women. Women as members of the extended family are recognised as daughters, sisters, mothers, wives, daughter-in-laws, or through other relationships. Each of these relationships is considered important and has different demands and expectations from women. Thus, women do not exist as individuals in the Western sense of the word. A women's kin roles may pose strain on the woman and affect their career choices.

The woman's roles discussed above are considered primary in the lives of Pakistani women and are consistent with Islamic and cultural prescriptions. Nevertheless, women are increasingly taking up other roles such as the occupational role, and community role. The presence of women in administrative positions in the civil service testify to the changing roles of women in Pakistan. Despite adopting new roles, women in Pakistan still attach great importance to the culturally prescribed roles and do not give up these roles. The survey conducted for this study found an overwhelming majority of the female administrators married with children. Thus, working women in Pakistan walk on a tight rope and do their best to balance their traditional and career roles within the given social constraints and opportunities.

2. Gender Development

In Pakistan, women's preoccupation with the traditional roles and cultural expectations restrict their participation in the social and economic life. They stand low on all the indicators of gender development such as education, health, and economic participation as reported in chapter 4. The profile of Pakistani women is simply shocking. The statistics on gender development in Pakistan present a sad commentary on the neglect of women in all areas of development. Women's literacy rate and combined enrollment rate (at primary, secondary, and tertiary level) is 23% and 24% respectively. Maternal mortality rate per 100,000 live births is 340. The total fertility rate is 6.1 children per woman, the obvious result of which is an extremely low rate of contraceptive usage. Women's share in the economic activity rate is 14% whereas their share in the earned income is 19%.

Women's limited access to education and employment opportunities adversely affect the female labor supply. Women have a token presence in work organizations both horizontally and vertically, making it difficult to evolve a women friendly culture in work organizations which affect women's employment on the demand side. Thus, low gender development and masculine organizational cultures perpetuate the vicious cycle which has negative repercussions for women's employment in general and their managerial advancement in particular. The present study indicates that women's representation in the civil service at entry level is low, but there is a sharp decline beyond middle management level (grades 20 to 22). This may be the effect of a vicious cycle triggered by the low gender development in the country.

3. Occupational and Work Segregation in the Labor Market

A clear sex-role demarcation in Pakistani society provides the basis for occupational and work segregation in the labor market. There are certain occupations such as teaching, medicine, and nursing considered as suitable for women. Even in these professions, cross gender interaction is not very much appreciated. Other professions including management, armed forces, police, clerical and office work, production, technical work, and menial work are characterised as male jobs. Occupational/work segregation on sex basis is so pervasive that even the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan provides room for such segregation despite its commitment to the elimination of sexual discrimination in the civil service appointments. Article 27 of the Constitution states that “No citizen otherwise qualified for appointment in the service of Pakistan should be discriminated against in respect of any such appointment on the ground of sex. However, specified posts may be reserved for members of either sex if such posts entail the performance of duties and functions which cannot be adequately performed by members of the other sex”. This constitutional provision legitimises work segregation, often guided by sex-role stereotypes, in the public sector jobs including the civil service and has serious implications for womens’ entry and advancement in their careers.

4. Absence of Anti-discrimination Legislation

Despite being a signatory of UN’s Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Pakistan does not have special legislation and institutional arrangements for dealing with issues of discrimination

against women at work including discrimination in selection, promotion, work segregation, and sexual harassment. The equal opportunity measures such as affirmative action have also yet not been introduced by the government. The absence of any legal framework protecting women from anti-discriminatory practices in employment, which are often subtle and complex, may have serious implications for advancement of women in their careers including the Civil Service.

5. Gender Empowerment

Despite having twice elected a women Prime Minister in Pakistan, women's representation in country's power corridors is extremely low. Women are only 2% of the national parliament and 4% in the federal cabinet whereas there is not a single woman in the top jobs in the federal and provincial bureaucracies. Women's symbolic presence in the political positions and their total absence in the top bureaucratic positions may best explain the government's rhetoric's on the issues of gender equality. The absence of labor legislation protecting women from gender discrimination in employment and the absence of equal opportunity legislation also affects of women's limited access to positions of power and authority in the government. The low empowerment of women in the government machinery has system wide implications for women's advancement in the civil service careers.

Organizational Factors

The civil service in Pakistan is a mirror-image of societal beliefs about the role of women and their social, economic and political status in the society. Despite women's entry into the civil service, the civil service is still a male-dominated

profession and women do not get the same opportunities for development and advancement. It does not happen in an open or overt manner as the Constitution of Pakistan prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex. Nevertheless, most of the discrimination occurs in the covert form which is subtle, complex, and hard to detect. Due to the absence of anti-discrimination laws in the country, the covert discrimination remains unnoticed. This study points to the hidden discriminatory organizational practices in the civil service that affects women's career advancement. Discussed below are the various forms in which covert discrimination occurs against women civil servants and the organizational factors that cause and perpetuate the phenomenon.

Gender Streaming

At the time of selection, women are streamed into the occupational groups considered appropriate for females that involve relatively more office work, less mobility, less public dealings and less volatile situations. These occupational groups do not provide their members with the same career prospects as offered by some other occupational groups such as DMG, Police, Secretariat Group, and Foreign Service. The gender streaming through gender-biased selection process adversely affect women's advancement to the top positions in the civil service hierarchy.

Work Segregation

The women who managed to enter the so called male oriented occupational groups despite hidden biases in the selection process are denied equal opportunities for development due to work segregation often justified by sex-role stereotypes. They

are not likely to be offered field postings and other lucrative jobs in the autonomous bodies/corporations necessary to gain the versatility of experience considered crucial for promotion to the top management positions. Since the Civil Service system has a generalist orientation, the top positions are offered to those who have all round work experience in the government. Thus, women administrators even being in the prestigious groups, may not have the same opportunities for their career development as their male counterpart as a result of work segregation within these occupations.

Training

Training which has a definite link with the promotion of civil servants in Pakistan is also not free from gender biases. The very structure and process of training offered to civil servants at various stages of their career favours men rather than women. The training courses mandatory for promotion such as NIPA and PASC courses beside being residential are of long duration. The institutions offering these courses do not have proper residential arrangements to facilitate women with families or very young children. Therefore, women may delay these courses for personal reasons which can cause delays in their promotion. Other training opportunities specially foreign training are rarely offered to female civil servants due to perceived difficulties women might encounter during their stay abroad. The scholarships and grants for foreign training do not cover the family expenses, therefore, it may not be possible for married women with children to avail themselves of such opportunities.

Mentoring and Networking

There are very few women who are in senior positions and can act as mentors for other women civil servants. So, it is very rare for women civil servants to have mentors of their own gender whereas cross gender mentoring may not be a viable option for the majority of the female civil servants due to cultural restrictions. Women and men civil servants despite being enlightened and educated, are not encouraged to mix freely as is the case in the western countries. Women mostly restrict themselves only to mandatory official duties and exclude themselves from informal gatherings that are necessary for networking. Thus, it is not possible for women in the civil service in Pakistan to have the same mentoring and networking opportunities which may have adverse effect on their career advancement.

Token Status of Women

The women because of their very low representation in the civil service have token presence in the almost all male organizational environment. The token status of women is the effect as well as the cause of their underrepresentation in the top management positions in the Civil service hierarchy. The women being few in number are more visible among their male colleagues which make them conscious of their decisions and presentation as they are taken as test case for future women in the civil service profession. This exerts performance pressure on the token women to work extra hard to prove themselves in the civil service which is largely governed by male norms and values. Women's token status and their strong commitment to their traditional roles (i.e., parental and domestic roles) double the

pressure on women administrators in Pakistan to come up to organizational as well as cultural expectations.

Recruitment Policies

The phenomenon of the small number of women in top positions in the bureaucracy is perpetuated by certain recruitment policies such as regional quota, military quota, and no provision for lateral entry into the civil service. These policies favour men more than the women at the entry point. Under the regional quota policy, 50 per cent are allocated to the province of Punjab and rest of the 50 per cent are distributed over the three provinces, tribal areas and Azad Kashmir on the basis of population. There is rural-urban divide in the case of the province of Sind where rural Sind is allocated more seats than the urban Sind. Since the women who seek civil service career come mostly from the urban areas, the regional quota particularly affects women candidates from the urban areas by recruiting candidates mostly male from the rural Sind. In the absence of such a quota women may stand a good chance to be recruited in the Civil Service on merit basis.

Similarly the military quota which allocates 10 per cent of the posts of the prestigious groups (DMG, Police, Foreign Service) are allocated to serving military officers without even qualifying through the CSS examination. Since women are not allowed to join the armed services with the exception of doctors and nurses, the recruits who join the civil service through military quota are all men which further deteriorates the gender composition of the civil service.

The gender imbalance created at the recruitment level sustains and remains unaltered as a result of having no provision for lateral entry into the civil service. The recruitment to the Central Superior Services is made only at the entry level of the management. The candidates who exceed the age of 28 are not eligible for appearing in the CSS examination. The age restriction and no provision for entry into the civil service at middle and senior management levels close the doors of the civil service to women who may not join the civil service at an early stage of their life due to their preoccupation with family responsibilities such as child bearing and child rearing.

Lack of Women Friendly Policies

The civil service rules do have provisions for maternity leave and family friendly postings, but they do not respond to the problems of working women arising from changing family patterns. The traditional joint/extended family system, a great source of help and support to the working women, is giving way to the nuclear family system. The working women living in nuclear families face the problem of child care which has not yet been adequately addressed at the organizational level in Pakistan. The flexible work hours is another areas of personnel policy which has not yet attracted the attention of policy makers. The absence of these women friendly organizational policies may create difficulties for women administrators with young children and affect their career aspirations.

Personal Factors

The analysis of societal and organizational environment with reference to advancement of women in the civil service in Pakistan reveals that the occupational role of women is not compatible with socio-cultural and organizational norms. The women in Pakistan who have joined the civil service or any other managerial career are the pioneers, exceptional, and non-conventional women who have accepted the challenge of venturing into the male world without compromising their traditional roles. They have been able to take up this challenge either through parental encouragement or their socio-economic background or through the strengths of their personal characteristics i.e., education and training, self-confidence. However, their dual commitment to career and family responsibilities remains a potential source of constraint which might have adverse effect on their upward career mobility. The following are some of the major personal factors that affect women's career advancement in the civil service

Parental Encouragement

The influence of parental encouragement on career choices of women is a universally accepted phenomenon. The sex-role ideology of parents specially mothers shape the gender identity of their children. Women who are educated and have themselves been in non-conventional professions are likely to have daughters who would follow their mothers' footprints. The women civil servants in Pakistan do have the same parental background patterns, but parental influence on their career choices is much more strong than in some western countries. Parents in Pakistan are more involved in the lives of their children specially daughters. The

young women in Pakistan are not as independent as women in the western and industrialised countries, parents make choices about their daughters' education, profession, and even marriage. Thus, parents who are educated and forward looking are a constant source of encouragement and support to the women who join civil service as career and aspire for advancement.

Socio-economic Background

In addition to the parental background, socio-economic class is another important factor in the lives of the professional women like female civil servants which has significant impact on their career advancement. In Pakistan, since class divisions are very sharp and glaring, class background have profound affect on people's lives. The opportunities of personal development (i.e., education) and career guidance are not evenly distributed among all the people of Pakistan. When it comes to the girls education, the picture is even more bleak. Besides limited opportunities of education and development for girls/women, there are also certain cultural restrictions that inhibit women to fully avail such opportunities. The women who cross the cultural barriers and acquire necessary education and skills to enter the professional careers such as civil service are mostly from urban middle and upper class. Their socio-economic class plays a significant role in their upward career mobility through the use of various push and pull factors i.e., networks and influences, necessary for getting good postings and training opportunities in Pakistan.

Spouse Support

Being married has its own positive aspects for the Pakistani women administrators where spouse support may be a constant source of encouragement throughout their careers. Spouse who are educated and are in professional careers are more supportive of the shared responsibilities and are more understanding and broad minded. They can facilitate women Civil Servants in the pursuit of their career aspiration by having positive attitudes towards their professions. In the Pakistani culture where women despite taking up occupational roles cannot give up their primary roles as home makers, spouse support is extremely critical for women Civil Servants to prosper in their careers.

Spouse Career

Having a professional and educated husband has advantages as well as disadvantages for women's career in the civil service. On the one hand, a professional husband is a constant source of encouragement, support, and guidance for his professional wife, on the other hand, his own career may become a barrier to the career advancement of his wife. The women civil servants view their husband's career as an impediment in their advancement because it takes priority over their career which is quite acceptable in the Pakistani culture. Both Islamic and cultural prescriptions assign bread winning responsibility to the husbands. Even when both husband and wife are working, it is the husband who is regarded as the head of the family. Therefore, despite several changes in the work force patterns men in Pakistan are still considered as the primary bread winners of their families and women as secondary earners. Thus, If both husband and wife have a professional

career, in the case of any conflict due to postings and transfers, it is the wife who is expected to make an adjustment even compromising her career aspirations.

Family Commitments

Women civil servants in Pakistan despite having professional careers are found equally committed to their families. Since domestic work including child caring and rearing is primarily the responsibility of women the female servants besides seeking domestic help from their parents and hiring the services of professional maids face more pressure than men. Although women civil servants are complacent of their domestic role, they view their family commitments as a barrier to their career development. Women are less likely to take postings and training opportunities that may enhance their career prospect at the cost of their family commitments.

Education and Training

Education and training is universally accepted as a positive factor in the career advancement of women. The women civil servants in Pakistan who have reached the senior levels of management have made a significant investment in their education and training despite all the barriers and constraints arising from their culturally prescribed roles and limited opportunities available to women. On average, educational attainment of the women civil servants in Pakistan is higher than that of men. The women civil servants are fully aware and conscious of their educational strengths. Therefore, they reject any idea which compromises the principle of merit such as women quota for the promotion of gender equity in the civil service.

Personality Characteristics

Self-confidence besides ability to manage, career commitment and hard work is a major personality trait which has positive impact on the career advancement of women civil servants in Pakistan. Self-confidence is particularly important for those women aspiring to move into the top echelons of the civil service hierarchy. Since the civil service is a gender atypical organization and is governed by male norms and values, self-confidence becomes vital for women to survive in a male organizational culture. Self-confidence besides helping women civil servants in coping with a male organizational environment, is also critical to counter the negative female stereotypes at the broader societal level which is necessary for effective performance of their public service role. Above all, a high degree of self-confidence among female civil servants encourage them to take career development opportunities such as training opportunities abroad, tough assignments, postings in the hard areas that enhance a civil servants' potential for being considered for promotion to the senior positions.

Section III

Comparison with Selected Countries

The analysis of factors affecting women's advancement in the civil service in Pakistan suggests that although women administrators have a high degree of self-confidence, and are as competent and committed to their careers as their male counterparts, they still lag behind men in terms of their career advancement. In this analysis, career-family conflict and covert discrimination emerged as two major forces counteracting women's quest for advancement in the managerial hierarchy.

These observations are consistent with a large body of current research on the subject which finds no differences between women and men managers in terms of their ability and career commitment, but underscores discrimination and work-personal conflict as major barriers to women's managerial advancement (Holly, 1998; Rani, 1996; Bagchi, 1995; Wilson, 1995; Adler and Izraeli, 1994; Davidson and Burke, 1994; Fagenson, 1993; Papps, 1992; Jahan, 1975). While discrimination against women and career-personal conflict are universal phenomena, the nature, forms, intensity, and personal and organizational strategies to reduce the impact of these two forces vary from country to country depending on the cultural values and institutional/legal frameworks. This section compares Pakistan with other western, North American, and developing countries with special reference to Malaysia on the issues of career-family conflict and discrimination against women. Malaysia being an Islamic and Asian country, and a former British colony shares socio-cultural and historical similarities with Pakistan.

Since marriage and family are central to women's lives in Pakistan, this study reports that over 90% of women senior civil servants are married and have children. This suggests that despite entering into a non-conventional profession, women in Pakistan have not given up their traditional roles of wives and mothers. However, interestingly, they are found equally committed to their careers. This 'have it all' strategy makes career-family conflict a potential barrier to women administrators' careers in Pakistan. They appear more vulnerable to this conflict as the division of roles between the sexes is extremely sharp in Pakistani society which is testified to by both Islam, the state religion, and the cultural traditions. Women, despite

changes in the work force, are still regarded as primarily responsible for domestic work while men are considered as the primary breadwinners. Besides, husbands enjoy more influence and power in family decision making as compared to wives. Thus, balancing career and family concerns poses a great dilemma for women administrators in Pakistan.

The career-family conflict seems to be more intense in Pakistan and has serious implications for career advancement of women administrators as compared to some western and north American countries where women managers have a wide range of options available due to the weakening of the family institution. Women managers in these countries may opt for divorce, delay children, and stay single which are not culturally acceptable options for Pakistani women administrators. Thus, in case of any head-on collision between career aspirations and family concerns for women administrators, it is the family which takes priority over career in Pakistan. It is the same in other Islamic countries such as Malaysia. For instance, a similar study on the career advancement of women managers in Malaysia found a significant proportion of the women managers married with a very low proportion of unmarried and divorced women (Yousaf and Siegel, 1994). This is mainly due to the value and priority attached to the marriage and motherhood. Malaysian culture with a very few exceptions still adheres strongly to the traditional values which prescribe a clear gender definition of roles despite the progressive orientation of the government (Mansor, 1994; Arifin, 1992; Md. Noor, 1990).

Nevertheless, Pakistani women administrators fully utilize the available social and organizational opportunities to reduce the impact of career-family conflict on their careers and personal lives. Their personal resolutions include seeking help from parents and in-laws for child care and hiring maids for domestic work including child care. It is mainly because of the joint family system, still prevalent in Pakistan, and the availability of low cost domestic help due to massive unemployment. To reduce the burden of child bearing and caring, women administrators also exercise the option of planning their families more rationally.

At organizational level, women administrators in Pakistan are provided with certain facilities that help to cope with the family responsibilities. These include three months full paid maternity leave for up to two children, and posting of husband and wife at one station if both are civil servants. Besides, these personal and organizational resolutions, a cooperative and supportive husband also, in some cases, facilitate women administrators to alleviate the pressure generated by the career-family conflict. However, in the case of dual career couples, a husband's career is a potential barrier to women's advancement in the civil service in Pakistan.

The above findings when compared with the studies conducted in some other countries reveal interesting similarities and differences in terms of the nature of the career-family conflict and the coping strategies at personal and organizational level. While overall, there is a sharp contrast between personal and organisational strategies available to Pakistani women administrators and women managers in western countries, there are similarities and differences in the case of Malaysia. In

countries such as the USA, UK, and Australia, women managers at a personal level can resolve career-family dilemma by selecting partners who can take the major responsibility of house work and child care and those who are highly paid executives can find paid help to perform household tasks and child care. These options are not available to Pakistani women. In contrast, help from in-laws, parents, and other relatives is a rare option available to women administrators in these countries (Adler and Izraeli, 1994; Tharenou et al., 1994). In Malaysia, women administrators can seek help from their extended families and can plan their families to meet their career demands. Relatively egalitarian family structures allow working women to seek their husbands' support in balancing their career and work commitments. However, unlike women administrators in Pakistan, they face great difficulty in hiring maids for domestic help due to the shortage of people looking for such work. The women in Malaysia have equal and easy access to education at every level which has prompted women to seek skills and knowledge to get better jobs in domestic and multinational firms (Mansor, 1994; Mansor, 1990).

At organizational level, industrialised and developed countries have introduced different types of leave i.e., maternity, family, parentale and medical to accommodate women's family concerns. For example, the United Kingdom provides 14 weeks paid maternity leave; Canada provides 15 week of family leave time at 60% pay; Austria provides 20 weeks fully paid family leave (Parker and Fagenson in Davidson and Burke, 1994). However, the USA has been far behind European countries in its response to the issue of balancing work and family concerns; it enacted the Family and Medical Leave Act in 1993 which provides no

guarantees of paid leave and allows for many exemptions on the basis of organizational size and for employees viewed as 'key' to their firms. Other options such as institutionalised child care system, flexible work schedule, part time work and work sharing methods also facilitate working women in the industrialised countries in balancing their work-family responsibilities (Ezra, 1996; Davidson and Burke, 1994; Tsui, et al., 1992).

Malaysian organisations have more women friendly policies as compared to Pakistan which help women managers in Malaysia to address both career and family concerns. Women are entitled to forty two days and sixty days paid maternity leave inclusive of maternity allowance upto five births in the public and private sector respectively (Mansor, 1994; Arifin, 1992). Malaysian women are also provided with opportunities to consider work arrangements other than full-time employment such as part-time and flexible work. In Malaysia, child care issue has received an adequate attention at government level. The government offers partial or fully subsidised day care facilities to working women in different cities.

On discrimination against women managers, the findings of this study compared with some industrialised countries reveals some sharp differences. In Pakistan, since sex discrimination at work has not yet received adequate public attention, no institutional framework exists to address the issues of sex discrimination. Although, the constitution of Pakistan guarantees equal employment opportunities in the civil service, and provides that 'steps shall be taken to enhance full participation of women in all spheres of national life', there exists no special labor legislation

defining what constitutes discrimination and how women employees could be protected against different forms of discrimination. The Constitution is also silent on the issue of sex discrimination in private sector employment. The absence of institutional and legal framework to address issues of sex discrimination is mainly due to the conflict between the principle of gender equality introduced in the 1973 Constitution and strict sex role segregation prescribed in societal beliefs and practices (for detail see chapter 4). While Pakistan being a member state of the United Nations and signatory of a number of international conventions such as CEDAW reaffirms its faith in equal rights of men and women in the constitution and is obliged to take steps to protect women, the cultural prescriptions on the role of women in the society is a major road block to introducing radical steps towards promoting gender equality at work.

In contrast, government response, in industrialised countries, to the issues of gender discrimination at work is highly institutionalised with slight variation as those societies are more sensitive to gender equality than Pakistan. For example, the United States have laws on sex discrimination, sexual harassment, equal pay, and equal employment opportunity to protect women from discrimination at work (Hale and Kelly, 1989). In the United States, a mandatory affirmative action program to ensure equal employment opportunities to women and minorities (Davidson and Burke, 1994). The United Kingdom also have laws to protect women from sex-discrimination at work. However, there is no mandatory affirmative action program, many UK firms though adopt equal employment opportunity policy on voluntary basis. Similarly, Australia took an equal employment initiative to ensure women's

equal access to employment opportunities (Tharenou et al, 1994). Although, the critics in these countries still find these measures inadequate in addressing discrimination against women at work, these countries are far ahead of Pakistan on anti-discrimination initiatives for protecting women from discrimination (Davidson and Cooper, 1992).

Despite the well institutionalised response to sex discrimination and public awareness about various discriminatory practices at work place, the problem of sex discrimination still persists in industrialised countries in a subtle and covert ways. Women managers do not enjoy the same job conditions, pay, status, and career opportunities as their male counterparts. This is due to a number of reasons such as sex stereotyping, sex-segregated occupations, inequitable differentials in salary structure, sexual harassment, unequal promotional opportunities such as training, supervision, authority and power, and limited access to networking and mentoring opportunities (Kram and Isabella, 1985; Kram, 1983; Kanter, 1977a).

Pakistan and Malaysia share similarities and striking differences on the issue of discrimination against working women. As in Pakistan, the issue of sex discrimination at work in Malaysia has not yet received adequate attention at the government level. Although the constitution of Malaysia in its article 8(2) ensures that “.....there shall be no discrimination against citizens on the ground of religion, race, dissent, or place of birth” (Malaysia Year Book, 1989), it is silent about any other ground for discrimination such as sex discrimination (Sieh et al., 1991). The Employment Act, 1955 (amended 1986), however, protects women

from discrimination based on gender while regulating the conditions of work for employees. The act also provides exemptions to certain protective clauses, considered discriminatory against women, such as night shift and underground work. However, beside these changes in employment laws, the Malaysian government has not yet taken any other initiatives such as an affirmative action program or special legislation to protect women from sex-based discrimination at workplace (Tan, 1991, Sieh et al., 1991).

Nevertheless, despite the lack of an adequate constitutional and legal framework to combat various forms of discrimination against women at work, Malaysian women managers and administrators as compared to women administrators in Pakistan perceive less workplace discrimination. Contrary to the results of the present study, a similar study conducted in Malaysia reported that women administrators rarely perceive themselves to be excluded from formal and informal networks. They fully utilise cross-gender mentoring opportunities, and avail in-service training opportunities in the country and abroad. (Yousaf and Seigel, 1994). The differences in gender relations at work in Pakistan and Malaysia are quite revealing in view of the fact that both Malaysia and Pakistan are Islamic countries. One of the major reasons for relatively greater equality of gender relations in Malaysia may be due to the higher proportion of working women, both overall and in management positions than in Pakistan. In Malaysia, while women's participation rate in economic activities is 45 per cent as compared to 14 per cent in Pakistan, the share of women in management positions is 8 per cent as compared to 3 per cent in Pakistan (Haq, 1997). It is mainly due to the better status of women in Malaysia than in Pakistan.

Malaysia is ahead of Pakistan on all the indicators of educational, health, economic, and political status of women in society⁶.

The cross-cultural comparison suggests that discrimination against women managers is a universal phenomenon and it occurs mostly in indirect and covert ways. It also suggests that while women in the western and industrialised countries are conscious and aware of such discrimination due to a legal framework to address these issues, women in the developing countries like Pakistan and Malaysia do not talk about these issues in the absence of any special arrangements to provide legal remedies to the victims of discriminatory practices that are often rationalised on the basis of religious and cultural values.

Nevertheless, it is quite revealing that Malaysia despite being an Islamic country has made significant progress towards gender development and gender empowerment leading to relatively greater gender equality at work. There can be a number of socio-economic and political factors that might have contributed to the better gender relations at workplace in Malaysia.

Malaysia is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country having a population of 18 million people. There are three major ethnic groups, Malays (45.6%) Chinese (37.1%) and Indians (14.8%). The official religion of the country is Islam practiced by approximately 50 percent of the population. The remainder are Christians,

⁶. See chapter 4, page 136 for gender profile of Pakistan and Malaysia.

Budhists, Hindus, Taoist, and Sikhs (Mansor, 1994; Sieh et al., 1991). Malaysia has one of the fastest growing economies in the South East Asia.

Malaysian government, in the last four decades, has been extremely conscious of developing its human resources by investing in health, education and training, and by providing equal opportunities to women. The government's efforts to promote economic growth and equality in the country enabled women from all ethnic groups including the Muslim women to compete with men in the labor market and other spheres of public life. For instance, the Government's New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1971 particularly aimed at women's greater involvement in the economic development of the country by encouraging their mobility from agrarian to better paid urban and industrialised activities. Under this policy, women were given easy and equal access to education and training which enabled them to enhance their potential by acquiring diverse education and skills to compete with men in different spheres of public life. As a result, Malaysia women including Muslim women took the job opportunities created through rapid industrialisation and the influx of multinationals in the 1970s and 1980s. Thus, it is not surprising that Malaysia is ahead of Pakistan in terms of women's block as well as vertical representation in management as the former is far behind Malaysia to offer equal opportunities of development to women and reach the level of development and industrialisation in order to create jobs opportunities to employ both men and women.

The demographic factors in Malaysia also contributed to the women's expanding role in the economy. On the one hand, shortage of human resources in the country

created demand for qualified personnel for administrative and managerial positions irrespective of their gender and on the other hand the government's efforts to keep different ethnic groups in the country together offered equal development opportunities to women of different ethnicities.

Malaysia has undergone a great deal of change in terms of role and status of women in society. In the wake of the country's rapid economic advancement, modernisation, prosperity and changing life styles old traditions, customs, and adherence to the cultural norms regarding the role of women are giving way to more egalitarian and better roles for women in the society. For instance, the moderate interpretation of Islamic injunctions about the veil allows Muslim women in Malaysia to fully participate in public spheres including working in offices and industries while maintaining the Islamic requirements of modesty through wearing a scarf⁷. A moderate interpretation of the role of Muslim women in Malaysia may also be the result of social learning in a multi-ethnic society or a more viable solution politically to maintain stability in the country. This is not the case in Pakistan which in terms of economic development is at a different stage. Not only is the overall economic growth and expansion is very slow in Pakistan it is even worse in the case of women. In the wake of slow economic development in the economy the hold of cultural traditions is still so strong that the Islamic injunctions of veiling are often interpreted as women's covering of their faces and restricting them to domestic spheres. Due to the rigid cultural traditions and norms women who work outside the homes are considered as deviants and non-observant of

⁷. Scarf is piece of cloth women use to cover their heads and shoulders. See chapter IV for discussion on the interpretation of Islamic injunctions about veiling.

Islamic injunctions. Even government's proactive measures to promote gender development and gender empowerment are often ignored when confronted by cultural norms and traditions. A change, though, is under way in the attitudes of people regarding women's roles and their participation in the work outside the home but Pakistan still has to go a long way to have a level of gender development comparable to Malaysia.

Policy Recommendations

In the light of the findings of the study, this section proposes policy measures to facilitate women in their career advancement. Since career-family conflict and discrimination are two major barriers to women's career in the civil service, the proposed measures aim at helping women to balance their career and family concerns and reducing discrimination against them. Therefore, these measures call for introducing anti-discrimination legislation and gender initiatives in critical areas of human resource management such as recruitment, promotion, training, and employee benefits. The suggested measures if adopted are expected to bring a positive change at personal, organizational, and systemic level which will not only enhance women's representation in the civil service but will also promote a conducive environment for women in other organizations. However, the pace of such change will be slow and no drastic results are expected, given the fact that the cultural values are in conflict with the very idea of women working outside the home. The following measures, therefore, suggest a long term strategy towards more egalitarian attitudes towards women in society in general and working women in particular.

1. Working women including women civil servants have traditionally relied on domestic workers, family and relatives for provision of child care service. However, it is increasingly becoming difficult for dual career couples staying in cities away from the extended families to get family support. There is also a growing realization that child care through maids, nannies and house workers is not safe without the proper supervision by family members. So, the child care is increasingly becoming a major area of concern of working women specially living away from their families and relatives. Recently, the government has established three child care centres in three metropolitan areas to introduce the concept of institutionalised child care. These centres have received overwhelming response from the working women which indicate that there is a need for government initiative in the child care area. Thus, the government should respond to the child care need of the working women by: a) establishing more child care centres for its employees throughout the country; b) offering incentives to the private sector and NGOs to provide child care; and c) providing a legal framework to regulate the child care centres run by the private or non-governmental organizations.

2. Another area which needs government intervention is the leave policy. The existing civil service rules only provide for three months paid maternity leave upto two children. Other family concerns such as care of sick children and elderly care are overlooked. To accommodate these family concern, the government may introduce family leave through special legislation and both men and women should be entitled to such leave. The provision of family leave to men also may encourage them to share domestic responsibilities with their wives. The family leave may

serve as a symbolic step towards lessening the sharp division of sex-roles in the society.

3. Another way to facilitate working women, specially with children, is to introduce flexible work hours. Presently, there is no such provision in the civil service rules, though at informal level, women administrators with children are usually treated with compassion. However, all women may not receive the same response from their bosses. Thus, introducing flexi-time arrangements formally will help women, across the board, to balance their work and family concerns.

4. Women should be encouraged to appear in the CSS examination so that the number of women at entry level may increase. The Public Service Commission should make arrangements to review the recruitment and selection system to see if there are any gender biases built in the selection system, and propose appropriate action. Beside these measures, at least a 10% quota for women in the CSS jobs should be introduced. The regional and military quota is already there, so a women quota will not be a new concept in the context of the civil service in Pakistan.

5. While affirmative action and women quota at the recruitment stage will improve women's representation in the civil service, there is no guarantee with the given bureaucratic structure that women will receive the same treatment as men in the advancement opportunities. Therefore, a parity principle should be introduced in the promotion to posts in grade 20 and above. The government should ensure that representation of women and men in these grades should be proportionate to the

overall sex ratio in the civil service. If the women quota in top management is needed for proportionate representation in the top positions, it may be introduced.

6. The representation of women in prestigious occupational group is low as compared to other occupational groups. This may be the result of the gender streaming at the recruitment level. However, the women who are in the prestigious groups do not have equal promotional opportunities because they rarely get the field experience which play a significant role in one's promotion to the top positions. The government should also take steps to give women due representation in the field posts in the provincial government and autonomous corporations. Again a sex proportional representation formula is recommended for field postings.

7. There is not a single women in the important bodies of the civil service which frame personnel policies and take personnel decisions such as training and promotion. The government should make arrangements to have women representation in all these bodies such as the Federal Public Service Commission, the Central Selection Board, and the Establishment Division. Women should be represented in these bodies based on the principle of proportional representation. This will be help counter gender biases in the key aspects of personnel policy and administration of the civil service.

8. Offensive verbal behaviour in the form of sexist comments and remarks from male colleagues has surfaced in the study as a problem faced by the women administrators. If one ask men about it, they may not even realize that their remarks

are perceived as offensive by their female colleagues. This may be due to their insensitivity to the opposite gender. Thus, to raise their level of consciousness of gender issues at work and make them sensitive to the needs of their female colleagues, a gender sensitizing training program should be introduced in the advance courses offered at the NIPA and Pakistan Administrative Staff College. At present, no such program exists in the training curriculum of these training institutions.

9. Women representation in the national policy making and legislative bodies such as the National Assembly, the Senate, the Cabinet is almost non-existent. The government should revive the women seats in the National Assembly and the Senate. The constitutional provision for these seats lapsed in 1990 which has not been restored yet. The representation of women in these national forums is necessary to ensure that women's concerns are adequately addressed in public policy.

Conclusion

To conclude, systemic, organizational, and personal barriers faced by the women civil servants in Pakistan to their career progression arise from the ascribed role and status of women in the society. Women's occupational role is neither compatible to their cultural prescribed roles nor aligned with the norms of gender relations at societal as well as at organizational level. Nevertheless, women administrators are increasingly taking up the occupational roles without giving up their traditional roles even in the absence of any facilitative policies at the governmental level.

Women administrators in their attempt to cope with the demands posed by the role accumulation face a number of personal, organizational, and systemic barriers to their career progression which distinguish them from women managers in the countries where the societal and organizational environment is relatively more congenial to the working women due to less sharp divisions of sex-roles, women's more equal access to development opportunities, and the presence of protective labour legislation.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This chapter concludes the study of factors affecting the advancement of women in the civil service in Pakistan. It presents a summary of the main findings of the study and assesses the GOS model as the theoretical framework of the study. The chapter also points to certain limitations that may affect the generalizability of the findings of the study and draws implications for future research on women's managerial advancement using the Gender-Organizations-System framework and proposes an agenda for future research on gender and management in Pakistan.

Main Findings of the Study

The objective of the study was to explore the factors that may facilitate or impede women's advancement in the civil service in Pakistan. A gender-organization-system (GOS) model of managerial advancement was developed to serve as the conceptual framework for the study. Since the GOS model examines the issue of women's managerial advancement at personal, organizational, and systemic levels, the study focused on each of these levels with particular reference to women's career in the civil service in Pakistan. Thus, several research questions were posed at the outset of the study to probe into gender, organizational and systemic aspects of women's career in order to get an insight into the potential factors affecting women's advancement in the civil service in Pakistan. To address the research questions, the data was gathered through self-administered, questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, and secondary sources including government documents and

reports, national and international publications, journals, and books dealing with various aspects of gender relations in Pakistan. While the data generated through the questionnaires were analyzed statistically, the findings of the interviews were used to support the statistical results. The secondary data and information on the organizational and systemic context of women administrators in Pakistan was used to review the role and status of women in the society and for an examination of the structural implications for women in the civil service.

Research Questions

The analysis and discussion of primary and secondary data led to the following conclusions in response to the research questions.

1. Are women and men administrators different in terms of their personal characteristics, home status, parental and socio-economic background, and work behaviour?

The women and men administrators share similarities in terms of age, birth order, domicile, mother tongue, educational status, personality traits, and career commitment. However, they differ on their marital status, living conditions, share in the household income, parental and family background, socio-economic class, managerial ability, and motivations for joining the civil service. Although an overwhelming majority of women administrators are married, their proportion in comparison with married men is slightly lower. The women who are single do not live alone rather they live with their parents or relatives. The single men on other hand do not have this living pattern. The share in household income in the case of

women is less than men. Women administrators' parents and spouses are more educated and in professional occupations than those of the men. The majority of women reportedly belong to the upper middle class whereas the majority of men are from the middle class. In terms of managerial ability and motivation to join the civil service, more women than men administrators view themselves as having good communication and writing skills and greater challenge was the major motivating force for them to join the civil service.

2. Are women and men administrators provided with the same organizational opportunities for advancement in their civil service careers?

Women administrators do not have the same access to organizational opportunities for progression in their career as men. Apart from the mandatory training programs women are provided with less training and development opportunities and have limited access to postings that bring the variety of experience considered essential for one's promotion to senior level positions. Women also have marginal access to mentoring and networking opportunities.

3. To what extent is the organizational context of the civil service in Pakistan gender neutral and conducive for women administrators?

The organizational context of the civil service is heavily biased towards male administrators. Women, beside having token status in the civil service, have either no or only a symbolic presence at the highest levels in the public bureaucracy. Consequently, they have no representation in the important bodies where decisions on personnel policy, selections, and promotions to the senior positions are taken.

Women are also less represented in the prestigious occupational groups where incumbents have relatively brighter career prospects. Besides, work segregation on the basis of sex is an important feature of the civil service. The male officers have relatively less positive attitudes towards women administrators.

4. What is the role and status of women vis-à-vis men in Pakistani society and to what extent are women and men provided with equal opportunities for their development and empowerment?

The status of women in Pakistan is low as compared to men. They lag behind men on the indicators of gender development (i.e., education, health, employment) and gender empowerment (i.e., political power). These indicators make for dismal reading when Pakistan is compared with other South Asian and some Muslim countries (for example, Malaysia, Morocco). The root cause of low status of women in Pakistan is the traditional culture which ascribe an inferior position to women vis-à-vis men in the society as a result of rigid sex-role demarcation. Women are less encouraged to participate in activities related to the public sphere. The cultural prescriptions about the role of women in the society have such a strong hold on people's attitudes towards women that even the progressive outlook of Islam and the state's initiatives to promote gender equity had a limited effect. However, change is occurring in attitudes towards the role of women in society particularly in urban areas where people have relatively more access to education and employment opportunities. The changing life style from traditional to modern and increasing economic pressures are also making people more pragmatic towards the social and economic roles of women.

5. Do women and men administrators in the civil service in Pakistan perceive any barriers/facilitators towards their careers and what are these barriers/facilitators?

Both women and men administrators perceive hard work, self-confidence, work style, education, training, mentoring, and networking as facilitators to their careers. However, more men than women, consider that mentoring, networking, and promotional opportunities have facilitated them in their careers. More women on the other hand, emphasise hard work, self-confidence, work style and education as important factors in their career progression. Interestingly, it is only the women administrators who point to some barriers to their careers. They view their spouse's career and family's attitude towards their work as barriers to their careers. However, surprisingly, despite the majority of women being married with children, domestic responsibilities i.e., child caring, child bearing, care of sick and elderly, household chores, have not been identified as an impediments to their career in the civil service.

6. How the women administrators in Pakistan are different from or similar to the women managers in other countries in terms of their personal, organizational, and societal aspects related to their careers?

The women administrators in Pakistan share similarities and differences with women managers in developed and developing countries. They are similar in terms of not being different from their male counterparts in career commitment, ability to manage, and self-confidence. They, like other women managers in the rest of the world, are also subject to two major career constraints, work-family life conflict and

discrimination, counteracting their career aspirations. However, the nature, form, intensity of these career constraints and coping strategies at person, organization, and systemic level in Pakistan are different the other countries. Work-family life conflict in Pakistan is relatively more intense due to the rigid demarcation of sex-roles and strong family orientation compared with Western and North American countries. It is in many ways similar to other Muslim countries like Malaysia. However, even in Islamic countries where women have been provided with equal access to development opportunities and empowerment, women cope well with work-family interface.

The strategies to cope with work-family conflict varies across countries. In Pakistan, women administrators not only have limited culturally acceptable choices regarding marital status/life, there is also no formal child care support system. While Malaysian women are subject to the same social pressures within their family orientation, they have better child care facilities in the country. In Pakistan, working women mostly rely on informal support from their joint/extended family system and domestic servants/maids. While women administrators in Malaysia, can also seek help from their families, it is extremely difficult for them to rely on paid domestic help due to non-availability of domestic labour. On the other hand, the women managers in the industrialized countries have a variety of choices available to them in the form of delaying their families, choosing the suitable husband, staying single beside a formal and institutionlised child care system and emerging alternative work practices i.e, flexible work, part-time work, and job sharing . On addressing issues of discrimination at work on the basis of sex, Pakistan is far

behind Western and Industrialised countries where women are well aware of different forms of direct and indirect discrimination and there exists an elaborate legal and institutional framework to deal with sexual discrimination at work. In Pakistan and other developing countries, women are neither conscious of the discriminatory practices at work nor is there any legal and institutional support to counter work place discrimination against women. However, in Malaysia, even in the absence of special legislation for protecting women from discrimination, women's status in organisations is better as compared to Pakistan mainly due to higher level of gender development and gender empowerment.

Research Objective

The analysis and discussion of the findings in response to the research questions have led the study towards its basic objective by suggesting a number of gender, organizational, and systemic factors that may have implications for women's career in the civil service.

Women civil servants who have joined the managerial ranks are the pioneers, exceptional, and non-conventional who have accepted the challenge of venturing into the male world. There have been a number of factors that have facilitated them to take up this challenge which includes parental encouragement, spouse's support, socio-economic background, self-confidence and of course educational attainment. The women administrators, in the pursuit of their managerial careers, have not compromised their traditional roles of wife and mother. They are equally committed to both career and family. The dual commitment to family and career poses a great

dilemma to women in the form of role conflict which may have adverse effects on their careers. Thus, spouse career, time away from family, and relocation are found to be potential barriers to women's career in the civil service.

The civil service in Pakistan, in all respects is a male-dominated profession. Women administrators, though eligible to compete for almost all civil service jobs with a constitutional protection against discrimination based on sex, are denied equal career opportunities in a most indirect and subtle manner. The most common forms of indirect discrimination against women in the civil service in Pakistan are gender streaming, work segregation, and limited training, mentoring, and networking opportunities. These discriminatory practices often go unnoticed and are perpetuated due to a number of organizational factors including a gender-biased selection process, regional and military quotas, no provision for lateral entry, lack of women friendly policies, lack of women's presence on the important decision making bodies, and absence of any anti-discrimination laws.

Women's under-representation in the top ranks in the civil service in Pakistan can be viewed within the larger institutional context of the society. The cultural norms, values, and perceptions about the role of women in society affect both the supply and demand side of the phenomenon of under-representation of women in the civil service. The gender and organizational factors mentioned above are the results of a number of systemic factors that include culturally prescribed roles of women, low level of gender development, absence or symbolic presence of women in power and politics, occupational and work segregation due to rigid sex-role demarcation, and

absence of a legal institutional framework for addressing issues of sex discrimination at work.

Assessment of the GOS Model

The application of the GOS Model of Managerial Advancement to the study of factors affecting women civil servants in Pakistan has revealed strengths as well as weaknesses. The model offered a comprehensive and holistic view of the problem under review by illuminating personal, organisational and systemic factors that may affect women in their career advancement in the civil service of Pakistan.

The strength of the model lies in its assumption that personal and organisational factors that may affect women in their careers are deeply influenced by the systemic factors such as culturally prescribed roles and status ascribed to women in the society in the form of their access to development opportunities. The findings of the study prove this assumption and suggest that the systemic dimension which was ignored in gender-centered and organisation-centered approaches, is very significant in the study of women's career advancement and any analysis overlooking it would be partial, superficial and misleading. The findings of this study when compared to the findings of similar studies conducted in some other developed and developing countries unveil some interesting differences and similarities that are more likely to be caused by the differences in the systemic context. This underscores the importance of systemic dimension in the GOS model which help to make meaningful cross cultural comparisons.

The systemic dimension though extremely important in the analysis of the gender issues in management is difficult to measure. The GOS model, measures role and status of women in society, using two sharply defined and measurable concepts/constructs, gender development and gender empowerment. The use of these concepts in the study generated data which not only make the assessment of the status of women in society easy but also allow comparison across different societies. The application of the model in the context of the Federal Civil Service of Pakistan clearly demonstrates that these two concepts-- gender development and gender empowerment-- are very useful in measuring the status of women in society. Once an accurate position of women in a society is determined, it would become easy to identify the causes by examining the socio-economic and political institutions of the society. Thus, incorporation of gender development and gender empowerment as broad indicators of the status of women in society makes the GOS model a useful theoretical framework for the analysis of the gender issues in management within the larger societal context.

Besides the above noted strengths, the GOS model in its present form does not warrant itself for rigorous quantitative analysis. The model with given variables can not be used to study the exact interaction of systemic, personal, and organisational factors and their impact on the career advancement of women and men. This would be possible only if the concepts of gender development and gender empowerment are extended to the personal and organisational level. Having similar variables at personal, organisational and systemic level would allow the empirical testing of the

interaction of these dimensions in the analysis of gender inequality in management using national and international data.

Limitations of the Study

The study being the first of its kind in the context of Pakistan is exploratory and descriptive in nature. Identification of factors affecting women's career in the civil service is based on descriptive analysis of the data generated through questionnaire, interviews, and secondary sources. Since the data is mostly perceptual, specifically about the career aspects of the women, explanations strictly in the sense of 'cause and effect' have been deliberately avoided. Apart from its descriptive orientation, a number of other methodological and data limitations may also be taken into consideration before making any generalizations about factors affecting women's career in the civil service in Pakistan.

The data collected through mail questionnaires and interviews is self-reported and largely perceptual. Since the questionnaire was self-administered, it was not possible to control the environment in which the questionnaires were completed. So, there might have been an element of subject bias on the part of respondents while completing the questionnaire. Besides, the nature of the questions was such that despite some of the efforts made to disguise the objective of the study, it was very difficult to fully mask its gender focus. Therefore, the possibility is that gender bias might have contaminated the responses. All these factors may limit the validity and reliability of the data used to draw inferences about various career aspects of

men and women in the civil service in Pakistan. In addition to these problems, the low response rate in general and from senior administrators in particular may also limit the generalizations of the study.

Besides the above limitations typically associated with questionnaire instruments, the secondary data used in the study also do not come up to the strict standards of validity and reliability. The available data on the status of women in Pakistan and in the civil service is not current. The data on indicators of educational, economic, and health status of men and women in Pakistan, used in various government documents and reports, are estimates based on the population census which was conducted in 1981. Similarly, the latest Census of Federal Government Employees was conducted in 1993. Besides, figures reported in different government documents on the same subjects are at times inconsistent and do not match with each other. However, a concerted effort has been made to maintain consistency while using the data from different sources.

Directions for the Future Research

The present study makes two major contributions to the literature on gender and management: 1) it adds to national (Pakistan) and cross-cultural data on women and management with special reference to career advancement; and 2) it contributes to the existing theoretical approaches to the subject by using the GOS framework which is still in its infancy. This study was the first of its kind in the context of Pakistan, and was conducted under tremendous financial and time constraints. The study is exploratory, descriptive, broad based and cross sectional with a one time

survey of both women and men civil servants as subjects. Having these distinct characteristics, the study yields a broad based information on a variety of aspects of not only women's career in the civil service but also on gender and management in Pakistan which may be used as a take off point for more focused, comparative, and longitudinal studies. Some of the directions for the future research on the subject are as follows:

1. There is a need for focusing specifically on the careers of women, instead of making comparisons with men, as done in this study. Comparisons should be made between the women administrators who have managed to reach to the top positions and those who could not progress beyond a certain point in their careers. To do such a comparison, all the relevant variables such as occupational group and seniority may be strictly controlled.

2. A clear distinction has emerged between prestigious occupational groups and less prestigious groups in terms of their implications for the careers of the incumbents. Now it is the time to do an in-depth analysis of career patterns of women within and across these two categories of occupational groups. There is a distinct need for examining and comparing factors affecting women's careers within and across these occupational groups and illuminating how women cope with the forces constraining their careers.

3. Although the civil service in Pakistan is still a male-dominated profession some clear signs of change have been observed in the study such as women's symbolic

postings in the field, foreign postings, and positive male attitudes towards women administrators. There is a need for studying change in gender relations in the civil service over time years through conducting longitudinal studies.

4. The study should be replicated in the context of private sector organizations in Pakistan to see if there are any differences between women administrators in the civil service and women managers in the private sector in terms of their career aspects within the same socio-cultural, legal, and political environment.

5. While this study has uncovered various forms of indirect discrimination against women managers in Pakistan, to understand the phenomenon in its fullest, there is need to conduct microscopic studies on various issues of discrimination in order to examine the nature and intensity of various ways in which women are discriminated against and also to examine how women view and respond to different discriminatory practices. Such studies will help the government to redress the issue properly.

6. The application of the GOS framework in the present study has shown that the framework provides a holistic view of the issue of the scarcity of women in top management by illuminating factors at all three levels of analysis, gender, organization, and system. However, the strength of the framework depends upon the theoretical concepts and variables included in the model at these levels. It is learnt from the study that two concepts “gender development” and “gender empowerment” have the potential of providing the flesh and blood to the GOS

framework. The GOS framework can be further developed by incorporating these two concepts at all three levels, personal, organizational, and systemic which can provide a strong comparative base for cross cultural research on the subject.

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APPENDIX A

The Secretary
Establishment Division
Cabinet Secretariat
Government of Pakistan
Islamabad, Pakistan

Subject: Research Study on Career Advancement of Federal Civil Servants in Pakistan

Dear Sir,

I am writing on behalf of one of my research students Ms. Nasira Jabeen who is working towards her Ph.D. in management at School of Management, University of Stirling. She is specializing in gender and management which is an emerging field in management studies. To complete the requirement of her Ph.D. degree, Ms. Jabeen is conducting research study which investigates factors that facilitate or impede career advancement of men and women (Grade 17 and above) in the Federal Civil Service of Pakistan.

Ms. Jabeen has completed the formative phase of her study, and will be visiting Pakistan within next few weeks for data collection. During her field trip to Pakistan, she is required to administer survey questionnaire and conduct personal interviews of civil servants. She also needs to collect the necessary information through reviewing relevant government publications, documents, and reports.

As far as I understand the administrative system of Pakistan, being the head of central personnel agency, your cooperation and help is absolutely critical to the success of Ms. Jabeen's research trip. Therefore, I would request you to facilitate her in conducting the survey and gaining access to governmental archives. I assure you that information collected through the survey and other sources will be kept strictly confidential and will be used in summary form for academic purposes only. I also assure you that Ms. Jabeen's study will make a significant contribution towards understanding the personnel system of Government of Pakistan in general and career advancement in particular. We would be happy to provide you a copy of the findings of the study after its completion.

Ms. Jabeen will contact your office to schedule an appointment after she arrives to Lahore in late September, 1997. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Thank you.

Very truly,

Dr. Alan McKinlay
Professor of Corporate Strategy

APPENDIX B

October 1, 1997

Dear Respondent,

I am seeking your cooperation for completion of an important research study on career advancement in the Federal Civil Service of Pakistan. This study is a part of my doctoral thesis for the School of Management, University of Stirling, United Kingdom.

In my research study, I am investigating the factors that facilitate or impede upward career mobility of federal civil servants. You are one of the sample of civil servants chosen to collect the necessary data for this research study. Therefore, your participation and cooperation is critical to the success of this study.

Please be assured that all information obtained through this questionnaire will be completely confidential. No information about any individual's response will be reported anywhere. All data will be reported in a summary form and will be used for analysis in this particular survey only. To ensure confidentiality, participants have been requested not to write their name anywhere on the questionnaire. A summary of overall results of the study will be made available to participants upon request.

Please place the completed questionnaire in the self addressed postage paid envelope provided and mail directly to me. I would highly appreciate if the completed questionnaire be returned by **October 30, 1997**. If you have any questions or concerns regarding questionnaire, I can be contacted at (042) 586-4515.

Thank you .

Very truly,

Mrs. Nasira Jabeen
Doctoral Candidate

Mailing Address:
Mrs. Nasira Jabeen
Assistant Professor
Department of Public Administration
University of the Punjab, Lahore
Pakistan

APPENDIX C

December 2, 1997

Dear Respondent,

Following up my letter dated October 1, 1997 regarding your participation in a research study on the career advancement of federal civil servants in Pakistan, I, once again, remind you for your participation in the enquiry.

I request you to take some time out of your busy schedule to fill out the questionnaire, as your response is extremely important to the success of this effort. I would highly appreciate if you mail me the completed questionnaire in the prepaid self-addressed envelope by December 10, 1997.

If you require a copy of the questionnaire or any other information regarding the questionnaire I may be contacted at (042) 586- 4515.

Had you mailed the questionnaire already please ignore this letter.

Once again, many thanks for your participation and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Nasira Jabeen
Assistant Professor
Department of Public Administration
University of the Punjab
Lahore.

APPENDIX D
Career Advancement of Federal Civil Servants in Pakistan
Survey Questionnaire

This survey is part of an important research study which attempts to explore factors that affect career advancement of federal civil servants in Pakistan. The study is being conducted by Mrs. Nasira Jabeen, Assistant Professor, Department of Public Administration, University of the Punjab, Lahore to fulfill the requirements of Ph.D. degree for the School of Management, at the University of Stirling, United Kingdom.

You are one of a sample of civil servants being requested to participate in this study. For the results to be representative, it is important that all questions be completed and the questionnaire returned. Your response is critical to the success of this effort.

This survey questionnaire will take about 20 minutes to complete. It is assured that all information obtained through this survey will be kept strictly **confidential**. No information about your individual response will be reported anywhere. All data will be reported in a summary form and be used for this particular study only. A summary of overall results will be made available to the participants upon request.

Please read the following instructions before you begin

1. *To ensure confidentiality, please do not write your name anywhere on the questionnaire.*
2. *Answer each question even if you are not sure what the "right" answer is as the only "right" answer is your own opinion.*
3. *Answer all questions in order without skipping any single question.*
4. *There are different types of questions in the questionnaire. Given below is a guide to answer some of the questions.*

a. "Tick Box" questions

for example, Which service group do you belong to?

- a. APUG b. FUG c. Ex-Cadre

If you belong to APUG your response would be as above.

b. "Circle number" questions

Questions in this survey may ask you to circle the number to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with a given statement.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

for example, My health has hindered my career advancement

If you do not believe so you would circle number 4 - Disagree.

c. "Rank Order" questions

Certain questions may ask you to rank order a list of given items by assigning a number in order of importance you attach to each item. *For example, you may indicate your response as follows if you think that the most important impediment in your career advancement is time required to be away from family and least important is the age.*

Time required to be away from family1.....	Gender2.....	
Unwillingness to relocate3.....	Age4.....	

5. *Please complete the questionnaire and return directly to the researcher in enclosed postage paid self-addressed envelope by not later than October 30, 1997.*
6. *If you have any questions, please contact at: tel.: (042) 586-4515, fax.: (042) 586-8313.*

Thank you for taking time to complete this questionnaire

You and Civil Service

Please tick (✓) box or write the most appropriate response where applicable.

1. YOUR CURRENT CIVIL SERVICE STATUS:

- a. Present post:
- i). Title _____ ii). Salary grade _____
- iii). Number of yrs in this position _____ iv). Number of employees directly supervised _____
- b. Service group:
- i). APUG ii). FUG iii). Ex- Cadre
- c. Occupational group: (if applicable) _____
- d. Status of organisation you are currently working in:
- i). Secretariat ii). Subordinate office
- iii). Attached departments iv). Autonomous/ Semi autonomous body
- v). Other office
- e. Nature of appointment to the present post:
- i). Direct recruitment ii). Promotion
- iii). Transfer iv). Induction
- v). Re-employment vi). Contract basis

2. YOUR FIRST APPOINTMENT IN THE CIVIL SERVICE:

- a. Title of the post _____ b. Salary grade..... _____
- c. Year of joining..... _____ d. Occupational group.. _____
- e. Service group:
- i). APUG ii). FUG iii). Ex-cadre
- f. Nature of the appointment:
- i). Direct ii). Lateral entry iii). Induction
- iv). Promotion v). Transfer vi). Contract basis
- vii). Other: (Specify) _____

3. MOTIVATION IN JOINING CIVIL SERVICE: (Using the scale below, circle the number which best indicates the extent of your motivation in joining civil service).

	Very Unimportant		Neither Important nor unimportant		Very Important
a. Salary	1	2	3	4	5
b. Benefits	1	2	3	4	5
c. Public service	1	2	3	4	5
d. Job security	1	2	3	4	5
e. Power/Influence	1	2	3	4	5
f. Social status	1	2	3	4	5
g. Greater challenge	1	2	3	4	5
h. Other.....	1	2	3	4	5

Training, Skills, Competencies

4. TRAINING: Please list below major training courses/programs you have attended and specify duration of each course.

a. Within country: (If applicable)

Course Title	Institution	Duration
-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----

b. Abroad: (If applicable)

Course Title	Institution	Duration
-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----

5. How often have you been offered an opportunity for your career development in the form of training/education within the last five years? (please tick appropriate box)

- | | |
|--|--|
| a. Not at all <input type="checkbox"/> | b. One time <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Two to three times <input type="checkbox"/> | d. Four or more times <input type="checkbox"/> |

6. If your answer to the question above is positive, How often did you take that opportunity?

- | | |
|--|--|
| a. Not at all <input type="checkbox"/> | b. One time <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Two or three times <input type="checkbox"/> | d. Every time <input type="checkbox"/> |

7. If you have ever missed any training/education opportunity, please state below the reason (s)

8. With regard to competencies and skills listed below, please indicate, using the given scale, the extent to which (a). each is important in your performance evaluation (b). each is important to you in terms of your effectiveness in your present position (c). the extent to which you would like to have additional training in each. (Circle your response)

	1	2	3	4	5										
-----						Not Important/ Not at all						Very Important/ Very much			
	(a). Important for your performance evaluation					(b). Important for your own effectiveness					(c) I need additional training				
a. knowledge and understanding of rules and regulations.....	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
b. Writing skills.....	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
c. Financial and accounting skills...	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
d. Computing skills.....	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
e. Interpersonal skills.....	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
f. Communication skills.....	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
g. Conflict management	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
h. Coordinating and guiding skills..	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
I. Team orientation.....	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
j. loyalty and trust.....	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
k. Adaptability/flexibility.....	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
l. Decision making and judgment...	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
m. Initiative and creativity.....	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
n. Vision and forward looking.....	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

9. Using the scale below, rate yourself on each of the items listed below. (Circle the number which accurately reflects your personal assessment)

	1	2	3	4	5							
-----						Very much						Not at all
I am-----												
a. Competitive	1	2	3	4	5	k. Assertive	1	2	3	4	5	
b. Creative	1	2	3	4	5	l. Adaptable	1	2	3	4	5	
c. Process oriented	1	2	3	4	5	m. Affectionate	1	2	3	4	5	
d. Predictable	1	2	3	4	5	n. Friendly	1	2	3	4	5	
e. Task oriented	1	2	3	4	5	o. Opportunistic	1	2	3	4	5	
f. Loyal/ Trusting	1	2	3	4	5	p. Risk taker	1	2	3	4	5	
g. Independent	1	2	3	4	5	q. Team oriented	1	2	3	4	5	
h. Dominant	1	2	3	4	5	r. Straight forward	1	2	3	4	5	
I. Managerial	1	2	3	4	5	s. Skilled in						
j. Ambitious	1	2	3	4	5	inter-personal						
						transactions	1	2	3	4	5	

Career Advancement

10. Success in career is often due to a number of factors. Here is a list of items that may contribute to an individual's career success. Please place a check before the items you feel have contributed to your career advancement so far.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a. My attitude/ self confidence/ motivation <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>b. My education <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>c. My skills and abilities <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>d. My Work style <input type="checkbox"/></p>
<p>e. Promotional opportunities offered to me <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>f. Training <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>g. Seniors' guidance and support <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>h. My career commitment <input type="checkbox"/></p> | <p>i. Family position/ influence <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>j. Family support:</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Mother <input type="checkbox"/> Father <input type="checkbox"/> Spouse <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Sister (s) <input type="checkbox"/> Brother (s) <input type="checkbox"/></p>
<p style="padding-left: 20px;">Children <input type="checkbox"/> Other <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>k. Political or army connection <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>l. Luck <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>m. Hard work <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>n. Other(Specify).....</p> |
|--|--|

11. Often, key people play an important role in shaping one's career . These individuals are called mentors, and may have supported, trained, and advised you in your career development. Please place a number in the space indicating how many mentors you have had of each sex.

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
a. Peers in the workplace	_____	_____
b. Superiors in the workplace	_____	_____
c. Teacher/ Educator	_____	_____
d. Spouse	_____	_____
e. Friend (s) in other profession	_____	_____
f. Parent (s)	_____	_____
g. Other (Specify)_____	_____	_____

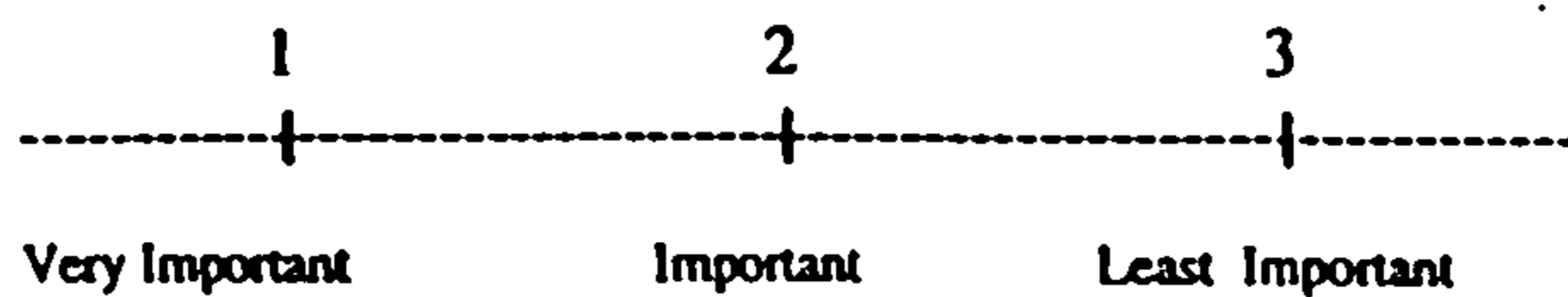
12. Describe your most important mentor so far who has made a significant impact on your career advancement. Please identify at least three most important characteristics of your mentor.

16. How often have you taken casual leave during the last three years? Please (a). tick the appropriate box and (b). specify time period for which leave was taken.

- | | | <u>Duration</u> |
|---|--------------------------|-----------------|
| a. Not at all | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| b. Less than two times | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| c. More than two but less than five times | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| d. More than five but less than ten times | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| e. More than ten times | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |

17. If your response to the above question is "Yes", please state reason (s) for taking the leave

18. Think about a female and a male colleague in senior positions in your organisation and indicate the extent to which you think that each item has been important for them in terms of their upward mobility. Using the scale below circle the most appropriate response.



	<u>Male Colleague</u>			<u>Female Colleague</u>		
a. Ability	1	2	3	1	2	3
b. Hard work	1	2	3	1	2	3
c. Family/ Spouse/ Friends	1	2	3	1	2	3
d. Political/ Army connections	1	2	3	1	2	3
e. Professional networking	1	2	3	1	2	3
f. Governmental policies	1	2	3	1	2	3
e. Occupational group	1	2	3	1	2	3
f. Luck	1	2	3	1	2	3
g. Other: _____	1	2	3	1	2	3

Gender Relations

19. Your colleagues in the immediate work environment are _____. (please tick appropriate box)

- a. All Female b. Female and Male c. All Male

20. What is the proportion of men and women in senior posts (grade 20 and above) in your organisation. (Tick box)

- a. All women b. Majority of women and minority of men
 c. about 50, 50 d. Majority of men and minority of women
 e. All Men

21. Have you ever had a chance to work with a female civil servant?

Yes No

22. If Yes, please indicate below (a) under what capacity and (b) for how long you have worked with female officer(s). Tick as many as apply to you and specify time period.

<u>Capacity</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>Duration</u>
a. Fellow officer/Peer	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
b. Boss	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
c. Sub-ordinate	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
d. Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

23. With regard to your present position how often do you feel yourself left out of formal meetings where important decisions are taken? (Tick box)

a. Often	<input type="checkbox"/>	b. Sometimes	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Occasionally	<input type="checkbox"/>	d. Rarely	<input type="checkbox"/>
		e. Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>

24. How often do you feel yourself left out of informal get-togethers that are important sources of professional networking?

a. Often	<input type="checkbox"/>	b. Sometimes	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Occasionally	<input type="checkbox"/>	d. Rarely	<input type="checkbox"/>
		e. Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>

25. How often do you participate in meetings or get-togethers that are not mandatory ? (Tick response below)

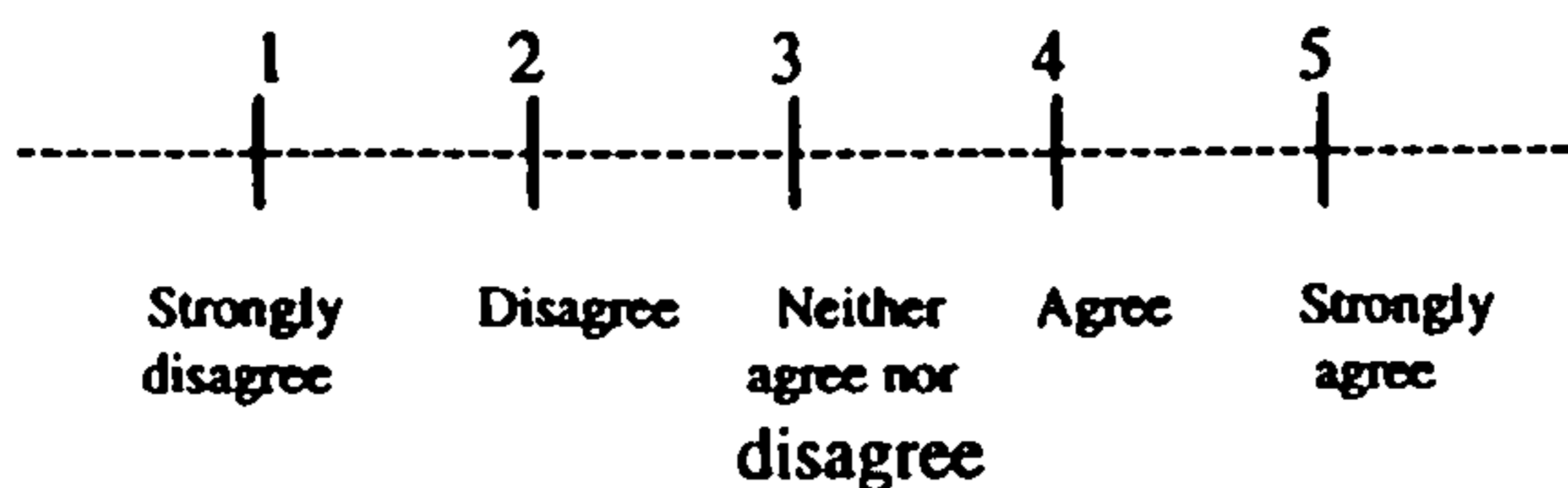
a. Often	<input type="checkbox"/>	b. Sometimes	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Occasionally	<input type="checkbox"/>	d. Rarely	<input type="checkbox"/>
		e. Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>

26. Please tick appropriate box if you have (a) personally experienced or (b) have heard about any one in your organisation who have experienced any of the following:

	<u>Experienced</u>	<u>Heard</u>
a. Unwelcome sexual advances by superior officers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Sexual favors from colleagues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Offensive verbal behavior/ jokes/ comments	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Superiors' sex-biased attitude	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Not applicable	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Women and Civil Service

27. Using the scale below, circle the extent to which you disagree or agree with the following:



- a. It is not desirable for women to hold a position with administrative responsibility 1 2 3 4 5
- b. Men and women should be given equal opportunity to participate in administrative training programs..... 1 2 3 4 5
- c. Women have the capability to acquire skills required for being a successful administrator..... 1 2 3 4 5
- d. On average, women officers are less capable in contributing to civil service's overall goals as compared to men officers .. 1 2 3 4 5
- e. It is quite acceptable for women to take administrative positions as often as men..... 1 2 3 4 5
- f. Society should regard work by female administrators as valuable as work by male administrators..... 1 2 3 4 5
- g. It is acceptable for women to compete with men for top administrative positions 1 2 3 4 5
- h. The possibility of marital responsibilities (pregnancy, child bearing) does not make women less desirable administrators than men..... 1 2 3 4 5
- i. To be a successful administrator a woman does not need to sacrifice some of her femininity..... 1 2 3 4 5
- j. On average, a woman who stays at home full time with her children makes a better mother than a woman who works outside..... 1 2 3 4 5
- k. Women are not ambitious enough to be successful in their careers..... 1 2 3 4 5

28. Using the scale given in the previous question, indicate the extent you agree or disagree with the following statements:

- a. Employees in the Federal Civil Service should reflect the gender make-up of the population..... 1 2 3 4 5
- b. Females with equal abilities should get preference over male employees in the departments where they are underrepresented..... 1 2 3 4 5
- c. I support the following to facilitate female civil servants in their career:
 - a. Child care support..... 1 2 3 4 5
 - b. Maternity leave..... 1 2 3 4 5
 - c. Elderly care support 1 2 3 4 5
 - d. Flexible work schedule 1 2 3 4 5
 - e. Affirmative action..... 1 2 3 4 5

Personal Data

It is assured that all information obtained through this survey is completely confidential. No information about your individual response will be reported anywhere. The information given will be reported in a summary form and be used for this particular survey only.

The following questions relate to your background. Please tick box or write the most appropriate response.

29. SEX:

- a. Female b. Male

30. AGE: _____ Yrs

31. DOMICILE: _____

32. MOTHER TONGUE:

- | | | | | | |
|------------|--------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| a. Urdu | <input type="checkbox"/> | d. Pushto | <input type="checkbox"/> | g. English | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Punjabi | <input type="checkbox"/> | e. Baluchi | <input type="checkbox"/> | h. Other | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Sindhi | <input type="checkbox"/> | f. Kashmiri | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

33. MARITAL STATUS:

- | | | | | | |
|------------|--------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| a. Single | <input type="checkbox"/> | b. Married | <input type="checkbox"/> | c. Divorced | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Widowed | <input type="checkbox"/> | e. Separated | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

34. LIVING SITUATION

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| a. Living alone | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Living with other adult dependent (s) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Living with spouse and children | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Sole adult with dependent (s) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. Living with one other adult only | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. Other: _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> |

35. NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS:

- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Children under 2 yrs of age | <input type="checkbox"/> | d. Children aged 17 yrs and above | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Children aged 2 - 6 yrs of age | <input type="checkbox"/> | e. Parents or other dependents | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Children aged 7 - 16 yrs of age | <input type="checkbox"/> | f. No children or other dependents | <input type="checkbox"/> |

36. Please indicate the percentage of house work done by:

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| a. Yourself _____% | d. Son (s) _____% |
| b. Spouse _____% | e. Other family member (s) . _____% |
| c. Daughter (s). _____% | f. Servants/Maids _____% |

37. Please indicate the percentage of child care done by each of the following:

- | | | | |
|-------------------|---------|-----------------------------------|---------|
| a. Your self | _____ % | e. Other family member (s)..... | _____ % |
| b. Spouse | _____ % | f. Servants/Maids. | _____ % |
| c. Daughter (s). | _____ % | g. Day care centre/ Child minder. | _____ % |
| d. Son (s) | _____ % | h. Not applicable..... | _____ |

38. EDUCATION: (Please provide the following information pertaining to your education starting from bachelor's degree).

	<u>Degree obtained</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Institution attended</u>
1.	-----	-----	-----
2.	-----	-----	-----
3.	-----	-----	-----
4.	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----

39. What portion of your total household income from all sources is represented by your salary?
(Tick appropriate box)

- | | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| i). Less than 1/3 | <input type="checkbox"/> | iv). More than 2/3 but less than 100% | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ii). 1/3 but less than 1/2 | <input type="checkbox"/> | v). 100% | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| iii). 1/2 to 2/3 | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

40. In my family I was the third of the sixth children. Thinking of your family:
The family in which you were raised, you were the _____ of _____ children (Please state your birth order)

To answer questions 41 to 47, Please circle the number that applies to you

41. Your father's highest level of formal education:

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 0. Less than high school | 3. Bachelor's |
| 1. High school | 4. Master's |
| 2. Some college | 5. Doctorate |
| | 6. Other ... (Specify: _____). |

42. Your mother's highest level of formal education:

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 0. Less than high school | 3. Bachelor's |
| 1. High school | 4. Master's |
| 2. Some college | 5. Doctorate |
| | 6. Other ... (Specify: _____). |

43. Your spouse's highest level of formal education :

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 0. Less than high school | 3. Bachelor's |
| 1. High school | 4. Master's |
| 2. Some college | 5. Doctorate |
| | 6. Other ... (Specify: _____). |

44. Your father's major occupation/ Profession:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. Professional (doctor, engineer, lawyer etc.). | 4. Business |
| 2. Manager or administrator | 5. Agriculture |
| 3. Sales/ clerical/ technical | 6. Craftsman |
| | 7. Other (Specify) _____ |

45. Your mother's major occupation/ profession:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Professional | 4. Business |
| 2. Manager or administrator | 5. Agriculture |
| 3. Sales/ clerical/ technical | 6. Craftsman |
| | 7. Other (Specify) _____ |

46. Your spouse's major occupation/ profession:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Professional | 4. Business |
| 2. Manager or administrator | 5. Agriculture |
| 3. Sales/ clerical/ technical | 6. Craftsman |
| | 7. Other (Specify) _____ |

47. How would you describe the social class of your family?

- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| 1. Upper | 3. Middle |
| 2. Upper- Middle | 4. Lower- Middle |
| | 5. Lower |

COMMENTS

If you have any comments on the questionnaire or wish to provide any additional information which might help in understanding career advancement in the federal civil service, please write in the space provided below, attach an additional sheet of paper if required.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION AND PARTICIPATION IN THIS SURVEY

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Please tear off along line and return this slip in a separate envelope if you like to participate in a follow-up interview, Please add your name, phone number and address :

Name..... Phone no.....

Address.....

Mail to: Mrs. Nasira Jabeen
Assistant Professor
Department of Public Administration
University of the Punjab, Lahore
Pakistan