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# Masculinity in Pakistan

A Formative Research Study

  
Gender Equity Program / صنفی مساوات پروگرام

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## A Formative Research Study



# Preface

The Gender Equity Program (GEP) is a fundamental part of Aurat Foundation's long-term commitment to serving the cause of women's empowerment and advancement in Pakistan. GEP aims to minimize the gender gap in Pakistan. Implemented with the collaboration of Asia Foundation, GEP strives to facilitate behavioral change, enable women to access information, resources and information, acquire control of their lives and improve societal attitudes towards women and their issues.

The objectives of GEP are:

1. Enhancing gender equity by expanding women's access to justice and women's human rights
2. Increasing women's empowerment by expanding knowledge of their rights and opportunities to exercise their rights in the workplace, community, and home
3. Combating gender-based violence
4. Strengthening the capacity of Pakistani organizations that advocate for gender equity, women empowerment and the elimination of gender-based violence.

During the initial years, GEP carried out extensive research on its core objectives covering women empowerment, access to legal rights and justice and GBV issues. However we felt the need to further explore the crucial underlying concepts that underpin gender behavior. In this regard research studies were commissioned on gender identities, as under:

- Formative Research on Femininity in Pakistan
- Formative Research on Masculinity in Pakistan
- Qualitative Comparative Analysis of Femininity and Masculinity in Pakistan
- Research Study on Transgender Community in Pakistan

The first two formative research studies on femininity and masculinity in Pakistan, while exploring gendered norms for both women and men, indirectly explored socio economic context and relations that shape women's lives, their current subordination and evolution of changing gender norms. A third consultant was hired by GEP at the recommendation of USAID to carry out a comparative analysis of the femininity and masculinity studies. These are very important and complex concepts and enhancing their understanding will go a long way in determining societal and cultural norms that impact lives, behaviors and relationships in the context of gender.

The fourth study investigated the vulnerabilities, consequences and challenges associated with the transgender community in Pakistan. This research study highlights specific advocacy initiatives towards realization of equal citizenship and dignity for transgender community. Given that this subject was very sensitive, GEP ensured that the selected researchers were ready to undertake this study with sensitivity and empathy.

## Preface

The studies make recommendations based on understanding of key issues surrounding gender identities, which will help in holistic designing of gender related interventions in Pakistan in the future.

We would like to acknowledge and appreciate USAID in reposing confidence in GEP for undertaking this important piece of research in Pakistan.

Simi Kamal

Chief of Party (CoP)

Gender Equity Program

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# Acronyms & Abbreviations

AF	Aurat Foundation
AJK	Azad Jammu and Kashmir
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
FPAP	Family Planning Association of Pakistan
GB	Gilgit-Baltistan
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GEP	Gender Equity Program
IDIs	In-depth Interviews
IEC	Information, Education and Communication
KIIs	Key Informant Interviews
KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
MNA	Member of National Assembly
MPA	Member of Provincial Assembly
NGO	Non-Government Organization
Rutgers WPF	Rutgers World Population Foundation
SACHET	Society for the Advancement of the Community Health, Education and Training
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VAW	Violence Against Women

# Glossary

Ana	Ego
Aurat	Woman
Baap	Father
Bara Samjhata Hai	Feel Superior
Bardasht	Tolerance
Bhai	Brother
Chars	Hash
Ghairat	Honor
Hakeem	A Herbal Doctor
Izzat	Honor and Respect
Jazbati	Emotional
Karo Kari	A Custom Practiced on Name of Honor Killing
Khawhisahat	Wishes
Madressah	An Islamic Institution
Mard	Man
Mardangi	Masculinity
Mohabat	Love
Muasharti	Societal
Mursmano	Masculine
Pukhtoons	People of Khyber Pukhtoonkhwa Province
pukhtoonwali	Masculine
Shalwar Kameez	A Traditional Suit Wear in Pakistan
Taqat	Power
Tashadud	Violence
Vani	A Custom of Marrying Female for her Male Relatives Crimes
Watta Satta	Simul taneous Marriage of a Brother-sister Pair from Two Households



# Executive Summary

Masculinity is a social mindset that originates from cultural norms and is used by society for desired ends. Understanding masculinity is crucial in addressing gender justice. Efforts targeted at problems faced by the women, such as violence and gender discrimination/injustice, require that masculinity is studied in detail. Masculinity, mostly connotes negative repercussions, may also carry the opportunities to promote positive attitudes and behaviors. It is therefore useful to understand, highlight and promote positive aspects of the concept of masculinity.

The Formative Research on Masculinity was commissioned by the USAID's Gender Equity Program being implemented in Pakistan by the Aurat Foundation. This study aimed to explore the construct of masculinity in Pakistan with regards to its manifestations, associated behaviors, evolution and implications.

This was a national formative research that included both primary and secondary data. The literature reviewed included reports and documents accessed through the internet, including the e-shelves of local and international organizations working on gender in Pakistan. The literature review helped unpack the concept of masculinity and derive the dimensions for informing the tools of primary data collection, that is, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), and In-depth Interviews (IDIs). A total of 42 FGDs and 60 IDIs were conducted across Pakistan, after which data was analyzed manually. Constant comparisons, tallying methods, grounded theory and analytical induction with graphical presentation were used for analysis.

The study focused on four key themes:

1. Definitions and perceptions of masculinity
2. Societal roles and behaviors in terms of the impact of masculinity on men, women, family, and society

3. Gender based violence and masculinity
4. Sexuality and masculinity

Consistent with literature findings, masculinity in Pakistan was determined by notions with power. Patriarchy and masculinity go hand in hand and are mutually reinforcing. Masculinity is associated with men's ability to control this dynamic, leading to the subjugation of women, and control over their bodies, decision-making, mobility and relationships. The social construct of honor, and its preservation, is also an important area that is inherently linked with women in Pakistani society.

Whereas the overall perception of masculinity remains linear, some variation in opinions was observed in urban and rural settings. For instance, urban masculinity was manifested by an Anglicized dressing style, being clean shaven or stylish beard. Conversely, rural masculinity was highlighted by wearing shalwar qameez and growing a heavy moustache. Expressed as "Ghabru, jat, sher" in Punjab, "Kunay, pukhtun sarayday, jhalwan sarayday" in KP, "mursmano, melmadost," "shah meraah/ handsome, smart, zorawar/powerful, badi/fighter, shahkarkay, masculinity is usually defined in Pakistan as a set of attributes that is socially constructed. It is also deeply associated with men and boys for their own benefit and is defined by certain behaviors, appearances and traits in Pakistan. It is also divided on the basis of geography, ethnicity and culture.

Findings suggest that gender stereotyping is vehemently present in Pakistan. Masculinity in Pakistan is more associated with males, although studies have shown that there are conflicting realities in urban and rural areas of Pakistan. In urban areas a shift has been observed in the gender roles. The "One Gender" concept appears to be finding some roots, which, if capitalized properly, can be a window of opportunity to catalyze the social change process through appropriate interventions. Consistent with earlier findings, gender stereotyping still

continue to have a stronghold in rural areas of Pakistan. However, hairline cracks have started to appear in the form of increased awareness of gender rights

The study found that difference between men and women was strongly believed to be due to social upbringing and cultural expectations. Socially the masculinity can be termed as provider, protector, loyal, leader, respecting women, honest and kind and having good heart while psychologically it is termed as hard worker, decision maker, competitor, consistent, responsible, aggressive, courageous, and emotionally restrained and solution finder. Overall, it was understood as a construct stemming from a combination of biological and social differences between males and females.

It appears that masculinity has evolved in Pakistani society in a series of stages. In the first stage men dominated society, in that, they did not need to prove their identity; in stage two, there was seen a shift towards hegemonic masculinity. This was continuously challenged and resulted in changes in male norms and values. The third stage is currently being influenced by post-structural feminists, who, in cities like Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad, are challenging traditional Pakistani masculinity.

This study observed that male and female constructs are created biologically and handed over to society by means of gender role socialization and the stereotyping, traits, behaviors, appearance for acceptance and occupations based on the traits and appearances. At next level the society creates institutions through which these norms are transferred to male and female, mainly these institutions consist of mother, family, neighborhood, religion, schools, workplace, and media. The most influencing institutions in the Pakistan appear to be mothers, curriculum taught in schools, wrong understanding and interpretation of religion and media. The societal demands from men create the pressures on men (socially, psychologically, economically and physically) which he reciprocates to other layers in reaction to those

pressures/demands both positively and negatively in our socio-ecological masculinity impact model.

Masculinity appears to be a cause and effect of GBV. Predominantly, gender power relations (masculinity associated with men) have left a legacy whereby women are more likely to be disadvantaged relative to men, have less access to resources, benefits, information and decision making, and to have fewer rights both within the household and in the public sphere. Masculinity in Pakistan is pre dominantly associated with characteristics such as aggression, dominance, strength, courage and control. These characteristics result from a combination of biological, cultural and social influences, and relate to the power in society as a whole. These traits of masculinity are termed to be the major contributor to the violence happening from men.

Another big reason for the violence particularly in urban areas of Pakistan, are changes in the economy, social structures, and household composition which are resulting in ‘crises of masculinity’ and causing “demasculinizing” effect. Men, consequently seek affirmation of their masculinity in other ways particularly reported as gender based violence.

The study recommends that masculinity has positive traits which need to be capitalized for social stabilization and reformation especially for improving the tolerance and patience level of society, for a more peaceful and harmonious co-existence of individuals especially males and females. The efforts to control the GBV should inter alia focus on minimizing the effects of masculinity in GBV context. There is a changing trend that masculinity is no more denial of women rights. In many places especially in urban settings masculinity does refer to getting rights such as education to women. Such traits of masculinities need to be amplified in society especially given the observation that women economic empowerment is also being reacted to as a challenge to masculinity resulting into violence against women.

Women education and media appear to be key

levers of change that can help diffusion of the positive masculinities in societies at large. Positive masculinity needs to be branded and promoted as a life style approach hooked with the honor aspirations of the society. Along with promotion of the positive traits of masculinity, efforts will be required to lower the pressures on men for keeping their masculinity intact. Changes will be required in the curriculum for diffusing gender neutral values in the society along with focus on the first training institute of a child i.e. mothers.

A trivial balance will be required to be observed while promoting the positive traits of masculinity lest those also turn into pressures on males resulting into chaos and identity crises of the individuals. Change process has initiated, it needs to be catalyzed and strengthened in urban areas. However, more efforts will be needed in rural settings.

The study in hand is first national study on masculinities which explored various dimensions of the concept. More research is needed to further improve the understanding on the subject. The focus of further research may include Masculinity in different sub cultures given the fact that Pakistan hosts a heterogeneous society. There is a sheer need of exploring all the social and psychological aspects of masculinity in all roles it is being observed i.e. father, brother, son and husband. A deeper understanding will be required for each of the key roles that man is expected to play at family, community and society level. The study did not hint towards any role of religion in masculinity construct and practices. This however further needs to be explored especially in the rural context where masculinity's traditional concept is still upheld. There is a need to explore how masculinity manifests itself in political, economic and judicial structures of the society.



# Chapter - I

## Introduction

### I. Introduction

Aurat Foundation and The Asia Foundation are implementing a five-year USAID-supported Gender Equity Program (GEP). The program supports Pakistani organizations and institutions working in the area of gender equity with a focus on enhancing gender equity, increasing women's empowerment, combating gender based violence and strengthening the capacity of Pakistani organizations that advocate for gender equity, women's empowerment and the elimination of gender-based violence. GEP launched a series of research studies in this regard. The study in hand focuses upon Masculinity.

#### I.1 Research Objectives

The study explored the socio economic context and relations that shape men's lives, their dominance and change. The specific objectives of the assignment were:

To identify normative understanding of masculine identity in Pakistan

To assess the impact of masculinity on men – associated pressures of being a man in Pakistani society (for example, bread earner, decision maker, head of family, coping with issues of being a 'man, etc.)

To identify negative and positive aspects of this identity

To identify the impact on society, specifically on violence against women (VAW)

To assess the positive impact of masculinity on society

What can be done to deal with the negative aspects and how can positive aspects be enhanced

To examine how men and women are challenging the stereotypical masculine identity (emerging variances in gender roles)

To study the effect of masculinity on men's sexuality

### I.2 Research Design and Methodology

This was a formative research that comprised of two parts:

Secondary information review

Primary research through qualitative study

#### I.2.1 Secondary Information Review

##### I.2.1.1 Purpose and Objectives

The overall purpose of this exercise was to form a research framework and develop tools for field data collection.

The specific objective was to unpack the concept of "masculinity" specifically in terms of its definition, typology and properties, and develop a preliminary understanding of the phenomenon in a Pakistani context.

##### I.2.1.2 Methodology

A liberal internet search was conducted to collect the relevant literature. Whereas, Google in general and Google Scholar in particular was used to find out the relevant literature, efforts was made to collect Pakistan specific literature by visiting key organizations' websites that are known to have a mandate of gender work. These included: Aurat Foundation, Rutgers WPF, Rozan, Aahung, ShirkatGah, Amal Foundation, UNESCO, UNWOMEN, SACHET etc. Both published and unpublished grey literature collected over the last 15 years was included in the review. The first 20 links identified by Google in each search criteria were explored for relevant

literature. The initial key search terms included: masculinity, manhood, men, manliness, Pakistan. Realizing the scarcity of literature on masculinity in Pakistan the search criteria was expanded to include “gender”- this brought forth a substantial number of studies. The outcome of the review is presented in a later section of this report.

### 1.2.2 Primary Research

This was a qualitative study. Two methods of data collection were employed:

- Key Informant Interviews (KIs).
- Focus Group Discussions (FGDs).

Key Informant Interviews (KIs) were conducted with individuals assumed to be well versed with community norms and behaviors by virtue of their academic backgrounds, professions and field experience.

The information collected through KIs was complemented through Community Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with both males and females to have an understanding of community insights regarding masculinity in Pakistan.

#### 1.2.2.1 Respondents

The respondents targeted for KIs were:

- NGOs working on gender in Pakistan
- Gender specialists
- Psychologists
- Sociologists
- Medical Experts (Hakeem)
- Human Rights Commission of Pakistan
- Women Development Departments
- Lawyers
- (same as bullet 2 above) Media experts

Local journalists with experience in covering violence, women, gender, human rights, and public

policy issues.

The participants approached for FGDs were:

- Male and female community members (Married)
- Community influentials
- Community youth

### 1.2.3 Distribution of Tools

This was a national study and data was collected across Pakistan in all four provinces. A special effort was made include both urban and rural perspectives based upon urban and rural divide, across major ethnicities and gender division.

#### 1.2.3.1 Key Informant Interviews

A total of 60 KIs were conducted. The distribution is given in Table 1 and Table 2.

**Table 1: Geographical Distribution of KIs**

City	Men	Women	Total
Lahore	8	5	13
Peshawar	4	5	9
Muzaffarabad	5	3	8
Gilgit/Baltistan	2	1	3
Quetta	5		5
Karachi	5	6	11
Islamabad	5	6	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>60</b>

**Table 2: Background of the KII Respondents**

Sr No	Type of Respondent	Men	Women	Sub Total
1	Representatives of NGOs working on women's rights and human rights	6	2	8
2	Psychologists	3	3	6
3	Sociologists/Gender specialists	4	3	7
4	Health Care Providers/Hakeems	2	1	3
5	School Teachers	2	3	5
6	Individuals working with GBV survivors – Edhi, shelters, lawyers, etc.	3	5	8
7	Media representatives/film and drama script writers	3	1	4
8	Human Rights Commission (Government)	3		3
9	Departments of Health, Education, Women Development (Government)	4	3	7
10	National /Provincial Commission on Status of Women (Government)	1	3	3
11	Judge who has worked on women's rights/gender based violence	1	1	2
12	Legislator/MNA/MPA	2	1	3
	<b>Total</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>60</b>

**1.2.3.2 Focus Group Discussions (FGD)**

A total of 42 FGD were conducted. The distribution of FGD in all provinces based upon

the geographical breakup, urban/rural division and respondent categories is given in Table 3 below:

**Table 3: FGD Participants' Background**

Geographical Spread		Division	Married Male	Married Female	Influential	youth	FGDs Target
Provinces	Areas						
Punjab	Lahore	Urban	1	1	1	1	4
	Multan	Rural	1	1	1	1	4
Kyber Pukhtoonkhwa	Peshawar	Urban	1	1	1	1	4
	Abbotabad	Rural	1	1	1	1	4
Azad Jammu Kashmir	Muzzaffarabad		1	1	1	1	4
Gilgit/Baltistan	Gilgit		1	1	1	1	4

Balochistan	Quetta	Urban	I	I	I	I	4
	Pishin	Rural	I	I	I	I	4
Sindh	Karachi	Urban	I	I	I	I	4
	Mirpurkhas	Rural	I	I	I	I	4
Islamabad	Islamabad		I	I			2
Total			II	II	IO	IO	42

### 1.2.4 Data Collection and Management

#### 1.2.4.1 Interviews and FGD Guidelines

Semi structured guidelines were developed to conduct the KIs and FGD. Open ended questions exploring the areas of inquiry were included with possible probes to solicit more clear responses from the respondents and establish priority responses. The guides were later translated into Urdu.

#### Pretesting of Guides

The next important activity was the pretesting of the guides. The overall purpose of this step was to identify necessary changes for the guide. The specific objectives were:

- To identify local vocabulary for questions
- To check the time requirements for executing the protocol
- To identify inappropriate areas of inquiry/ questions/probes
- To have a feeling of richness of the data to be generated

The pretesting was done with two groups (one male and one female). The female team members conducted FGDs with female groups and male members conducted one FGD with male members. The pretesting was conducted at the Islamabad Change Consulting office.

### Observations from pretesting

Some key observations made during the pretesting phase are as follows:

- The guide entailed a discussion spanning approximately two hours which was uncomfortable/inconvenient for participants.
- Some questions were repetitive in nature
- Frequent probing, and in some instances prompting, was required to solicit responses.
- The content of female FGDs disproportionate to that of the sessions with the males. This could hint towards a culture in which females are direct victim of violence from men. (this point doesn't make sense to me).
- Females were more open in sharing their experiences compared to their male counterparts.
- Males were hesitant to respond to questions related to masculinity and sexuality.
- Overall, Elderly men and women were more open in providing more information than their younger counterparts.
- Detailed answers were sought only after



rigorous probing.

### Changes in the Guide

The pre-testing phase leads to the following changes to the guide:

All the repetitive questions were merged. Further probing questions were introduced. The updated guides are attached as Annex I.

#### 1.2.4.2 Data Collectors

Five teams collected data in all four provinces and 2 regions of Pakistan. Each team comprised one interviewer and a note taker. All FGDs were conducted by a team of same sex facilitators and note takers. These lead facilitators were experienced in at least one data collection task prior to this study.

#### 1.2.4.3 Training of Data Collectors

Once the teams were in place, one-day FGD/KII training, led by team leaders, was organized to provide an elaborate description of the study objectives areas of inquiry, and tools. The training was conducted in a participatory manner. It began with a round of introduction of the participants. The training methodology included taking through the data collectors through both theory and practical. The team leader took the participants through following items:

- Purpose of the overall project
- Need and objectives of the assignment being undertaken (formative research)
- Prospective use of the findings of the formative research
- Introduction and description of FGDs and KIIs as method of data collection
  - Introduction to FGDs and KIIs
  - FGD/KII Method
    - 1. Pre FGD/KIIs preparations / Development phase

2. Participant recruitment
3. Rapport building
4. Introductions
5. Ethical considerations: Confidentiality and Informed Consent
6. Collecting demographic information
7. Moderating
8. Ensuring participation of respondents
9. Use of guides
10. Note taking and recording
11. Participant appreciation, time and participation requirements
12. Completion of notes

### Introduction to the guidelines

After familiarizing participants with the theoretical background of the study, the research manager explained the FGDs/KII guides to the participants. Briefly the themes were introduced to the participants and encouraged them to brainstorm examples of the questions under each area of inquiry. Examples of appropriate and inappropriate phrasing of the questions were given in order to highlight the difference between the two.

### Mock exercise

The next step of the training was to conduct a trial run of tools for firming up the theoretical knowledge imparted to the participants and making them exercise their agreed roles. The participants were split up into two groups, in separate rooms, according to their gender. The research manager observed these interactions and later provided feedback.

#### 1.2.4.4 FGD Participant Recruitment

Using purposive sampling, a diverse set of participants was recruited to participate in the FGDs. A special effort was made to incorporate a sample that was socio-culturally and economically varied, and also met the inclusion criteria (married males, married females, youth, and community influentials).

As a first step from each district, FGD organizers were identified through NGOs working in the respective district. These organizers were briefed by the field researchers about the inclusion criteria of the participants and tasked with identification of at least 20 participants with diverse backgrounds. The organizer identified the potential participants with the background details such as their residence, age, occupation, willingness to participate, and availability, amongst others. Upon successful participant identification and deliberation amongst researchers, 15 individuals were finalized. A time and venue was agreed for holding the FGD.

A total of 383 FGD participants attended 42 FGDs.

#### Inclusion criteria

- A) Married Male and Female FGDs
- Age: 25 – 45
  - Marital Status: Married
  - Children: Yes
  - Youth FGDs
  - Age: 21-35
  - Education Status: Enrolled in university
  - Influential FGDs

Field Officers at each site were assigned the task of identifying frequently visited community venues (such as shops, mosques, doctor/health worker clinics), respected individuals who had been living in the locality for over 15 years as well as prominent political party wing leaders

working in the area. Notable and well-reputed individuals such as shopkeepers, and mosque leaders would serve as strong contributors to the FGDs.

To ensure maximum participation, the FGDs were conducted at venues conveniently accessible to the participants. For the most part, male FGDs were conducted in community places such as *hujras* (community centers), *baithak*, whereas female FGDs were conducted in the participant's homes. Youth FGDs were conducted at local universities.

The average number of participants per FGD was 10-12 individuals.

#### 1.2.4.5 Conducting Community FGDs

Based on the findings from the pre-testing phase, the following modus operandi was adopted for the Community FGDs:

The lead facilitator started the discussion/asked a question

Based on the responses, the lead facilitator further probed, if necessary.

The note taker recorded (in either Urdu or English) the discussion where allowed by the participants. Once the FGDs participants assembled, the lead facilitator shared the purpose of the discussion and sought their formal, but verbal, consent to participate in the study. The respondents were informed about their rights to leave the discussion, refuse any information, or not answer any question. Having obtained consent, the lead facilitator established rules of discussion, which included providing opportunities for all participants to talk, avoiding cross talk and arguing. The discussion began with the facilitator asking open ended questions followed by probing questions listed in the guide. Each session, on average, lasted between 80 - 90 minutes. Upon completion of the discussion, the facilitator thanked the respondents for their time and contributions, and responded to any queries they had.

#### 1.2.4.6 Conducting KIIs

The participants of the KIIs were contacted for their availability in collaboration with local NGOs. On the agreed date and time, the team met them at the place of their convenience. The lead Interviewer shared the purpose of the meeting with the respondents and sought their formal but verbal consent to participate in the study. The respondents were informed about their rights to leave the study or to refuse any information or to not answer any question without being questioned. Once the respondent has given the informed consent to participate, the lead Interviewer started asking the questions with generic open ended questions followed by probing questions. On average each interview consumed 60-80 minutes. Having completed the discussion, the lead Interviewer thanked the

respondents and asked them for any queries and replied to them within the limitations of the study.

#### 1.2.4.7 Data Recording and Transcription

Save for participants in Sindh Gilgit/Baltistan and Balochistan, all FGD participant agreed to the sessions being recorded via note taking and recording devices. . Notes were taken to counter any risk of technical failures of the electronic devices Furthermore, this method also allowed for non-verbal body language to be recorded.

Upon completion of each FGD/IDI the field team sat together and discussed their findings and noted their onsite observations and important events during the discussions/interviews.

**Table 4A: Analysis Techniques for Primary Research**

Constant Comparison/ Tally Method/Grounded Theory	Analytical Induction	Graphical Analysis
<p>Themes and further sub-themes were developed using FGD and KII guidelines.</p> <p>FGD/KII transcripts and field notes were consulted to gather information related to each theme</p> <p>Codes were generated for the responses.</p> <p>Consistencies between codes were tabulated using the tally method.</p> <p>Excel was used for tabulation</p>	<p>Data was analysed in the following categories:</p> <p>KIIs were analysed by professional categories, first, separately and then, later, combined.</p> <p>FGD data was analyzed on the basis of inclusion categories () first, separately and later, combined.</p> <p>Data was also analyzed on the urban and rural level.</p> <p>Hypothetical themes were also constructed from the gathered data for example “We are biologically created and socially constructed” and “Hegemonic Masculinity in Pakistan Society”.</p>	<p>All the findings were analysed using graphical representations. Microsoft Word cloud and Info-graphic were used to develop the presentation of the findings of the Tally Method.</p>

#### 1.2.4.8 Data Analysis

The first step in data analysis phase was to generate detailed transcripts of the sessions. The recorded data was carefully transcribed and complemented with field notes. Data collected through various sources in the form of notes or

transcriptions were analyzed manually. The data analysis was approached with the framework determined from the objectives of the study. The transcripts/notes were analyzed by the team leader, research manager and qualitative research specialists. Analysis of the gathered data was done on three levels, as tabulated in the Table No

4 A. In addition, the strength of the responses under each theme, were grouped and sorted both categorically and cumulatively. A two-stage scale was constructed for estimating the strength of responses (Table 4B).

**Table 45B: Scale Construction**

Responses in FGDs are ranked as follows:

Mentioned in 1-3 FGDs	*	Low
Mentioned in 4-7 FGDs	**	Medium
Mentioned in 8-11 FGDs	***	Highly

Overall strength

1-4 stars	Low
5-8 stars	Medium
9-12 stars	High

The findings from the data were then studied by looking at confirming or contradicting research findings (listed in the bibliography of this report). National and international surveys regarding men and masculinities and relevant research studies were consulted to describe the data collected through the study in hand and presented under the “Discussion, Conclusion and Recommendations” section.

## Chapter -2

# Desk Review Findings

### 2. Desk Review Findings

Men play diverse roles in the economy, the community and the family. Men are husbands, fathers, brothers and sons. Across differences of class, race, ethnicity, sexuality, age and religion, one of the few commonalities that men share, as a 'distinct group', is their gender privilege. Men, like women, are affected by power structures that are interwoven with other hierarchical structures such as those based on gender, race and class [1] [2] [3].

#### 2.1 Masculinity as a Concept

Masculinities as a field of study, was a significant outcome of feminist discourse and activism, informed by the latter's focus on patriarchal systems of power. It was focused as an ideology, was not seen as monolithic but rather shaped by many processes and intersecting identities or conditions that produce multiple variables amongst different groups, individuals, institutions and societies [4] [5].

Masculinity as a manly attribute defined through the cultural practices and social norms. [13]. Traditionally people have attached meanings to masculinity on the basis of men having different qualities. However, it does not exist in isolation from femininity [9]. In a way femininity is perceived as negative masculinity. In most societies, masculinity and femininity are mirror images of each other; if men are expected to dominate and control, women must be submissive; if men are supposed to order, women have to take orders, and so on. Societal members decide what being a boy/man or a girl/woman means (e.g., dominant or passive, brave or emotional), and males will generally respond by defining themselves as masculine while females will generally define themselves as feminine. In this sense, as a socially constructed

idea, masculinity is a process of creating manly behavior. 'Who exercises the Power' is therefore the underlying question behind masculinity [10] [11].

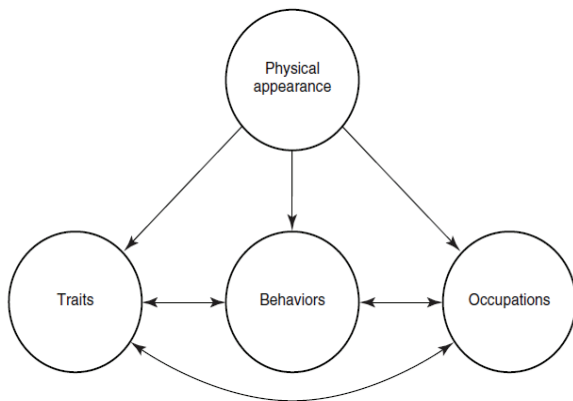
#### 2.2 Masculinity as a Social Construct

Masculinity is regarded as merely a set of attributes or a quality that a man or boy may possess to different extents. It refers to the socially constructed attributes and traits generally expressed through dominance, discrimination, violence, oppression, possession and stigma irrespective of sex and gender. [12] This implies that masculinity is not simply a function of sex/gender and masculinity attributes are not restricted only to MEN or all men cannot have the attributes of masculinity. The women can also have the characteristics of masculinity [6]

The gendered concept of masculinity or manliness has fluidity and flexibility in terms of its meaning and interpretation. In its wider meaning and construction, masculinity is understood as a way and an expression of being 'man' or 'manhood'. It refers to the characteristics or attributes of being man. It refers to the men's behavior, practices and acts on the basis of their gendered identity being men. The characteristics and attributes are expressed through the behaviors and actions. The actions associated with the male gendered behavior are called masculinity. [8]

Masculinity as a 'dominant' and 'superior' gender position is produced through customary laws, family, religion, norms and sanctions, popular culture and media, regulations, state and its mechanism and has specific consequences for women. [14] It is the society that makes us masculine and feminine through the process of gendered socialization. It defines how boys/ men should behave, dress, what attitudes and

qualities they should have, and how they should be treated in contrast to girls/women. [15] The content of gender stereotypes may be analyzed into four separate components that people use to differentiate men from women—traits, behaviors, physical characteristics, and occupations [16] as shown in Figure 1.



**Figure 1 Lewis's Model for Gender Stereotyping**

There are at least three major theories that explain the development of femininity and masculinity: Psychoanalytic Theory (Freud, 1927), Cognitive-Developmental Theory (Kohlberg, 1966), Learning Theories that emphasize direct reinforcement (Weitzman, 1979) and Modeling (Mischel, 1970). In all of these theories, a two-part process is involved. In the first part, the child comes to know that she or he is female or male. In the second part, the child comes to know what being female or male means in terms of femininity or masculinity.

It has long been recognized that masculinity, like femininity, is a discursive construction – an idea created, reformed, reformulated and solidified in discourse. Doctors, psychiatrists, political leaders, heads of governments and groups, cultural and religious spokespersons, writers, poets, thinkers and army commanders all talk about what it means to be masculine and a man. Conversely, they also elaborate upon what is not masculine, in other words what is feminine or unmanly. The two concepts are most often constructed in a series of two relative oppositions which include

the following:

**Table 5: Attributes of Men and Women**

Men	Women
Strong	Weak
Rational	Emotional
Objective	Subjective
Aggressive/Assertive	Gentle/Passive

It is however important to note here that these opposite attributes do not conform to any empirical reality. These are exhibited by people in combinations and these overlap to a great extent that it is hard to make such obvious comparisons. Besides, human traits are not distributed in society in a structured way that would result into women who are rational, strong, assertive and logical, and men who are dependent, passive, emotional and weak. Furthermore human beings are not in possession of fixed and immutable traits that reflect stability across time and space. For example, the same person, man or woman, can act in a very brave, assertive or logical manner in one situation, and weak, timid or irrational in another. Alfred et al has also established in their studies on sexuality that the ideas of masculine and feminine are theoretical constructions and no man or woman strictly conforms to what is considered 'masculinity' or 'femininity' in any given society at a particular moment in history.

Whereas, there seems a consensus on fluidity, discursiveness and binary opposition characteristics of masculinity, the later feminist researches have accepted that both masculinity and femininity are social constructions that tend to force people into fixed and absolute categories by imposing behavioral standards and norms upon them. Such norms and standards are based on the patriarchal imperative of creating mutually exclusive categories with fixed roles and responsibilities. [17]. As femininity and masculinity are social and historical constructions, they are not natural.

Masculinities are not natural and eternal but



social and historical. These are transformed across time, space and culture. What may have been considered masculine a few decades or some centuries ago may not be masculine today. Women in a number of cultures now perform many tasks that were, until recently, believed to be 'man's work'. Roles such as pilots, construction workers, engineers, athletes, wrestlers, astronauts, scientists, military commanders belie the idea that there is something masculine about those who engage in these professions. The concept of masculinity is fluid and malleable and subject to constant re-articulation and reconfiguration, especially as it comes to be deployed for specific purposes of the State, nation, ethnic or religious group. The articulation of masculinities is a function of the geographical conditions, needs of specific communities, history, culture and folklore of a particular community. Masculinity may be articulated differently in different social classes, ethnic formations, religious sects and linguistic groups [18] [19] [20].

### 2.3 Types of Masculinities

The concept of multiple masculinities refers to the notion that various masculinities are defined in relation to other men, other masculinities, women, femininities and other differences, such as age, ethnicity, appearance, socio-economic position and religion [20]. Masculinity is a relational, evolving collection of meanings created in culture, constructed in relationships with others, meaning different things at different times to different people [21]. In multicultural societies such as the UK there are therefore likely to be multiple definitions, dynamics and norms of masculinity that are continually being constructed and reconstructed [22].

Different types of masculinities have been identified:

- *Hegemonic Masculinity*: This is the most dominant form of masculinity in our society, and is culturally valued the most. Qualities such as heterosexuality, whiteness, physical strength, and the suppression of emotions are favoured.
- *Complicit Masculinity*: This is when men do not fit the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity but do not challenge it either. Instead, individuals often admire the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity
- *Marginalized Masculinity*: Men cannot fit into the hegemonic because of certain characteristics such as race, sexuality, age, religion. However, they still subscribe to norms of hegemonic masculinity such as having physical strength and being aggressive.
  - *Subordinate Masculinity*: Men exhibit qualities that are the opposite of those values in hegemonic masculinity. For example, they may exhibit physical weakness or be very expressive with emotions. Gay or effeminate men are often linked to subordinate masculinity

### 2.4 Masculinity and Hegemony

Hegemonic masculinity is the dominant form of masculinity by which men measure themselves and other masculinities. This form of masculinity causes the social pressures and societal expectations boys and men face. Domination, aggressiveness, competitiveness, athletic prowess, stoicism, and control characterize hegemonic masculinity. Love, affection, pain, and grief are improper displays of emotion. "Any male [or women trying to be hegemonically masculine] who fails to qualify in any one of these ways is likely to view himself [or herself]... as unworthy, incomplete, and inferior" (Goffman, 1963, p. 128)."

Hegemonic masculinities usually rest upon and generate patriarchy - systems of power inequalities and imbalances between women and men. It is this very system – through this notion of hegemonic masculinities – that uses violence as a means to ensure that these power imbalances stay in place. Gender-based violence becomes a means to acquire resources and

deny access of these resources to others. It also becomes a means to solidify relations of domination that uphold this “structure of inequality”...“involving a massive dispossession of social resources” (Connell, 2005: 83).

Masculinity requires various representative traits like physical strength, functionality, sexuality, emotion and intellect. It is also to masculinity, like masculine being should be success oriented, ambitious, aggressive, egotistical, moral, trustworthy, decisive competitive, and adventurous, amongst others. So these characteristics associated with masculinity exert crippling pressures over male members in the family. [26].

So far masculinities can be restricted to two major concepts:

1. **Manhood:** Manhood refers to the qualities and attributes that men achieve through both a biological maturation, and passage of rites into adulthood. Manhood is mostly associated with sex roles assigned to the male sex and mile stones men have to cross to be called ‘real men’.
2. **Manliness:** Manliness refers to the manifestation of qualities that are associated with providing meaning to gender identity and gender roles for men. Qualities such as strength, taking risks, and bravery are all signs of manliness

Masculinities are constructed in various arenas, including hegemonic images related to physical and emotional strength, a disregard of domestic tasks, and a strong commitment to financial success and high status in employment.

What it means to be a man has changed over time, but five key areas can be reasonably taken as core domains of any practical definition of masculinities [27]:

- Physical dominance as expressed in strength, violence, risky behavior, and ultimately, in poorer health outcomes constitutes the first important domain in

which masculinities are defined

- Family formation, having children, care giving and domestic roles.
- Schooling and education, such as the length of time in school, educational experience and its relevance to future work.
- Employment – the nature of work, the extent of the commitment, the degree to which men provide for their households, and so on – is a fourth key domain for defining masculinities.

Men’s roles and responsibilities were largely understood through three main roles: those of provider, protector, and procreator. The performance of these roles and responsibilities emerged as a critical factor in men’s understanding of masculinity; The International Masculinity survey indicated that 66 percent of men ranked these roles and responsibilities as *the most essential aspect of masculinity*. [28] [29]

- The provider role was understood as being a hard worker through earning money and providing the social status for the family.
- The role of the procreator is closely tied to masculine sexuality. Having children emerged as a universal sign of masculinity.
- The protector is viewed as a fearless and courageous man who protects the honor of the household by protecting the children and women in the family.

According to an Indian Discrimination Survey (2002) most men described masculinity in the following ways:

- Physical appearance of men such as physique (body building, muscle tone, “steel” body etc.), physical strength, facial hair / moustache, style (walking, voice, talking, mannerisms, gestures and presentation), what he wears (cleanliness, type of attire, and clothing).



- Display of power such as social status, having an influence on other men's actions, having an influence on women's actions, others being afraid of you, having financial and non-financial resources, maintaining order in the community, and maintaining order of the family.
- Display of control such as control over oneself, being demanding, not being dominated, controlling people outside your family (men and women), and controlling one's wife.
- Display of sexual virility by having children.

## 2.5 Masculinity in Context of Pakistan

Consistent with international literature findings, masculinity in Pakistan is also determined by a number of notions. Central to it, is the notion of power which is manifested in various ways. The most obvious case of masculine power is the patriarchal relationship between a man and a woman. Important in this regard is also the social construct of honor, which is inherently linked with a woman in Pakistani society and its preservation as an objective, as well as identity of masculinity. According to one survey conducted in Pakistan, men and women expressed the following perceptions about masculinity.

### Men's perceptions of masculinity [31]

- A real man should ensure that he remains sexually potent
- A man provides for the family, earns himself and does not depend upon a woman's income
- A man needs to control his wife, look after the needs of his parents more than his wife, and take major decisions within family
- Violent behavior and harassment of powerless groups are part of being a real man.

- Men's attire is invariably different from women; negation of feminine traits is important for a man's identity.

### Women's perceptions of masculinity [31]

- Men earn, make decisions, are trustworthy and have a need to control their wife
- Men resort to violence in intimate relationships
- Men blame women for infertility and do not want to be questioned about their potency

## 2.5.1 Regional Masculinity in Pakistan

Masculinity has also been associated with maintaining the anonymity of female household members. In Sindh, a male's masculinity is questioned if women work outside of the home, and thus, a powerful *mursmano* (masculine) man will not permit such activity. In line with masculinity norms, male members of the family do not support women in completing household chores due to its feminine nature. In their role as protectors, men are expected to control women's behaviors, dress codes and activities outside the home, and guard them at all times. [41]. Essential to a man's honor is his ability to control. A man's extravagance may symbolize his honor, but this honor is not meaningful unless accompanied by the ability to control [44]. Whereas, masculinity in general is underpinned by authority, power and honor, it also connotes men being important, superior to women, being educated, and not tortured or victimized [57]. Men who cannot exercise control on women or pay excess attention to women's desires are considered to be weak.

Men are not only expected to safeguard the honor of their women, but that also of their family. [65]. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), a woman's honor is paramount, thus, men do not tolerate any humiliation or insulting of a woman's respect. [9]. However, it is difficult to demarcate the boundaries between the two, as they

overlap in many ways. All the same, a family's honor includes aspects such as participation in tribal conflicts and the safeguarding of one's tribal identity. This leads to manifestations of masculinity such as the possession of weapons. Traditionally this has been more common in Pukhtoons but it is also a significant and common symbol of masculinity and power in Punjab.

### 2.5.2 Economic and Social Linkages of Masculinity

Besides power connotations, masculinity has also been linked with productivity. The perception about men being economic and social authorities is an important element of the masculinity identity [52]. Men are assumed to cater to the economic needs of the family. Males who fail to engage themselves in income generation activities, or do not contribute to the family income have reported feelings of hopelessness and failure to command their family's respect.

The traits of masculinity discussed in the aforementioned paragraphs are linked with certain micro and macro socio-economic outcomes. For example, socio-economic development is a function of the labor supply and affects poverty reduction and income generation and distribution. Masculinity requires males to participate in the labor market, and excludes a large proportion of skilled female workers who can play a significant role in the socio-economic development of Pakistani society [32].

However, men experience more work related stress and have been more likely to report depression, suicide, previous arrests and use of violence against their wives. The narrow social definition of manhood and the perceived failure to live up to these expectations can compromise men's health and invoke anti-social behaviors [61]. Men have also expressed family disruption and negative effects of such violence on children. Fulfilling expectations of manhood, men risk losing their jobs, which results in more problems at home, and loss of respect from their families, communities and surrounding social networks [57], [63].

In the domain of social utility, masculinity demands of men to be leaders, and undertake out of home tasks. [64]. It is important to note that these, and the majority of other masculine attributes, are relative to females. The superlative expressions such as "more", "better", "higher" are mostly measures of masculinity attributes of males vis-à-vis females.

### 2.5.3 "Real Man"

Withstanding pain, injury, stress, tension, accidents and other anomalies of life without complaining, is another attribute of being masculine [31], [66]. "Boys are strong" and "boys don't cry" are common expressions that define episodes of pain in a man's life [40]. Another important notion related to masculinity is of "real men" being fearless, risky, and aggressive in the face of life threatening situations. [31]. This, was more prominent when it came to establishing dominance by one group of males on upon another, for example, in street conflicts.

### 2.5.4 Sexuality and Masculinity

Masculinity is also associated with sexual superiority and possessiveness [55]. Men have been documented to believe that they are entitled to "sexual acts" any time they feel like. There is religious interpretation also attached with this. Men believe that a woman who refuses to have sexual intercourse with her husband will be punished as per the instructions of the Quran [57]. Sexual virility and ability to produce offspring is another dimension of masculinity. Producing a male child and being sexually powerful enough to keep a wife in control are some of the other expectations of a real man [31].

Masculinity as a gender expectation has different effects on males, females and society in general. While it places a man in a higher position, it inevitably forces females into a low social status. This promotes the institutionalization of structural and socio-cultural gender inequities and perpetuates patriarchy in society [31], [41], [42].

The strong internalization of masculinity norms transforms men and boys into emotionless individuals, disconnected from their natural feelings of compassion and empathy. This leads to the emotional insensitivity, aggression and competitiveness [40].

The promotion of masculinity in different forms results in the subjugation of women and hinders their efforts towards empowerment. For instance, women's entry into local politics was insufficient in yielding them equal opportunities to participate in the political sphere. Such political activity is still highly limited, reducing them to a lower status to men within political parties and councils.

Masculinity norms lead to inflexible gender stereotyping impacting women in various ways such as restricted mobility, withdrawal from school and control over interactions with males [35], [49].

## **2.6 Masculinity and Violence Against Women**

An inevitable result of the efforts to preserve and practice masculinity is violence against women. Men adopt different physical and psychological means to deliver their role as real men, which is linked with the ability to control women and their honor. Men who resort to domestic violence usually use it as a tool of control and power [42]. The social fear of their power being compromised triggers men to commit honor crimes against women out of revenge, anger and aggression. The celebration of such men leads to more arrogance and creates a distorted understanding of power and morality. [13].

The overall social acceptance of male dominance reinforces violent acts by men over women. Violence against women is usually not seen as problematic and is dealt by society as a private or family matter that requires no interference [57]. Society accepts the head of the household to have a strong ego and aggressive temperament towards his wife and family and thus allows men

to exert their aggression on their wives and family without fear of being reprimanded. Females are excluded from all decision-making, receive the lowest priority, and are forced to accept choices determined for them by their families. Their incomes, voting choices, dowries, assets and social interactions are in the hands of men [54].

The interpretation of the Quran varies in the context of gender inequalities. Some believe that Quran sanctifies the disciplining of women in order to obey their husbands. Others, however, see the Quran as calling for the respect of women and not tolerating any kind of violence against them. In this matter, it could be of great benefit to ally with religious leaders to reduce the high levels of violence against women in Pakistan. [57].

According to June 2014 report the data showed that 3,296 cases of violence against women had been reported in Punjab during the first six months of the year. 2,575 incidents were reported in the first half of 2013. 3,550 women were subjected to violence in the first half of 2014. The monthly breakdown of the statistics stood at 419, 483, 498, 573, 683 and 640 for the first six months respectively. The figure includes 809 abductions, 687 rape cases, 449 murders, 296 suicides, 162 honor killings, 131 suicide attempts, 124 rape attempts, 88 cases of torture, 35 of harassment, 11 incidents of vani, 5 of karo kari, 4 instances of child marriages and 4 forced marriages.

## **2.7 Masculinities and Engaging Men**

What can be done to deal with the negative aspects of masculinity? There is a growing consensus to shift focus from "women" to "gender" and create a differentiated understanding of gender relations in the perspective of development. Men dominate strategic level decision making positions in the family, community and state, and are in control of resources required for more gender equality. Such resources mandate efforts for changing men's attitudes and behaviors to promote gender

equality. Women-only approaches have been reported to have very limited impact in created gender equity. Additionally, neglecting men in interventions can aggravate male hostility and create further problems. Excluding men from the conversation is akin to losing sight of a large share of development resources [61].

In Pakistan working with men is divided into two broad categories:

- Working with men to redress their problems;
- Working with men as a strategy to address women's issues

While there is recognition for the need to engage men in overcoming gender inequality, literature emphasizes the need for more work to be done in this regard. The identification of entry points for including masculinity into policies will be a function of questioning how existing policy frameworks can be deployed to promote and sustain creative strategies for the engagement of men in the cause for gender equality. Men's role in the advancement of gender also needs to be outlined, along with how gender can become a part of men's identities and how to overcome the existing limited conceptual frameworks will be the key questions required to be answered for improving the policies and programs focusing gender equalities [61].

## 2.8 Summary

Within Pakistan work on masculinity has been largely limited due since initiatives have been taken only by a handful of NGOs. Gender studies departments have yet to acknowledge the existence of this emerging discourse and to place it within the framework of mainstream curriculum. As a result, academic research in this area is rare and, therefore, inadequate. What is glaringly absent is an interface between development practitioners and academic research that can inform and plug into these processes.

Important in the efforts to address the gender

differentials are text books through which future generations continue to internalize the biases of existing societal understandings of gender. Current textbook and curriculum development processes in Pakistan do not include any gender expertise use. What this creates is an "enabling environment" for coercive actions by men on women. [33], [40], [59].

Available literature also suggests that honor killings are not solely driven by customs and traditions, but is propagated by the local gender system, conceptions of manhood, and the complicit role of state institutions and law enforcement agencies [41]. The main players documented in the incidents of honor killings are feudal lords and state institutions, particularly members of the police force [13]. This underscores the need for the government's immediate action to review current policies, rules and regulations towards gender rights and responsibilities. In addition to this, the provision of universal access to education needs to become a pre-requisite [35], [38], [42], [61].

A global literature review highlights the lack of masculinity-centered work being done in Pakistan in contrast to the other countries. Most of the discourse in Pakistan, in this regard, is focuses on women such as rights, subjugation, social inclusion, and violence. In contrast, there is a limited focus on masculinity. However, existing work has offered deep insights into the construct of manhood and masculinity and the processes governing the internalization and reinforcement of this construct.

Further research is required to understand the intricacies of the relationship of masculinity and violence against women, and the identification of the avenues of incorporation of masculinity into women's rights advocacy and awareness programs. Deeper and context specific understanding of the perceptions of men and women around masculinities, exploration of the links between notions of masculinity and undesired behaviors also require further investigation.

**Table 6: Men Engagement Projects in Pakistan**

Theme	Initiative	Issues Addressed	Methods adopted
Working with boys and men and their vulnerabilities, especially those intensified by masculine norms and stereotypes.	<p>Sexual Health services offered by the FPAP Program.</p> <p>Amal's Youth Empowering Skills Program for children: Conducts training sessions on the unpacking of masculinities related to violence and vulnerability.</p> <p>SAHIL: Counselors explore issues such as anger management, interpersonal relationships, social adjustment, and conflict resolution.</p> <p>Rozan: Work with the police on gender issues with a focus on masculinity.</p> <p>SAHIL: child rights and sexual abuse, and executed a juvenile rehabilitation program in Pakistani jails.</p>	Sexual and reproductive health, sexual and physical abuse, emotional health and sensitization to socialization processes, gender discrimination.	Psychological counseling, health services, condom distribution, training programs.
Working with men as a strategy to address women's issues	<p>Community Development Foundation: Executed the "We Can Campaign" which aimed at educating men and boys about violence against women.</p> <p>IDRAK: Worked with young males' health and social justice issues around gender and gender based violence.</p> <p>Sarsabz Foundation: Launched a district wide campaign in 2007 titled "Engaging Men Allies in Ending Violence Against Women"</p> <p>SEHER: Launched a pledge campaign in 2008 which aimed at changing attitudes and behaviors in over five million 'Change Makers' who pledged against committing violence against women.</p> <p>White Ribbon Campaign Pakistan: Launched campaigns in educational institutions in more than 50 districts in Pakistan to educate the youth about violence against women.</p>	Issues of women, raise awareness and consciousness of men around gender roles, discrimination of women both within homes and also in the public domain and institutions ( law, governance and media etc.) and the role of men as a 'powerful gender'.	Raising consciousness in men through seminars, r campaigns, activities, development of messaging and IEC material and involving the influential's and religious leaders.



# Chapter -3

## Findings & Analysis

### from Qualitative Survey

#### 3. Findings & Analysis from Qualitative Survey

This section presents findings and analyses from qualitative surveys focusing on four themes: Definition and Perception, Societal Roles/ Behaviors, Gender Based Violence, and Sexuality.

##### 3.1 Definition and Perception of Masculinity

Definitions and perceptions of masculinity are given below.

###### 3.1.1 Masculinity

###### 3.1.1.1 Findings from Key Informant Interviews

All KII respondents, across professional and academic backgrounds and sector, defined masculinity as a social construct.

What forms the social construct of masculinity?

A majority respondents in each category, i.e. psychologists (5 out of 6), sociologists (6 out of 7), NGO representatives (5 out of 8), individuals working in GBV (6 out of 8), human rights representatives (1 out of 2), teachers (3 out of 5), judges and lawyers (2 out of 3), hakeem/ health provider (2 out of 3) and government representatives (5 out of 8) mentioned the importance of physical appearances (being tall, broad shouldered, having strong muscles, and being healthy and handsome). Additionally, body language such as posture, speech (soft in urban areas and loud in rural areas), and appetite (having a full belly and increased hunger) were considered to be physical manifestations of masculinity.

It is interesting to note is that despite masculinity being linked to a social construct, almost all the respondents also associated it with biology.

Masculinity was overwhelmingly mentioned as a construct stemming from a combination of biological and social differences between males and females. Respondents from all 12 categories (59 out of 60) mentioned that nature created humans in the form of two sexes: male and female (who can reproduce), but, the roles expected of them were socially constructed.

Geography, ethnicity and sub cultures were also mentioned as factors effecting versions of masculinity This was cited by the following: Sociologists (5 out of 7), psychologists (4 out of 6), NGO representatives (2 out of 8), government representatives (3 out of 8) and human right representatives (1 out of 2), lawyers and judges (1 out of 3), media representatives (2 out of 4).

Masculinity was also defined as being able to provide shelter, food, security and care for one's family (by nearly one fifth of respondents), while half of the respondents associated masculinity with sense of power, strength, decision-making, hard work , responsibility, patience, and being the head of the family. Only 1 respondent believed that the construct of masculinity was obsolete.

###### 3.1.1.2 Findings from Focus Group Discussions

A wide variety of responses were expressed when FGD participants were asked about their understanding of masculinity. A majority of the responses fell in the categories of behaviors, traits and appearances mostly associated with men.

AJK married male FGD; “Ae key kuriyan yank am keta ai mardan wan kam kariyan wa”

(You have done this job like a woman; you should have done it like a man).



Whereas, in male FGDs various traits and physical appearance were the key responses, to most of the female participants in FGDs, a masculine man was one who cares for supports and loves his family. Such a man also possesses a sense of responsibility and provides his dependents with food and shelter. It may be due to women's religious (Islamic) beliefs that lead males to be expected to be responsible for taking care of the family.

Pishin FGD Female; *Mardangi se murad eik aisa mard jo apne aur apne ghar walon k lie bethar sochta ho, aur us soch per amal bhi karta ho, ghar ki tamam zaruriyat puri kare aur sub ko eik jaisi izzat de aur ghar ka muhafiz ho*" (Masculinity means a man who thinks for the betterment of his family and acts upon it too. He fulfills their needs and protects this family and treats everyone equally).

Mirpurkhas FGD Female; *"Mardangi eik to ghar ko security provide kare, apne ghar walon ki zaruriyat puri kare aur khawhisahat ka khayal rakhe"* (A masculine man provides his home with security and fulfills his family's needs and wishes.)

Quetta FGD female; *Bardasht, muhabat, khayal rakhna aur zaruriyat ko poora karna mardangi ki alamat hai* (Tolerance, love, care giving and providing basic needs are masculine traits).

A few respondents from the female FGD also mentioned that being smart, tall, healthy, strong, and attractive were also elements of masculinity. Masculinity was mostly associated with married males, being influential and youthful.

Being the provider and protector of the family (21), honour (*Ghariat aur anna*) (19), being hardworking (19), having power and strength (16), being bravery (14), being patience (13), having confidence (8), and being unemotional (17) were the key traits and behaviors mentioned in the different categories of male FGD.

AJK married male FGD; *"Mardangi ki kuch specific alamat hain jaise ki Larna jhagrna, Quwat ko hona, bardasht ka hona, sabar o tahmul se kaam lena aur sakht se sakht cheez ka bhaduri se muqabla karna"* (Masculinity consists of some specific attributes

such as fighting, being powerful, and fighting under tough circumstances with tolerance, patience and bravery).

Peshawar influential FGD; *"Chaie pe khor mor okhaza nang ana ki haga mard na de"*

(He who cannot protect and fight for honor is not a man).

Married male Peshawar FGD; *Mardangi se murad hukmaraniat(ruling) hai aur mard se hi wabasta hai is se amuman yahi murad li jati hai aisa shaks jo hifazat kare, jo paisa kamie, jo zimadar ho, jo mehnat kash ho, jo faisala karne ki salahiyat rakhta ho*

(Masculinity is linked to ruling and a man who protects, earns, is responsible, works hard and can take decisions).

### 3.1.2 Masculinity Defined by Traits, Personality Types or Looks

#### 3.1.2.1 Findings from Key Informant Interviews

A majority of the respondents categorically defined masculinity in terms of traits and behaviors, while physical appearance was the second most mentioned defining factor but varied with local geography, culture, and urban/rural differences. A man's occupation was found to be the least distinction attribute of masculinity. Masculine traits and behaviors, mentioned by almost three-fourths of respondents, included breadwinning, providing shelter, being powerful and hardworking, and exercising strong decision-making skills. In the words of one of the respondents:

*"Mard ne kamana hai, khilana hai, tafuz dena hai, kapre le kar dene hain, bache paida karne hain, waghaira waghaira, ye sub to har jaga k mard ne karna hai laikin wo dhike ga kaise ye wahan k mohal(environment) per depend karta hai k us ne shalwar kameez pehnani hai ya pent shirt, monchaiein rakhni hain ya clean shave karni hai. We are divided in urban and rural classes, phir cultures per bhi depend karta hai"* (Men everywhere have



to earn, protect, provide clothes, reproduce etc. But his physical appearance – whether he wears shalwar kameez or pants; or whether he has a moustache or is clean-shaven depends on where he lives. We are divided in urban and rural classes, so it also depends on different cultures).

Occupation as a determinant of masculinity was negated by almost half the respondents. They felt that men and women, now, had the freedom to choose their careers. Women were mentioned to have acquired the ability to seek education in fields that were once considered male dominated professions. Since women and men, both, are now opting out for fields that were once associated

with the opposite sex, masculinity could not be defined in one strict criteria. For example, almost three-fourths of respondents reported the army, police, judiciary, politics and engineering as careers, now, being pursued by women. Similarly, men were also reported to be entering fields such as fashion designing, cooking, and tailoring. Having said that, some participants (one fourth of the total), acknowledged the lack of acceptance of such a trend.

The table 7 presents a key informant interview summary of the defining traits and behaviors, appearances and occupations reported to be associated with masculinity:

**Table 7: Masculinity Definition (KII Responses)**

Category (findings)	Traits & Behaviors	Appearance	Occupation
KIIs	<p>A majority of the respondents mentioned the following traits and behaviors associated with masculinity:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Powerful</li> <li>• Strong</li> <li>• Provides shelter and security to a family</li> <li>• Protects a family</li> <li>• Decision-maker</li> <li>• Hard-work</li> <li>• Responsible</li> <li>• Brave</li> <li>• Aggressive</li> <li>• Respectful to women</li> <li>• Courageous</li> </ul>	<p>A majority of the respondents mentioned that physical appearance varied according to place and culture. Widely expressed masculine:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tall</li> <li>• Broad shoulders</li> <li>• Muscular</li> <li>• Healthy</li> <li>• Facial and body hair</li> <li>• Rural Areas</li> <li>• Moustaches (rural areas)</li> <li>• Dressed in shalwar kameez</li> </ul>	<p>A majority of the respondents believed that masculinity was not limited by occupation. A greater fluidity was identified in peoples' choices of occupation. Respondents quoted following occupations as examples for women and men:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women</li> <li>• Policewoman</li> <li>• Army employee</li> <li>• Politician</li> <li>• Judge</li> <li>• Engineering</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Patient</li> <li>• Few of the respondents also mentioned the following traits</li> <li>• Independent</li> <li>• Competitive</li> <li>• Honorable</li> <li>• Problem solving</li> <li>• Authoritative</li> <li>• Controlling</li> <li>• Consistent</li> <li>• Confident</li> <li>• Loyal</li> <li>• Following traits were mentioned by one of the NGO representative</li> <li>• Exploratory</li> <li>• Innovative</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Urban Areas</li> <li>• Clean shaven</li> <li>• Dressed in western attire</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Men</li> <li>• Fashion designer</li> <li>• Tailoring</li> <li>• Chef</li> </ul>
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### 3.1.2.2 Findings from Focus Group Discussions

The key rating on masculine traits and behaviors through FGD is given below.

**Table 8: Rating of Masculine Traits and Behaviors (FGD Responses)**

Particulars	Married Male	Married Female	Influential	Youth	Overall Strength
<b>Traits and Behaviors</b>					
<b>Positive Traits</b>					
Provider of food and shelter	***	***	***	***	High
Protector to the family	***	***	***	***	High
Strength	***	*	***	***	High
Patience	***	*	***	**	High
Hard working	**	**	**	***	High
Responsible	**	**	***	**	High
Tolerance	**	**	**	**	Medium
Decision making	**	**	**	**	Medium
Strong attitude and character	**	***	**	*	Medium

Braveness	**	*	**	**	Medium
Honor ( <i>Ghairat and Anna</i> )	**	*	**	*	Medium
Self-confidence	*	**	*	*	Medium
Courageous	*	*	*	*	Low
Care	*	**	*		Low
Competitiveness	*		*	*	Low
give respect, love and care to the family	*	**	NM	NM	Low
Risk taking attitude	NM	NM	*	*	Low
Unemotional	*	NM	NM	*	Low
Boldness	NM	NM	*	*	Low
<b>Negative traits</b>					
Aggression	***	**	***	***	High
Violence	***	**	***	**	High
Disrespect to women or sense of superiority	**	**	***	**	High
Negative manifestation of traits make them positive or negative	**	*	**	**	Medium
Inequality between men and women	*	***	*	NM	Medium
Greed	**		*		Low
Drug Use	NM	*	NM	NM	Low
<b>Appearances</b>					
Appearance may vary from place to place especially in urban and rural settings.	***	***	***	***	High
Tall	***	***	***	***	High
Well-built or strong muscles	***	***	***	***	High
Broad shoulders	***	***	***	***	High
Healthy	***	***	***	**	High
Moustache	**	**	**	**	Medium
Clean shaven	**	**	**	**	Medium
Attire: local (shalwar kameez)	**	**	**	**	Medium
Attire: Western (pants and shirt)	**	**	**	**	Medium

Not looking feminine	**	*	*	**	Medium
Loud	*	**	*	*	Medium
Deep voice	*	*	*	*	Low
Well Nourished	**	NM	*	*	Low
Fancy beard	NM	*	NM	*	Low
Body Hair	NM	*	NM	NM	Low
<b>Occupations</b>					
Masculinity is not linked to a specific occupation	**	**	**	***	High
Doctor (Health Professional)	**	*	**	**	Medium
Labor work	**	*	**	*	Medium
Career followed by passion	*	NM	**	*	Low
Driving (truck, taxi)	*	*	*	*	Low
Construction	*	*	*	*	Low
Hakeem	*	*	*	*	Low
Security Guard	*	*	*	*	Low
Shopkeeper	*	*	*	*	Low
Mosque leader	*	*	*	*	Low
Office job	NM	NM	*	*	Low
Media representative	NM	NM	NM	*	Low

NM: Not Mentioned

### 3.1.3.2 Findings from Focus Group Discussions

There was little diversity of opinion about masculinity in the FGDs conducted in rural areas. Within women, this construct was associated with men performing out-of-house activities, being creative, liberated and immersed in their careers. This is because men were considered

responsible for earning money, protecting the family and providing them with shelter. In-home tasks such as child rearing, and home and family management were women oriented tasks. However, there was also a reported need for men to be able to maintain a work-life balance by fulfilling their responsibilities, but also engaging in pleasurable activities and taking care of their families.

**Table 10: Masculinity and Implicit Association Traits (FGD responses)**

IAT Groups	FGD Categories				Strengths
	Married Males	Married Females	Influential Participants	Youth	
Both Groups	**	**	***	**	Strongly associated
Family, Home and Children	*	**	*	*	Mildly
Career, Freedom and Creative Skills	*	NM	*	*	Somewhat

NM: Not Mentioned

### Urban and rural trends from FGD

The only trend that emerged from the options asked from the participants of FGDs was that in rural areas of Pakistan masculinity is associated with family, home and children. Getting more specific all the rural regions from Sindh, Baluchistan and Khyber Phukhtoonkhua reported association of Masculinity with this group explicitly.

#### 3.1.4 Masculinity: Perspectives (Biology vs social upbringing)

##### 3.1.4.1 Findings from Key Informant Interviews

Masculinity was predominantly linked to social upbringing and cultural expectations by the key informants. There was, however, an acceptance of biological forces that create sex differences. . However, a majority of the respondents believed that, both, biology and social forces intermingle and shape masculinity as it is perceived.

As one of the respondents said; “We are biologically created and socially constructed”.

One of the NGO representatives said: “Mard Eik Zameen ki tarah hai aur is society ne us per Mardangi Naam ki eik building khari ki hai” (A man is like a piece of land on which society has built masculinity.

Another respondent spoke about the social

### Component of Masculinity:

*“The difference between the role of men and women is created by our society. If a boy is born to a farmer, he sees his father doing work in the field, bearing the hardships of extreme weather. This boy will learn the concept of masculinity from this example and believe it to be linked to strength, courage and patience. Similarly, one who is born to an urban and career-oriented professional will grow up striving for a good career, education and taking care of his family”.*

Only four respondents believed that those biological differences were the cause of men’s’ superiority over women. Here, males were defined as the donors while females were recipients. Biological differences were argued using the example of the male sperm, which are active and energetic in comparison to the females’ eggs that are passive. Such a characteristic was translated in to the behavior of men and women: men being active and energetic, whereas females were passive, and silent. The case for biology was also argued by highlighting anatomical differences such as bone densities and muscle mass, which reflect sex-related strengths and characteristics. Participants described how men have rough and strong bones while women’s are soft and delicate. Furthermore, men’s stronger muscles reflect men’s’ superior strength compared to women. One of the respondents was quoted saying; “Aurat ko Mard ki Pasli se banya gya hai” (A woman has been created from the rib of a man).

### 3.1.4.2 Findings from Focus Group Discussions

A majority of respondents from all FGDs categories believed that nature was primary in creating sexual differences between men and women, but society and cultural expectations defined gender roles and masculinity.

Married male FGD Lahore; "Hum bachpan mein apne bachon ko khelne k lie khilone (toys) dete hain to larke k lie hum truck, pistol waghaira lete hain jabk bachion k lie guria, kitchen set waghaira lete hain to iska taluq society k banaie hue roles se hai na k naturally sex k sath"

When we give toys to our children, we choose trucks, pistol sets for boys, and dolls, kitchen sets etc. for our girls. This shows that sex roles are associated with socialization, not biology.)

Differences in sex roles depend on our opportunities, culture, society and environment and are taught to children from a very early age. . A participant quoted the example how women's roles vary from province to province in Pakistan. For example, women in KPK and Balochistan are restricted to their homes and expected to cover themselves when in public. In contrast, women in Punjab have the liberty to seek employment and work outside their homes.

Influential FGD Quetta; Muasharti farq hai kuin k paida dono barabar hote hain, laikin muashara hi ink kaam aur paishey ko alag alag karta hai (It is a social difference - both are born equally, but society makes their roles and occupations different).

Female FGD Peshawar; "Mard aur aurat Allah Tallah ne banye hain, laikin muahsahre mein jeeney ka saliqa, eik dossre se bat cheet kaise karni hai, kamana kis ne hai, khandan kaise akhta rakhna hai, kapre kaise pehnane hain, dhikna kaisa hai ye sub to hamari society aur phir wahan ka culture btata hai" Man and woman has been created by Allah, but our society and culture dictate how we survive, how we treat each other, how we earn, how we raise our families, and how we should dress and behave. "

"Biological differences are universal truths and cannot be changed. For example, consider muscular differences in men and women. Even after professional training, men and women in all sports compete in separate categories, not with each other. Similarly, it is expected of males to lead, pursue higher education, have successful careers, or fulfill the family's needs, whereas females take care of the household and family. In this way, both genders are brought up accordingly. A very common social practice is that after graduation males are worried about finding an internship or job, but most females are getting ready for marriage and settle down" (Youth FGD Abbotabad).

Respondents from married male and female FGDs in Pishin and Quetta mentioned that sex differences were biological and women were created weaker than men.

### Urban and rural trends in FGD

The study observed an obvious trend which showed an acceptance for patriarchal structures in society. Men were believed to be more powerful, strong, and controlling members of the family. This trend is observed under the shades of social upbringing and the larger freedom men enjoy in society.

## 3.2 Societal Roles & Behaviors

The societal roles and behaviors accrued to masculinity are as follows:

### 3.2.1 The Impact of Masculinity on Men, Women, Family and Society

#### 3.2.1.1 Findings from Key Informant Interviews

##### Impact on men

Masculinity was described having both negative and positive effects on men. The pressure to prove one's identity, that is, "I am a man" was the most frequently mentioned pressure at a social level. Men appeared to not have much choice in defining their role in society, other than to satisfy the demands of the male sex role. To struggle

and face hardships in earning for the house, earn, protect the family, control emotions, and never express vulnerabilities in front of others were key gender expectations of masculinity that were reported by key informant respondents.

One of the sociologists said: “Mard paida hota hai to usko shuru se hi shikaya jata hai hamari her institution k through that he has to earn and support his family”

From birth, every social institution teaches a man that he has to earn and support his family.

In another interview an NGO representative said that; “Aap ne bahut famous hearings, kahanyian sunni hongy k hai bechara 3 behnon ka iklotha bhai hai, ya aik akela kamane wala hai aur 5 bande khane wale hain ya koi man apni shaili ko khe rahi hogi mera putar kamane joga ho gaya hai ab mujhe kia fikar waghair waghaira, to ye sub instill karti hain k mard se kamana expected hai, usi ne kharche pure karne hain, behnon ki shaadiyan karwani hain, man aur baap ki medicines puri karni hain so in short man is expected to earn, support and provide to his family” (You might have heard stories: He is one brother to 3 sisters, or he is a lone earner who is responsible for 5 people, or a mother who is relieved and says “My son is earning, so I don’t need to fear.” All these rules teach us that a man has to earn, fulfill social and familial demands, get his sisters married, and provide medicines for his parents. In short, a man is expected to earn, support and provide for his family.

In the words of one of the psychologist; “Mard ki zindagi aik ghan chakar ki tarah hai, thora bara hota hai kamane ki position mein hota hai to maan baap, behn bhai k lie kamata hai, apni shaadi karne k lie kamata hai, shaadi ho jati hai to biwi aur family dono ki zaruriyat puri karne mein lag jata hai, aur jab bache ho jate hain to phir wo tab tak bound ho jata hai jab tak bache kamane k qabil na ho jaien” (A man’s life is a twisted trail. As he matures and reaches an earning age, he earns for his parents, siblings and for his own marriage. Once married, he has to fulfill the responsibilities of his wife and children until his

children in a position to earn.

Financial pressure was also mentioned by almost more than three-fourths of the respondents. To this end, breadwinning, providing the family with shelter, security and care were defined as being the most important male duty that would require financial support.

A sense of responsibility and ownership, trustworthiness and leadership were the most mentioned positive effects on both the social and psychological health of a man.

The most mentioned negative effect of masculinity was related to its effect on women. “I am superior to women” was the most mentioned negative belief propagated by masculinity. This leads to studying where these beliefs stem from: A majority of respondents, especially development professionals, believed that educational curriculum, socialization by mothers, and the media were responsible for teaching men beliefs about gender superiority. Such a mindset was believed to infiltrate males from childhood, when mothers give priority to boys over the girls. Later, similar beliefs are reinforced through educational curricula, and gender segregation in schools.

Frustration and fatigue were the second most mentioned negative psychological effects of masculinity on men. One-third of the respondents believed that the consequences of such frustration lead to violent male behavior.

Being emotionally controlled and constantly “strong” were the third most frequently mentioned psychological consequences since men could never express their thoughts and feelings openly. This was, also however considered to have positive effects in situations where important decisions needed to be made or certain roles required the same. Being masculine also helped men to be strong and courageous, nevertheless, being emotionally controlled was mentioned to affect mental health.

Feelings of inferiority, high stress levels were also reported to be consequences of masculinity.

Sexual potency was the most mentioned physical factor which influenced the men throughout life. A masculine man should be sexual potent in order to fulfill his partner's desires. If he failed to do so, he would lose respect.

### Impact on women

There was variance in the impact of masculinity on women in urban and rural settings. Positive effects dominated the urban responses, whereas rural women mostly reported negative experiences.

Masculinity was mentioned to have positive impacts such as women men being dutiful to their families, and providing security, shelter and growth opportunities for them. The most frequently mentioned advantage was the enabling of an educational environment, in terms of both access and opportunity. Respondents also mentioned women being able to choose male dominated professions such as joining the police, army and engineering fields.

Although social wellbeing was the most mentioned benefit of masculinity for women, only 2 respondents spoke about its on women's mental and physical health. This is quite intriguing given that health is defined as the state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and if all 3 areas are not achieved, other positive effects may not actualize. This may explain the rise of non-communicable illnesses such as hypertension, which is occurring despite the improvement of health facilities.

Human rights awareness regarding protection, shelter and gender based violence laws, and their interaction with media representation was the second most indicated positive influence on women. An increase in women's economic empowerment and the distribution sexual decision making powers was also commonly mentioned. Women also reported feeling a sense of security and belongingness, confidence, productivity and support.

Alternatively, when masculinity was abused, women reported the following negative men

attitudes:

- Physical violence (hitting and injuring women)
- Sexual violence (Rape and sexual abuse)
- Banning from seeking education
- Their rights are not provided to them
- Promotion of gender stereotypical role for women (cooking, child-care, teaching, means of sexual gratification)
- Demoralization and humiliation
- Lack of political status and power
- Emotional and verbal abuse

It was also interesting to note women's responses describing how some of the positive effects were beginning to have negative repercussions as well. For example, a majority of participants claimed that increasing economic stability and education were causing more familial conflicts and violence as women demanded equal rights and opportunities.

Very few respondents reported masculinity playing a role to decrease the rate of harmful traditional cultural norms and practices such as like karo kari, watta satta, child marriages and the trading of women for money and property. Similarly, only one respondent mentioned that gendered values such as smoking, using abusive language and dressing like men were being challenged by the power of masculinity.

### Impact on family

The impact caused by masculinity on family, is summarized in the table No 11.



**Table 11: The Impact of Masculinity on the Family (KII Responses)**

Negative	Positive
Imposition of male decisions on the family, unequal resource distribution amongst family members, and discrimination.	Participation in family decision-making, family planning, and child career choice.
Violence (physical, sexual, emotional, verbal)	Division of labor within the family, discipline, unity and understanding amongst family members.
Prevalence of gender discriminatory practices beginning from early childhood.	Equal education opportunities for both, boys and girls.
	An increase in family honor.
	Feelings of security.

**Impact on society**

The impact caused by masculinity on society, is summarized in the table No 12.

**Table 12: The Impact of Masculinity on Society (KII Responses)**

Negative	Positive
Since social norms are defined at their advantage, men are allowed to exercise their freedom.	An increase in trends to gain education in both, urban and rural areas.
Power, control over resources freedom and decision making opportunities were the most commonly mentioned	Acceptance of women as a potential member of society.
Sociologist and NGO representatives were particularly of the view that women do not play any role in defining the society norms.	Changes in the perception of stereotypical gender roles and women's protection laws.
Social norms that accept violence and discrimination against women.	Changes in oppressive social norms in urban areas and quite stable and traditional (12) especially honor killing (7)

### 3.2.1.2 Findings from Focus Group Discussions

#### Impact on men

The impact of masculinity on men is summarized in Table13:

**Table 13: The Impact of Masculinity on Men (FGD Responses)**

Themes/Sub Themes	FGD Category				Strengths
	Married Males	Married Females	Influentials	Youth	
Impact on Men					
Positive and negative effects	***	***	***	***	High
Positivity	***	***	***	*	High
Strength and optimism	***	***	**	**	High
Ability to feel like a “man”	***	*	***	**	High
Occupational freedom	**	**	***	**	High
Financial freedom	**	***	**	**	High
Liberty (think what not to be think even)	**	**	***	**	High
Freedom of movement and interaction with peers	**	**	**	*	Medium
Being respected	**	*	**	NM	Medium
Being honest	*	*	*	*	Low
Loyalty to others	*	**	*	NM	Low
Courage	*	*	*	*	Low
Lack of physical constraints	NM	NM	*	*	Low
Stress	***	***	***	***	Low
Satisfying family financial needs	*	*	**	NM	Low
Protection of family	*	*	**	NM	Low
Emotional Stoicism	*	*	*	NM	Low
Shouldering family responsibility	**	NM	*	NM	Low
Feelings of superiority	*	***	**	*	
Unhealthy Habits	**	*	**	*	
Smoking cigarettes	**	*	**	*	
Smoking Hash(Chars)	*	NM	*	NM	
Alcohol Consumption	*	NM	*	NM	Low

NM: Not Mentioned

## Impact on women

The impact of masculinity on women is summarized in Table 14:

**Table 14: The Impact of Masculinity on Women (FGD Responses)**

Themes/Sub Themes	FGD Category				Strengths
	Married Males	Married Females	Influentials	Youth	
Impact on Women					
Positive use of masculinity by men	**	***	**	**	High
Increase in women’s education status	**	**	**	**	High
Strength	**	**	**	*	High
Respect	**	*	**	NM	High
Security	*	***	*	NM	High
Love and care	**	**	*	NM	High
Sense of responsibility	*	*	*	NM	Medium
Unity of the family	*	*	NM	NM	High
Child-rearing	*	*	NM	NM	Medium
Violence against women	***	***	***	**	Medium
Deprivation of women’s rights	**	***	**	**	Medium
Man’s ability to manage female relationships	*	*	*	NM	Medium
Interference into personal matters	*	*	NM	NM	Medium
Sexual abuse	NM	*	*	*	Medium

NM: Not Mentioned

### Impact on Family

The impact of masculinity on the family is summarized in Table 15:

**Table 15 Impact of Masculinity on Family (FGD Responses)**

Themes/Sub Themes	FGD Category				Strengths
	Married Males	Married Females	Influentials	Youth	
Impact on Family					
Feelings of security	**	**	**	*	Medium
Education	**	*	**	**	Medium
Enrichment of values and culture	**	*	**	NM	Medium
Enhanced prosperity	**	***	*	NM	Medium
Emotional Stoicism	*	**	*		
Regulation of aggression	*	**	*		
Participation in decision making		*			
Negative manifestation of traits result in negative impact on family	***	***	***	***	High
Aggression	***	**	***	***	
Strength	***	*	***	***	
Honor	**	*	**	*	
Control and domination	*	**			
Frustration	**	*	*	*	
Disrespect	**	**	**	*	Medium
Gender Discrimination	*	*	*	*	Low
Children’s Self Esteem	*	*	*	NM	Low

NM: Not Mentioned

## Impact on Society

The impact of masculinity on society is summarized in Table 16:

**Table 16 Impact of Masculinity on Society (FGD Responses)**

Themes/Sub Themes	FGD Category				Strengths
	Married Males	Married Females	Influentials	Youth	
Impact on Society					
Positive use of masculinity by men	***	***	***	***	High
Effect of positive deeds and attitudes	**	***	**	*	Medium
Unity, love and brotherhood	***	**	**	*	Medium
Hardwork and courage	*	NM	**	*	Low
Patience with others	**		*	NM	Low
Morality	*	*	*	NM	Low
Tolerance	*	NM	*	NM	Low
Resilience in the face of challenges		NM	*	NM	Low
If traits of masculinity exhibited negatively a negative culture will prevail in the society	***	***	***	***	High
Aggression in society	**	**	**	**	Medium
Violence in society	*	**	*	**	Medium
Harmful traditions	*	*	*	**	Medium
Honor Killings	*	*	*	**	
Watta-Satta			*		
Crime rates	*	NM	*	**	Low
Gender Discrimination	NM	NM	*	*	Low

NM: Not Mentioned

### 3.2.2 Evolution of Masculinity

#### 3.2.2.1 Findings from Key Informant Interviews

Masculinity has changed over the passage of time, especially in urban settings compared to rural settings. The most important change observed in this regard was that many of masculine traits were no longer limited to men, but have cut across both genders. The key manifestations in this regard for women include economic empowerment, adopting professions and occupations that were previously considered masculine, and sharing the power, resources, house-hold duties and decision-making powers related to family planning. The key drivers of this change include women's rights awareness, an increase in women's education and the demand for female education in rural areas.

A father personifies masculinity in Pakistani society. Respondents, through describing the changes in a father figure, substantiated the evolving concept of masculinity. For instance, the newfound ability of children to make educational and future decisions for themselves, to demand things directly from their fathers, engaging in debates and discussions on sensitive issues and freely expressing themselves in front of a father figure are recent developments. One of the sociologists described this trend in the following words; *"Phele baap ghar mein atta tha to sub sum mun buk mun ho jate the ab bechara baap ghar aa kar sum mun buk mun ho jata hai"* (Earlier, when a father came home, the children would be silent – but, now-a-days, the father remains silent).

Technology was the third most mentioned factor responsible for the changing concepts of masculinity. Modernization of life has allowed female to access amenities that have reduced their dependency on men. NGOs who are working on gender sensitization have also helped changed the topography of gender relations. Most respondents appreciated the role that NGOs were playing in defining the roles of gender among the masses.

#### 3.2.2.2 Findings from Focus Group Discussions

The change in masculinity was more often expressed in the form of the shifting demand for masculine attributes. For example, the most frequently mentioned aspect in this regard was the increase in the demand for girls' education. This is contrary to education being only a priority for boys a few decades ago. Associated with this was the observation that a male who allowed girls' education is masculine.

Male FGD Quetta; *"Pichle zamanon mei mard ki taleem ko auraton ki taleem per fouqiat di jati thi, per ab auraton ki taleem ka riwaj aam hai"* (Women's education was not common in earlier ages, but now-a-days it is common that a woman be educated).

Influential FGD Mirpurkhas; *"Phele jo mard apni bachion ki taleem ki baat karta tha usko haqeer nazron se aur namard kaha jata tha. Aajkal auraton ki taleem ko bilkul bhi bura nai samjha jata"* (Earlier, a man who talked about education for his daughter was seen with hatred and was not considered manly. But now-a-days, a woman being educated is not at all looked down upon).

The change in masculinity was also expressed in terms of the shift of financial and productive power. Conventionally, masculinity embodied financial and productive abilities that were perceived to rest with men only. Whereas, in recent times women were mentioned to be getting more empowered (more in urban areas than in rural areas). An increase in women's freedom of expression and choice of careers were also mentioned as changes in the social construct of masculinity. These were the second most mentioned change by the respondents in all categories of FGD.

Female FGD Peshawar; *"Ab trend change ho gaya hai auratien bhi mardon k shana bashana kama sakti hain, family ko support kar sakti hain unki zaruriyat puri kar sakti hain"* (The trend has changed: women can earn as much as men, can support the family and fulfill their needs).

Influential FGD Mirpurkhas; “Aaj shehr ki aurat ba-lkhtiyar ho gai hai, apni zehanat, aur kaam se murdon ko peechey chor rahi hai” (Now-a-days, urban women are authoritative and can take decisions; they are surpassing men through their intelligence and hard work).

All of the FGD respondents believed that the media had a key role to play in the increase in women’s rights and education awareness.

According to a married male FGD Multan; “Auratien bari tezzi se age barh rahi hain aur mardon ko unki dominated fields mein challenge kar rahi hain aur is awareness ki bahut bari waja media hai, jo aurton ko unk haq k lie sensitize kar raha hai” (Women are progressing very fast and challenging men in their dominated fields. The media is one of the major reasons for this as it is educating women about their rights).

An important yardstick to gauge societal change is the change in legislation and laws, and efforts to diffuse change across society. Interestingly, a majority of FGD participants linked the changes in the concept of masculinity with new pro-women legislation and laws in recent years, and the media and civil society’s efforts to increase women rights awareness and caretaking. Such trends highlight the fact that masculinity, as a concept, is changing, both, at top and bottom levels of societal hierarchy.

Violence against women has conventionally been a fundamental attribute of masculinity. The decrease in violence, especially in urban areas, was also mentioned by a majority of respondents as sign of change in the construct of masculinity. An increase in the level of education, awareness of pro women laws and legislations, NGOs support to the victims of Domestic violence and acceptance to the empowerment of women as the major reasons behind this decrease.

Married male FGD Islamabad; “Mere samne mard ne aurat ko mara aur us ne police ko call kar di. Police ai aur bande ko utha le kar chali gai. Teen din jail mein rehna k bad us ne muafi mangi to wo reha ho kar aya. Ab ap batien aisa waqia kahin bhi ho jaie

to mard hath uthane se phele eik dafa sochta zarur hai” (I witnessed a man hitting a woman, and the woman called the police. He was imprisoned for three days and freed only once he apologized to her. Now whenever such a situation will come up, men will think twice before being violent towards women).

Marreid femle FGD AJK; “Ab agr kahin aurat per zulm ho raha hota hai to woh NGO walon ko phone kar deti hai jo foran uski madad k lie ponch jate hain” (Now if violence occurs with any woman anywhere, she calls the NGO representatives and they reach the site to rescue her).

Gender roles are now being redefined and fewer traditional gender roles (cooking, washing, child rearing) are being followed. (However, westernization is morally and ethically destroying our society.

It is important to note the observation of the positioning of women’s role in the evolution of masculinity. Male FGDs participants believed that women were challenging the concept of masculinity, whereas female FGD participants called it a struggle for their rights. One can say that male participants are part and parcel of this society and have deeply internalized masculinity and could not express themselves without being possessive for their masculinity.

Female FGD AJK; “Phele auratien ro dho k chup kar jati thin ab wo mardon ko rulati hain” (Gone are the days when women would silently cry; now they make men cry).

### 3.2.3 Promotion of Positive Masculine Aspects

#### 3.2.3.1 Findings from Key Informant Interviews

A number of positive aspects of masculinity were expressed by respondents that have been noted in an earlier section of the report. The respondents were asked for their suggestions to promote positive aspects of masculinity. Several important suggestions were given:

The most mentioned avenues of change were changes in the educational curriculum taught in schools, in addition to how mothers treat their children. The curriculum was mentioned to be changed to promote positive masculinity by having children adopt positive language, modification of the content, improve teaching methods, and train teachers to be gender sensitive. Mothers need to stop discriminating amongst boys and girls. As one of the respondents said: *“Mardangi k musbat asrat ko bethar bnane mein aurat ka kardar bahut important hai, Agr wo bache ki tarbiat mein aajazi-o-inkasari dale gi, logon k lie pyar muhabat paida karegi, discrimination ko motivate nai karegi to bahut sare masail hal ho jaiengi. Issi Tarah Schooling bhi important hai”* (Women can play an important role in the promotion of masculinity. If she educates her son with peace, love, tolerance, humbleness, and doesn't motivate discrimination, then lots of masculinity issues can be resolved. Similarly, the schooling of a child is very important).

Respondents also noted the efforts being carried out for this purpose. It was mentioned that curriculum change was already underway in Punjab and the association of masculine traits with men were being removed from textbooks. One respondent from a government education department mentioned the launch of the first gender free English, Urdu, science and math books for early grades.

The second most mentioned instrument of promotion of positive aspects of masculinity was women's education. Increased attention, at policy and society level, towards the women's education was considered key in enhancing positive aspects of masculinity. The use of media in gender sensitization, generating discussion, debate and discourse around the positive aspects of masculinities, advocacy for change through laws and policies, correct interpretations of religious injunctions, civic education, men's capacity building for gender equitable practices and behaviors, and gender sensitization campaigns were frequently mentioned approaches to

encourage positive aspects of masculinity in Pakistan.

Behavioral change campaigns targeting societal institutions such as the family, education, religion, and media to increase pro-women practices and behaviors was suggested. Efforts to encourage the participation of women in different walks of life, the promotion of culture of love, tolerance and kindness, changes in feudal practices and positive image building of men were also repeatedly mentioned in KILs.

Some of the respondents also mentioned that extensive research was required in the field of masculinity to describe its relationship with different roles (son, father, brother, husband), how it effects these roles and relationships, and, how it's dynamics function at a sub-culture level and interact with other societal institutions.

### 3.2.3.2 Findings from Focus Group Discussions

Demand for equal education, employment, freedom, and decision to marry and in family matters and division of resources summarized as building of a gender balanced society was mentioned most by the FGDs conducted with females. Male FGDs findings also suggested that education is important for both men and women.

Change in behavior of men such as men should be moderate, and keep balance in attitude and behaviors by promoting tolerance, patience, cooperation and ability to listen, understand and accept others point of view in case of other person is right were mentioned most in FGDs conducted with male.

A change in the behavior of men, such as moderation of behaviours and attitudes, being tolerant, patient, cooperative and accepting was recommended.

Respondents also believed that by studying religion in its correct form, people could internalize positive traits that would, in turn, benefit society and the belief about masculinity.



Abbotabad male FGD; “*Hamara deen mukamal zabta-e-ikhlaq hai jee us mein sub mojud hai k hum ne kis se kaisa bartao karna hai, agar hum samjhien to* (Our religion tells us everything about how to behave with other, if we try to understand it).

### 3.2.4 An Ideal Masculine Response towards the Stressful Situations in Life

#### 3.2.4.1 Findings from Key Informant Interviews

When the respondents were asked about the ideal masculine response towards a stressful situation in life, they said the following:

- Don't lose hope
- Accept mistakes
- Keep trying to achieve your targets
- Learn lessons from your mistakes, and don't repeat them
- Be firm in the decisions you take and think logically about what the next step should be
- Be patient
- Be courageous

The respondents were specifically asked about the response they expected from a masculine person in instances of emotional events such as deaths and accidents. A majority of respondents believed that a person should demonstrate a balance of emotions, that is, not too much crying but also not too much stiffness and strictness. Crying was considered the natural phenomena, therefore was not encouraged to hold back. However, excessive crying would be more stressful and could prevent a man from being seen as masculine.

A few respondents were also of the view that there was no such thing as “an ideal masculine response” since it was situation dependent. A response that could be considered ideal in one situation may not be perceived as such in another

situation. For example one of the respondents said: “*Agr apk bache ko koi thapar mar jae to aap kya karienge react karienge ya patience se kaam lete hue darguzar kar deinge, 80% ka response aggression aur badla hoga aur 20% bhi wo hain jin mein zyada number unka hoga jo atleast gali to deinge hi*” (If someone hits your child what will be your reaction? Will you react with anger or let the other person walk away? 80% of people will react and 20% will at least use abusive language, if not react aggressively).

Another respondent was quoted as saying; “*Aap showroom se nai gari le kar niklien aur mein apki gari ko takar mar dun to aap mera sir phar deinge ya patience, hope aur emotional control sub kahin gum ho jata hai.*” (If you come out of a car showroom with brand new car, and I hit your car with mine, will you break my head or observe patience? All such feelings of hope and emotional control vanish in stressful situations).

#### 3.2.4.2 Findings from Focus Group Discussions

Some of the responses from FGDs were almost similar to those mentioned by KII respondents. Following were the key responses in FGDs in this regard:

- Observing patience and being tolerant
- Don't give up until you achieve targets/destination
- Don't be aggressive on every second thing and learn to control ones emotion
- Respect other human beings
- Manage time distribution between family, friends/peers and work
- Keep balance in delivering your duties in your relationships
- Don't be nervous
- Remain humble

Married male FGD Multan; “*Hamien bachpan se*

*eik baat sikhai jati hai mard rota nai hai, to ye jumla sum-up kar deta hai k mardangi ka ideal response kya hona chaie*” (From our childhood we have been taught that men never cry. It defines what an ideal masculine response should be).

FGD youth AJK; *“Lamhat kar dat kar muqabla karna, umeed ka daman na chorna, aur apne jazbat per qbau pana hi mardangi ki alamat hai”* (Facing difficult situations bravely and firmly, never losing hope, and controlling one’s emotions are positive masculine responses).

### 3.2.5 Key pressures on an individual to keep his masculinity

#### 3.2.5.1 Findings from Key Informant Interviews

Societal pressure was the most frequently mentioned source of pressure for men with regards to the preservation of their masculinity. Such a pressure emanates from societal expectations that are internalized by individuals. A male remains under the pressure to fulfillment of these roles throughout his life.

Some of the expectations that have to be fulfilled by a male are as follows:

- Be powerful and show strength
- Be a hard worker
- Be a decision maker
- Be brave
- Be aggressive
- Be responsible
- Do not express emotions
- Be respectful towards women
- Be dominant
- Be problem solver

Struggle and fight, but don’t lose your honor

A closer look at the role expectations highlight

that a male has to withstand pressures that are associated with leadership, stewardship, management, protection, and responsibility. Above all most of these pressures extend throughout a man’s life up until death. Irrespective of old age, a man is required to maintain and exercise his power in order to fulfill his obligations.

What embodies these pressures and how are they communicated to individuals? A majority of the respondents stated that socialization of masculinity began from mothers who instill societal demands in to their children. Such education is later reinforced by the media and educational curriculum. A person’s peers also played an important role in reinforcing masculine pressures. Such pressure compelled individuals to adhere to norms of masculinity.

Furthermore, economic pressure was mentioned also powerful since men were responsible for the financial survival of his family in order to maintain power in society.

#### 3.2.5.2 Findings from Focus Group Discussions

As in KIIs, the FGD respondents also mentioned societal pressures..To prove his male identity was one of the biggest pressures faced by a man. This included a man’s responsibility to earn, provide security for his family, feed them and provide them with the basic amenities. Being a sole bread winner a man is pressured throughout of his life.

Married female Pishin; *“Aadmi ka rol eik ghar mein sarbarah, mazbut satun ki tarah hota hai jo ghar ko control karte, akhate rakhta hai, aur apne ghar walon ki zaruriyat mein balance kar pata hai.”* (The role of a man is like a leader and a pillar of the home. He exhibits control in the home, unites everyone and fulfills the needs of everyone by keeping a balance).

Married male FGD Lahore; *“Mardan wal kam kareya kar, ki har vele zananiyan wal kam to nasna aien”* (Work like men, don’t run from it like women).

Married women FGD Mirpurkhas; *“Faisle to mard*

*hi karte hain unka hi kaam hai jee unko hi acha agta hai*” (Decisions are always made by men, and it is their work).

Youth FGD AJK; *“Agr apk pass job nai hai, paisa nai hai, safarish aur tagrey resources nai hain to mard ki is society mein koi jaga nai hai ajkal*” (A man has no place in this society if he doesn’t have a job, money, and some influential support or resources).

FGD male Islamabad; *“Agr doston k lie time na nikalo to dost khete hain ka run mureed ho gaya hai, aur doston ko tym do to biwi kheti hai k apk lie apke dost bahut important hain*” (If you don’t spend time with your friends, they say that you’ve become a slave to your wife. If you spend too much time with your friends, your wife will say that your friends are important to you than me).

FGD married male Abbottabad; *“Hamare andar violence ko sub se zyada hawa peers hi dete hain khud beshak biwi k neech lagae hue honge per hamien sabaq dete hain k biwi ko daba kar rakho nai to wo tum per havi ho jaiegi aur beja ki rok tok karegi*” (Peers are a triggering factor for the violence in man. Even if they themselves are slaves to their wives, they will teach you to keep your wife under your control, so that you don’t get influenced and prevented from doing things

A majority of the respondents stated that there was no religious pressure on men to maintain his masculinity. Conversely, religion was perceived to provide men with solutions to fulfill their societal duties.

### 3.3 Masculinity and Gender Based Violence

#### 3.3.1 Correlation between Masculinity and GBV

##### 3.3.1.1 Findings from Key Informant Interviews

A majority of respondents believed that there was a positive correlation between masculinity and GBV. Aggression in men was considered to be the foremost trigger of male violent behavior, followed by unemployment and pressure to

satisfy his family’s financial demands. Frustration resulting from failure to fulfill these expectations was the third most reported cause of violence.

Respondents also believed that the new trends such as women taking over male roles (behaviors, professions, occupations, economic opportunities), threatened masculinity and male privilege, and in turn, caused violence. However, such a phenomenon was more prevalent in urban areas.

The social acceptance of male violence against women was reported to play a role in the continuation of such practices, since many believed that masculinity required a man to be violent in order to maintain control.

##### 3.3.1.2 Findings from Focus Group Discussions

Participants believed that aggression was significant cause for gender based violence. Inequalities in power and the demonstration of that power to maintain dominance were also mentioned repeatedly. According to an influential FGD participant from Lahore: *“Agar haftey mein eik dafa biwi ko mara jaie to baqi ka hafta sukon se guzarta hai* (If wife is beaten once a week, the rest of the week passes by peacefully).

Most women believed that patriarchy and male domination caused gender based violence. They also stated that in order to control their wives, men were physically and verbally violent.

In the words of one of the respondents *“Ye sari cheezain bhi apna role play karti hain per eik maze ki baat ye hai k tasud ki major waja aurat hoti hai jee. Biwi k roop mein khud bhi mar khatti hai aur mard se ghar walon per bhi karwati hai. Maan k roop mein biwi per karwati hai*” (All these reasons could be reasons for violence, but women are also the reason for violence. As a wife, she gets beaten, and also causes her family to be beaten.

Holding onto decision making functions and imposing decisions was also mentioned as one of the reasons for violence. A majority of male participants, and a few women respondents,

believed that men were violent if women talked too much and posed invalid arguments.

FGD female Peshawar; “*Aurat mar apni zuban ki waja se khata hai, wo bilawaja tur tur na kare to mard hath nai uthata*” (A Woman gets beaten because of her tongue; a man will not hit her if she did not talk unnecessarily).

It was intriguing that FGD participants did not believe that there was a relationship between masculinity and GBV. This is despite the fact that a number of negative traits masculinity were described. This may be due to the internalization of masculine norms, rendering it difficult to be aware of the link.

### 3.3.2 Attributes associated with GBV and Masculinity

#### 3.3.2.1 Findings from Key Informant Interviews

When respondent was probed about particular attributes, their response appeared as shown in the table no 17.

**Table 17: Gender Based Violence and Association with Different Attributes (KII Responses)**

Category	Age	Education	Polygamy, dowry & Social Status	Employment Status	Substance Abuse
KIs	Third most mentioned	Second most mentioned	Fourth most mentioned	Most Mentioned	Fifth most mentioned

**Table 18: Gender Based Violence and its Association with Different Attributes (FGD responses)**

Attributes	FGD Category				Link
	Married Males	Married Females	Influentials	Youth	
Education	***	**	***	***	Strongly
Employment Status	**	***	***	***	Strongly
Age	**	*	**	**	Mildly
Polygamy, Dowry & Social Status	*	**	*	NM	Slightly
Substance Use	*	*	*	NM	Slightly

NM: Not Mentioned

### 3.3.2.2 Findings from Focus Group Discussions

Table 18 highlights the responses of the FGD participants:

## 3.4 Masculinity and Sexuality

The correlation between sexuality and masculinity was explored in this section.

### 3.4.1 Masculine Traits Associated with Sexuality

Table 19 highlights the responses of the key informants regarding sexuality and masculinity:

When the FGD participants were probed about particular traits their response appeared as shown in the table no 20.

**Table 19: Masculinity and Sexuality (KII Responses)**

Category	Sexual Relations	Initiation of Sex	Fertility/ More or male children	Active Participation/ Multiple partners
KIIs	Less than half of the respondents believed that this trait to be masculine	More than half of the respondents mentioned this trait to be masculine (34)	Majority of the respondent does not agree to this trait to be a masculine trait (53)	Majority of the respondents has not mentioned multiple partners as a masculine traits (52)

**Table 20: Link Between Masculinity and Sexuality (FGD Responses)**

Particulars	Married Males	Married Females	Influentials	Youth	FGD Ratings
Sexual relationships (anytime/every time) are masculine	***	**	***	***	Strongly
Initiating sex is masculine	***	**	**	***	Strongly
Having more children or male children is masculine	**	*	**	***	Strongly
Having more sexual relationships is masculine	*	NM	*	*	Slightly

NM: Not Mentioned

### Urban and Rural trends from FGD

It was interesting to see that married females from rural areas believed that initiating sex, and having more male children were symbols of masculinity.



# Chapter - 4

## Discussion, Conclusions and Recommendation

### 4. Discussion, Conclusions and Recommendation

Drawing upon the findings, this section presents a discussion and conclusions about the attributes and perspectives around masculinity in Pakistani society. It also attempts to understand how these attributes are interlinked with gender based violence, and how they impact the lives of men, women, families and society itself. Based upon findings, sets of recommendations have been presented to promote positive aspects of masculinity, and minimize its negative consequences.

#### 4.1 Discussion

##### 4.1.1 Masculinity Definition and Perception

###### 4.1.1.1 Masculinity Definition

Consistent with the existing international discourse [4,5,16], masculinity in Pakistan appears to be a product of complex social processes expressed through the socio-cultural norms, primarily focused on men, and underpinned by a division of power between men and women that benefits men. Although a social construct, masculinity is popularly measured in terms of physical and physiological parameters as well as different behaviors [16]. Pakistani society is no exception. The patriarchal nature of society provides the foundations and cements the edifice of masculinity.

Masculinity may take different shapes in different ethnicities [18, 19, 20]. and so is the case of different sub-cultures of Pakistan. Whereas the overall perception of masculinity remains similar, some variation was observed in urban and rural settings. For instance, urban masculinity requires western style dressing of men, clean shaven or stylish beard whereas rural masculinity includes *shalwar qameez* and moustaches. Expressed

as “Ghabru”, “jat”, “sher” in Punjab, “Kunay”, “*pukhtun sarrayday*”, “*jhalwan sarrayday*” in KP, “*mursmano*”, “*melmadost*”, “*shah meraah*”, *zorawar*/powerful, *badi*/fighter, *shahkarkay*.

Masculinity is usually defined in Pakistan as a set of attributes which are socially constructed and associated with men for their own benefit. It is defined by certain behaviors, looks and traits, and is divided by geography, ethnicity and culture.

To summarize, “Masculinity is perceived as a demi god character who will be tall, muscular, powerful, fight bravely, compete to strive, confident, courageous, tolerate, strong in emotions and provide shelter and security, food, protection for family.”

#### Gender stereotyping

A gender stereotype consists of beliefs about the psychological traits and characteristics of, as well as the activities appropriate to, men or women. When people associate a pattern of behavior with either women or men, they may overlook individual variations and exceptions and come to believe that the behavior is inevitably associated with one gender but not the other. Gender stereotypes are very influential; they affect conceptualizations of women and men and establish social categories for gender. Findings suggest that gender stereotyping also exists in Pakistan. Masculinity is associated with males, although this study has highlighted that there are conflicting realities in urban and rural areas of Pakistan. In urban areas, a shift has been observed in the gender roles and the “One Gender” concept appears to be growing. If capitalized upon, this can be a window of opportunity to catalyze social change using appropriate interventions. In rural areas of Pakistan, consistent with the earlier findings [19], gender stereotyping continues to have a stronghold although hairline cracks have started to appear



due to an increase in gender awareness and education.

According to Lewis (1984) the content of gender stereotypes can be grouped into four separate components that people use to differentiate male from female—traits, behaviors, physical characteristics, and occupations. This study also observed that people in Pakistan differentiate masculinity in terms of male traits, behaviors, and physical characteristics. However, the parameter of occupation (as defined by Lewis) is not considered a masculine attribute in rural areas.

The most prominent masculine traits and behaviors observed in this study can be divided into three different human personality clusters as shown below:

<p><b>Cluster 1: Strength</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Power</li> <li>• Strength</li> <li>• Courage</li> <li>• Aggression</li> <li>• Bravery</li> <li>• Responsibility</li> </ul>
<p><b>Cluster 2: Honor</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Loyalty</li> <li>• Shelter</li> <li>• Independence</li> <li>• Protection</li> <li>• Provider/Breadwinner</li> </ul>

### Cluster 3: Action

- Hardwork
- Decision-Making
- Warrior
- Leader
- Competition
- Problem Solving

Providing and protecting are the key documental global masculine traits (Gregor 1985) and Pakistan is no exception. Masculinity in Pakistan also symbolizes:

**Provider:** Security and provide resources (Food, Shelter)

**Protector:** Defend home, family and territory

Appearances vary according to place and the local culture. Being tall, broad shouldered, healthy, muscular and, to some extent handsome, were nationwide description of a manly man. However, growing a moustache or being clean shaven, wearing shalwar kameez or western clothing varied across urban and rural areas.

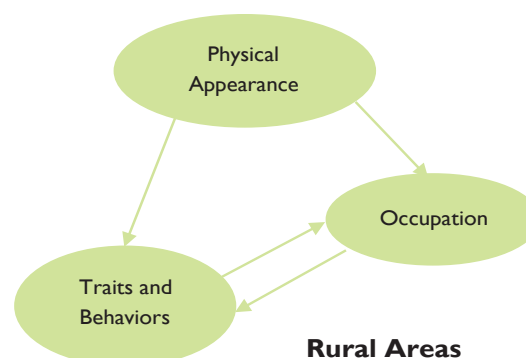
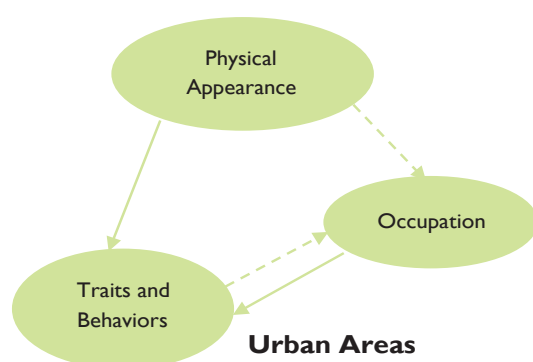
The study observed less occupational stereotyping since women were encouraged to pursue male dominated professions such as the police, army, engineering, hard labor and even the security forces in urban areas. In rural areas, however, there is clear gender segregation by occupation that still exists.

Given above, the Lewis model in Pakistani context will look like (Figure 2):

### Figure 2 Lewis's Model for Gender Stereotyping in Pakistan Urban and Rural Perspective

In urban areas, while physical appearances, traits and behaviors are strongly related and





stereotyped, they are not linked to occupation. That is, people do not view stereotypes for women and men as separate and dichotomous categories, but as probabilistic and overlapping in terms of occupation. In rural areas they are strongly interlinked with each other.

#### 4.1.1.2 Biological Difference or Social Upbringing/Cultural Expectation

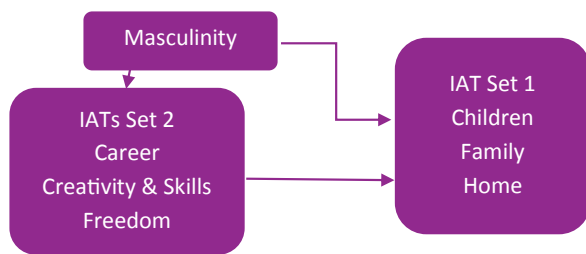
The study found that male and female differences were strongly believed to be due to social upbringing and cultural expectations. Denial of biological differences, however, was not observed throughout the study. Where expressed, biology was related to reproduction and sexual satisfaction for both males and females. How to eat, behave, act, talk and appear masculine are societally determined. Society crafts the role for both males and females and teaches norms through two different mediums: observation and reading. Both of these mediums help to socially nurture. “We are biologically created and socially created” was a common phrase that was observed. Interestingly, it appears that the norms are associated with biology. Beliefs such as “male is the donor and female is the recipient”, and “sperms are active, strong and can live or survive longer than the eggs” were common to hear. Additionally, the roughness and smoothness of male and female bones highlighted the construction of these norms.

#### 4.1.1.3 Implicit Association Traits

A mixed trend surfaced in the findings about masculinity being more related to family, home

and children implicit association traits (IATs) group or with the career oriented, creativity and skills and freedom set of IATs. By and large masculinity was associated with both of the IATs groups. Due to the biological differences, reproduction is the obvious fact related to the men in Pakistan. Upbringing of children is associated more with women, but the provision of food, shelter, protection and all other basic needs of children, wife, parents and siblings are a man’s duty. However, this role is evolving, especially in urban areas of Pakistan. The evolution is a function of several factors. Firstly, women have started sharing these responsibilities by being involved in income generation activities. Secondly, there is a growing realization that for a man to earn respect in society, he must possess a sound career. Also, for a man to protect the family he must have money in his pocket. Next expectation for masculinity is career development for which one must be creative and highly skilled to achieve success. Freedom is also associated with men in our society especially the freedom of expression, career choice, and social activities.

Masculinity is thus viewed as a set of practices which men are expected to exhibit in the contexts of their family, area, work and sub-cultures. Socio-economic positioning profoundly impacts the men’s status in the society and he feels himself as a representative of masculine identity.



**Figure 3 Relationship between Masculinity and two groups of IATs**

So it can be concluded as masculinity is associated with both the Implicit Association Traits set, further as IATs set 2 can also termed as pre requisite to the IAT set 1, as shown in Figure 3.

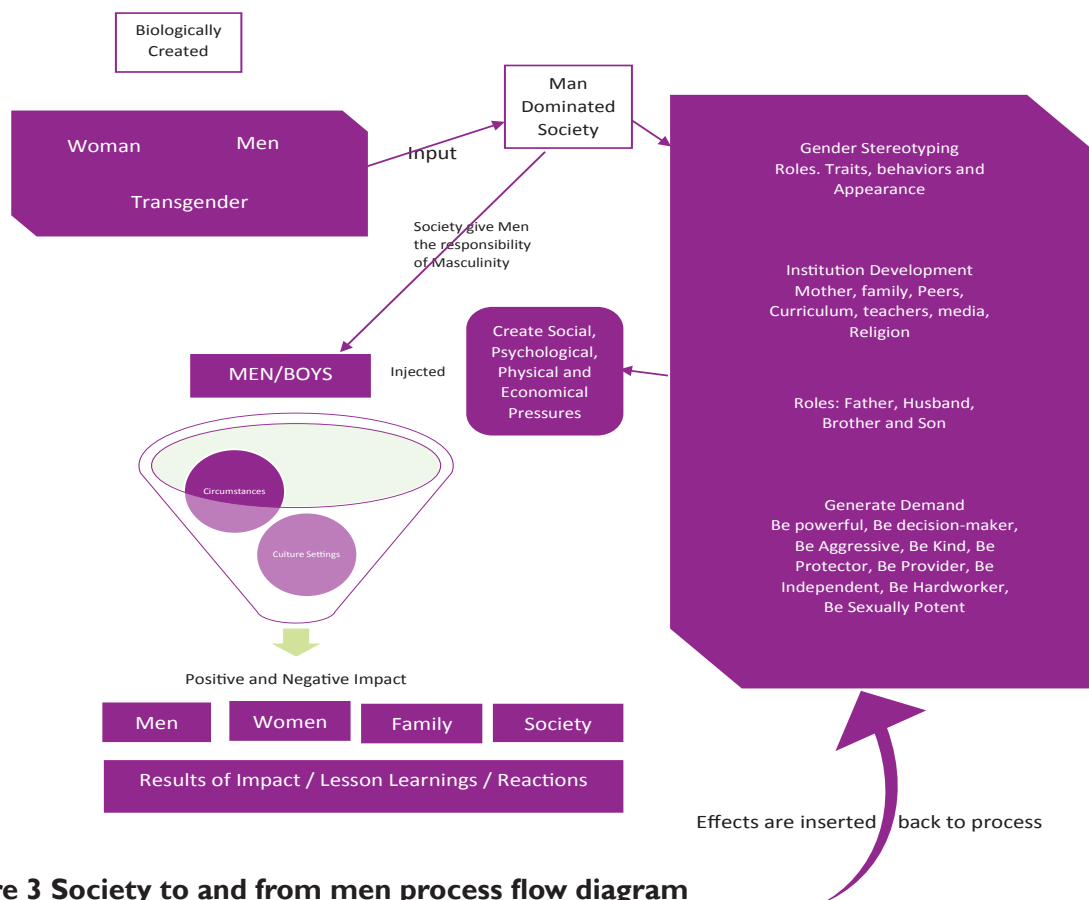
#### 4.1.2 Societal Role and Behaviors

As discussed earlier, masculinity consists of those behaviors, languages and practices, existing in specific cultural and organizational locations,

which are commonly associated with males. We can argue that masculinity underwent structural changes as and when influenced by social norms. It appears that masculinity has evolved in Pakistani society

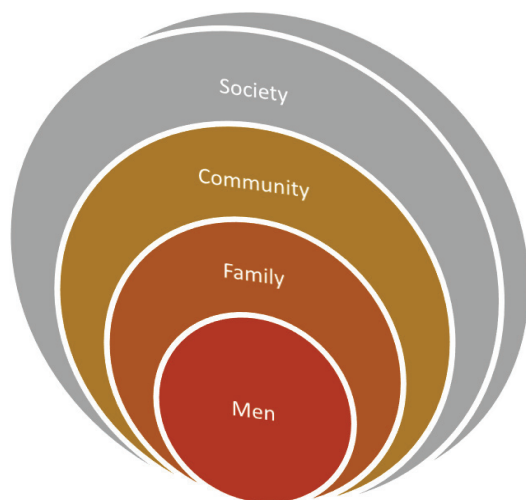
First stage related to “Men dominated Society” where men did not need to prove their identity, second stage was a shift towards hegemonic masculinity which was continuously challenged that resulted in changes in norms and values for proving the identity by men, and in third stage it is being influenced by feminists post-structuralism which is challenging the traditional masculinity in Pakistan urban areas especially big three (Islamabad, Lahore & Karachi).

How masculinity is observed in Pakistan socially can be summarized as shown in Figure 4.



**Figure 3 Society to and from men process flow diagram**

How is masculinity institutionalized in society? Viewing through socio-ecological lens one sees that Masculinity cuts across four layers of Pakistani society.



**Figure 4 Socio-ecological Model of Impact of Masculinity**

The study observed that masculinity; male and female constructs were created biologically and handed over to society by means of gender stereotypical roles, traits, behaviors, and appearances. Society then creates institutions, such as the family, neighborhood, religion, school, workplace, and media, through which these norms are transferred. The most influential institution in Pakistan is mothers, education, religion and the media. Men's societal demands create pressures which he reacts to both positively and negatively.

#### **4.1.3 Masculinity and Gender Based Violence**

Masculinity appears to be a cause and effect of GBV. Predominantly, gender power relations (Masculinity associated with men) have left a legacy whereby women are more likely to be disadvantaged relative to men, have less access to resources, benefits, information and decision making, and to have fewer rights both within the household and in the public sphere. Masculinity in Pakistan is pre dominantly associated with characteristics such as aggressiveness,

dominance, strength, courage and control. These characteristics result from a combination of biological, cultural and social influences, and relate to the power in society as a whole. These traits of masculinity are termed to be the major contributor to the violence happening from men.

Another big reason for the violence particularly in urban areas of Pakistan, are changes in the economy, social structures, and household composition which are resulting in 'crises of masculinity' and causing "demasculinizing" effect. Men, consequently seek affirmation of their masculinity in other ways particularly reported as gender based violence.

#### **4.1.4 Masculinity and Sexuality**

As documented in existing discourse, masculinity and sexuality were found to be associated in Pakistan as well. Sexual promiscuity and prowess is related with being more masculine. The relationship is so strong that the word "mardana kamzoori" generally used to express sexual impotency has been derived from "mard" which means man. Masculinity is also manifested in sexual relationships of men with women for instance it is manly for husband to express the desire for having sex as opposed to female who is not expected to express this desire before her male partner. Similarly, having more male children is also a symbol of masculinity.

In summary, the understanding of masculinity has demonstrated that masculinity is not 'natural'. Instead, it is seen as a gender identity that is socially and culturally constructed, historical and political. It has represented the social and cultural interpretation of maleness learnt through engagement and participation in the society. The understanding of masculinity in modern society has also seen femininity as a threat on masculinity and an evidence of that is the present crisis that men face in the world or work and job roles in the society. On the other hand challenging of masculinity has provoked the violent nature of men, which consequently seen the increase in violence in the society.

4.2 Conclusions

The conclusion in each theme is presented through following infographic:

4.2.1 Masculinity Definition and Perception

rural perspective is concluded in Figure 6.

4.2.1.2 Masculinity association with IATs groups and Bio Vs Socio perspective

Masculinity association in urban and rural

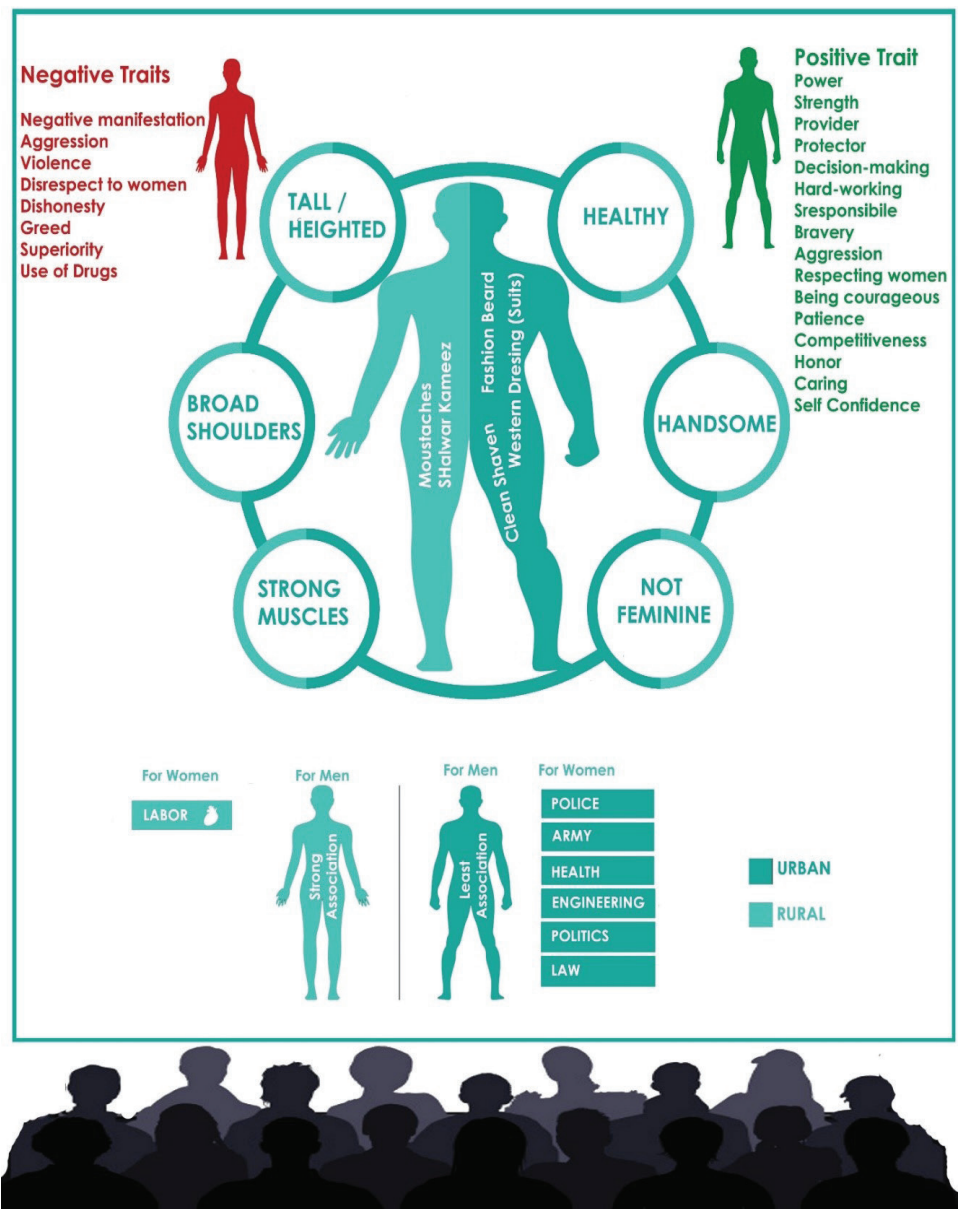
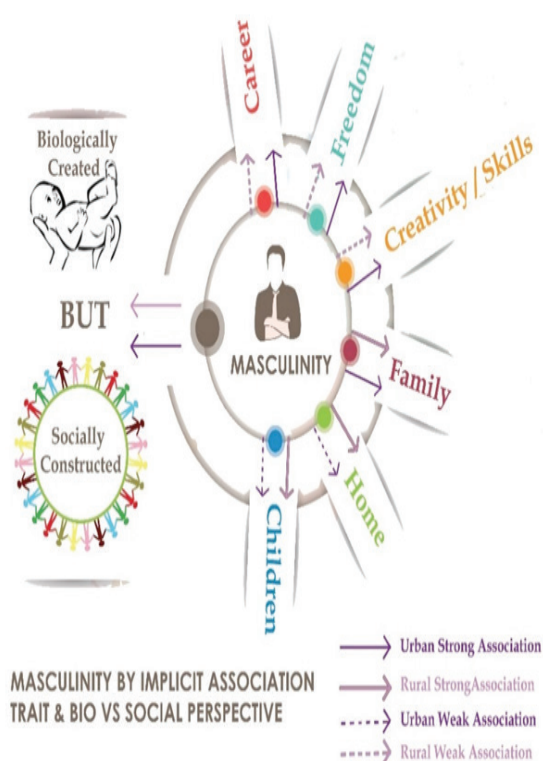


Figure 5 Perception of Masculinity

4.2.1.1 Perception of Masculinity

The perception of the masculinity in the society in terms of traits/behaviors, appearance and occupation, as well as in context of urban and

perspective with six components of Implicit Association Traits (career, freedom, creativity/ skills, family, home and children) and Biological Vs Social perspective is concluded as shown in Figure 7.



### Figure 7 Masculinity by IATs group and Bio Vs Socio perspective



**Figure 8 Masculinity pressures on men**

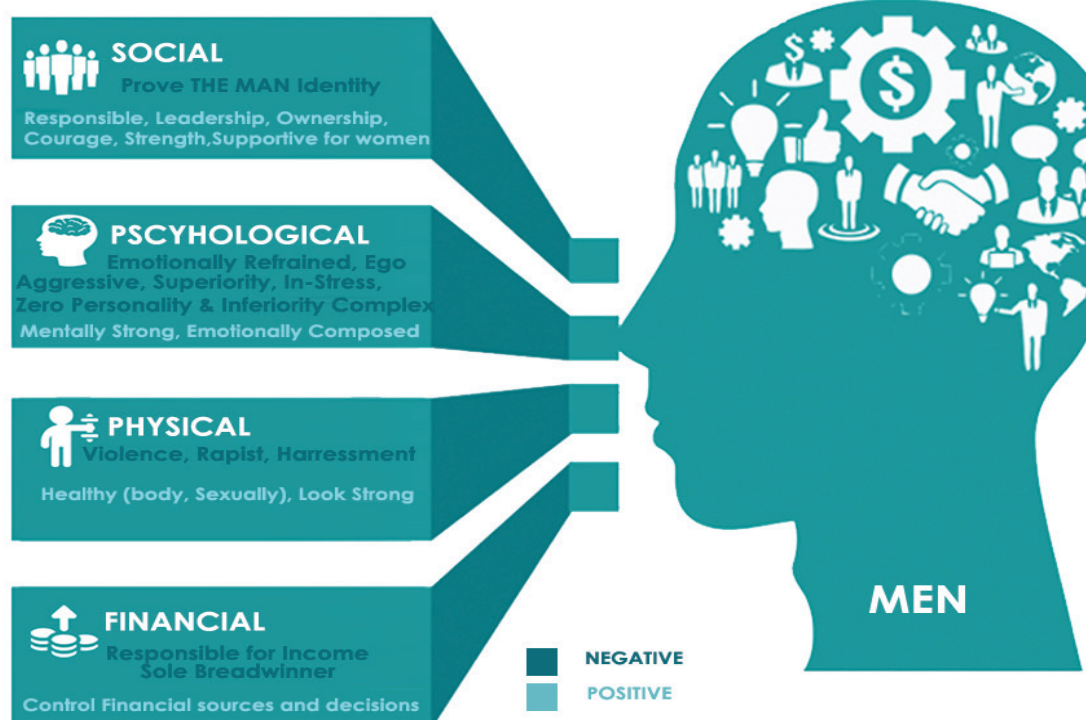
### 4.2.2 Societal Role and Behaviors

#### 4.2.2.1 Social Pressures

Social pressures that a man has to face are instilled by the different institutions, as shown in Figure 8.

#### 4.2.2.2 Impact of Masculinity on Men

Social pressures cause men to pass through certain stages which result in different impact on them. Those impacts are presented in Figure 9.



### Figure 9 Impact of Masculinity on Men



### 4.2.2.3 Impact of Masculinity on Women

Masculinity affects women both positively and negatively, according to the cultural and geographical differences. One major observation was that violence in urban areas was increasing although women were becoming economically strong, free, and educated. The key impacts are as follows:

#### Positive Impact

- Power, decision making and resource sharing examples stated are family planning, sex, problems faced by men outside the home, and property disputes.
- Challenging traditional norms, values and practices like karo kari, watta satta, early and child marriages
- Enabling educational environments: Access and opportunities (more in urban areas, but increasing in rural areas as well)
- Increased level of women's rights awareness— protection, shelter, laws
- Increased women's economic empowerment (particularly in urban

- areas and to some extent in rural areas)
- Feelings of security and belongingness, confidence, productivity and support.
- Women are allowed to marry by choice, build careers and occupations which were perceived to be male dominated.

#### Negative Impact

- Increase in violence due to women's economic stability, internal arguments
- Less Increase in demands for equal rights and opportunities in Rural Areas.
- Limited opportunities to speak, make decisions, seek education and professional work, particularly in rural areas.
- Promotion of passive personality characteristics (limited opportunities for marriage by choice, not allowed to speak in case of rights violation)
- Promotion of the traditional role of women (cooking, looking after children, source of sexual gratification for men)
- Raped and sexual assault

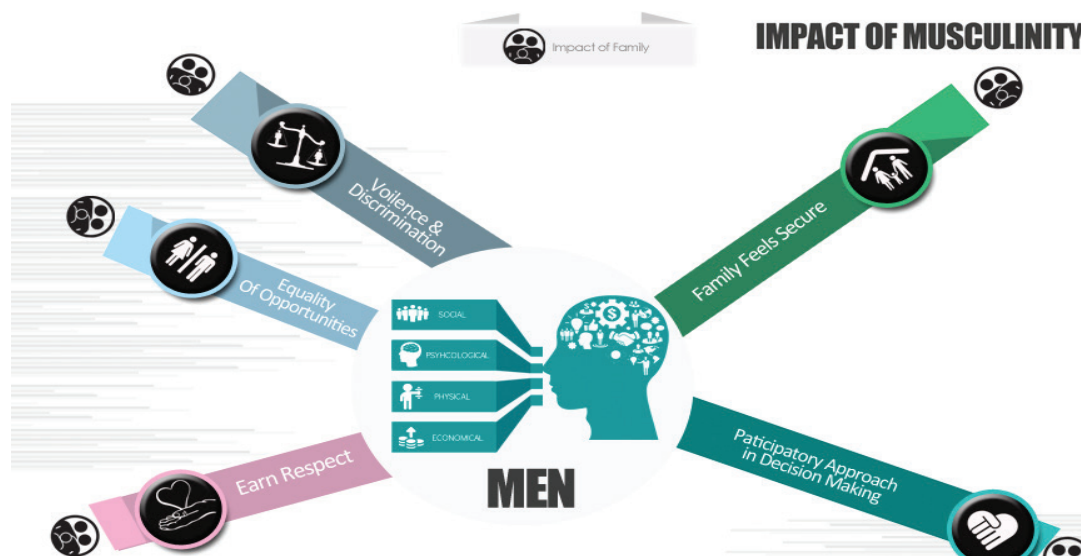


Figure 10 Impact of Masculinity on Family

- Women are deprived of resources
- Psychological trauma, physical ailments, limited access to family planning and sexual and reproductive health treatments

#### 4.2.2.5 Impact of Masculinity on Society

Masculinity effects on society are concluded as shown in the Figure 11.

#### 4.2.2.4 Impact of Masculinity on Family

Impacts of Masculinity on family are concluded as shown in the figure 10.

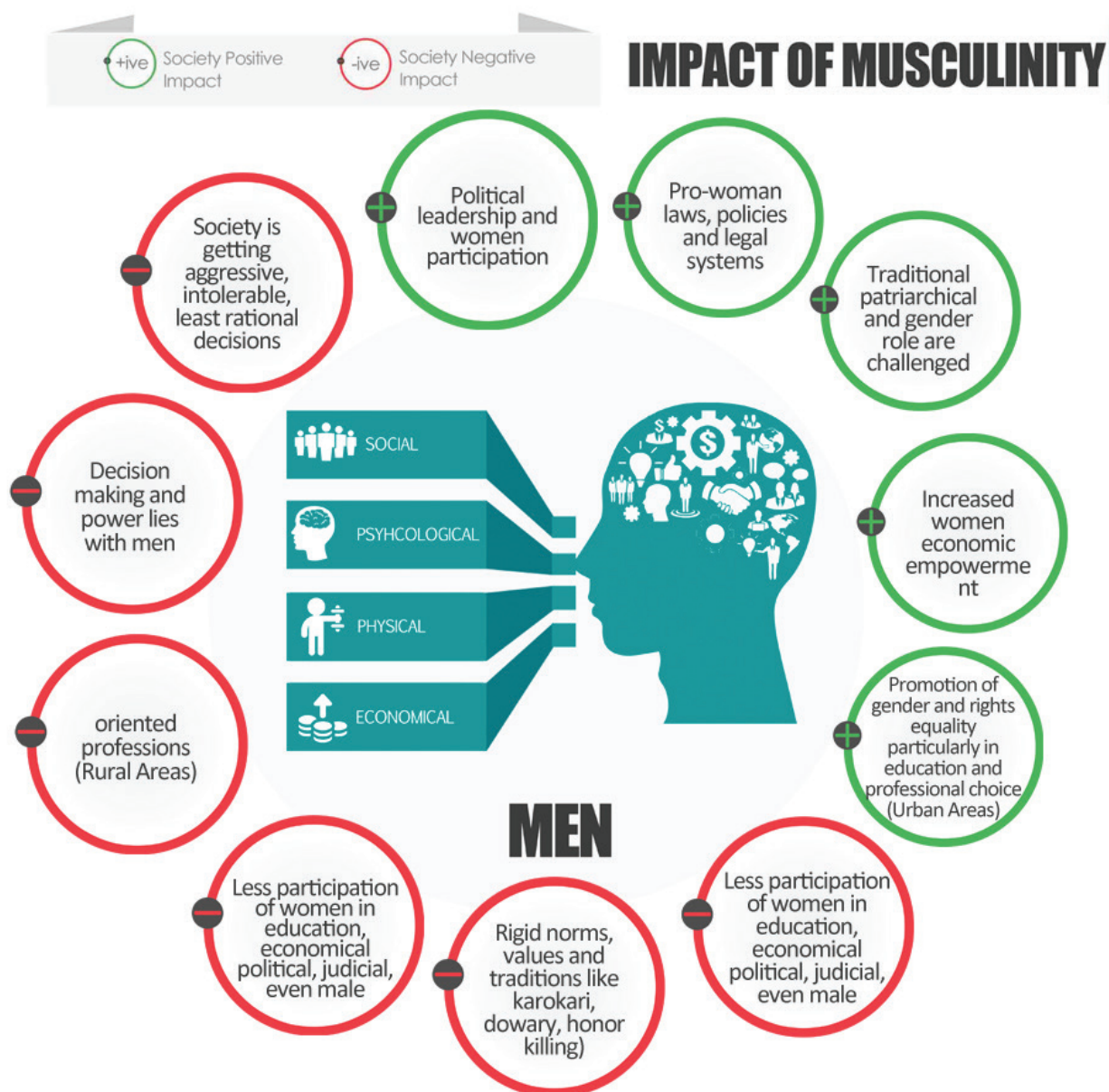


Figure 11 Impact of Masculinity on Society

#### 4.2.2.6 Masculine Response in Stressful Situation

The ideal Masculine responses in a stressful situation collated from study are represented in Figure 12.

#### 4.2.2.7 Positive Masculine Aspects to be Enhanced

The ways to enhance the positive masculine aspects in the society are shown in Figure 13.

#### 4.2.2.8 Evolution of the Masculinity

Masculinity underwent different change over the past few years. These changes can be concluded as shown in table no 21.

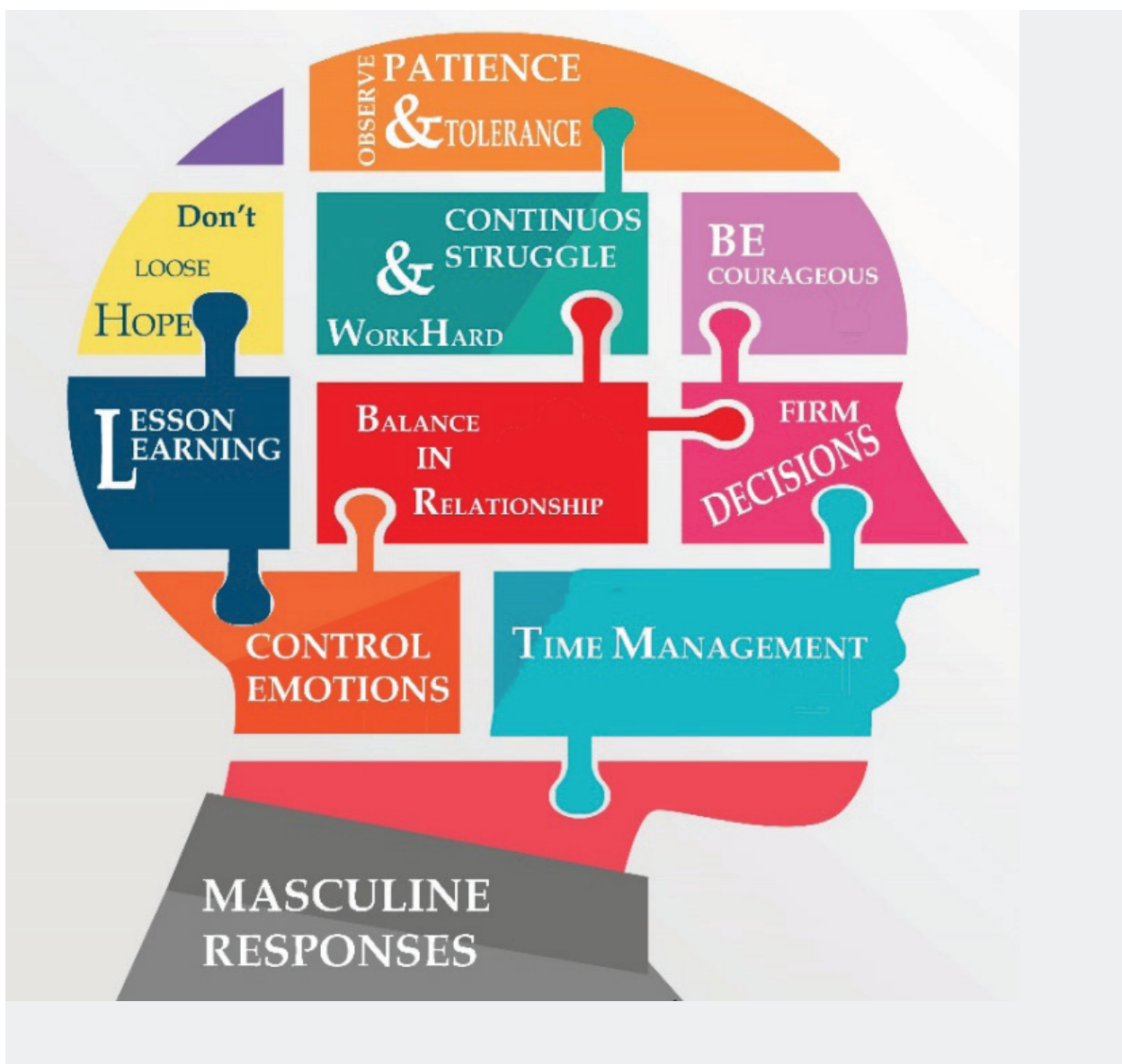


Figure 12 Masculine' response in stressful situations





Figure 13 Ways to enhance the positive aspects of masculinity

Table 21: Evolution of the Masculinity

Before	After
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Less Education for both men and women</li> <li>• Less Awareness of the rights</li> <li>• Lack of technology, no existence of information on gender</li> <li>• Media was not sensitizing the gender at all.</li> <li>• Gender roles wasn't being challenged</li> <li>• Women were not taking on male dominated professions (Police, army, health, engineering)</li> <li>• Women were not participating in decision making process at any level (household, familial, community and society)</li> <li>• Women were killed and bartered for power and resources</li> <li>• Women wasn't economic stable</li> <li>• Women were not part of judicial and political infrastructure</li> <li>• Father figure was a symbol of fear</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Education status is increasing (frequently in urban areas and gaining pace in rural areas)</li> <li>• Today it is Information age due to which the bar of awareness about the right are continuously raising</li> <li>• Media is playing role in gender sensitization</li> <li>• Gender roles has been challenged and re-defined</li> <li>• Women are entering in male dominated professions (police, army, engineering) but harassment increases</li> <li>• Women are participating in decision making (Domestic violence increases)</li> <li>• Traditional norms are being challenged.</li> <li>• Women are getting economic stable</li> <li>• Women can be seen in judicial and political infrastructure</li> <li>• Father figure changed a lot as more and more debate happenings</li> </ul>

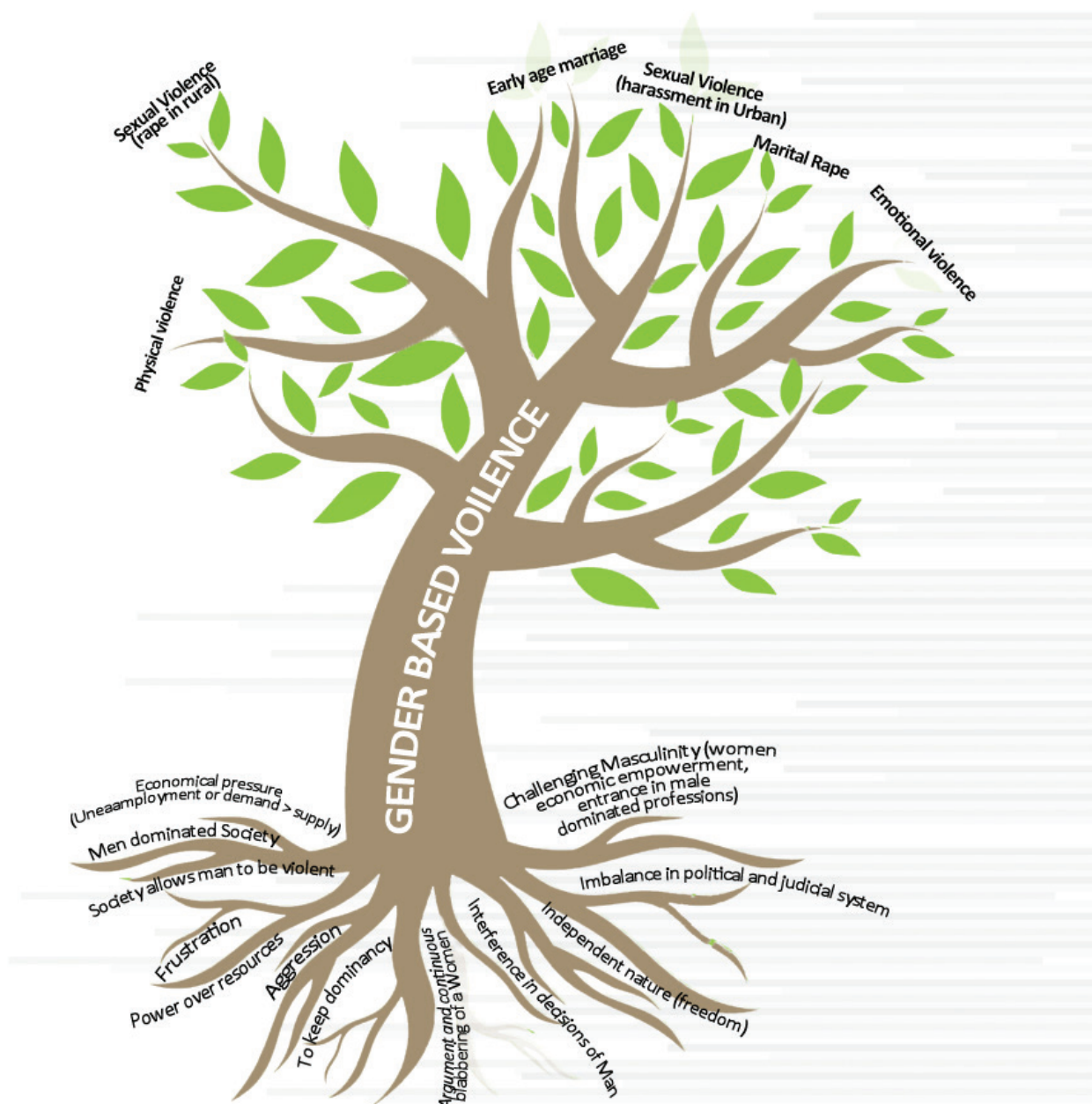


Figure 14 Cause and effect relationship between masculinity and gender based violence

### 4.3 Image of Masculine Personality

Masculinity is perceived as the socially constructed element which possesses certain appearance, behavior, traits and skills mostly associated with men. It varies on the basis of geography, ethnicity and culture. Strong association of masculinity with men is observed in rural sector then in urban sector. Appearance of masculinity is mostly perceived as appearance

of men. Physical appearance such as tall heighted, broad shoulders, strong muscles, body hair, healthy, not-feminine and handsome were the common findings while moustaches, shalwar kameez and traditional cultural clothes for rural and clean shave or fashion beard and western clothing (suits, pent & shirt) for urban were the sectoral findings. Socially the masculinity can be termed as provider, protector, loyal, leader, respecting women, honest and kind and having

good heart while psychologically it is termed as hard worker, decision maker, competitor, consistent, responsible, aggressive, courageous, and emotionally restrained and solution finder.

Summarily put, perception of masculinity can be concluded as:

- Traditional definition of masculinity prevails all over Pakistan
- Masculinity is primarily seen as gender stereotyping to men.
- Masculinity is more focused around the positive traits of traditional masculinity component i.e. Men.

Besides the characteristics of men that are socially constructed masculinity in Pakistan can be depicted as:

- Being macho, heroic and ideal.
- Controlling the emotion and feelings (don't cry at any occasion, don't be sad)
- Using powers i.e. muscular, decision making, controlling etc.
- Using violence and force to control women and society
- Making bold decisions for himself and family, being rigid and firm in all situations and circumstances
- Being sexually active, potent and fit to reproduce, prove others that he is "manly man" with sexual promiscuity.
- Fulfilling the protector's role and remaining shield for family
- Providing food, shelter and other basic needs to family
- Striving for career and fighting to earn socially perceived "rights"
- Using resources and aggression to control situations

- Proving his ability to demonstrate manhood whenever required.
- Exercising his freedom by less answering to those who are weak and expressing his expression of interest more
- Choosing and adopting specific profession (soldiers, engineers, doctor) for which he is appreciated.

#### 4.4 Recommendations

- Masculinity has positive traits which need to be capitalized on to gain social stability and reformation to improve tolerance and patience for a more peaceful and harmonious co-existence of both the genders. .
- Masculinity underlies gender based violence and is, both, a direct and indirect cause of GBV. It can trigger as well as aggravate other factors, such as unemployment, poverty and conflicts responsible for GBV. Efforts to control GBV should focus on minimizing the effects of masculinity on GBV.
- There is a changing trend that masculinity is no more denial of women rights. In many places especially in urban settings masculinity does refer to getting rights such as education to women. Such traits of masculinities need to be amplified in society especially given the observation that women economic empowerment is also being reacted to as a challenge to masculinity resulting into violence against women.
- Women education and media appear to be key levers of change that can help diffusion of the positive masculinities in societies at large. Positive masculinity needs to be branded and promoted as a life style approach hooked with the honor aspirations of the society.
- Along with promotion of the positive

traits of masculinity, efforts will be required to lower the pressures on men for keeping their masculinity intact. Socio-ecological model provides a good explanation as how the masculinity traits, behaviours, appearance and occupation are institutionalized at the society, community and family levels. The efforts to change these will have to be targeted at all these levels. An enabling environment will be required to help males get rid of the pressures attached with the social expectations from them.

- Changes will be required in the curriculum for diffusing gender neutral values in the society along with focus on the first training institute of a child i.e. mothers.
- A trivial balance will be required to be observed while promoting the positive traits of masculinity lest those also turn into pressures on males resulting into chaos and identity crises of the individuals.
- Change process has initiated, it needs to be catalyzed and strengthened in urban areas. However, more efforts will be needed in rural settings.
- The study in hand is first national study on masculinities which explored various dimensions of the concept. More research is needed to further improve the understanding on the subject in following key areas:
  - Masculinity in different sub cultures given the fact that Pakistan hosts a heterogeneous society.
  - Masculinity is associated with men. There is a sheer need of exploring all the social and psychological aspects of masculinity in all roles it is being observed i.e. father, brother, son and husband. A deeper understanding will be required

for each of the key roles that man is expected to play at family, community and society level.

- More research will be required on 4 types of masculinities i.e.
- The study does not hint towards any role of religion in masculinity construct and practices. This however further needs to be explored especially in the rural context where masculinity's traditional concept is still upheld.
- There is a need to explore how masculinity manifests itself in political, economic and judicial structures of the society.
- In contrast to anecdotal evidence, local and scientific evidence base needs to be strengthened on the impact of engaging men in different activities of gender sensitization and capacity building around gender equity.

# Annexures

## Annex I Focus Group Discussion and Key Informants

### Introduction

Asslam O Alaikum: My name is .....We have come to you on behalf of an organization which works for the betterment of Gender Empowerment and Rights. The purpose of today's discussion is to collect information from you with regards to a research study which aims to learn the different aspects and normative understanding of Masculinities in Pakistan. We appreciate your willingness to share your time with us in this regard. The information you give us will help us develop/improve programs to improve Gender Empowerment and eliminate the Gender based violence as well as the Situation of Men in Society. What you say here is confidential. We are interested in hearing your experiences: your name will not be included in any reports. The discussion may take 1- 2 hrs. Your participation in this discussion is voluntary. Before or during the discussion if you wish to leave, you are free to do so. There will be no objection and you will not have any kind of obligation in this regard. I will be moderating this discussion. \_\_\_\_\_ will be recording the discussion (if you allow) and taking notes.

Now if you all agree can we start?

(Have each participant introduce him or herself by name.)

### Definition and Perception of Masculinity

Q1: What do you understand of the term masculinity?

Q2: Is masculinity defined by traits, by personality 'type', or looks?

Which of the following do you associate with femininity (Probe=> Physical Appearance, Traits, Behaviors, Occupation)

Q3: Is masculinity characterized by values of (IAT)

career, freedom and creative work, or family, home, children

Q4: Is the difference in the perception between men and women a function of their biological differences? Or is it a result of differences in socialization/upbringing or the cultural expectations held for each sex?

(Probe for differences)

Q5: What are the positive traits of masculinity

Q6: What are the negative traits of masculinity

### Societal Roles/ Behavior

Q7-What is the impact of masculinity on men themselves

(Probe=>negative and positive aspects of this identity, give examples)

Q8-What is the impact of masculinity on women

(Probe=>negative and positive aspects of this identity, give examples)

Q9-What is the impact of masculinity on family

(Probe=>negative and positive aspects of this identity, give examples)

Q10-What is the impact of masculinity on society

(Probe=>negative and positive aspects of this identity, give examples)

Q11-How can positive aspects be enhanced (probe=> how can they benefit society)

Q13-What are the reasons (traits/role) that give a bad name to masculinity

Q14-How has the concept of masculinity evolved/changed over the last 10 years (Probe=> how men and women are challenging masculine identity, emerging variances in gender roles, give examples)

Q15:What is an ideal masculine response towards the stressful situations in life?

Probes:

- Interpersonal clash/ disagreement
- Failure to achieve targets
- Unemployment
- Work stresses
- Relationship stresses
- Emergencies/deaths

Q16:What are key pressures on an individual to keep his masculinity?

- Probes:
- Society
- Family
- Peer
- Economic
- Religious

Q18: How do you think following attributes have their effects on masculinity and Gender Based Violence?

- Age; education; marital/co-habitation status; polygamy & dowry; stress and reactions associated with employment status, substance abuse

### **Sexuality**

Q19: Do you think men wanting sexual relations anytime with their wives, is a masculine trait?

Q20: Do you think a man initiating sex, is a masculine trait?

Q21: Are having more/male children a symbol of masculinity

Q22: Is it considered masculine to have multiple sexual relationships at the same time

### **Violence/GBV**

Q17:What is the co-relationship between masculinity and Gender Based Violence?



# Annex 2

Key Informant Interview Guidelines; specific categories

## Common question to be asked in all KIIs

- Are you aware of any intervention/study/ research/article on femininity?

## Specific questions

- Psychologists (working in Social Welfare Departments, District Hospitals and private clinics)
  1. What is the general understanding of masculinity?
  2. How is masculinity affected (positively or negatively) by socio-economic and/or geographic background, and educational levels?
    - Higher social economic background
    - Lower social economic background
    - Urban
    - Rural
    - Educated (primary level or higher)
    - Uneducated
- Sociologists/gender specialist (Teachers in Sociology /Gender Departments of Universities: Punjab University, Quaid-e-Azam University, Karachi University, SZABIST, Islamia University, University of Baluchistan and other private universities)
  1. What is the general understanding of masculinity?
  2. How is masculinity affected (positively or negatively) by socio-economic and/or geographic background, and educational levels?
    - Higher social economic background
    - Lower social economic background
    - Urban
    - Rural
    - Educated (primary level or higher)
    - Uneducated
- Health Care Providers/Hakeems
  1. What elements of physical appearance are generally considered feminine and which ones are not?
  2. What are the most significant concerns of women regarding masculinity?
- School Teachers
  1. How is masculinity affected by education levels?
  2. What is the role of school/curriculum in determining masculinity? How does it impact masculinity?
- Individuals working with GBV survivors – Edhi, shelters, lawyers, etc.
  1. Do you know about any laws on violence against women? Please elaborate
  2. What type of violence do women face inside the home?
  3. What is the impact of violence against women in the home?
  4. Do women face violence outside the home? Can you give examples?
  5. What is the impact of violence against women outside the home?
  6. How can this be stopped and eventually prevented? Should the government do anything? What should it do?

What can women do to protect themselves?

- Media representatives/film and drama script writers
  1. What is the role of media in determining masculinity?/What are the different ways in which the media manifests women's sexuality?
  2. How do you see women being projected in media?
  3. Do you agree with the way women are projected in the media?
  4. How should masculinity be depicted in the media?
- Government Departments, other Institutions & key stakeholders
  1. How effective are the policies/laws/ legislations protecting/promoting the rights of women in Pakistan? What would your recommendation be in terms of making it more enforceable?
  2. What would you personally like to advocate for?



# Annex 3

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