



Comparative Analysis of Masculinity & Femininity in Pakistan

A Qualitative Study





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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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SEBCON would also like to thank its Executive Director, Mr. Kamran Sadiq, for coordinating and facilitating the process of writing up the study with his trademark professionalism and efficiency. Mr. Sajjad Aslam of SEBCON deserves special praise and thanks for painstakingly formatting the various versions of the study and working closely with the consultants to produce various tables and format figures in the study. In addition other personnel from SEBCON are thanked for their efforts and contributions.

Last, but not least, SEBCON would like to thank the Aurat Foundation for commissioning this comparative analysis, providing feedback and finalizing it. We would like to extend our appreciation to Ms Johdah Bokhari, Director, Monitoring, Evaluation & Research and Ms Muneezeh Khan, Research Specialist from GEP, Aurat Foundation who maintained close contact with us and provided support through the course of this study. SEBCON wishes to thank The Asia Foundation as well for facilitating the contractual part of the assignment.



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Acronyms & Abbreviations

CEDAW Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

CNIC Computerized National Identity Card

FGD Focus Group Discussion

GBV Gender Based Violence

GEP Gender Equity Program

GIFS Global Initiative for Father Support

IAT Interactive Associative Test

KII Key Informant Interview

KP Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

SEBCON Socio-economic and Business Consultants

SGBV Sexual and Gender Based Violence

TAF The Asia Foundation

VAW Violence Against Women

Executive Summary

The USAID-supported Gender Equity Program (GEP) jointly implemented by Aurat Foundation and The Asia Foundation (TAF) undertook two parallel research studies entitled "Formative Research on Femininity in Pakistan" and "Formative Research on Masculinities in Pakistan" in 2015. These research studies explored the socio-economic context and relations that individually shape the perceptions of women and men, their lives and experiences in Pakistan.

The specific aim of this Comparative Analysis is to undertake a desk review of the femininity and masculinity studies conducted by GEP; collate findings from both studies; prepare a report to include key findings from the desk review, focus group discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews (KIIs); and provide a comparative analysis with conclusions and recommendations. Both the Studies were used as the main source for this comparative analysis.

The main purpose of this consultancy is to write an integrated report by analyzing the data compiled in the Femininity and Masculinity Studies. In terms of methodology used for the comparative analysis, the consultants held an initial planning meeting with Aurat Foundation to ensure that all parties have a common understanding of the technical inputs required of the consultants. A table of contents for the comparative analysis was approved by Aurat Foundation before undertaking the Study. The co-authors read both the studies in detail and then reviewed the key themes within each section of the study. They identified key themes and patterns; for example, the literature review in both studies was read, discussed and key themes identified. A comparative analysis was undertaken on the basis of those pre-identified themes and patterns where the data was quoted from each study and relevant descriptions were noted down, and then summarized with the key findings and quotations to illustrate the point and an analysis was provided at the end.

Based on the findings, the consultants developed recommendations and a conclusion which are presented in the last chapter.

Both the Studies were centered on four key themes:

i) The theme of definitions and perceptions of femininity and masculinity provides a discussion on definitions; the role of traits and behaviors; physical appearance; occupation; biological determination versus social construction; the Interactive Association Test; and positive and negative traits of femininity and masculinity. The evidence is based on the primary data collected through the FGDs and KIIs in both the Femininity and Masculinity Studies. Overall, the perceptions of masculinity and femininity relate to the traditional notions of gender stereotyping in many areas of Pakistan where the fieldwork was conducted. Men and women are often stereotyped in their archetypical attributes where, men are considered to be physically strong, assertive/aggressive, objective and rational; whereas women are considered to be physically weak, passive/gentle, subjective and emotional. Again, it is worth emphasizing that such descriptions of male and female attributes perpetuate certain gender-based stereotypes. In reality, there could be women who are assertive, objective and rational and men who are emotional, subjective and passive. The positive traits of femininity and masculinity should be encouraged and the negative traits be dis-incentivised through societal norms, state policies and laws. If the mothering instincts of women lead them to being better human beings, it must be celebrated as long as it does not perpetuate a "sacrificing woman" stereotype and come in the way of them pursing successful careers. Similarly, if positive traits of masculinity lead men to be protectors and providers for their families, it is worth taking note of their

- sense of responsibility. However, at the same time, it is important to note that young boys should not be socialized in ways that put undue pressure on them to be providers for their families. As such pressure is un-healthy and could lead to aggressive tendencies or pent-up anger.
- ii) The theme of societal roles and behaviors in terms of the impact of femininity and masculinity on men, women, family, and society are explored in detail from the FGD and KII responses of both Studies. Femininity has a positive impact on individuals, families and society and the role of childbearing is a positive aspect of femininity which should not be undermined. Masculinity effects women both positively and negatively and has cultural and geographical variations. Women in urban areas are becoming economically stronger and receiving education and exercise relatively more freedom than those in rural areas. In terms of the impact of femininity and masculinity on women it was found that women are nurturers caring for their homes and families; gave importance to how they dress and look; and that positive masculinity by men impacted women positively in terms of education, status and family security. Negative impact included jealousy and seeing themselves as weak and inferior. In the impact of femininity and masculinity on men, the general impact on men was positive as the presence of women in men's lives is a plus factor due to their role as mother's and being the uniting force behind the family. Both women and men described the negative attributes as jealousy, aggression, and a tendency to gossip. Men also considered women physically weaker than themselves and wanted to control and subordinate them. Masculinity and femininity affected both positively and negatively.
- The theme of Gender-based Violence (GBV) discusses the co-relation of masculinity and femininity with GBV explaining the types

- of violence and its particular attributes associated with femininity and masculinity. In the Masculinity Study, employment status is the major attribute associated with GBV whereas in the Femininity Study, it is education and substance abuse. The least important factor in the Masculinity Study is substance abuse whereas in the Femininity Study it is polygamy, dowry and social status. It has been found that in cases of GBV the experiences of women are not believed when they are reported and how this is a symptom of the structural causes of GBV that permeates all levels of society. The lack of visibility and the under-representation and/or absence of women's voices in the mainstream maintains' the widespread incidence of GBV across all regions and classes.
- iv) The theme of sexuality discusses consenting to sexual relations and initiating sex; fertility and its association to femininity and masculinity; and the relationship of sexuality with masculinity and femininity based on FGD and KII responses. Overall, both the Femininity and Masculinity Studies state using their respondents' voices that consenting to sexual relations is feminine and initiating sex by men is masculine. However, the Femininity Study also recorded some mixed responses and also found association of femininity with bearing children. The prevalent perception in society associates femininity with fertility; and the ability to procreate and being sexually powerful as a major attribute of masculinity. It is also associated with having more male children. Female and male sexuality needs to be looked at in the context of patriarchal and feudal culture in countries like Pakistan. Women's bodies are turned into sexual objects in patriarchal societies and are subject to male, familial and societal control. Sexuality was construed, overall, in the backdrop of a patriarchal setup and there were signs that with the socio-political and economic changes evident in society, these

sexuality related stereotypes would also begin to evolve and change.

This analysis drew from the literature review as well as the fieldwork-supported four thematic chapters as described above. The study also presents a comparative chapter of conclusions and recommendations and ends with the authors' conclusions and recommendations.

The co-authors conclude that femininity and masculinity are social constructs. As the literature points out sex refers to genetic and biological differentiation between females and males and these biologically determined physical attributes are common all over the world. While, gender is constructed through socially developed and differentiated sets of norms, roles, behaviors and attitudes between girls and boys and women and men. Since gender is socially constructed, so attributes of gender vary within and between societies over time.

Femininity is generally objectification of women (though there could be feminine men as well) and masculinity is objectification of men (though, there could be masculine women as well) with respective traits. Femininity and masculinity are socially learned and acquired identities with their respective traits, roles and behaviors.

Both the Femininity and Masculinity Studies discuss attributes of positive femininity and masculinity respectively. While, it is encouraging to think out of the box and think through the transformation of the negative attributes of femininity and masculinity; yet both the constructs of femininity and masculinity objectify womanhood and manhood with physical attributes and norms of the patriarchal structure. Therefore, the transformation process should involve unlearning and unhinging womanhood with femininity and manhood with masculinity. In other words, rather than exploring positive femininity and positive masculinity; the process of objectification of women and men as feminine and masculine should be deconstructed and transformed to unlearning and doing away with stereotyping.

In terms of recommendations, it is important to change stereotypes and show women and men in non-traditional roles. It is necessary to work with advertising agencies on first changing their assumptions, perceptions and understanding of femininity and masculinity and then with them work through all forms of media (radio, electronic and social media) and mobile technology to change the status quo. Drama and film are both influential in reinforcing existing ideas and also in leading to new ideas and thinking, this makes it imperative to work with drama, screenplay and script writers to rewrite their images and portrayal of women and men.

Development programming in the social sector needs to include knowledge building and factual information on sexuality which should include clarifying myths around sexuality; sexual health; develop learning and coping skills for conflict resolution and anger management; and support women and men to take up non-traditional careers and professions. Similarly, specific and targeted resources are required to be dedicated to promote equal access to justice; for awareness raising and education programs to ensure that women and girls are legally empowered and know about the laws that are there to protect them; and for more credible and accurate data to be collected and disaggregated on the basis of age, relationship status, sexuality, ethnicity, race, disability and other factors to inform policy measures for an improved understanding of GBV.

The need of engagement with men to deal with negative aspects of masculinity is also discussed as "women-only" interventions have limited success and the focus of development discourse has shifted from "women" to "gender". Engagement with men could be both to redress men's issues as well as a strategy to reach-out to women and redress their issues. Men and boys must be educated about GBV and its negative impact on women, girls, and the family and within society and engaged as potential agents of change to transform gender norms in combating violence against women.



Chapter - I

Introduction

I. Introduction

The introductory chapter provides background, research guidelines for the Femininity and Masculinity Studies and the methodology used in this analysis.

I.I Background

The USAID-supported Gender Equity Program (GEP) jointly implemented by Aurat Foundation and The Asia Foundation (TAF) undertook two parallel research studies entitled "Formative Research on Femininity in Pakistan" and "Formative Research on Masculinity in Pakistan". These two formative research studies explored the socio-economic context and relations that individually shape women and men's lives, their dominance and change in Pakistan. While the two research studies were being conducted GEP launched a request for proposal to conduct a comparative analysis of both the above mentioned studies and draw them together to present as an integrated qualitative comparative analysis report.

A technical and financial proposal was submitted by Socio-economic and Business Consultants, (SEBCON), based in Islamabad, entitled 'Qualitative Comparative Analysis of Femininity and Masculinity in Pakistan for the Gender Equity Program' in January 2015 to TAF. SEBCON successfully won the contract and has conducted this comparative study. For the terms of reference provided by TAF see Annex 1. The SEBCON core team comprised of the following:

- I. Team Coordinator (Kamran Sadiq);
- Team Leader/Gender Expert (Rukhsana Rashid); and
- 3. Social Researcher/Qualitative Data Analyst (Foqia Sadiq Khan).

The specific aim of this comparative study was to:

- Undertake a desk review of the femininity and masculinity studies conducted by GEP
- Collate findings from the femininity and masculinity studies
- Prepare a report in English and submit to GEP which will include key findings from the desk review, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)
- Provide a comparative analysis with conclusions and recommendations
- Provide a debrief to the GEP team on the study findings

1.2 Research Guidelines for Masculinity and Femininity Studies

The research guidelines prepared for both the Masculinity and Femininity Studies are available for reference (Annex-2). Both the studies were centered on four key themes:

- Definitions and perceptions of femininity and masculinity;
- 2. Societal roles/behaviors in terms of the impact of femininity and masculinity on men, women, family, and society;
- 3. Gender based violence; and
- 4. Sexuality.

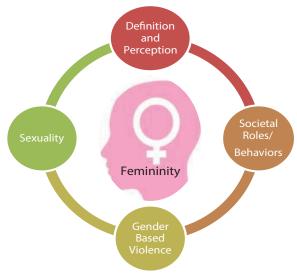


figure 1: Four Themes of Masculinity and Femininity

Each theme was explored through the primary and secondary research, with each of the KII respondents and the four FGD target groups – married males, married females, society/key

influentials, and students/youth. The primary research methodology used in both the studies is reproduced in the tables below for reference.

Table I:Total Number and Typology of KII Respondents (Men/Women) in the Femininity and Masculinity Studies KII respondents included representatives of civil society working on women's rights and human rights, psychologists, academics (sociologists and gender specialists), health care providers, school teachers, individuals working with GBV survivors, media representatives, members of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, government representatives, National and Provincial Commissions on the Status of Women representatives, judges, and parliamentarians.

| No | Types of KII Respondents | Masculinity Study | | Femininity Study | | Combined Total | | |
|----|--|-------------------|---|------------------|---|-------------------|---|----|
| | | М | W | Т | М | W | Т | |
| I | Representatives of NGOs working on women's rights and human rights | 6 | 2 | 8 | 3 | 5 | 8 | 16 |
| 2 | Psychologists | 3 | 3 | 6 | I | 4 | 5 | Ш |
| 3 | Sociologists and gender specialists | 4 | 3 | 7 | 2 | 6 | 8 | 15 |
| 4 | Health care providers and hakeems | 2 | I | 3 | | 2 | 2 | 5 |
| 5 | School teachers | 2 | 3 | 5 | | 2 | 2 | 7 |
| 6 | Individuals working with GBV survivors – Edhi, shelters, lawyers, etc. | 3 | 5 | 8 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 13 |
| 7 | Media representatives/film and drama script writers | 3 | I | 4 | 4 | 4 | 8 | 12 |
| 8 | Human Rights Commission (Government) | 3 | | 3 | I | 4 | 5 | 8 |

| No | Types of KII Respondents | Masculinity Study | | Femininity Study | | Combined Total | | |
|----|---|-------------------|----|------------------|----|-------------------|----|-----|
| | | M | W | Т | М | W | Т | |
| 9 | Departments of health, education, women development (Government) | 4 | 3 | 7 | 3 | ı | 4 | Ш |
| 10 | National and Provincial Commissions on the Status of Women (Government) | | 3 | 3 | | I | I | 4 |
| П | Judges who have worked on women's rights and GBV | I | I | 2 | 4 | 2 | 6 | 8 |
| 12 | Parliamentarians | 2 | I | 3 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 9 |
| | Total | 33 | 26 | 59 | 23 | 37 | 60 | 119 |

Note: M = Men;W = Women;T = Total.

Table 2:Total Number of FGDs in Femininity and Masculinity Studies by Geographical and Urban/Rural Breakup

| Geographical Spread | | Urban and Ru- ral Division | Total FGDs* in Femininity | Total FGDs* in | Combined Total of |
|-------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| Provinces | Areas | | Study | Masculinity Study | FGDs in Both Studies |
| Sindh | Karachi | Urban | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| | Mirpurkhas | Rural | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| Balochistan | Quetta | Urban | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| | Pishin | Rural | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| Gilgit-Baltistan | Gilgit | Urban | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | Peshawar | Urban | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| | Abbotabad | Rural | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| Azad Jammu & Kashmir | Muzaffarabad | Urban | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| | Lahore | Urban | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| Punjab | Multan | Rural | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| Islamabad | Islamabad | | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| | Total | | 42 | 42 | 84 |

^{*}The FGDs conducted by each Study comprised of married men; married women; key Influentials; and students/youth.

The FGDs were conducted in one urban and one rural area in each of Pakistan's provinces - Sindh, Balochistan, Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP); one urban area each in Gilgit-Baltistan and Azad Jammu and Kashmir and two were conducted in Islamabad. The KIIs were conducted in Islamabad and in the cities of Karachi, Quetta, Lahore, Peshawar, Gilgit and Muzaffarabad.

I.3 Methodology Used in this Comparative Study

The main purpose of this consultancy is to write an integrated report by analyzing the data compiled in the Femininity and Masculinity Studies.

The Consultants held an **initial planning meeting** with Aurat Foundation to ensure that all parties have a common understanding regarding the technical inputs required of the Consultants. The Table of Contents of the Comparative Analysis were approved by Aurat Foundation before undertaking the Study.

I.3.1. Reading Through the Qualitative Data of the Femininity and Masculinity Studies

The co-authors read both the studies in detail and then reviewed the key themes within each section of the study. For example, the literature review in both studies was read, discussed and key themes identified. A comparative analysis was undertaken on the basis of those pre-identified themes and patterns where the data was quoted from each study and relevant descriptions were noted down and the text was placed in a new chapter by undertaking the comparison and then summarized with the key findings and quotations to illustrate the point and an analysis was provided at the end.

1.3.2. Writing an Integrated Report Based

on Comparative Analysis

After a thorough familiarization with the data

provided in both Studies the report will include key findings from the FGDs and KIIs using a comparative analysis. SEBCON in consultation with Aurat Foundation finalized the table of contents prior to starting the comparative analysis. The table of contents was shared in draft form with the client for feedback and comments, which have been incorporated into the final version of the study.

1.3.3. Recommendations and Conclusion

Based on the findings the team developed recommendations and a conclusion which are presented in chapter 7.

Chapter -2

Literature Review of Femininity and Masculinity Studies

2. Literature Review of Femininity and Masculinity Studies

This chapter presents an analysis of the comparative literature review of the femininity and masculinity studies which includes the common themes and patterns. This chapter discusses the dearth of literature on the subject; attributes of femininity and types of masculinities; social construction versus biological determination debate; evolution and change in the concepts of femininity and masculinity; contextualization of femininity and masculinity in Pakistan; the role of customs, laws, institutions and state; positive femininity and masculinity debate; and the need of engaging men as a development and gender relations strategy.

2.1 Dearth of Literature

The study findings revealed that there is literature available on gender and feminism while not much has been written to explore the concept of femininity. On the other hand, masculinity has only been covered in the programmatic interventions and campaigns of a few NGOs. There is a lack of interface between programmatic interventions of the development sector and academic research on masculinity.

2.2 Definition of Femininity and Masculinity

The literature review in the studies related femininity to womanliness or womanhood, as a "set of attributes, behavior, and roles generally associated with girls and women", while masculinity was related to "manliness" and "manhood".

2.3 Attributes of Femininity and Types of Masculinities

emininity and masculinity are often presented in

binary opposition i.e. to be feminine is to be the opposite of masculine and vice versa.

The Femininity Study discusses the attributes of femininity as "women everywhere are assumed (or preferred) to be delicate, emotional, softspoken, vulnerable, weak and talkative. On the other hand, men are thought to be strong, rational, protective and tough". The Femininity Study further states that certain historical traits of patriarchal culture are linked to female roles and behaviors including "inferiority, passivity, housework or cleaning, obedience, being a good homemaker, long, flowing hair, light skin, a narrow waist, and little or no body hair or facial hair, and being sexually submissive". Such an association of the constructs of femininity with the female gender is increasingly being considered misogynistic and sexist, especially in the West.

Women are considered weak, vulnerable, possessing a certain physique and lacking the qualities of rationality and physical strength that is associated with masculinity. Even within families, men dominate and make most of the decisions whereas women in the households mostly only air their suggestions. This is prevalent across all classes. Another key feminine trait is linked to marital status and motherhood. It is assumed that every woman's ultimate goal is to be a wife and mother.

The Masculinity Study, while referring, to a Sage London publication on *Theorizing Masculinities* has identified various types of masculinities i.e. hegemonic masculinity, complicit masculinity, marginalized masculinity, and subordinate masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is qualified as the "most dominant" type with characteristics of heterosexuality, physical strength and suppression of emotions. Those who have complicit masculinity subscribe to hegemonic notions of masculinity, even if they themselves

do not have the characteristics of it. Those with marginalized masculinity may still subscribe to the notions of hegemonic masculinity, despite their inability to fit typical characteristics of hegemonic masculinity of physical strength etc. due to disability or men of color not being part of "white" men archetypes of hegemonic masculinities in the Western countries. The last type, subordinate masculinity is where men possess qualities that are diametrically different from hegemonic masculinity i.e. they may be physically weak rather than strong, they may express emotions quite a bit compared to suppression of emotions, and they may be effeminate or gay.

The Masculinity Study has further dwelled on masculinity and hegemony linkages in the literature review. Hegemonic masculinity being the "dominant form" is the yardstick against which men compare themselves to. Societal expectations and pressures are applied to men and boys on the basis of archetype of hegemonic masculinity. It is defined by "domination, aggressiveness, competitiveness, athletic prowess, stoicism, and control characterizes hegemonic masculinity. Love, affection, pain, and grief are improper displays of emotion". While referring to Connell (2005), the Masculinity Study links hegemonic masculinity to patriarchy and gender-based violence. Hegemonic masculinity is viewed to set in motion "systems of power inequalities and imbalances between women and men. Gender-based violence becomes a mean to acquire resources and deny access of these resources to others".

Hegemonic masculinity largely ties men's roles and responsibilities to the three main characteristics of being the "provider, protector, and procreator". These characteristics were identified by majority of men in the International Masculinity Survey. Indian Discrimination Survey 2002 identified similar ways of describing masculinities along with social status, controlling and influencing other women's and men's actions, maintaining order in the family and community.

Table 3: Attributes of Men and Women

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

Attributes of men and women are explored in detail in Chapter 3. In table 3 men and women are stereotyped in their archetypical attributes where, men are considered to be physically strong, assertive/aggressive, objective and rational; whereas women are considered to be physically weak, passive/gentle, subjective and emotional. Again, it is worth emphasizing that such descriptions of male and female attributes perpetuate certain gender-based stereotypes. In reality, there could be women who are assertive, objective and rational and men who are emotional, subjective and passive

2.4 "Real Man" in Masculinity and Femininity Studies

The Masculinity Study discusses the concept of "real man" being constituted in the context of archetype of masculinity. While referring to UNESCO guidelines for mainstreaming gender in literacy materials, it refers to common expressions of masculinity as "boys don't cry" and "boys are strong". While referring to Rozan/ICRW/Partners for Prevention, it states that being fearless and indulging in risky and violent behavior is related to masculinity. Another attribute of masculinity is to deal with "pain, injury, stress, tension, accidents and other anomalies of life without complaining".

The Femininity Study also describes the process of formation of manhood as "in many cultures, boys are told from childhood that boys don't cry, which may result in men, experiencing difficulty expressing their own feelings or relating to others' feelings, as they grow older".

2.5 Femininity Versus Masculinity as a Concept/Social Construct

The Femininity Study also states that "femininity is socially constructed, but made up of both socially-defined and biologically-created factors". The Masculinity Study also defines masculinity in relation to "cultural practices and social norms". Referring to Gardiner, 2002, the Masculinity Study states that masculinity has been conceptualized as the result of feminist discourse and activism (in other words, as the result of deconstruction of feminist discourse of masculinity). However, it provides an interesting coupling of the concepts of femininity and masculinity while sourcing it to Bhasin, 2004 and Swatay, 2012:

"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 exercise the Power' is therefore the underlying question behind masculinity'.

The Masculinity Study explains a two-part process of socialization of development of femininity and masculinity through three major theories i.e. psychoanalytical theory (Freud 1927), learning theories emphasizing reinforcement (Weitzman 1979) and cognitive-development theory (Kohlberg 1966). A child finds out about his/her gender in the first process of learning development and then finds out the meaning of being male or female in association with masculinity or femininity.

While referring to Stets and Burke (2000), the Femininity Study also cites the same theories mentioned above by the Masculinity Study. It mentions Freud's psychoanalytic theory (1927), Kohlberg's cognitive-developmental theory

(1966), and learning theories of Weitzman's (1979) and Mischel's (1970) with reference to direct reinforcement. There are two important stages of acquiring gender identity, according to Kohlberg. A fixed gender identity is acquired when a child learns herself/himself being referred to as "girl" or "boy"; by the age of 3, a child is able to identify herself/himself with a particular gender on the basis of labeling. This first stage fixes the child's gender identity. The child is able to apply these gender labels to others, when s/he reaches the age of 4. The second important stage is to acquire the constancy in gender identity. When a child is 5 or 6, s/he recognizes that her/ his gender will remain the same despite changes in appearance with the passage of time.

2.6 Gender Identity and Social Construct versus Biological Determination Debate

The Femininity Study calls femininity and masculinity as "Gender Identity". While quoting Stets and Burke (2000), it states that concepts of femininity and masculinity are related to social construction of gender rather than biological determination of sex. It further states that association of women with femininity and men with masculinity is on the basis of identification of biological sex with gender identities. It also states that certain traits such as dominance, passivity, strength, bravery, and being emotional get associated with femininity or masculinity. In other words, it is association of these respective traits with gender identities that define femininity and masculinity. However, the Femininity Study also states that some women can see themselves/or can be perceived by others as having masculine traits, similarly men can have feminine traits.

The Masculinity Study has also contextualized masculinity with gender identity. While referring to Wassan (2012), it states masculinity is understood as an attribute of being a 'man' or its juxtaposition with 'manhood'. It is associated with men's behavior in the context of gendered identity formation and the "actions associated with the male gendered behavior are called masculinity".

Linked with the gender identity debate is the point of contestation related to femininity/ masculinity being products of social constructs or determined biologically. While quoting the literature mentioned above in this sub-section, the Femininity Study attributes it to social construction alone. However, it has called femininity the result of both social construction as well as biological factors as given in the earlier sub-heading. Again, while quoting a study by Penn State (2005), it states that differences observed in personality traits between men and women could be due to biological and genetic differences. While referring to Penn State (2005), Hernandez and Blazer (2006) studies, it notes,"...the female genome differs from the male genome in at least four ways. Since males have an X and a Y chromosome, and females have two X chromosomes, it is possible that this chromosome distribution also leads to differences in personality traits and behavior. Typically, it was believed that since females have two X chromosomes, one of them remains inactive. While the Penn State study indicates that the Y chromosome gives males several genes that are absent in the female, it also indicates that some genes on the inactive X in women are, in fact, expressed, indicating that approximately 15 per cent of the genes are expressed at higher levels in females than in males. The study also reveals that an additional 10 per cent of genes on the inactive X show variable expression levels in females, while men have a single copy of these genes". However, it concludes this line of reasoning by stating that the studies quoted above attribute behavioral and personality traits to genetics, there is still need to explore this idea further.

The Femininity Study further states that learning theories focus on the child's early social environment in which parents and teachers imprint gender identity on the child. Parents and teachers induce the gender identity directly through rewards and punishments, and indirectly through their own lives as role models. Children are rewarded or punished for their appearances such as choice of clothes. Girls are socialized into

wearing dresses and boys into pants and shorts. Similarly, girls are encouraged to play with dolls and boys are nudged towards cars and trucks. Similarly, dependence and passivity is encouraged in girls and independence and aggressiveness is inculcated in boys as behavioral traits. Girls are instructed to play indoor and boys to play sports outside. Through gendered reinforcement of roles, girls and boys are socialized into associating certain appearances and behavior with their sex. Such gender stereotypes are further reinforced through media and role models.

The Femininity Study further delves into the literature review by referring to Stets and Burke (2000) on Margaret Mead to comment on the nature versus nurture debate. Anthropologist Margaret Mead studied the differences in female and male temperaments for her 1935 study Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies. She stated that there was no significant differentiation between the sexes in their temperaments and traits. Rather than biology, it was social and cultural expectations that drove the differences in female and male temperaments. Mead's study drove the realization that the notions of femininity and masculinity need to be reexamined. Much has been written on the nature versus nurture debate, yet firm conclusions have yet to be drawn.

While referring to Millet (1968), Friedan (2013) and Jaggar (1989), the Femininity Study takes forward the debate on social construction versus biological determinism by stating that Simone de Beauvoir inspired the feminists and that despite the biological differences of women and men, the notions of femininity and masculinity have been socially constructed. Tenderness and passivity are associated with femininity; and rationality and aggression with masculinity. The second-wave of femininity inspired by Beauvoir and Friedan stereotypes and subjugates woman by socially constructing them as 'childlike, passive and dependent'. Referring to Friedan's famous book The Feminine Mystique, the Femininity Study quotes 'one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman'.

The Masculinity Study states that masculinity is not merely due to sex of men and similarly not only men, or all men, have masculinity characteristics; women can be masculine as well. Moreover it states that the notions of masculinity are not fixed or immutable. Sometimes, the same man or woman can be brave, rational and assertive in one situation and weak, irrational and timid in another situation. Similarly, notions of masculinity and femininity are archetypes and no man or woman strictly adheres to ideal archetypes of masculinity or femininity in a given society at a particular time in history. While referring to Roy (2011) and Kay (1984) studies, the Masculinity Study further states the process of socialization creates the stereotypes of femininity and masculinity by defining differentiated dress code for boys/men and differentiation of masculinity in opposition to feminine physical appearance, traits and behaviors.

While referring to Saigol (2013), Connell (2005) and Saiwal (2008), the Masculinity Study concludes its debate on social construction by stating that "femininity and masculinity are social and historical constructions, they are not natural. For social construct of a human being, in other words, no one is born a man or a woman –they are created".

2.7 Evolution and Change in the Concepts of Femininity and Masculinity over Time

The Femininity Study discusses the evolution and change in the concepts of femininity in the context of evolution of social and cultural norms in patriarchal societies. However, even now, ambitiousness and assertiveness is not considered feminine. While the stereotypes are gradually changing, there is need for more concerted efforts to bring about the change at a wider scale. Women are still often depicted in the traditional roles of "mother, teacher, or nurse". In other words, the Femininity Study underscores that change is taking place, yet there is need for transformation of gender identities and roles.

The Masculinity Study discusses the evolution

and change in the concepts of masculinity as not being "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. Many tasks that were until recently believed to be 'man's work' are now performed by women in a number of cultures such as women pilots, construction workers, engineers, athletes, wrestlers, astronauts, scientists, military commanders which 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".

An analysis of economic drives and structures is missing from any analysis on the transformation of stereotyping of femininity and masculinity with gender roles.

2.8 Men as "Distinct Group" and Women Subjugation

The Masculinity Study stipulates in its introduction to the literature review that men are a "distinct group" despite the fact that there are differences on the basis of class, ethnicity, religion, age and other variables. Men, just like women, are influenced by power structures. However, as the Masculinity Study points out later masculinity is closely tied to power structures in the patriarchal society. Men are not only a "district group", they drive enormous social, political and economic advantages due to their gender identity and roles and affixation of masculinity with men helps to perpetuate the power structure that subjects women to a low socio-economic and political status.

2.9 Femininity and Masculinity in Pakistan

Masculinity in Pakistan is contextualized in the context of gender relations in the patriarchal structures in the country. The Masculinity Study has taken arguments from Rozan/International

Centre for Research on Women/Partners for Prevention paper on Understanding Masculinities and given Pakistani men's and women's perceptions of masculinities. For Pakistani men, a man should be sexually potent; provide for himself and his family rather than depending on a woman's income; control his wife, prioritize the needs of his parents over his wife's needs and make all major decisions in the house; exhibit violent behavior and not shy away from harassment, dress up and behave differently from woman and not be effeminate. Whereas Pakistani women's perceptions of masculinity are that men earn, take decisions, control the wife, and are even trustworthy. Masculinity for women also means that men blame women for infertility and disallow any aspersions to be cast on their sexual potency; they also resort to physical violence in close relationships.

While referring to Mumtaz and Salway (2007), the Femininity Study discusses femininity in Pakistan and states that at the macro level there is inequitable sharing of resources in this patriarchal society which leads to class and gender hierarchies. At the micro level women's lives are affected due to arranged marriages within the family or neighboring tribes. Women are economically dependent on men and their primary role is that of homemakers. In this the birthing of sons who carry forward the male lineage is essential for the security of the woman in her husband's home.

Masculinity Study also provides the regional contextualization and variation of masculinities within Pakistan. While referring to a multi-authored article on *Karo Kari* (honor killings) published in the International Journal of Asian Social Science, the Masculinity Study states that in Sindh maintaining anonymity of females within the household is linked with masculinity. Therefore, women are often not allowed to work outside the house. The patriarch of the house known as *mursmano* does not allow women of the household to step outside. Another attribute of masculinity is men will not share the responsibilities of housework with women as

sharing household responsibilities is considered to be a violation of masculinity. Moreover, men also proscribe the appropriate clothing for women and sanction their visits outside the home. Though, such masculine traits have been contextualized in the context of Sindh, however, not supporting a woman in the household work or controlling/guarding women of the house or even prescribing dress code/activities for women outside the house are pretty much common in all regions of Pakistan, especially in the rural areas.

While referring to a paper on pressures of masculinity on Pakhtun men/boys in district Swat, the Masculinity Study states that insult of women and inability to tolerate humiliation is marked by notions of honor in KP. Again, having underlined the duly given regional context to the notion of masculinity, notions of honor underpinned on women are prevalent all over Pakistan, particularly in the rural areas.

However, further contextualizing masculinity in KP, the Masculinity Study states that the boundaries of women's honor and family honor both overlap. However, family honor may also involve taking part in tribal conflicts. Possession of weapons is linked to masculinity among Pakhtuns quite often and it is also prevalent in the Punjab to some extent. The essential characteristics of masculinity are the "ability to control" which in essence is the ability to control women largely.

2.10 Customs, Laws, Institutions and State

While referring to Srivastava (2010), the Masculinity Study states that masculinity is perpetuated as a 'superior' and 'dominant' gender position through family, norms, customary laws, religion, media, popular culture, media, regulations, and the way state institutions work. Such customs, laws and institutional mechanisms have a specific bearing on women and to their subjugation in society. While referring to a multiauthored study on honor-killings, The Masculinity Study further states that honor killings are not only perpetuated by traditions and customs of local gender systems and its conceptions of

masculinity. Weak state institutions such as the law enforcement agencies are also responsible for lack of accountability. The Study also underscores the role of landlords, police that can be mitigated through changes in regulations and policies and making universal education accessible. However, the Masculinity Study fails to take into the account the political economy implications of honor killings. During harvest times in the rural areas, the honor violation accusations increase tremendously as money can be earned as compensation from the *kari* (male accused) family. Honor killings are not only tied to conceptions of femininity and masculinity, they are perpetuated by the local political economy.

The Femininity Study also links femininity to traditions, customs, clothing and language and its association with stereotyping sex with gender roles.

2.11 Positive Femininity and Masculinity

The Femininity Study, while referring to Jasbinder (1991) and an on-line source, discusses the

positive aspects of femininity. It states that women face a paradox that in order to deal with the negative impact of femininity that ties them to traditional and subservient roles, they sometimes also want to reject their maternal roles and motherhood. The Femininity Study states that femininity,

as a whole should not be rejected; only its negative attributes should be challenged while its positive manifestations such as motherhood should be embraced as the ability to nurture. with the negative impact of femininity that ties them to traditional and subservient roles, they sometimes also want to reject their maternal roles and motherhood. The Femininity Study states that femininity, as a whole should not be rejected; only its negative attributes should be challenged while its positive manifestations such as motherhood should be embraced as the ability to nurture. Early feminist theories only measure

I http://iahip.org/inside-out/issue-7-winter-1991/rescuing-the-feminine%E2%80%A8-the-problem-of-the-animus-%E2%80%A8in-women%E2%80%A

women's success on men's terms. It was probably essential then to deal with subjugation of women and their oppression. However, now it is possible

to recognize that women and men can be equal despite being different and women need not act as men to be strong women. They can embrace maternal and nurturing aspects of femininity.

While it is absolutely true that women and men can be equal despite being different. Yet, it is worthwhile to keep in mind that in most rural areas of Pakistan, motherhood still ties women to their reproductive roles and does not easily make the transition from their reproductive to productive roles despite the fact that most women are engaged in agricultural labor but do not have control over the income derived from their labor. Similarly, while motherhood is an attribute of femininity, the whole parenting and care economy does not need to be gendered. Raising children is as much a father's responsibility as a mother's. Celebrating motherhood and maternal/nurturing/ emotional roles as positive femininity is a gross oversimplification of the division of labor between women's reproductive and productive roles that often benefits men over women.

The Masculinity Study also has quite a bit of material on positive aspects of masculinity in general, however, not in its literature review section except giving recommendations for revision in curriculum and the need for further research. However, the Masculinity Study has given a whole section of engaging with men as a development and gender relations strategy, which is a positive way of concluding the chapter, and is discussed in the next sub-section.

2.12 Engaging Men as a Development and Gender Relations Strategy

The Masculinity Study provides details on the need of engagement with men to deal with negative aspects of masculinity. The Study does not state it explicitly that engagement with men is being presented as a mitigation measure to neutralize the negative impact of

masculinity, rather it states that "women-only" interventions have limited success and the focus of development discourse has shifted from "women" to "gender". As is commonly understood, gender is the relationship between women and men and it does not only focus on engaging women. While referring to Peace, Security and Network Development co-authored report, the Masculinity Study states, "ignoring men in interventions can provoke male hostility and retaliation that can have adverse effects and keeping men out is akin to losing the sight of a large share of development resources". The Masculinity Study further states that in Pakistan, engagement with men could be both to redress men's issues as well as a strategy to reach-out to women and redress their issues. The Masculinity Study has presented initiatives of engaging men as a development and gender relations strategy.

The Femininity Report does not explicitly cover studies describing strategies for engaging men in altering negative gender differences. However, it has a section on Female Empowerment. The Femininity Study, while referring to Lopez-Claros and Zahidi (2005) points to the steady increase in awareness among international organizations, including the World Economic Forum on the need to empower women through increase in social, economic and political equity, and broader access to education, health and nutrition. While referring to Saigol (2010), it states that to achieve female empowerment, the state and civil society need to empower women to change their state of minds and referring to Zulfigar (2010), it states that the ability to control one's own body and sexuality is fundamental to the notion of empowerment. Cultural prejudices tied up with traditional and religious beliefs currently determine women's sexual and reproductive rights, and also their violation, which often gets covered up.

2.13 Concluding Analysis

This Chapter has covered the themes of definitions and attributes of femininity and masculinity. Whereas women are considered weak, emotional, subjective, gentle and passive;

men are considered strong, rational, objective, aggressive and assertive. It has also discussed in detail the concept of "hegemonic" masculinity as the archetype to compare the reality of manhood to the ideals of masculinity.

It has discussed in detail the "biological determination" versus "social constructions" of womanhood and manhood. It largely stated that the concepts of femininity and masculinity are socially constructed but they are also a result of biologically created factors. While explaining the process of socialization of development of femininity and masculinity, it took into account psychoanalytical, learning and development theories.

It has also linked gender identity to the socialization of femininity and masculinity. It discussed both the biological aspects of formation of gender identity as well as the social environment.

It quoted works of anthropologist Margaret Mead, feminists Simone de Beauvoir, Friedan and other famous writers on masculinity such as Roy and Kay to state that femininity and masculinity are created through social construction.

It has also contextualized evolution and change in the concepts of femininity and masculinity. It has also provided Pakistan's national and regional context to the femininity and masculinity debate by discussing customs, laws, institutions and the role of the state. It has also discussed in detail the conceptualizing of positive aspects of femininity and masculinity. At the end, it presented engaging men as a development and gender relations strategy.

Chapter -3

Definitions and Perceptions in Femininity and Masculinity Studies

3. Definitions and Perceptions in Femininity and Masculinity Studies

This chapter presents a comparative analysis of the primary findings covering definitions and perceptions in both the studies. This chapter provides a discussion on definitions; the role of traits/behaviors, physical appearance, and occupation; biological determination versus social construction; the Interactive Association Test; positive and negative traits of femininity and masculinity and presents a comparative table of the research questions used in both the femininity and masculinity studies.

3.1 Definitions

The Femininity Study briefly defined femininity as the antonym of masculinity. Niswaniat is the Urdu word for femininity with an etymological Arabic root, Nisa, which means woman. A participant's response indicated that Niswaniat is derived from Ans, which points to the difference between the sexes. Could sinfenazuk, meaning physically and emotionally weak be related to Niswaniat? This perception was strongly opposed by the youth, especially women in the FDGs. However, the female respondents in FGDs seemed to have somewhat diffused the dialectical sense of what femininity meant. For example most of them said that women were emotionally weak and at the same time they have the strength to bear a lot, including the rigor of child-birth.

Femininity was also referred to as seduction. Taking initiative was considered by some as opposed to being feminine and others as the embodiment of feminism. It might be worthwhile to qualify that while femininity is about imbibing the "womanly" qualities, feminism emphasizes equality between women and men.

In the Femininity Study, women were associated with certain qualities of their feminine

appearance such as beauty and aesthetics. Femininity was also linked to women being communicative and expressing their emotions in an effusive and verbal manner and being nurturing. However, most of the respondents of the Femininity Study did not stereotype gender roles to sex. They pointed out that men could have some feminine traits as well just as women can have some masculine traits too.

Masculinity is interpreted as being "like a real man". The Masculinity Study provides a quote from a married male FGD in AJK where the respondent defines masculinity to men "You had done this job like a woman, you should have done it like a man".

In the Masculinity Study, majority of KII respondents across different professional backgrounds (psychologists, sociologists, professionals working in NGOs, legal professionals, teachers, health providers and government personnel) mostly linked masculinity to physical appearance. The physical manifestation of a masculine man is being handsome, healthy, smart and with "tall, broad shoulders, strong muscles". Even the way men walk, posture, speak and eat is also linked to the extent of masculinity they possess.

3.2 Biological Determination Versus Social Construction

The Femininity and Masculinity Studies were to investigate the difference in perceptions between men and women as a function of their biological difference. What is the effect of socialization, upbringing and cultural expectations on the ideas held by both sexes? ¹

I At least since Darwin in the mid-19th century there has been vigorous debate among scientists and policy makers about the role of biological endowment and of environmental/social effects in moulding the nature of living beings. Can external influences such as schooling or general socialization have a significant impact on the nature of the human ani-

In the context of the nature versus nurture debate, both Studies aimed to elicit the views of their FGD respondents (KIIs were not asked). Are their views tainted about femininity and masculinity by their own socialization?

After a general discussion in the Femininity Study, the views of the 4 subgroups of FGD respondents are categorized. Largely, femininity was seen as a social construct, but made up of both socially defined and biological factors.

Most married men (80 percent) believed that femininity was largely determined by female biology. In contrast married women opined that the difference between males and females was due to socialization and cultural expectations. Among community influentials the opinion was equally divided between nature and nurture, but they invoked religious references to support their claim that the wife's duty to serve the needs of her husband is uppermost.

As in the women respondents' view on femininity in the Femininity Study, the biological underpinning was overwhelmingly mentioned. Of the 60 respondents, 59 mentioned that nature has created humans in the form of two sexes, male and female, with well-defined reproductive roles.

In the Masculinity Study, "social upbringing and cultural upbringing" were the main factors in creating the prevalent opinion about masculinity. Still there was no denial that nature created the biological difference between the sexes. This was the majority opinion. But in FGDs from rural areas opinion favoured the patriarchal structure, implicit within which is the biological superiority of man over woman.

3.3 Traits/ Behavior, Physical Appearance and Occupation

Having covered the general understanding of femininity and masculinity in the two reports, what follows is the discussion of these terms by traits, behavior, physical appearance and

mal? Or are humans moulded by their biological endowment about which, until recently, we could do nothing.

occupation.

All men and women opined that the primary determinant of femininity was the physical difference between the two sexes and about a quarter of the respondents cited traits and behavior as the distinguishing feature. A near unanimous opinion about the occupation connected with femininity was childbearing and household chores. Very few urban men felt that women should be educated.

In the Masculinity Study, three-fourths of FGD respondents defined masculinity to include working hard for the family, providing a house, having strength and power and making decisions. Physical appearance was rated as the second most important attribute of the Pakistani male. Only about half the respondents felt that a man's occupation was a determinant of masculinity. This was largely because it was felt that nowadays women and men share a number of professions in which they can compete on equal terms.

The idea of masculinity varied with location, ethnicity and culture. It was linked with men being the providers for the family. Nearly one-fifth of respondents linked masculinity to being providers for the family, and half the respondents associated it with "power, strength, decision-making, hardworking, responsibility, patience and head of family". Such a finding also echoed with female participants of the Masculinity Study who described the masculine man as someone who provides for his family's shelter and food and is supportive of his family while taking care of their needs with a sense of responsibility.

The influential members of communities stated that while a woman may get involved in productive/remunerative work, her principal responsibility remains the children and the family's wellbeing. In contrast the youth are more liberal and not tied to the gender stereotypes of their elders. This may be due to their better education and greater exposure to global trends.

3.3.1. Traits/Behaviors

The table below presents the traits and behaviors of femininity and masculinity. Women were thought to be caring, loving, submissive, understated, soft, gentle, tolerant and virtuous. While, men were thought to possess power, strength, and they provide for the family. Men also provide shelter and security to the family. Men were considered hard working with a sense of responsibility. Similarly, women are considered to be mild, innocent, shy, mild-tempered, punctual and loyal; while men were considered to have aggression, authority, and confidence. They explore nature, seek innovations, are competitive and find solutions. It must be emphasized that these archetypes of traits and behaviors associated with femininity and masculinity were abstract in nature. There are women and men who conform to these traits and behaviors and there are others who do not. Women can have masculine traits and behaviors and men can have feminine ones. In other words, the idea is to generate a discussion on the "ideal" traits and behaviors associated with femininity and masculinity with the qualification that they are inter-changeable and not set in stone.

Table 4: Comparative Presentation of Traits/Behaviors from Femininity and Masculinity Studies

| Traits/behaviors | | | | |
|------------------|---|--|--|--|
| Femininity study | Masculinity study | | | |
| Caring | Power | | | |
| Loving | Strength | | | |
| Submissive | Provider of a family | | | |
| Understated | Shelter and security for a family (protector) | | | |
| Soft | Decision-maker | | | |
| Gentle | Hard-working | | | |
| Tolerant | Sense of responsibility | | | |
| Virtuous | Bravery | | | |

| Traits/behaviors | |
|-------------------|------------------------------|
| Femininity study | Masculinity study |
| Painstaking | Aggression |
| Graceful | Respecting women |
| Selfless | Being courageous |
| Decent | Patient |
| Shy | Independent |
| Polite | Competitiveness |
| Intelligent | Honor |
| Brave | Finding solutions |
| Flexible | Authority |
| Mild tempered | Exerting control over family |
| Innocent | Consistence |
| Kind | Confidence |
| Helpful | Loyalty |
| Cool tempered | Exploratory in nature |
| Helpless | Seeking innovations |
| Soft spoken | |
| Hospitable | |
| Diligent | |
| Hardworking | |
| Sincere | |
| Punctual | |
| Loyal | |
| Non-argumentative | |

3.3.2. Physical Appearance

Physical appearance is the most important yardstick that distinguishes women from men and forms the bedrock of construction of femininity and masculinity. Femininity was associated with delicateness, physical weakness, beauty, pleasantness, and shyness and to be well dressed, whereas, masculinity was associated with being tall, having broad shoulders and strong muscles. In rural areas, masculinity was associated with having a moustache and wearing shalwar kameez; while in urban areas, masculinity is associated with being clean-shaven, wearing trousers, shirts and suits. However, it must be emphasized that these concepts of physical appearance linking

to archetypes of femininity and masculinity are subject to differentiated interpretation based on class, status, sex, urban-rural divide, ethnicity and location.

Table 5: Comparative Presentation of Physical Appearance from Femininity and Masculinity Studies

| Physical Appearance | | | | |
|---------------------|---|--|--|--|
| Femininity Study | Masculinity Study | | | |
| Delicate | Tall/heighted | | | |
| Physically weak | Broad shoulders | | | |
| Beautiful | Strong muscles | | | |
| Soft | Moustaches (popular in rural areas) | | | |
| Pleasant | Clean shaven (popular in urban areas) | | | |
| Down-cast eyes | Shalwarkameez (worn in rural areas) | | | |
| Veiled | Trouser, shirt and suit (worn in urban areas) | | | |
| Shy | Healthy | | | |
| Well-Shaped | | | | |
| Well dressed | | | | |
| Attractive | | | | |

3.3.3. Occupation

The table below provides a comparative presentation of association of occupation with femininity and masculinity. Femininity was associated with being a homemaker, mother, wife, child bearer and sexual entertainer which showed that female occupations were still traditional, however with the change and evolution in gender norms, it was also associated with being a teacher, nurse or even banker, taxidriver and fighter pilot. Masculine occupations are considered to be working for the police and army considering that aggression is closely related to masculinity. However, the range of masculine occupations includes positions of power and influence such as being a politician, member of judiciary or even a fashion designer as well as other non-aggressive occupations that

reflect a more working class conceptualization such as being a chef and tailor.

Table 6: Comparative Presentation of Occupation from Femininity and Masculinity Studies

| Occupation | | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|--|--|--|
| Femininity study | Masculinity study | | | |
| | D # | | | |
| Homemaker | Police | | | |
| Nurse | Army | | | |
| Teacher | Politics | | | |
| Fighter pilot | Judiciary | | | |
| Taxi driver | Engineering | | | |
| Banker | Fashion designer | | | |
| Sexual entertainer | Tailor | | | |
| Mother | Chef | | | |
| Wife | | | | |
| Child bearer | | | | |
| Domestic role | | | | |

3.4 The Interactive Associative Test

The Interactive Associative Test (IAT) was developed in the 1980s to help explicate the implicit biases which all are subject to. These are subconscious stereotypes within ones brain that if one were conscious of would be rejected and thereby avoid unfair discrimination.

A gender IAT measures the relative strengths with which the female and male are associated with family on the one hand versus career orientation. Both the Femininity and Masculinity Studies report on their respective IAT results. Respondents were asked to choose between two statements for females and males: (a) career, freedom and creative skills or (b) family, home and children.

The Femininity Study reports that in the FGDs, comprised of 4 groups, femininity was neither seen distinctly tied to option career, freedom and creative skills or family, home and children. However, the respondents of the IAT leaned towards "family, home and children" as women

are perceived to be instrumental in raising a family. Most respondents favoured a balance between "a" (career, freedom and creative skills) and "b" (family, home and children).

In the rural areas, women can take on work as per tradition. However, a majority of respondents from rural areas do not approve of nontraditional work for income generation and also favoured discouragement of a mixed-sex workplace.

The Masculinity Study IAT was similar to one described earlier in the Femininity Study, with the only difference of femininity being replaced by masculinity. The idea is to see how respondents link masculinity with "a" (career, freedom and creative skills) or "b" (family, home and children). The four groups in the FGD categories came out showing masculinity as strongly associated with both "a" (career, freedom and creative skills) and "b" (family, home and children).

This is in contrast with the IAT for femininity where there was a closer link of femininity with family, home and children. These contrasting results point to the continued importance of reproductive duties, religious doctrines and the preservation of social norms and traditions in moulding public opinion about femininity and masculinity.

3.5 Positive and Negative Traits of Femininity and Masculinity

The research guideline for both Studies requires that each study the positive and negative traits of femininity and masculinity respectively. Only the FGD responses are given; there is no explicit listing of the KIIs.

The Femininity Study classifies the positive and negative characteristics of femininity for each of the 4 groups of FGDs. The opinions expressed show that feminine traits are generally regarded as inferior to those of masculinity. This was evident in the adjectives used to describe feminine traits such as weak, fragile and irrational.

In the married males FGD, the positive traits of

femininity relate to their ability to compromise, role as homemaker, motherhood, modesty, physical attraction and politeness. The negative traits for the same set of respondents relate to women being into fashion, stepping outside the home boundary, displaying disobedience and being demanding. Other negative traits were immodesty, hot tempered, stubborn, hasty and ungrateful.

Table 7: Comparative Presentation of Positive Traits of Femininity and Masculinity from the Studies

| Positive Traits of Femininity and Masculinity | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|--|--|
| Femininity Study | Masculinity Study | | | |
| Ability to compromise | Provider of food and shelter | | | |
| Hard-working | Protector of family | | | |
| Sensitive; polite | Strength; patience | | | |
| Modesty | Hard-working | | | |
| Politeness | Responsible | | | |
| Motherhood | Tolerant | | | |
| Binding force for family's unity | Decision-making skills | | | |
| Loyal | Strong attitude and character | | | |
| Loving | Braveness | | | |
| Responsible | Honour | | | |
| Caring | Self-confidence | | | |
| Sincere | | | | |
| Patient | | | | |
| Innocent | | | | |
| Soft-hearted | | | | |
| Dependable | | | | |
| Respectful | | | | |
| Being in touch with emotions | | | | |
| Nurturing | | | | |
| Caring for the envi- | | | | |

For married female FGD respondents, the positive traits of femininity also relate to being homemaker and serving the family, decency, loyalty, respectful, weak, caring and not complaining. The negative traits for the same set of respondents are envy, jealously, manipulation, emotional outbursts, argumentativeness, backbiting, disobedience, spendthrift-ness and wilfulness.

For influential FGD respondents, the positive aspects of femininity relate to physical beauty, patience, shyness, intelligence, tolerance, prudence, purity, and cooperation with family, dependability, and respectfulness. The negative aspects of femininity for the same set of respondents are almost the same identified by earlier categories of respondents and they are linked to being hasty, argumentative, envious, jealous, immodest, spendthrift and ungrateful. For youth FGDs, most of the positive and negative traits of femininity are the same as described above by other sets of respondents. Some of the additions for the positive traits are being in touch with emotions, expressive, organized and hardworking. Some of the additions for the negative traits are irrationality, pride, expression of initiative in approaching men and standing up for rights.

Respondents, on the whole, found an overwhelming emphasis on women being the homemakers and their motherhood role. While, it is worth mentioning that the overall emphasis is that positive traits of femininity and masculinity should be encouraged and the negative traits be dis-incentivised through societal norms, state policies and laws. If the mothering instincts of women lead them to being better human beings, it must be celebrated as long as it does not perpetuate a "sacrificing woman" stereotype and come in the way of them pursing successful careers. Similarly, if positive traits of masculinity lead men to be protectors and providers for their families, it is worth taking note of their sense of responsibility. However, at the same time, it is important to note that young boys should not be socialized in ways that put undue

pressure on them to be providers for their families. As such pressure is un-healthy and could lead to aggressive tendencies or pent-up anger. Both young girls and boys should be socialized to be independent human beings and to take care of themselves and their families, communities and societies. It is important not to stereotype but to treat girls, boys, women, men and transgender fairly and equitably.

Table 8: Comparative Presentation of Negative Traits of Femininity and Masculinity from the Studies

| Negative Traits of Femininity and Masculinity | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| Femininity Study | Masculinity Study |
| Harsh | Aggression |
| Hasty | Violence |
| Thankless | Disrespecting to- wards women |
| Stubborn | Inequality between the sexes |
| Hot-tempered | |
| Spendthrift | |
| Backbiting | |
| Immodest | |
| Poor decision-maker | |
| Jealous | |
| Emotionally reckless | |
| Talkative with excessive use of cell phone | |
| Irrational | |
| Seductive | |

The Masculinity Study has correlated the traits by providing an overall robustness across all respondents' categories as well. In terms of positive traits of masculinity, the high robustness are linked to men being providers of food and shelter, protector of family, physically strong, patient, hardworking and responsible. The medium robustness of responses through all respondents' categories linked the positive traits to tolerance, ability to make decisions, possessing

a good attitude and character, bravery, honour and self-confidence. Courageousness, caring behavior, competitiveness, being respectful, risk-taking, boldness and not expressing emotions are on an overall low robustness scale across all respondents' categories.

The Masculinity Study has also provided overall robustness of negative traits of masculinity across all respondents' categories. Aggression, violence and disrespectfulness to women or claim to superiority over women have been placed as overall highly robust negative traits. The medium robust traits again link to perpetuation of inequality between women and men and any set of behavior that manifests positive traits of masculinity in a negative manifestation. The low robustness negative traits of masculinity include greed, dishonesty and use of drugs.

In terms of positive and negative traits of femininity and masculinity, there are hardly any surprises in the findings described above given the patriarchal structure of Pakistani society.

A lot of feminine negative traits could be explained due to women's limited access to public spaces in a society like Pakistan that often confines them to their homes. Within the closed space and with little ability to manoeuvre out of their traditional gender roles of being homemakers, the negative traits find space to nurture. Also to be noted is that women have generally less decision-making powers than men within their families, communities and societies. Such real or perceived powerlessness could also perpetuate the negative traits of jealously etc. On the other hand, negative traits of masculinity such as aggression and violence are often promoted through militarization of society and state; these masculine traits should be discouraged and deconstructed. Male disrespect for women or an inherent belief in the inequality of sexes is the result of gendered relations where men are stereotyped as being "superior" and women as "inferior". Again, there is a need to discourage such stereotypes and deconstruct the process of socialization that leads to construction of such archetypes.

To conclude this section on definition and perceptions of femininity and masculinity, there were volumes written about factors that can help transform patriarchal societies into more gender equitable ones.

3.6 Research Questions

Finally, for ready reference, the six questions relevant to this chapter, asked in both the Femininity and Masculinity Studies are given in tabular form in table 9. The answers are shown after abbreviating the contents of both reports and are placed under two columns of femininity and masculinity.

3.7 Concluding Analysis

This Chapter, like the rest to follow, is based on fieldwork conducted by both the Femininity and Masculinity Studies in the form of KIIs and FGDs. Therefore, this chapter presented primary findings of the Femininity and Masculinity Studies.

This chapter discussed the definitions of femininity and masculinity. Femininity could be linked to internalizing the "womanly" qualities and masculinity is associated with being a "real man". Femininity and masculinity could be explained through a certain conceptualization of physical appearance, traits, behaviors and occupations.

Physical appearance is the most important yardstick that distinguishes women from men and forms the bedrock of the construction of femininity and masculinity. Femininity is associated with a particular physical appearance, similarly masculinity is linked to certain physical features as well; it is physical weakness and beauty in femininity versus the physical strength and broad structure in masculinity. Similarly, certain emotional traits of being submissive and nurturing are associated with femininity, while masculinity is associated with the role of men being the providers for the family. In terms of occupation, femininity is generally associated with traditional roles of being homemakers or sexual entertainers. However with changes and the evolution in gender norms, femininity

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is also associated with other non-traditional roles such as bankers, taxi-drivers and fighter pilots. Masculine occupations are considered to be working for police and army considering that aggression is closely related to masculinity. However, other more professional ranges of masculine occupations are also considered.

There is a discussion in this Chapter, like the previous one, on the biological versus socially constructed causes of femininity and masculinity. There is a section on the IAT in this Chapter as well. IAT was developed in the 1980s to take into account the implicit biases in the discourse. A gender IAT associated the relative strengths with which women and men link family versus career. Respondents in both Studies were asked to choose between their family obligations versus their careers. In the Femininity Study, respondents did not tie femininity either to family or to career too tightly, however, they leaned towards the family and most respondents suggested a balance between the two. In the Masculinity Study, the respondents associated masculinity more strongly with career but also to family. In other words, the findings of IAT followed the well-established gender roles and norms entrenched in society and also offered positive feedback such as the call for balance between the family and career.

There is also a discussion on the positive and negative traits of femininity and masculinity. Ability to compromise, politeness, modesty, nurturing and being in touch with emotions are some of the positive traits of femininity; while provider of family, shelter and security, hardworking, decision-maker, bravery, and honour are some of the positive traits of masculinity. Harshness, hastiness, stubbornness, immodesty, seduction, emotional vulnerability, and jealously are considered the negative traits of femininity; while aggression, violence, disrespect towards women and perpetuation of inequality between sexes are considered to be negative traits of masculinity.

The overall point being made is that there are both positive and negative traits of femininity

and masculinity. The negative traits should be cultivated or encouraged; while the positive traits of femininity and masculinity should be welcomed and adopted. For example, women need not adhere to some notion of masculinity and be like men; they should cherish their nurturing, motherhood and homemaker roles along with their careers. Similarly, men should not be guided by aggression, violence and competitiveness; they could use their positive masculine traits for the betterment of themselves, their families, communities and societies.

Table 9: Comparative Definitions and Perceptions of Femininity and Masculinity from the Femininity and Masculinity Studies

Definition and Perception of Femininity and Masculinity (selected quotes from both the studies)

| Masculinity (Taken from Masculinity Study) | n KII and FGD Responses | QI.What do you understand of the term masculinity? | Masculinity was defined in a social construct paradigm by all respondents of KIIs. This was mentioned by majority across the respondents with different backgrounds both in terms of disciplines and professional backgrounds both in public and private sector. Interesting to note is that whereas Masculinity was mentioned as a social construct, almost all the respondents also linked it with the biological connotations. 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 has created humans in form of two sex roles: male and female, which have the reproduction role associated with them, but, the roles expected of them by society are socially constructed. Masculinity was also mentioned to some extent as providing shelter, food, security and taking good care of family (by nearly one fifth of respondents), whereas half of the respondents associated Masculinity with sense of power, strength, decision-making, hardworking, responsibility, patience, and head of family. |
|--|--|--|---|
| Femininity (Taken from Femininity Study) | Femininity and Masculinity Definitions Emerging from KII and FGD Responses | Q1.What do you understand of the term femininity? | Femininity is commonly understood to refer to a collection of qualities or attributes associated with women in distinction from men, whose own qualities are signified by the antonym Masculinity. Yet precisely what qualities quality as feminine (or masculine) is subject to discussion and contention, as is whether such qualities should be considered innate essences or cultural norms. |

Femininity and Masculinity Defined by Traits, Behaviors, Physical Appearance or Occupation

Q2. Is femininity defined by traits, by personality 'type', or looks? Which of the following do you associate with femininity (Probe=>Physical Appearance, Traits, Behaviors, Occupation)
Women appeared to have dichotomous views on what constituted femininity. This was evidenced by their responses in which most said that women are emotionally weak and at the same time, they have the strength to bear a lot, including the labors of childbirth.

The term for femininity in Urdu is "Niswaniat", which is derived from Arabic word "Nisa". Another response indicated that the word Niswaniat (femininity) is derived from the word Ans which indicates the difference between males and females. Another perception was that the word is related to sinfenazuk, which means physically and emotionally weak.

Femininity was also referred to as seduction and other roles that women play in society, like those of the mother, sister, daughter, and wife. It was primarily viewed as the feeling part, the emotive part and associated with being a woman. More often than not, femininity is considered synonymous with submissiveness, delicacy, and demureness.

Common examples include being verbal and communicative, emotive or effusive, being nurturing and having an appreciation for beautiful or aesthetically pleasing things. Most of us express some combination of traits from both the feminine and masculine categories. Most respondents pointed out that all men have some so-called feminine traits, and all women have some so-called feminine traits, and all women have some so-called feminine appearance and character traits to be those that make a woman sexually attractive to a man as well as most trustworthy to mother his children. Thus physical beauty, both natural and artificial, balanced by character traits of sexual modesty, nurturing kindness, and a strong sense of duty to family have become widespread hallmarks of ideal femininity.

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)

Majority of the KII respondents categorically defined masculinity by its traits and behaviors. Physical appearance was the second most mentioned attribute of Masculinity. Occupation was found to be the least distinction attribute for masculinity and other gender forms (femininity and transgender). The traits and behaviors associated with Masculinity mentioned were almost similar across Pakistan. The traits and behaviors mentioned by almost third-fourth of respondents included breadwinning, providing shelter, strength, power, decision-making and hardworking remain constant throughout the Pakistan but physical appearance matter in wide ranges such as cultural expectation of particular place, geography, urban and rural division.

Femininity and Masculinity characterized by values of IAT

Q3. Is femininity characterized by values of IAT:

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

According to the results, femininity was neither seen distinctly as career, freedom and creative skills nor family, home and children. However, the general tendency was to lean towards the latter set of attributes, as the woman is seen as instrumental in raising a family.

However, according to the majority of respondents, there should be a balance: career, freedom and creative work should be explored while taking care of the family, children and home.

Q3. Is masculinity characterized by values of IAT:

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

Majority of the KII respondents mentioned Masculinity as a combination of both, career, freedom and creative skills and family, home and children.

Majority of the FGD respondents mentioned the association of masculinity with both sets of values. The most mentioned reason for association of masculinity with both sets of values was that men had been associated with roles of bread winners and providing shelter and basic needs to their families which led them either to do business or have a good career.

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, Balochistan and KP reported association of masculinity with this set of values explicitly.

Q4.1s 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)

Participants were questioned about whether the difference in the perception between men and women is a function of their biological differences or a result of differences in socialization/upbringing or the cultural expectations held for each sex. Largely, femininity was perceived as a social construct, made up of both socially defined and biologically created factors.

Q4.1s 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)

KII finding: Social upbringing and cultural expectation was predominant perspective of the masculinity mentioned by the respondents of all the categories. There was however no denial of the biological difference created by nature. The majority of the respondents upheld the biological difference and the role of reproduction associated with masculinity as well as it being a socially constructed phenome-

FGD finding: Majority of the respondents from all FGDs categories mentioned that they were created differently on the basis of sexes by the nature but the roles to grow in the society were socially constructed and masculinity was more linked with social upbringing and cultural expectation.

| Positive and Negatives Traits from Femininity and Masculinity Studies | ' Studies |
|--|--|
| Q5.What are the positive traits of femininity? | Q5.What are the positive traits of masculinity? |
| | |
| Ability to compromise; hard-working; sensitive; polite; modesty; | Provider of food and shelter; protector of family; strength; patience; |
| responsible; caring; sincere; innocent; patient; soft-hearted; depend- | attitude and character; braveness; honor; and self-confidence etc. |
| able; respectful; being in touch with emotions; nurturing; and caring | [Summary made from a long column.] |
| tor the environment etc. [Summary made from a long column.] | |
| Q6.What are the negative traits of femininity | Q6:What are the negative traits of masculinity? |
| | |
| Harsh; hasty: thankless; stubborn: hot-tempered; spendthrift; backbit- | Aggression; violence; disrespecting women; and inequality between |
| ing; immodest, e.g. not observing purdah or inappropriate dressing; | the sexes etc. [Summary made from a long column.] |
| poor decision-maker; impulsive; jealous; emotionally reckless; talk- | |
| ative with excessive use of cell phone; deception; irrational; over-sen- | |
| sitive; and seductive etc. [Summary made from a long column.] | |

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Societal Roles & Behavior

4. Societal Roles & Behaviors (Impact on Women, Men, Family and Society) in Femininity and Masculinity Studies

This chapter provides the comparative analysis of primary findings in the context of societal roles/behaviors and their impact on women, men, family and society.

4.1 Impact of Femininity and Masculinity on Women, Men, Family and Society from FGD Responses

This section deals with responses from the FGDs conducted by both studies. The Femininity Study notes that there were not any significant differences in perspective amongst the FGD participant's responses, i.e., women; men; community leaders and influentials; and young people, nor were there differences based on urban or rural location. The points below are therefore reflective of responses across all the FGDs.

The Masculinity Study presents the impact of masculinity on women, men, family and society through four tables which awards a high, medium or low strength to the FGD responses based on the number of responses from FGD participants.

4.1.1 Impact of Femininity and Masculinity on Women

Femininity is a source of strength to women which is used in both a positive and negative manner. Overall women are nurturers - they take care of their homes and families which affect how they live their lives and their reproductive roles. Approximately 90 percent of FGD participants stated that "one of the most significant impacts of femininity on women is in terms of physical appearance". This included how they dress, how they look and how they conduct themselves. Half the FGD respondents said jealousy was a

negative impact of femininity and participants in two FGDs identified another negative impact of femininity on women being "that women think of themselves as weak and inferior, and therefore become victims of their own sense of inferiority".

The Masculinity Study presents the impact of masculinity on women through a table which awards a high and medium strength to the FGD responses. The themes and sub themes emanating from the FGD participants responses rated with a high strength are - positive masculinity by men impacts women positively; there is an increase in women's education status; women become stronger; there is increased respect; women feel secure; women get care and are handled with love; and the family remains united. Those rated with a medium strength are - increased sense of responsibility; raising of children in a positive manner; VAW; women deprived of their rights (education); imbalance in relationship (mother, mother-in-law, wife and sister); and unnecessary interference.

4.1.2 Impact of Femininity and Masculinity on Men

In the Femininity Study it was found that the general impact on men is positive. The presence of women in men's lives is important as they are men's partners in all of life's struggles, they encourage them to be gentle and kind, and "are the ultimate source of energy and guidance". A woman's role as mother was an extremely important aspect of femininity as this was stated by 90 percent of the respondents in the FGDs and is the one "who unites a family and who makes a house a home".

A majority of FGD participants stated that "women attract men by their beauty and their looks. Long hair was mentioned by many as a feature that men are attracted to". Both

women and men in the FGDs described negative attributes which were jealousy, aggression, and a tendency to gossip, these traits have a negative impact on men. Male participants in four FGDs also stated that "men fight with their families for the sake of their wives, and spend money on them such as for buying them mobile telephones and other gifts". Men taking advantage of women's femininity as they consider them physically weaker than men, which also leads to VAW was stated by participants in four FGDs.

The author of the Femininity Study states in conclusion that the "psychology of a man is that he wants to control a woman wherever he finds her". Enforcing marriage, making sure that a woman leaves the family home and subordination in employment is all considered as the man exerting control by the author.

In the Masculinity Study the themes that emerged with a high response from FGD participants were how masculinity affects men both positively and negatively; leads to positivity in the thinking of men; strong and positive characters; proves the identity of "A Man"; men are free to adopt any career; men can spend money as they want; and liberty. The themes ranked as medium in terms of responses were -men can spend more time outside and with peers; and have respect from society. There were several themes and sub themes that were ranked low, these were upholding honesty; loyal to family and peers; courageous; less physical constraints on men; increase in stress with the sub themes of meeting financial needs of family, protecting the family, control/reserve emotions and shouldering the family leader responsibility.

4.1.3 Impact of Femininity and Masculinity on Family

The author of the Femininity Study states that families see women as the guardians of honor and therefore family members expect their women to conduct themselves in an appropriate manner which implies that women need protection and as acorollaryof that they are required to stay within the protection of their

home. This was further substantiated by FGD participants in KP and Balochistan who said that "women needed to be veiled if they leave the home".

The impact of a mother cannot be understated which shows the critical impact of femininity on the family. "The way a mother nurtures, socializes and teaches norms and attitudes to her children totally relates to her femininity factor. A child's first school is the mother and she is the first agent of the socialization process for children". The author also states that there are different expectations of families from women in that they should stay at home, be good wives and serve the family however these same women now have exposure to television and other forms of media so it raises their knowledge, awareness and increases their demand for certain items such as clothes and jewelry which "their family, especially men, do not want them to have".

In the Masculinity Study the FGD response on the impact of masculinity on the family was high for only one theme - negative manifestation of traits result in negative impact on family and the sub themes emerging from the traits are: aggression, strength, honor, dominancy and frustration. A number of themes were ranked with medium responses as follows: family feels secure; increased education level of family; family culture enrichment in moral and ethical values; enhanced prosperity of the family which had the sub themes of -control over their emotions, control over aggression and participatory approach in decision making; and disrespect to family. Gender discrimination and inferiority complex among children were ranked as low responses.

4.1.4 Impact of Femininity and Masculinity on Society

The importance of women receiving education and the positive impact it can have within the family and on society was stressed by all FGD participants. The respondents also felt that in today's society with rising prices, increased cost of living and multiple economic pressures,

"educated women can support their homes by working and contributing to the household income". They further stated that women could now be found in all professions because of their education. The author believes that some women "exploit their femininity" in Pakistani culture as being reluctant and unable to do certain physical activities and tasks "because they are 'a woman" thereby making "themselves dependent on men".

In conclusion the author of the Femininity Study states that "the impact of femininity and attitudes of women or towards women cannot be confined within one box". The author further explains how women face multiple social pressures which limit their opportunity for growth and how they accept their role to be "submissive, self-sacrificing, and accepting of all decision which are made by men about them and their families".

In the Masculinity Study the FGD responses on the impact of masculinity on society was high on two themes - it effects society positively if positive masculinity exhibited and if traits of masculinity exhibited negatively a negative culture will prevail in the society. Positive deeds and attitudes of men will have positive impact on society; increased in prevalence of unity, love and brotherhood; society become aggressive due to aggression; society become violent due to violence; increase in wrong traditions with the sub themes of honor killing and Watta Satta were the medium level of responses from FGD participants. Increased hardworking and courageous individuals; increased social patience; healthy society with rich morality; increased social tolerance; resilience of the society to fight back in crises; gender discrimination and increase in crime rate were ranked as low responses by FGD respondents.

4.2 Impact of Femininity and Masculinity on Women, Men, Family and Society from KII Responses

In the Femininity Study the KII respondents stated that "femininity makes society a better

place. Without it there would be more violence, society would be more fragmented and the world would be less expressive". A woman's reproductive role is a major aspect of femininity, and this needs to be seen from a perspective of strength rather than from a standpoint of weakness, this was stated by most KII respondents. Further it was said that "women provide a very nurturing environment for the family, which is difficult for men to do. Even when men are nurturing, the family environment is different".

One woman KII respondent stated that society is impacted by the behavior and lifestyle of young girls which includes girls going out without a reason and/or driving by themselves' (unescorted by an elder) at night, so if girls indulge in these types of activities then according to her,"... society will go bad".

In the Masculinity Study financial impact was also mentioned by almost more than three-fourths of the KII respondents; and a sense of responsibility and ownership, trustworthiness and leadership were the most mentioned positive impacts on men both in the social and psychological context.

The most mentioned negative impact related to women was "I am superior then women". Majority of the KII respondents especially psychologists, sociologists, NGO representatives, Government representatives and individual workings on GBV mentioned that curriculum, mothers and the media were responsible for creating a male superiority perception and image amongst men.

In terms of negative psychological impact on men, the male KII respondents stated frustration and fatigue; and being emotionally controlled as important. One-third of the KII respondents stated that violence by men is triggered as a consequence of frustration.

The negative impacts stated by KII male respondents included "inferiority complex, stress and zero personality in term of failures against the ideal role expectations. While positive

effects mentioned by majority were the strength, courage and ability to fight". The most mentioned physical factor which influenced men was sexual potency.

4.3 Concluding Analysis

This Chapter has discussed the primary findings from both the Studies of the impact of femininity and masculinity on men, women, family and society. The Femininity Study noted that there were not any significant differences in perspective amongst the FGD participant's responses, i.e., women; men; community leaders and influentials; and young people, nor were there differences based on urban or rural location.

In terms of the impact of femininity and masculinity on women it was found that women are nurturers caring for their homes and families; gave importance to how they dress and look; and that positive masculinity by men impacted women positively in terms of education, status and family security. Negative impact included jealousy and seeing themselves as weak and inferior.

In the impact of femininity and masculinity on men, the Femininity Study found that the general impact on men was positive as the presence of women in men's lives is a plus factor due to their role as mother and being the uniting force behind the family. Both women and men described the negative attributes as jealousy, aggression, and a tendency to gossip. Men also considered women physically weaker than themselves and wanted to control and subordinate them. In the Masculinity Study it was found that masculinity affected men both positively and negatively.

In terms of the impact of femininity and masculinity on the family, the Femininity Study found that women are perceived as the guardians of the family and by implication meant that women should stay protected within the confines of their homes. In addition the importance of a mother was emphasized thus underscoring the impact of femininity on the family. In the Masculinity Study negative traits such as

aggression, strength, honor, and dominancy had a negative impact on family.

All FGD participants emphasized the importance of women receiving education and the positive impact it could have on society along with their potential to contribute to the family income in terms of the impact that femininity and masculinity had on society. However women deemed themselves as inferior, especially in physical tasks as compared to men, this made them dependent on men.

The KII respondents believed that society is a better place because of femininity and a woman's reproductive role needs to be understood as a positive strength. Financial responsibility and ownership, trustworthiness and leadership were the positive impacts on men in the Masculinity Study. However men believed they were superior to women and the Study attributes several factors to creating this image of male superiority. It needs to be emphasized that the impact of femininity could not be restricted to one dimension as there are a variety of social pressures that impact women differently.

Chapter -5 Gender Based Violence in Femininity and Masculinity Studies

5. Gender Based Violence in Femininity and Masculinity Studies

This chapter provides a comparative analysis of primary findings on gender-based violence; providing a discussion on the co-relation of masculinity and femininity with gender based violence (GBV), types of violence and attributes associated with GBV and femininity and masculinity.

5.1 Co-relation of Masculinity and Femininity with Gender Based Violence

On the existence of a co-relationship between masculinity and GBV the majority of KII respondents in the Masculinity Study stated that there is a relationship between masculinity and GBV. The three major factors leading to male violence against women were: i) aggression; ii) unemployment and family demands being greater than income earned; and iii) frustration resulting from failure to fulfill expected roles. In urban areas it was found that women joining what are deemed as 'male' professions and occupations challenged masculinity and "the power concentration in men" and triggered violence in men. Related to this point some respondents expressed the "social acceptance of the violence by men over women which supported men to exercise their masculinity in the form of violence over women". In trying to maintain their male dominancy and masculinity some respondents stated that this also led to violence.

In the influential FGD conducted by the Masculinity Study one respondent said in Urdu: "Agar haftey mein eik dafa biwi ko mara jaie to baqi ka hafta sukoon se guzarta hai". The English translation given is: "If wife is beaten once a week, the rest of the week passed with peace". Women FGD respondents stated that men

I The Masculinity Study provides the number of respondents for each factor.

control their wives through the use of physical violence and abusive language.

The Femininity Study explored GBV, specifically violence against women, as a separate thematic area. The reason being that in patriarchal cultures violence is used by men, against women, to exercise power/control and show that they are the stronger person in the relationship. Women on the other hand are considered physically weaker, lack power and decision making within the household and do not have financial independence. The married males (FGD respondents) saw themselves as protecting and upholding "society's traditions and morality" and found the need to establish "clear dominance and control in relationships with the opposite sex within and outside marriage".

The married male respondents linked respect with the ability to earn and provide as they believed that only men could do this and therefore provide their family with the necessary respect. Related to this the male respondents stated that unemployment becomes a factor leading to violence and that substance abuse is also "a direct consequence of unemployment". The roles of husband and wife were seen according to prevailing stereotypes with regard to household work and the raising of children with the man in the house seen as "the head who, must command respect and be able to balance between the demands of the parents and the wife and take major decisions".

The occurrence of domestic violence was seen by married male respondents as a means to "set limits and to show the woman 'her place' especially when she answered back or talked too much" and therefore it is the responsibility of the woman to prevent violence and conflict in the home. The married women FGD respondents accepted domestic violence as being justified

under certain conditions. A large number of women respondents felt "that the wife should be beaten when she has done something 'bad' or disobeyed her husband" and believed that the responsibility of avoiding violence within the home lay with them.

Another major cause of violence within marriage stated by married female FGD respondents was early marriage, with this being linked to maturity and education as it was generally believed that on these findings believes that even though GBV is against both women and men however women face far more violence as compared to men; this is further substantiated by a quote from the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). In addition the author states that these expectations cannot be upheld in today's society where there are "rapidly changing demographics with shifting gender dynamics, reduced livelihood

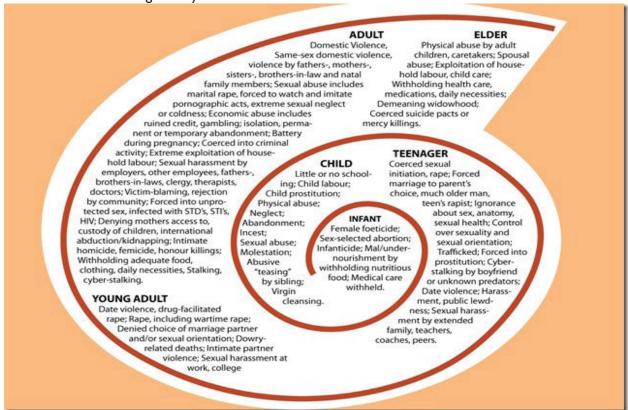


Figure 2: Violence Faced From Infancy to Being an Elder

"educated women would know their 'position' and would not be subjected to violence.

Most male respondents stated a need for "controlling women's activities" and not trusting them therefore "keeping an eye on the wife's movement was considered important and a majority of men felt that women invited violence by the way they dressed and behaved in the public sphere".

The author of the Femininity study in the analysis

opportunities, and an increased need for women to work and supplement family incomes".

The author further states that all forms of violence are rooted in "in some form of 'patriarchal ideology" and related to "social expectations and social positions based on gender and not conforming to a socially accepted gender-role".

The Femininity Study provides this graphic that depicts the violence faced from infancy to being an elder.

The Masculinity Study illustrates the cause and effect relationship between masculinity and GBV through this graphic².

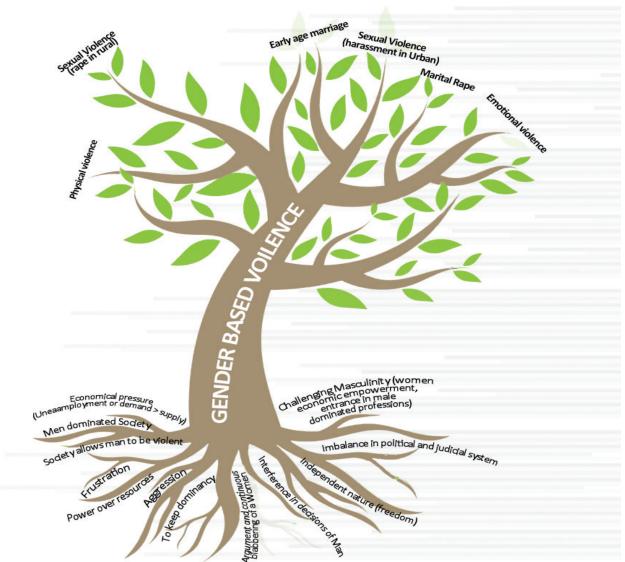


Figure 3: Cause and Effect Relationship between Masculinity and Gender Based Violence

5.2 Types of Violence

The Femininity Study states categorically that "violence is related to the power structure between abuser(s) and abused" and presents a typology of violence that the Masculinity Study does not. The typology is useful and is being

presented here in table form for the ease of the reader.

 $^{2\,\}mbox{The}$ incorrect spelling of violence in the graphic cannot be corrected, as the co-authors do not have access to the original image.

Table 10:Typology of Violence

| Number | Type of Violence | Description |
|--------|-------------------------|---|
| Ι. | Physical violence | Beating, burning, kicking, punching, biting, maiming or killing, the use of objects or weapons, or tearing out one's hair |
| 2. | Verbal abuse/violence | Includes issues that are person-related, such as put- downs (in private or in front of others), ridiculing, the use of swear-words that are especially uncomfortable for the other, saying bad things about the loved ones of the other (family, friends), threatening with other forms of violence against the victim or against somebody or something dear to them |
| 3. | Psychological violence | All forms of violence have a psychological aspect, as they hurt the integrity and dignity of another person - includes isolation or confinement, withholding information, disinformation, and threatening behavior or purposeful ignorance and neglect of the other; dowry is a major factor in psychological violence where the woman is subject to taunts and threats |
| 4. | Socio economic violence | Includes taking away the earnings of the victim, not allowing them to have a separate income ('housewife' status, working in the domestic sphere without a salary, usurping the salary or income of the wife), denial of access to education, denial of access to services, denial of the enjoyment and exercise of civil, cultural, social and political rights |

Note: Adapted from Femininity Study.

The Femininity Study further explains how physical violence sends a clear message to the victim from the perpetrator, for example "I can do things to you that you do not want to happen" and how this illustrates the difference between men and women in social power. Further it states that "the fact that women are generally more economically vulnerable than men is a distinct reason for GBV". However, those women who may have a higher economic status in a relationship are not free from the threat of

violence either because their very status in itself can lead to conflict and abusive relationships.

The Femininity Study provides a legal context to GBV by describing provincial laws on protection against domestic violence in Islamabad (2012), Sindh (2013) and Balochistan (2014). It notes that Punjab has the highest prevalence of violence against women with 63 percent of all cases of violence against women and 58 percent of all cases of domestic violence from the province in 2012 however there is no source provided for this data.

5.3 Attributes associated with Gender Based Violence and Femininity and Masculinity

In the Masculinity and Femininity Studies both KII and FGD respondents were probed about particular attributes associated with GBV:

- Age
- Education
- Polygamy, Dowry and Social Status
- Employment Status
- Substance Abuse

Based on the evidence presented in the studies it was apparent that amongst the KII respondents in the Masculinity Study the major attribute associated with GBV was employment status whereas in the Femininity Study it was education and substance abuse. The least important factor for the KII respondents in the Masculinity Study was substance abuse whereas in the Femininity Study it was polygamy, dowry and social status. This corroborates that the effects of substance abuse as an attribute of GBV are far-reaching and profound for women and girls as compared to boys and men. The attribute of age had a similar response from KII respondents in both Studies.

The FGD respondents in all the four categories - married males, married females, influentials and youth - had almost similar responses to the KII respondents. In the Masculinity Study three of the four categories amongst the FGD respondents rated employment status as the major attribute associated with GBV with only married males rating it as medium whereas in the Femininity Study both married male and female FGD respondents rated it as medium with the influential group giving it a higher rating. Across the board, the KII and FGD respondents in the Masculinity Study expressed how employment status is directly associated with GBV whereas respondents in the Femininity Study gave it less importance. In the Femininity Study the married female FGD respondent group gave the highest

rating to education as an attribute associated with GBV with married males and influentials rating it as medium. However what is interesting to note is that the FGD respondents across three groups in the Masculinity Study also gave a high rating to education thus showing consistency across both Studies.

Across FGD categories in the Masculinity Study substance abuse was given a very low rating as an attribute associated with GBV, this is consistent with the KII respondents, however it was not rated as the highest by the FGD respondents in the Femininity Study, with only married males and influentials' rating it as medium in comparison to the KII respondents who had given it as the highest factor associated with GBV.

From amongst both Studies it was interesting to note that the FGD respondents of the influentials' group in the Femininity Study gave the highest rating to polygamy, dowry and social status. Married female FGD respondents in both studies gave it medium rating whereas other groups ranked it as a low attribute related to GBV.

5.4 Concluding Analysis

The Gender Based Violence chapters in both studies are well documented with the primary findings and have useful graphic illustrations depicting the relationship between masculinity and femininity with GBV.

The Masculinity Study stated that there was a relationship between masculinity and GBV and provided three factors that led to male violence against women - aggression; unemployment; and the frustration emanating from not being able to fulfill expected roles. Women taking on so called 'male' professions challenges masculinity, which leads to violence in men as they want to maintain their dominant role and control. The Femininity Study explained how men used violence against women to exercise power and show that they are the stronger of the two, whereas women are considered physically weaker, lack power and decision-making and have

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no financial independence. For men respect was linked with ability to earn and provide which is why unemployment became a factor leading to violence. Domestic violence was seen by males as a means to show women their place and therefore the burden of responsibility of avoiding violence in the home lies on the woman who must know and keep her place. Early marriage was another causal factor linked to GBV.

The Femininity Study provided a useful typology of violence that includes - physical violence, verbal abuse/violence, psychological violence and socio-economic violence – which the Masculinity Study does not.

The Femininity Study explained how economically vulnerable women were more prone to face GBV, however, this did not exclude women from a higher economic and/or social status who also faced the threat of violence. The Femininity Study also provided a legal context to GBV in explaining provincial laws against violence.

In the Masculinity Study employment status was the major attribute associated with GBV, and in the Femininity Study it was education and substance abuse. The least important factor in the Masculinity Study was substance abuse whereas in the Femininity Study it was polygamy, dowry and social status. This substantiated the claim that the effects of substance abuse have a major impact on GBV and women and girls.

It has been found that in cases of GBV the experiences of women are not believed when they are reported and how this is a symptom of the structural causes of GBV that permeates all levels of society. The lack of visibility and the under-representation and/or absence of women's voices in the mainstream maintains' the widespread incidence of GBV across all regions and classes. Women and girls must be empowered and that men and boys should also be engaged in this process to create awareness and facilitate ways of strategizing to reduce GBV within their own communities and that

comprehensive policy measures must be taken forward that put the voices of women and girls at the core.

Chapter -6 Sexuality in Femininity and Masculinity Studies

6. Sexuality in Femininity and Masculinity Studies

This chapter presents a comparative analysis of primary findings in the context of sexuality. It discusses consenting to sexual relations and initiating sex; fertility and its association to femininity and masculinity.

6.1 Consenting to Sexual Relations/ Initiating Sex

Overall, both the Femininity and Masculinity Studies state using their respondents' voices that consenting to sexual relations is feminine and initiating sex by men is masculine. The Femininity Study also recorded some mixed responses.

The Masculinity Study states in the literature review that sexual possessiveness and superiority is associated with masculinity. The Femininity Study states that most of the FGD respondents associated femininity with women giving their consent to sexual relations with their husbands. About a quarter of FGD respondents were, however, of the opinion that such discussions should remain between the couples as it is their personal matter. The KII respondents were also of the opinion that wives need to consent to sexual relations when husbands initiate sex. They termed it as the wives' "responsibility". Some respondents (about ten) agreed that wives are required to consent to sexual relations when husbands initiate sex, however, they did not attribute it directly as a feminine trait. There were mixed opinions about the attribution of femininity to initiating sex or taking an active part in sexual activity. About half the respondents called it femininity and the other half did not.

There are three trends clearly described above:

Sexual superiority is associated with masculinity

- 2. According to most of the respondents, wives are liable to consent to sexual relations when husbands initiate sex
- Only half the respondents' linked femininity to initiating sex or actively participating in sexual activity. For the other half, initiating sex or actively participating in sexual relations is not feminine

The Masculinity Study has a very brief write-up on sexuality, other than the tables that are given in both the studies. There is also a short write-up on sexuality in the literature review section of the Masculinity Study and it states that men are entitled to initiating sexual relations whenever they want.

The Femininity Study provides an interesting perspective on wives being the subjects of husbands' initiating of sexual relations. It provides a quote from a lady healthcare provider that states that even if women do not want to have sex, they consider it their duty to agree to it when required by their husbands. It further states that men should attract women and indulge in the necessary foreplay to make it easier for women to have sex with them just as the male peacock dances to attract the female peacock. If a woman does not feel like having sex, it should not be considered her fault. Whereas, women are often blamed, for not being ready enough to have sex. Lack of women's willingness to have sex is sometimes linked to men having sexual relations with mistresses .The lady healthcare provider also shared that many newly married young girls are so scared of a painful sexual act that they avoid it.

The Femininity Study concludes this subject by stating that "overall, respondents' attitudes were mixed about whether it is feminine or not to consent to sexual relations, initiate sex, and actively participate in sex. A majority of respondents felt that it was not a part of femininity to initiate sex, but half the respondents felt that consenting to sex and active participation in sex was consistent with femininity and half felt that it was not".

6.2 Women's Expression of Sexuality is Considered Negative

Since femininity stereotypes women with certain passive traits, women's active expression of sexuality is tabooed as a negative trait. Femininity is equated to consent to men's sexual advances and an active expression or participation in sexual relations is considered not appropriate for women. The Femininity Study discusses this aspect in its sexuality chapter and underscores the need to recognize that women have natural sexual instincts just as men do. It links debasing of women's sexual instincts to patriarchal feudal culture where women's initiative in sexual relations is looked down upon (or frowned on). Women are socialized to consenting to sexual relations when men initiate sex and being the passive participants in sexual activity rather than expressing their sexuality or participating in it on their own terms. Women's expression of sexuality is considered negative. If a woman wants to have a date with man, it is looked down upon. However, if a man wants to have a date with a woman, it is considered that he is fulfilling his natural instincts and manly or masculine traits. The Masculinity Study does not have too much to say on this subject except stating that all rural female FGD respondents stated that initiating sex is a masculine trait.

6.3 Fertility and its Association to Femininity and Masculinity

Femininity is linked to bearing children. The Femininity Study states that the prevalent perception in society across the board associates femininity with fertility. The FGD respondents in the Femininity Study endorsed such a universal association between the two. Amongst the KII respondents, about half of them stated that there

is a close link between femininity and fertility. The other half shared that though they personally may not associate bearing children with women, yet the society in general links the two closely. The Femininity Study further states that women who give birth are considered feminine and childless women are considered less feminine. The ability to give birth is uniquely women's exclusive trait.

In Pakistani society and culture, there is a greater emphasis on women's reproductive role. Women do not feel secure and entrenched in their married lives, unless they become mothers. If a woman is childless, her in-laws and extended family make life difficult for her, often it can lead to divorce and in certain instances to suicide being committed by childless married women. A childless married woman is often ostracized from social relations due to her infertility.

The Masculinity Study also shares this finding of the Femininity Study and states, "Sexual virility and ability to produce off springs is another dimension of masculinity. Producing a male child and being sexually powerful enough to keep his wife in control are some of the other expectations of a real man". The Masculinity Study also links masculinity with the ability to have more male children.

6.4 Relationship of Sexuality with Masculinity and Femininity

In the Masculinity and Femininity Studies both KII and FGD respondents were probed on the relationship with sexuality:

- Sexual Relations (every time/anytime)
- Initiating Sex
- Fertility/more or male children
- Active participation/ multiple partners

Based on the evidence presented in the studies, little less than half of KII respondents mentioned sexual relations could take place at any time as a masculine trait; while the femininity was linked to obeying the husband's initiation of sex and it was

also linked to the understanding the couple may have developed between themselves. Whereas, more than half the respondents initiaiting sex to be a masculine trait and femininity was linked to seduction and temptation which can lead men to initiate sex. Surprisingly, majority of KII respondents did not link fertitlity or having more male children with masculinity, while femininity was definitely linked to fertitlity and producing children. Again, surprisingly having multiple sexual partners was not directly linked to masculinity, while active participation in sexual relations was considered important as a femininie trait. KII responses gives interesting results. Since, KIIs were conducted with mostly the educated class of people, we might not see them giving more nuanced responses such as not linking fertility or producing male off-springs to masculinity directly. KII responses given above are reflection of some association with the traditional gender roles, yet they also go beyong stereotyping some of gendered interpretation of sexuality in femininity and masculinity.

The fieldwork results of KIIs showed a pattern of continuity and change. Around half the respondents in the Masculinity Study considered that initiating sexual relationsor having it at anytime (little less than half respondents)is a masculine trait. It could be interpreted that the other respondents did not associate it with masculinity or considered it worthwhile to express their association of masculinity with such traits. Whereas, the respondents in the Femininity Study attributed the understanding between couples while emphasizing that a wife has to agree to her husband's initiation of sex. It reflects continuity of gender stereotypes as well as evolution in the sexualization of gender norms. Similarly, fertility was strongly associated with femininity and not with masculinity. Bearing off-spring and specially male off-spring places added burden on women and can subject them to often irrational family, community and societal pressures and can lead to violence against them in extreme cases. Again, there is a need to discourage the burden of fertility's association with womanhood and deconstrcut

the sexualization of gender roles.

Similarly, from the FGD responses (married males, married females, influentials and youth) having sexual relations anytime was strongly reflected with masculinity and femininity study respondents agree with it to some degree. Initiating sex by men is also strongly associated with masculinity and not to femininity. Having more children or male children was also strongly associated with masculinity and femininity study respondents agree with it to some degree. Having more sexual relationships is only slightly associated with masculinity by the Masculinity Study respondents, while Femininity Study respondents agreed with it strongly.

The differentiation of FGD responses from the KIIs given above could be explained that FGDs were conducted with a cross-section of population in diverse geographical locations, we see responses that are largely a byproduct of the stereotypical society's gendered conceptualization of sexual relations.

6.5 Concluding Analysis

This chapter presented a comparative analysis of sexuality in both Studies. It discussed consenting to sexual relations and initiating sex, women's expression of sexuality, fertility and its association to femininity and masculinity and provided comparative tables from both the Studies based on the KII and FGD responses.

Overall, female and male sexuality needs to be looked at in the context of patriarchal and feudal culture in countries like Pakistan. Women's bodies are turned into sexual objects in patriarchal societies and are subject to male, familial and societal control. While, the overall trend was femininity is not associated with initiating sexual relations, yet there were mixed responses about it too and about half the respondents did not associate it with femininity. This is an encouraging trend which shows that there is evolution in the thought process going beyond patriarchy.

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With some mixed results, sexual virility and ability to produce offspring was associated with masculinity. Masculinity was also linked to having more male children. Therefore, whether it is linking femininity to docility and passivity or putting pressure on men to reproduce, preferably more male offspring; objectification of femininity and masculinity was a byproduct of a patriarchal mindset and society. However, as illustrated in the primary findings above, this trend is changing and evolving as well.

Similarly, male aggression and violence against women was also linked to employment status and the level of education. Overall, sexual superiority was linked to masculinity and wives were considered to obey when their husbands initiated sexual relations. It was generally not considered appropriate for women to initiate sexual relations, however, there were mixed responses about this as well. Sexuality was construed, overall, in the backdrop of a patriarchal setup and there were signs that with the socio-political and economic changes evident in society, these sexuality related stereotypes would also begin to evolve and change.

Overall, both the Femininity and Masculinity Studies state using their respondents' voices that consenting to sexual relations is feminine and initiating sex by men is masculine however the Femininity Study also recorded some mixed responses with femininity being linked to bearing children. The prevalent perception in society, across the board, associates femininity with fertility; and the ability to procreate and being sexually powerful as a powerful attribute of masculinity. It is also associated with having more male children.

Chapter -7

Conclusions & Recommendations in Femininity and Masculinity Studies

7. Conclusions & Recommendations in Femininity and Masculinity Studies

This chapter provides a comparative analysis of conclusions and recommendations from both the studies; and provides conclusions and recommendations of the authors of this Comparative Analysis Study.

7.1 Conclusions from the Femininity and Masculinity Studies

The Femininity Study states that it found it challenging to give any one conclusion to the research conducted since it had several varied perspectives and that there was a greater understanding of masculinity with "far less understanding of femininity. The Masculinity Study presents its conclusions for each theme using a series of infographics.

The major conclusion drawn from the research in the Femininity Study is that "few women are actually able to make their own choices and decisions about their own lives. Whether they are educated or not, or whether they are allowed to work, families and societies are the ones who

decide how they should behave, including how they should dress. Women are expected to be the primary homemakers, whether they wish to take on that role or not, and whether they work full time or not. A woman's role as a mother appears to be firmly entrenched, and not just the biological role but also as the caregiver and the primary raiser of children".

The author of the Femininity Study states that femininity has a positive impact on individuals, families and society and that the role of childbearing is a positive aspect of femininity which should not be undermined. A KII respondent is quoted as saying: "women are so used to being undermined that they themselves do not look at their reproductive ability as strength and in fact view it as a weakness".

The Masculinity Study concludes that masculinity effects women both positively and negatively and has cultural and geographical variations. Women in urban areas are becoming economically stronger and receiving education and exercise relatively more freedom than those in rural areas. The positive and negative impact of masculinity on women is summarized in the following table

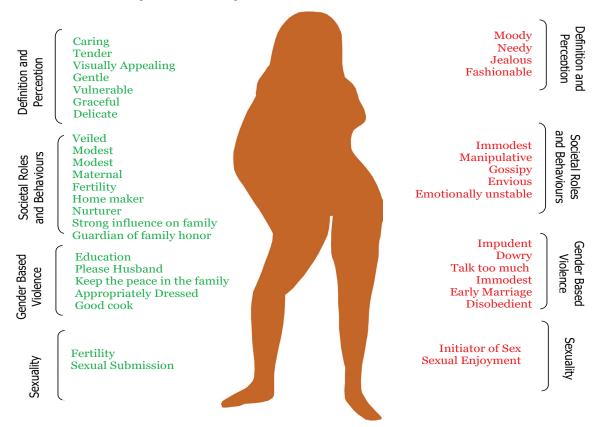
Table 11: Summary Table of Positive and Negative Impact of Masculinity on Women

| Positive Impact of Masculinity on Women | Negative Impact of Masculinity on Women |
|---|---|
| Power, decision making and resource sharing examples stated are family planning, sex, problems faced by men outside and property issues | Increase in violence due to: a) economic stability of women; b) increase in demand for equal rights and opportunities – both more in urban areas and relatively less in rural areas |
| Challenging traditional/cultural norms, values and practices in urban areas like karo kari, watta satta and early and child marriage | Passive personality characteristics - limited opportunities for marriages of choice, not allowed to speak in case of rights violation - major finding in rural areas |
| Enabling educational environment with increased access and opportunities especially in urban areas but increasing in rural areas | Promotion of traditional role of women -cooking, looking after children, sexual gratification source for men, predominantly in rural areas and still a challenge for urban women |

| Increased level of rights awareness in women on protection, shelter and laws | Limited opportunities to speak, make decisions and seek education and professional work particularly in rural areas |
|--|---|
| Women are allowed marriages of choice, career development, professional occupations which were perceived to be "men's" | Women are deprived of resources (not allowed to use their earning) especially in rural areas |
| Increased women's economic empowerment particularly in urban areas | Psychological trauma, physical ailment, limited access to family planning and sexual and reproductive health treatment, particularly in rural areas but less in urban areas |
| Feeling of security and belongingness, confident, productive and supportive | Acceptance of violence and easily raped and sexually assaulted |

Note: Adapted from Masculinity Study.

Figure 4: Positive and Negative Aspects of Definitions, Societal Roles, Gender Based Violence and Sexuality of Femininity



The feminine image in Pakistan is socially constructed and possesses certain physical appearances such as being veiled and appropriately dressed; behaviors that include being modest, maternal and a nurturer; traits and skills of being a homemaker, an influential family member and responsible for the respect of the family and its honor. These characteristics vary

on the basis of urban/rural location, geography, ethnicity and culture. The positive perception of a woman is that she is caring, tender, visually appealing, gentle, vulnerable, graceful and delicate whereas the negative perception is that she is moody, manipulative, engages in gossip, jealous and emotionally unstable. In terms of avoiding GBV the woman should be educated, keep the

peace with her husband and in the family, please her husband at all times, dress appropriately and be a good cook. However, if she is immodest, envious, talks too much, did not bring enough dowry with her, had an early marriage and is disobedient then she is responsible for any GBV carried out on her. In terms of her sexuality she is a "good" woman if she has fertility and engages in sexual submission but is a "bad" woman if she initiates sex and enjoys it.

The Femininity Study states that feminine traits are considered inferior to masculinity traits and that this is self-evident in the use of adjectives associated with the two concepts. Femininity is generally considered synonymous with submissiveness, delicacy and demureness while envy, jealousy and manipulation are commonly associated with the negative traits of femininity. Adjectives used in the Femininity Study describing masculinity and femininity are given in the table below.

Table 12: Descriptive Adjectives for Masculinity and Femininity

| Masculinity | Femininity |
|-------------|--------------|
| Strong | Weak |
| Tough | Fragile |
| Rational | Irrational |
| Serious | Frivolous |
| Functional | Ornamental |
| Sincere | Manipulative |

The image of the Pakistani masculine personality as found in the Masculinity Study is socially constructed and possesses certain physical appearance, behavior, traits and skills which vary on the basis of geography, ethnicity and culture. A stronger association of masculinity with men is observed in rural areas than in urban areas. Socially, masculinity can be seen as the provider, protector, loyal, leader, respecting women, honest, kind and having a good heart. Psychologically, masculinity is termed as hard worker, decision maker, competitor, consistent, responsible, aggressive,

courageous, emotionally' restrained and solution finder.

Masculinity - physical appearance

Common findings – tall, broad shoulders, strong muscles, body hair, healthy, not-feminine and handsome.

Rural areas – moustaches, shalwar kameez and traditional cultural clothes.

Urban areas – clean shave or fashion beard and western clothing (suits, pant and shirt).

In summary the perception of masculinity is that:

- I. A traditional definition of masculinity is found all over Pakistan.
- 2. Masculinity is seen primarily as the gender stereotyping of men.
- 3. Masculinity is more focused on the positive traits of traditional masculinity component i.e. men.

7.2 Recommendations from the Femininity and Masculinity Studies

The recommendations were not necessarily classified thematically so to provide clarity and appropriate focus the authors of this study analyzed each recommendation and then grouped each one according to its theme. The table below represents a thematic based summary of the recommendations from both the Femininity and Masculinity Studies. The Femininity Study presented its recommendations thematically whereas the Masculinity Study listed their recommendations which have now been arranged thematically as well. The Masculinity Studies recommendations are based on promoting positive aspects of masculinity and minimizing its negative consequences.

An additional thematic area of research has been added by the co-authors as this area was highlighted throughout both the Studies and can easily be followed up by future research.

Table 13: Summary Table of Recommendations from the Femininity and Masculinity Studies

| Themes | Femininity Study | Masculinity Study |
|---|---|--|
| Definition and perception of femininity and masculinity | i) Take measures to change existing mindsets and attitudes. ii) Textbooks and curricula should be revised to show different roles that women can, and do, play, across the world. iii) Mass media can play an important role by not stereotyping women in traditional roles of mother, wife and homemaker, and instead, showing women playing these same roles from a more egalitarian perspective, where they play an equal role in family, community and society. iv) Society needs to view pregnancy and childbirth as a strength and ability that is unique to women and appreciate their role in bringing forth and raising future generations. | i) Masculinity has positive traits which need to be capitalized especially for improving the tolerance and patience level in society. ii) Women's education and media are the key levers of change that can help diffuse the positive masculinity traits in society. Positive masculinity needs to be branded and promoted as a life style approach. iii) A delicate balance is required while promoting the positive traits of masculinity so as to ensure that additional pressure on men does not result in a further identity crisis. iv) A change process has been initiated which needs to be strengthened in urban areas, however increased efforts are required in rural areas. |
| Societal roles and behavior | i) Educational institutions, media, social media and community based interventions by NGOs and government need to focus on changing perceptions of femininity so that women are perceived as strong, capable individuals worthy of making a significant contribution to society. ii) Through their role as peacemaker, women hold families together in times of conflict, a fact which is not given adequate acknowledgement. Women's strengths and abilities need to be publicized so that these strong, positive traits can be linked with femininity. | i) Trends are changing, particularly in urban areas, and it is seen that masculinity is no more a denial of women's rights such as the right to education for women. This and other traits of masculinities need to be strengthened especially since women's economic empowerment is also seen as a challenge to masculinity resulting in VAW. ii) Changes are required in curriculum to diffuse gender-neutral values in society, especially focusing on mothers. iii) Promotion of positive traits of masculinity is required. Masculinity traits, behaviors, appearance and occupation are institutionalized within society, community and families and change must be targeted at all these levels. iv) Local and scientific evidence base needs to be strengthened on the impact of engaging men in different activities of gender sensitization and capacity building on gender equity. |

| Gender based violence | i) Take measures to empower women, especially economically, through education, encouraging employment including through micro credit schemes and small and medium enterprises, as well as through ensuring that women legally inherit property that is theirs by right. ii) Laws on VAW need to be implemented and all those concerned need to be trained to adequately address complaints of violence – police, other law enforcement agents, medico legal officers, health care providers, and judiciary. | i) Masculinity is both a direct and indirect cause of GBV. It can trigger and exaggerate the effects of other factors responsible for GBV such as unemployment, poverty and conflicts. Efforts to control GBV should focus on minimizing the effects of masculinity in the GBV context. |
|-----------------------|--|---|
| Sexuality | i) Perceptions around fertility and femininity should be addressed using primarily mass media, including print, electronic and radio, educational institutions, social media, and community based interventions that include interpersonal communication, community events and street theatre. | |
| Research | i) During the process of developing the Femininity Study it became evident that there is a significant gap in research on this topic. There is a need to conduct more in-depth research, by region as well as by target group, so that the gaps in understanding Femininity can be addressed. | i) Research is required to increase understanding of the relationship between masculinity and VAW. Context specific understanding on the perceptions of men and women on masculinity and links between notions of masculinity and undesired behaviors such as GBV require indepth investigation². ii) Further research is needed for improved understanding of the subject in the following key areas: a) masculinity in different sub cultures as Pakistan has a heterogeneous society; b) exploring all the social and psychological aspects of masculinity in all its roles - father, brother, son and husband – for a deeper understanding of what is required for each role at the family, community and society level; c) role of religion in masculinity construct and practices, especially in the rural context where masculinity's traditional concept is still upheld; and d)explore how masculinity manifests itself in political, economic and judicial structures of society. |

Conclusion and Recommendations of the Comparative Study

7.3.1 Conclusions of the Comparative Study

The Femininity Study related femininity to womanliness or womanhood as a "set of attributes, behavior, and roles generally associated with girls and women". The Masculinity Study related masculinity to "manliness" and "manhood", though it did qualify that some women can have masculine traits and some men can also have feminine traits.

Yet, femininity and masculinity are often presented in binary opposition i.e. to be feminine is to be the opposite of masculine and vice versa. The Femininity Study discussed the attributes of femininity as "women everywhere are assumed (or preferred) to be delicate, emotional, softspoken, vulnerable, weak and talkative. On the other hand men are thought to be strong, rational, protective and tough". Masculinity is defined by "domination, aggressiveness, competitiveness, athletic prowess, stoicism, and control characterizes hegemonic masculinity. Love, affection, pain, and grief are improper displays of emotion". The Femininity Study also described the process of formation of manhood as "in many cultures, boys are told from childhood that 'boys don't cry', which may result in men experiencing' difficulty expressing their own feelings or relating to others' feelings, as they grow older". The Masculinity Study links hegemonic masculinity to patriarchy and GBV which sets in motion "systems of power inequalities and imbalances between women and men...... GBV becomes a mean to acquire resources and deny access of these resources to others".

The Femininity Study states: "femininity is socially constructed, but made up of both socially-defined and biologically-created factors". The Masculinity Study also defines masculinity in relation to "cultural practices and social norms".

The Femininity Study discusses the evolution

and change in the concepts of femininity in the context of evolution of social and cultural norms in patriarchal societies. However, even now, ambitiousness and assertiveness is not considered feminine. While the stereotypes are gradually changing, there is need for more concerted efforts to bring about the change at a wider scale. Women are still often depicted in the traditional roles of "mother, teacher, or nurse". In other words, the Femininity Study underscores that change is taking place, yet there is need for transformation of gender identities and roles.

The Masculinity Study discusses the evolution and change in the concepts of masculinity as not being "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. Many tasks that were until recently believed to be 'man's work' are now performed by women in a number of cultures such as women pilots, construction workers, engineers, athletes, wrestlers, astronauts, scientists, military commanders which 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".

Overall, both the Femininity and Masculinity Studies state using their respondents' voices that consenting to sexual relations is feminine and initiating sex by men is masculine. The Femininity Study also recorded some mixed responses.

Femininity is linked to bearing children. The Femininity Study states that the prevalent perception in society across the board associates femininity with fertility. The Masculinity Study also shares this finding of the Femininity Study and states, "Sexual virility and ability to produce off springs is another dimension of masculinity. Producing a male child and being sexually powerful enough to keep his wife in control are some of the other expectations of a real man".

The Masculinity Study also links masculinity with the ability to have more male children.

The Masculinity Study provides details on the need of engagement with men to deal with negative aspects of masculinity. The Study does not state it explicitly that engagement with men is being presented as a mitigation measure to neutralize the negative impact of masculinity, rather it states that "women-only" interventions have limited success and the focus of development discourse has shifted from "women" to "gender". As is commonly understood, gender is the relationship between women and men and it does not only focus on engaging women. While referring to Peace, Security and Network Development co-authored report, the Masculinity Study states, "ignoring men in interventions can provoke male hostility and retaliation that can have adverse effects and keeping men out is akin to losing the sight of a large share of development resources". The Masculinity Study further states that in Pakistan, engagement with men could be both to redress men's issues as well as a strategy to reach-out to women and redress their issues. The Femininity Report does not explicitly cover studies describing strategies for engaging men in altering negative gender differences however it has a section on Female Empowerment.

In the recently held 60th Session of the UN Commission on Status of Women in New York, the Pakistani NGO Women's Empowerment Group, which was granted special consultative status by the UN Economic and Social Council, submitted an oral statement as co-signatory with Soroptimist International on 'Addressing the Underlying Structural Causes and Risk Factors of Violence against Women and Girls'. In this it was stated that it has been found that in cases of GBV the experiences of women are not believed when they are reported and how this is a symptom of the structural causes of GBV that permeates all levels of society. The lack of visibility and the under-representation and/or absence of women's voices in the mainstream maintains' the widespread incidence of GBV

across all regions and classes. Based on this the co-authors believe that women and girls must be empowered and that men and boys should also be engaged in this process to create awareness and facilitate ways of strategizing to reduce GBV within their own communities and that comprehensive policy measures must be taken forward that put the voices of women and girls at the core.

Femininity and masculinity are social constructs. As the literature points out sex refers to "biological/genetic differences between males and females and it is constant i.e. males and females have the same biological features all over the world" (Rozan, "Training Curriculum on Attitudinal Change", 2013). Whereas, "Gender is ssocially determined differences between men and women and boys and girls, such as roles, attitudes, values and norms for behavior. Gender refers to social attributes that are learned or acquired during socialization as a member of a given community. Because these attributes are learned behaviors, they change over time and can vary within societies" (Rozan, "Training Curriculum on Attitudinal Change", 2013).

Femininity is generally objectification of women (though there could be feminine men as well) and masculinity is objectification of men (though, there could be masculine women as well) with respective traits. Femininity and masculinity are socially learned and acquired identities with their respective traits, roles and behaviors.

Both the Femininity and Masculinity Studies discuss attributes of positive femininity and masculinity respectively. While, it is encouraging to think out of the box and think through the transformation of the negative attributes of femininity and masculinity; yet both the constructs of femininity and masculinity objectify womanhood and manhood with physical attributes and norms of the patriarchal structure. Therefore, the transformation process should involve unlearning and unhinging womanhood with femininity and manhood with masculinity. In other words, rather than exploring positive femininity and positive masculinity; the process

of objectification of women and men as feminine and masculine should be deconstructed and transformed to unlearning and doing away with stereotyping.

7.3.2 Recommendations of the Comparative Study

These recommendations have been developed by the co-authors and are not in any order of priority.

- It is important to state that while analyzing the various definitions, attributes and roles of femininity and masculinity in Pakistan; it should be made clear to the audience that both these concepts are social constructs and they need to be deconstructed and their temporal and regional/local variance highlighted to unhinge them from biological determinations. Feminine and masculine stereotyping is a socially learnt behavior and deconstruction of these concepts can be the first step to bring behavioral change in the society.
- Though, both the Femininity and Masculinity Studies relied on extensive fieldwork and also quoted literature from a regional perspective in Pakistan, as well as some from an international perspective. Yet, there was a need to identify the regional patterns in the understanding of the traits of femininity and masculinity which need to be contextualized and analyzed better in any future research.
- To change stereotypes and show women and men in non-traditional roles it is necessary to work with advertising agencies on first changing their assumptions, perceptions and understanding of femininity and masculinity and then with them work through all forms of media (radio, electronic and social media) and mobile technology to change the status quo.
- Drama and film are both influential in reinforcing existing ideas and also in

- leading to new ideas and thinking, this makes it imperative to work with drama, screenplay and script writers to rewrite their images and portrayal of women and men.
- Development programming in the social sector needs to include knowledge building and factual information on sexuality which should include clarifying myths around sexuality; sexual health; develop learning and coping skills for conflict resolution and anger management; and support women and men to take up non-traditional careers and professions.
- Specific and targeted resources are required to be dedicated to promote equal access to justice; for awareness raising and education programs to ensure that women and girls are legally empowered and know about the laws that are there to protect them; and for more credible and accurate data to be collected and disaggregated on the basis of age, relationship status, sexuality, ethnicity, race, disability and other factors to inform policy measures for an improved understanding of GBV.
- Men and boys must be educated about GBV and its negative impact on women, girls, and the family and within society¹.
- The comparative analysis presented in this report, along with the individual Femininity and Masculinity Studies should be translated into Urdu and published for wider dissemination and outreach as this will lead to an increased awareness amongst the public at large. Additionally the Urdu versions should then be launched in smaller cities in collaboration with civil society and other stakeholders.

¹ See "A More Equal Future," a manual to help fathers, daughters and families critically examine and change norms that support child marriage in India. This and similar manuals can be adapted for use in Pakistan. http://men-care.org/news/?region=asia-pacific

Annexures

Annex I Terms of Reference

Qualitative Comparative Analysis of Femininity & Masculinity in Pukistan-SEBCON

Gender Equity Program

ATTACHMENT III - Scope of Work

Background and Rationale:

The USAID-supported Gender Equity Program (GEP) being implemented jointly by Aurat Foundation and The Asia Foundation aims at closing the gender gap in Pakistan by proactively supporting the development of women. The program seeks to facilitate behavioral change in society by enabling women to access information, resources and institutions, and improve societal attitudes towards women's rights issues. During the five years of GEP, a series of studies will be commissioned under the thematic areas of the program to identify issues, needs, priorities, current and past initiatives with respect to women's advancement and empowerment in Pakistan. The studies will inform the strategic planning of the Gender Equity Program.

There has been extensive research on core GEP objectives covering women empowerment, access to legal rights and justice and GBV issues, however there are some underlying concepts that GEP intends to further explore. For this purpose, GEP is undertaking two parallel research studies entitled, "Formative Research on Femininity in Pakistan" & "Formative Research on Masculinity in Pakistan". While, understanding gendered norms for both women and men, the two formative research studies will indirectly explore the socio economic context and relations that individually shape women and men's lives, their dominance and change.

The formative research studies on femininity & masculinity are divided in three parts:

- 1. Desk review
- 2. Focus group discussions (FGDs)
- 3. Key informant interviews (KIIs)

Secondary-based Data (desk review)

The desk review will be carried out within the Pakistani context with some references to other literature from countries with similar cultural landscape. The desk review will primarily map existing researches, interventions, and policy actions undertaken on femininity &masculinity in Pakistan, in terms of the geographical coverage, linkages with thematic areas like violence and sexuality and existing material. The desk review will also identify gaps, issues, secondary sources and people to speak to at the primary level.

Primary-based Data (FGDs & Kils)

Vammely.

The parallel formative research studies will be nationwide; one major city and one rural area will be selected from each of the province, including GB and AJK to gather the primary data. In selection, high GBV incidence areas will be focused in both urban and rural split. Each study entails 40 FGDs with men and women, including spouses and family members etc. as well as community influential and university students (gender studies / others). The focused groups

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Comparative Analysis of Masculinity & Femininity in Pakistan

will reflect socio-economic; upper, middle, working, urban-rural, occupational-non-occupational, areas of high and low incidences of GBV etc. About 60 key informant interviews will be covered in each study, from relevant primary sources who have researched and worked on this issue at the implementation level with an urban and/or and rural outreach. This includes NGOs, subject specialists, selected policy makers and media, with a focus on thematic perceptions/ content analysis based on existing programs, literature, curriculum, training and advocacy/IEC material related to femininity &masculinity.

Project Milestones:

- Collate secondary and primary data findings from the femininity & masculinity studies
- Carry out qualitative comparative analysis of both research studies (femininity and masculinity) highlighting thematic perceptions
- Overall data presentation, thematic, regional and category wise
- Write report in English and submit to GEP in soft and hard copies. This report must include:
 - Key findings from desk review, FGDs and KIIs (with triangulation) of both research reports (femininity and masculinity)
 - Comparative analysis with conclusions and recommendations
- A debrief to the GEP team on the study findings using PowerPoint presentation.

Duration of Sub-Contract:

The proposed duration of the project is 2 months starting from February 15, 2016 to April 15, 2016.

Annex 2 Research Guidelines for Femininity and Masculinity Studies

Definition and Perception

| Femininity | Masculinity |
|--|--|
| Q1.What do you understand of the term femininity? | QI.What do you understand of the term masculinity? |
| Q2. Is femininity defined by traits, by personality 'type', or looks? Which of the following do you associate with femininity (Probe=>- Physical Appearance, Traits, Behaviors, Occupation)? | 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)? |
| Q3.1s femininity characterized by values of (IAT) | Q3. Is masculinity characterized by values of (IAT) |
| • career, freedom and creative work, or | career, freedom and creative work, or |
| • family, home, children | • 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)? | 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 femininity? | Q5.What are the positive traits of masculinity? |
| Q6.What are the negative traits of femininity? | Q6.What are the negative traits of masculinity? |
| | |
| Societal Roles/ Behavior | |
| Femininity | Masculinity |
| Q7.What is the impact of femininity on women themselves (Probe=>negative and positive aspects of this identity, give examples) Q8.What is the impact of femininity on men (Probe=>negative and positive aspects of this identity, give examples) | 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) |
| | |

O9. What is the impact of femininity on family

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

Q10.What is the impact of femininity on society

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

QII. How can positive aspects be enhanced (probe=> how can they benefit society)

Q12.What can be done to deal with the negative aspects (probe=> how to minimize their negative effects in society)

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

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

Q15. What is an ideal feminine 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 her femininity? Probes:

Society

Family

Peer

Economic

Religious

O9. What is the impact of masculinity on family

(Probe=>negative and positive aspects of this identity, give exam-

Q10.What is the impact of masculinity on society

(Probe=>negative and positive aspects of this identity, give examples) QII. How can positive aspects be enhanced (probe=> how can they benefit society) Q12.What can be done to deal with the negative aspects (probe=> how to minimize their negative effects in 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:

Failure to achieve targets

Interpersonal clash/ disagreement

Unemployment

Work stresses

Relationship stresses

Emergencies/deaths

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

Society

Family

Economic Peer

Religious

Violence/GBV

| Femininity | Masculinity |
|---|--|
| Q17.What is the co-relationship between femininity and Gender Based Violence? | Q17.What is the co-relationship between masculinity and Gender Based Violence? |
| Q18. How do you think following attributes have their effects on fem-ininity and Gender Based Violence? | Q18. How do you think following attributes have their effects on masculinity and Gender Based Violence? |
| Age; education; marital status; polygamy & dowry; stress and reactions associated with employment status; substance abuse | Age; education; marital/cohabitation status; polygamy & dowry; stress and reactions associated with employment status; substance abuse |
| | |

Sexuality

| Femininity | Masculinity |
|---|--|
| Q19. Do you think women consenting to sexual relations every time with their husbands, is a feminine trait? | Q19. Do you think men wanting sexual relations anytime with their wives, is a masculine trait? |
| Q20. Do you think a woman initiating sex, is a feminine trait | Q20. Do you think a man initiating sex, is a masculine trait? |
| Q21. Are fertile women a symbol of femininity | Q21. Are having more/male children a symbol of masculinity |
| Q22. Are women who enjoy/actively participate in sex, considered feminine | Q22. Is it considered masculine to have multiple sexual relation-ships at the same time |







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