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ARTICLE

**The Socio-demographic Progression Of The Pakistani Woman Manager
1988 To 2004
An Empirical Evidence From The Private Sector**

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to help identify the types of women who had opted for managerial professions in the private sector, and to identify any trends in the social, economic, or educational backgrounds that might have had a bearing on the types of women likely to pursue a managerial career. Research for the survey included 152 organizations in the private sector that had employed graduates from business educational institutions. Out of these 87 organizations reported women at managerial levels. 207 managerial women answered the mail survey. The findings suggest that the profession still remains the domain of upper-middle-class women and not much has changed between 1988 and 2004. Women's chances of obtaining a senior managerial position increase if they have been educated at schools or institutions at which the medium of instruction was English. However, unlike their Western counterparts, Pakistani women managers do not pursue their careers at the cost of personal or family commitments.

Key words: Women, managers, Pakistan, socio-demographic profile

Introduction

Pakistan's population is over 180 million, of which 48% is female. The country's gender development index (GDI) is 0.525. Of the 156 countries for which both the Human Development Index (HDI) and GDI were calculated, 151 show a better ratio than Pakistan. The country ranks 82nd of 93 countries in terms of its gender empowerment measure (GEM), which has a value of 0.377 (Human Development Report, 2005/2008). It is not surprising, given this context that in Pakistan, in the year 2003/04, the percentage of women in the occupational groups that included legislators, senior officials, and managers, accounted for 1.4% of the total occupational statistics (Labour Force Survey, 2004) as compared to the male statistics of 13.6%. This is approximately equal to 122,000 women of a total population of 160 million people in the same year. The Human Development report places this figure at 2%, the lowest in the world for those countries whose data in this occupational group was available (Human Development Report, 2008). Even though the absolute numbers of women getting higher education is increasing (bachelors degree and above level; Females:2.6%, Males:4.9%. Economic Survey Of Pakistan, 2004) these numbers are not translating into a larger workforce. An analysis of trends of government statistics (Labour Force Survey, 2004) demonstrates the fact that the percentage of women managers has not increased over the years, even though women are better placed comparatively, in the occupational group professionals and technicians. Sathar & Kazi (1988) conducted a study involving 70 professional, married women employed in the formal sector. The study explored education, age, ethnicity, marital status, domestic and support systems. It also indicated that

these women were from an upper socio-economic status. The objective of my study was to compile baseline data in 2004, which would eventually be used for longitudinal purposes and to simultaneously find empirical evidence to prove or disprove the stereotypes usually associated with women in managerial positions in the west. The objective was also to see if women managers in Pakistan faced the same personal challenges that women in the west usually did, specifically childcare responsibilities, which are a common constraint (Kan, 2007). To date no empirical research had been carried out on female managers employed in the corporate private sector of Pakistan. The research objective was also to identify the types of women who had opted for managerial professions in the private sector, and to see if any trends existed in their social, economic, or educational backgrounds that could have a bearing on the types of women likely to pursue a managerial career. A mail survey of 207 managerial women employed in 87 organizations, across Pakistan, in the private sector was undertaken. My study answered the question as to what type of woman was likely to reach a managerial position in the private sector in Pakistan.

Literature review

The anglo saxon woman manager

There is a plethora of research on women managers in the west. An in-depth review of Anglo-Saxon literature on managers revealed that profiles of male managers in the west had been developed for use in earlier studies identifying male talent. It had been important to explore the different categories previously used in male samples (Baehr & Williams 1968, Bull 1975, Bull 1976, Johnson & Dunette 1968, Mahoney, et al 1964, Nash 1965, Pinder & Pinto 1974, Super 1960) as well as female samples (Tangri 1972, Wolfson 1976). However, not much work on exploration of profiles has been carried out in the last two decades, as previous studies had already exhaustively explored this area. The areas that have been studied in the west in depth to help identify profiles are as follows:

Demographic characteristics

Demographic characteristics have been used as variables in psychological research (Zedeck, et al 1984) and as outcomes, such as performance, satisfaction, turnover, selection, and leadership (Blau 1985, Parsons & Liden 1984, Steckler & Rosenthal 1985). These categories included demographic data such as age, marital status, education, family background, parental encouragement, employment history, self-image, and current designation. The level of education attained is a strong predictor of career achievement for both men and women (Walsh & Osipow 1983). In a study carried out by White et al (1997) successful women as a group had achieved a high level of education. Some research also connects this variable with a higher level of work commitment (Haller & Rosenmayr 1971). Age is positively correlated with job involvement (Hall & Mansfield 1975, Hall & Rabinowitz 1977). Research points towards the role of large cities in the establishment of self-identity as it presents “the challenge of complex and extensive stimuli” while small towns are “comfortable and less challenging” (Place 1979). The predominance of first-born is documented in research (White et al 1997, Rapoport & Rapoport 1971). First-born children generally receive more attention, are often pushed harder to achieve, and made responsible for their younger siblings early on in life (Mussen et al 1979). White, et al (1997) found that, in England, most professionally successful women identified one parent as being the more influential; most identified strongly with their fathers. High socioeconomic status is related to stronger career orientation and innovation (Burlin 1976). Therefore the following variables were explored; age, education, family background, parental encouragement, employment history, order of birth, city of birth, presence of role models and current designation.

Marital status and motherhood

Many studies have reported lower rates of marriage and parenthood among successful women managers (Bailyn 1990, Boardman, et al 1987, Carter & Glick 1970, Etzion 1987, Gilson & Kane 1987, Gomez 1985, Henning & Jardim 1977). Women who advance professionally as managers are less likely to be spouses or parents (Alban & Metcalfe 1987, Davidson & Copper 1983 and 1987, Ragins & Sunderstorm 1989, Rowney & Cahoon 1990, Tharenou & Conroy 1988). Family life can create more demands on women than men (Paisey and Paisy 1995). The presence of children creates conflicting goals between careers and motherhood, giving rise to guilt (Sederer and Seidenberg 1976), a negative impact on career progression (Levine 1977, Marshall & Jones 1990), decreased job satisfaction, greater intention to quit (Burke & McKeen 1993), greater perceived stress (Anderson & Leslie 1991, Barnett & Baruch 1985, Lundenberg, et al 1994, Tigey, Kiger, & Riley 1996). There are higher chances of women dropping out of the work force after having a child (Miree & Frieze 1999, Schmeer & Reitman 1997). Alternatively, some women move from fulltime to part-time work (Felmlee 1984) but may leave their jobs if they have preschool children (Rosin & Korabik 1990). Parents trying to meet their career goals while supporting family commitments are prone to stress, which can ultimately affect their careers (Gutek, Stromberg, & Larwood 1988, Larwood & Gatticker 1987, Nieva & Gutek 1981, Olson, Frieze, & Detlefsen 1990, Rosin & Korbaik 1990, Roskies & Carrier 1994, Stohs 1992, Thompson & Blau 1993, Williams & Alliger 1994). As a result, some women choose not to have children or to delay parenthood (Kelly 1991, Olsen, et al 1990, Ruggiero & Weston 1988, Wilke 1981, Kan 2007). A study carried out in Germany, Israel, Japan, and the United States found that women “assigned lower importance to the centrality of work in their lives than men” (Harpaz & Fu 1997). Research has shown that this is because of women remain concerned about their participation in the family (Gati, et al 1995, Larson, et al 1994, Phillips & Imhoff 1997), thereby hinting their intention to drop out of the work force after the arrival of children. On the other hand, Beatty (1996), Cole (1988), and White, et al (1997) have supported the opposite theory. Therefore the following variables were explored; marital status, number of years married, presence of children, number of children, age categories of children.

Support systems, division of labour and socioeconomic status

Males tend to receive greater workplace support (Piltch, Walsh, Mangione, & Jennings 1994) or depend on their workplace for support to reduce stress (Geller & Hobfoll 1994, Pugliesi & Shook 1998) while women rely on support networks comprising family and friends (Piltch, et al 1994). Most women managers who have young children are likely to be prone to higher levels of stress (Sekaran 1985). Stress levels among women tend to manifest themselves in emotional outcomes such as anxiety and depression, rather than as physical responses noticed in men (Cleary 1987, Howard 1984, Jick & Mitz 1985). Dual-career couples with mutual spouse support are less prone to stress and able to attain higher job and marital satisfaction (Bedeian, et al 1986). Supportive spouses help reduce women’s role conflict (Poloma 1972). Beatty (1996) confirms that women at senior management levels did not lose their husbands’ as they moved up the career ladder. Family responsibilities including childcare, housework, and maintaining relationships with their husbands and in-laws is also an issue that women managers have to deal with (Cheng & Liao 1985). While housework is often taken care of by domestic help (Chen, et al 1985), women often feel guilty for not giving enough time to their children and find it difficult to persuade their husbands and in-laws to accept this changing of roles (Tang 1988). Adler (1993) conducted interviews with 30 women executives in Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand, and found that senior women managers had live-in household help, extended families, and grown-up

children, while lower and middle managers “appreciate[d]” help provided by their employers, e.g., flexible times and company cars. In England, the partners of successful women managers do not help with childcare or household chores, leading most of these women to employ domestic help (White, et al 1997). There is also evidence that women and their partners are more likely to restructure their individual work and family commitments rather than exit the work force when facing conflict between their career and family demands (Karambayya & Reilly 1992). Therefore the following variables were explored; socio-economics status of parents and husbands (occupation and education), support of parents, husbands and in-laws, domestic help in child care and home care.

Working women in pakistan

According to Government of Pakistan statistics, women’s participation in the labour force is low: 15.9% (Labour Force Survey 2005, 6). Early studies have identified some of the reasons for the lack of participation. Khan (1989) states that the most common reasons for the reluctance to employ women include the following arguments: Society’s reluctance to accept the concept of women working; jobs in industry involve “heavy” work that women are assumed to be incapable of doing; since male unemployment rates are so high, women should not “take away” what jobs might be available; employing women is a “hassle” because they need to be “looked after”; women are assumed to be unable to take on irregular or shift-based work; employing women causes “social” problems and men are highly reluctant to being supervised by women at higher levels. According to Khan (1989), if women are employed they are assigned gender-specific roles and gender-specific jobs, most of which tend to be on the lowest rung of the employment ladder and usually require the least number of skills. Seldom in positions of authority--even when sufficiently qualified--women are usually paid less and employed on a temporary or piece-rate basis. Says Khan (1989): “The fact that women are kept in the least skilled positions has little to do with their lack of necessary skills, but is the result of a society that is, uniformly and unconditionally patriarchal.” Khan (1989) listed in terms of importance the most pressing problems that arose when hiring women workers were: their reluctance to work late hours, their demand for transportation, the high turnover among women workers who got married, the effect that personal or family problems had on women’s productivity and work, inability on the part of the management to communicate with women employees prone to over-emotional reactions when criticised. Khan (1989) predicted that more and more women would have to look for work and the lower class will look towards factories as male incomes (or single incomes) would no longer be sufficient for families to subsist on.

A study of factory workers (Akhtar 1988-90) found the following: Female workers were hired across industries because they performed better; they were either more or equally productive and efficient as male workers; they were docile, flexible, and willing to work at cheaper rates. These were important reasons for management preferring to employ women for certain jobs in factories. Nonetheless, 49% of the management stated that they followed an explicit policy of discrimination when hiring women workers: either women were simply not hired (38%) or their gender was used to negotiate lower wages. The problems that women faced included female-male disparity in terms of wages and promotions.

In 1961, women held only half the 1% of possible administrative jobs in Pakistan (Hafeez 1982). During that time, there were certain formal barriers to women seeking jobs in offices such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These restraints were removed in the administrative reforms of 1972, and women now have the opportunity to compete for jobs in the Foreign Service and are encouraged to compete for senior posts in government ministries and district management. They are now found in greater numbers at diverse levels

of society, even serving as parliamentarians and air force pilots. Of the 65 women surveyed by Hafeez (1982), 43 provided data that was gathered by means of a detailed questionnaire, informal interviews, and the author's observations. The women interviewed represented a cross section of organizations, including government departments, universities, television and broadcasting corporations, advertising agencies, travel agencies, banks, newspaper agencies, and research organizations. The women selected from these organizations were employed as directors, planning officers, assistant commissioners, heads of academic departments, accountants, senior copy writers, sales managers, assistant directors, assistant chiefs, executive housekeepers at hotels, television programme and script officers, programme producers. The study's findings were as follows: Most of the women interviewed came from upper-middle class backgrounds, nearly 50% were married to professionals, most were university graduates, while a significant number had also undergone foreign training as well. A representative sample of women from all age groups appeared unintentionally. With the exception of Balochis and Pathans, all other ethnic groups were represented, of which Syeds—a group considered to have high religious standing—accounted for 48.8%. Most women had entered directly into senior administrative positions and experienced little occupational mobility: 46.5% had never changed jobs. Their income level was likely to vary. There was equal pay for equal positions, was little or no discrimination in these particular areas. Nearly half the women were married, the majority with three children. Most women had been able to accommodate the combined pressure of their job, marriage, and children. A fairly large percentage of women experienced an early interrupted career pattern. They acquired degrees, got married and had children before they took up a profession. An even larger percentage of women had experienced a late, interrupted career pattern, of which 27.2% had pursued a career soon after completing their education. They got married while working, underwent a gap during their childbearing phase, and then resumed their careers. Some of them had undergone higher and longer periods of foreign training. One possible reason could be that some women had delayed their achievement needs and avoided interference or interruption with the smooth development of their professions' formative years. Very few had followed uninterrupted career patterns. As mentioned earlier, they had acquired degrees after marriage and having had children before they started working. None of the women had acquired their degrees after marriage without first having had children. One plausible explanation lies in societal and cultural expectations, where marriage and motherhood are valued more than a woman's services in her career.

Sathar & Kazi (1988) conducted a study involving 70 professional, married women employed in the formal sector found them to be highly educated. Nearly 95% had at least a Bachelor's degree, were better paid (with a mean monthly income ranging from PRs 3,103 to PRs 6,142), had higher status jobs, and a better standard of living. Their husbands were also likely to be high-level professionals and their combined family income fell in the top bracket of PRs 7,000 or more per month. They had more consumer durables, lived in permanent dwellings with access to gas and water, owned cars, and had smaller households (with a mean of 4.8 persons). Most women had entered the labour market in pursuit of a career or for reasons of personal fulfilment. A large proportion of women (78%) had worked before marriage. This was considered

This was part of a larger study: the other two groups surveyed included lower-level professionals and women from poor households. an important spell, indicating their commitment to work and orientation towards a career. The mean age for starting work was 23 years. They had completed their education and continued to work with little or no interruption in the shape of marriage or motherhood (76%). Most felt that career breaks would adversely affect their upward mobility. Their study also found that women's ethnic background was also important: societal disapproval of working women was more marked

in the case of Sindhis, Balochis, and Pathans compared with Punjabis and Urdu-speaking households. Women's jobs did not interfere with their domestic responsibilities: only 21% carried out all household chores themselves. Childcare was generally supervised by a female relative, even in households that could afford domestic servants. Educated women from relatively well-off households were more likely to come from families that included other working women. A report on the status of women employment in public sector organizations(2003) states that out of the total number of employees in the federal government, 165802 were male and 9387 females, of which 1898 were in the officer category. In the northern areas secretariat there was only one female official. In the provincial government of Sind at the Secretariat, out of 603 officers, 18 were females. Most were doctors or teachers. The Sind Police had 11 Deputy Superintendents of Police mostly confined to women police stations. The Punjab Secretariat had 21 female officers and 792 male officers. In Baluchistan there were no officers. In NWFP, North West Frontier Region now called Khyber Pakhtoon Khwa, there were 4 females of grade 18-19. This was in spite of the government's attempt to reserve 5% quota for women. The power and status grades are 17-22. In the prestigious district management group there was no woman in grade 21-22(38 men) and 39 women out of 706 officers in the grades 17-20. The report concludes(pg 131) " There is a virtual absence of women in posts that carry power, status and prestige and in those which are considered to be decision making posts".

Haeri (2002, p.32) claims that middle class professional Pakistani women attempt to create a niche in the public domain similar to the western professional women. "They pursue a wide range of careers that their families may or may not contest, contribute to the economic welfare of the family and exert power and influence in the family and society." However, she also states that the national identity adds conflict- between the cultural expectations and professional aspirations- and these women are caught in national, cultural and ethnic double binds.

North West Frontier Region is now called Khyber Pakhtoon Khwa

Method

Sample selection

The survey included over 152 organizations spread across three major cities in Pakistan, all of which were registered with the placement offices of two business schools in Lahore. The survey's initial objective was to establish whether or not these organization employed women at managerial levels. All 152 organizations were contacted via email, letters and telephone and were asked if they employed women at managerial levels. 87 responded in the affirmative. They also informed me about the numbers of women employed at managerial levels. Accordingly, questionnaire packages were sent to the respective heads of human resources, and circulated in self-addressed envelopes to all women working at managerial levels in their organization. Participants completed a set of questionnaires comprising four broad sections, of which the fourth, explored respondents' personal and demographic details and the roles played and attitudes held by key figures in their lives.

Questionnaire

The questions in section four of the survey form [See Appendix 1] were developed by the author keeping in mind the key issues arising from the literature review. The questionnaire was pre-tested. It was set in English, since it is the primary medium of instruction at Pakistani universities. Most participants had had more than 14 years of formal

education in English, and translation issues did not arise.

Results

Demographics of the respondents

Data from questionnaires of 207 managerial women was utilized. Nearly 86% of the respondents (N=176) had spent larger part of their formative years in metropolitan cities, such as Karachi and Lahore, while 11% (N=23) had spent their formative years in smaller cities, including Sialkot, Faisalabad, and Hyderabad [See Annexure 2, Table 1]. Most of the managerial women were employed in organizations in the city of Karachi. They mostly belonged to an Urdu speaking background and worked in a variety of organizations. Out of the 87 organizations only 15 were multinational organizations. However, they employed the bulk of the women (56%) while the rest were employed in private local, semi-government and not for profit organizations. [See Annexure 2, Table 2]. The women were employed at a number of managerial levels. In our sample, the questionnaire identified different levels of education, years of schooling and medium of instruction and age of respondents [See Annexure 2, Table 3]. The ages ranged from 21-25 years to 56-60 years. They included a number of respondents over 40. The women surveyed were highly educated (including doctorate degree holders) with most having studied at English medium schools. Most were the eldest and had a parent as a role model [See Annexure 2, Table 4].

Marital status, motherhood, division of labour and socio-economic status of the respondents

52.2% of the respondents were or had been married. [See Annexure 2, Table 5]. 66% married women managers had children who were mostly in the toddler or school going age. They mostly used parents/in laws and maids for childcare support. Parents and husbands were found to be more encouraging in their attitude towards a job than in laws. . [See Annexure 2, Table 6]. Both parents and husbands of these women were likely to be well educated [See Annexure 2, Table 7] with professional occupations [See Annexure 2, Table 8]. Of the sample, 48% of the respondents had a current monthly household income ranging between PRs70,000 and PRs200,000 (See Annexure 2, Table 9) as against (i) Pakistan's average monthly household income of PRs13,371 (Household Integrated Economic Survey for 2004/05) and (ii) that of AcNielsen's (2005) Socioeconomic Classification (Class A1's monthly household income is calculated to be PRs25,000)

Discussion

Different cities in Pakistan appear to draw women to professions specific to historical forces, trends. Hafeez, (1982) found the proportion of women in these professions to be much higher in Karachi than in any part of Pakistan She argued that, unlike in other cities, "a woman in a big city like Karachi is less restricted in her physical movements. The women in medium sized cities of Pakistan are slow to emerge from seclusion." Therefore it was reasonable to find that 57% (N=117) of our respondents worked in Karachi and 32% (N=66) in Lahore. Most were residents of Karachi. This is not surprising either, since the city is Pakistan's commercial and financial centre with most multinational corporations (MNCs) headquartered there. As 56% of the women worked at MNC's, it is reasonable to conclude that there is a greater trend among multinationals to hire women in Pakistan similar to other parts of the western world (Adler, 1994). Since Karachi is dominated by the Urdu-speaking ethnic group, many respondents were found to belong to that group. Culturally speaking, Punjabis and Urdu-speaking ethnic groups are less conservative than others, consistent with our findings that 44% (N=88) of the respondents had an Urdu-speaking

background and 34% (N=69), a Punjabi background.

None of the respondents had less than a Bachelor's degree, while 84% had a Master's degree or higher. The age group of women under 30 achieved more Master's and/or professional degrees, with 94% having been educated at English-medium schools. This figure is significant. Pakistan's national language is Urdu, and its two official languages are Urdu and English. The educational system consists of two streams: (i) Urdu-medium (mostly government owned schools), where Urdu is taught as a first language and English taught from Grade VI onward, and (ii) English-medium (mostly privately owned schools), where English is taught from the start. Language planning by various governments have been inconsistent, experimenting with foreign languages such as Persian and Arabic. However, as part of its education reforms, the federal government has now declared that English be taught as a compulsory subject at all public and private schools. Nonetheless, the previous parallel school system has left its impact. According to Schiffman (2006): "English language, in Pakistan is an identity marker, a tool of vertical social mobility, and a means to access prestigious jobs in the country and abroad. Whether pleasant or horrid, it is a rampant reality. Quite a lot has been said about English in Pakistan and some genuine research has solidly established this actuality. Thus, if English is not taught as a compulsory subject from Grade I at all schools, it will create social class differences between English and Urdu medium education. In fact this phenomenon is already well spread and has shown its effects which, in addition to other problems, has resulted in social disharmony." Haeri (2002) also claims that middle class professional Pakistani women "speak English fluently-for most of them it is their first language- and are educated in prestigious English speaking colleges". p.32. In our study, very few of the women employed by the private sector came from Urdu-medium backgrounds. Cross tabulations [See Annexure 2, Table 10] revealed some interesting findings, one being that an Urdu-medium background might be a key reason for the lack of progression to senior positions even though these women were highly educated and had been with the organization for a number of years.

Statistics indicate a trend among women entering the managerial workforce as 50% of the sample surveyed included young women between the ages of 21 and 30. This implies that, in general, they would have started work immediately after completing a Master's degree. Of the sample's respondents aged 40 or above, 86% held positions in middle and top management. Of the total sample, 40% (N=50) were the eldest child in their family. Our findings are consistent with White, et al (1997). A cross tabulation of respondents' level of education and the presence or otherwise of role models [See Annexure 2, Table 10] confirms that women who had achieved a higher level of education had parents as their role models. Parents' attitudes towards their daughters was predominantly positive (Extremely encouraging = 71.6%). Parents' role for women managers in gender-atypical jobs was critical to educational achievement (Betz & Fitzgerald 1987, Lemkau 1979). Educational achievement, in turn, builds self-confidence (Rosenberg 1979) while further proving a significant predictor of self-confidence (Respondents perception of "I am a very successful manager" = 81%). Women in gender-atypical jobs tend to be more self-confident than other working women (Bachtold & Werner 1970, Bachtold & Werner 1972, Constantini & Craik 1972, Lemkau 1983), while other studies have found no difference in male and female managers' self-confidence (Aldermann 1987, Bachtold & Werner 1970, Bachtold & Werner 1972, Chusmir, Koberg, & Stecher 1992, Jagacinski 1987, Tharenou & Conroy 1988). My research sample shows managerial women as pre-dominantly self confident.

National statistics indicate a range of 97-99% of married women in the 40 and above age category. Shah's (1986) research also concludes that the Pakistani woman sees

her role primarily as that of a parent with girls in Pakistan conditioned to think of marriage as her only purpose in life. Her main asset is her reproductive ability. "...women are forced to remain tied to their fertility and their biological role.Although the picture is beginning to change now, this is happening far too slowly." (Hussain, et al 1997). In my survey, the marital rate among these women was low. One of the reasons for this could be that they find it difficult to manage a family life and a career as executive managers. In developed countries, this category of women is 13 times as likely to be single, separated, divorced, or widowed (Parasuraman, et al 1993). In Pakistan, however, most women tend to remain married in keeping with the socialization of their conjugal role (Shah 1986). According to my survey, 35% of the married respondents aged 26-35 and 7% aged 36-45 did not have children. The number of children among those women who did, ranged from 1 to 5. It is interesting to compare the mean number of children born to respondents in the 21- to 30-year age group (mean=1) and to those aged 30 or above (mean=2) with the national statistics, in which the mean of the latter category ranges from 3 to 6.

In my study, women's primary sources of emotional support are parents, husbands, and in-laws who endorse their view of the kin role (Shah 1986). The attitude of women's husbands and in-laws has an important impact and was largely positive (Husband's attitude 'Extremely encouraging'=.54.7%; In-laws attitude 'Extremely encouraging'=37.5%) Like the global managerial women, the Pakistani counterpart relies on domestic help as part of her childcare (20.3%) and household support system (55.3%), reflecting the findings of Sathar & Kazi (1988). However a large number also use parents (18.4%) and in-laws (11.6%) as child care.

Most of the women in our survey belonged to a higher social class. Their husbands' occupation and level of education afforded status to married women, while fathers' occupation and level of education afforded status to unmarried women. Among respondents' fathers, 84.7% had at least a Bachelor's degree, 35% included professionals (accountants, doctors, engineers, lawyers, or architects) 20% owned small, medium, or large businesses, 12.2% were employed by the private sector, and 24% were in government service (either employed by government agencies or the armed forces). Among respondents' mothers, 60.5% had at least a Bachelor's degree, 75% were homemakers, 15% held fulltime jobs, and 10%, part-time jobs. Significantly, respondents under 30 had parents who were more highly educated than those of women over 40, and also had professional occupations. Of the respondents' husbands, 96% had at least a Bachelor's degree or higher, with occupations ranging from professionals (75.9%) to business owners and employees in the private or public sector. This is in keeping with Sathar & Kazi (1988).

Heidrick and Stuggles (1986), in a study conducted in the United States, found that the typical corporate officer was a 44-year-old white protestant woman, married, and childless. She would have had one or more mentors, was likely to have earned an advanced degree, and was greatly satisfied with her career progress and job. However, her professional achievements had come at a high personal cost: decisions on whether or not to marry and/or have children, successful marriage, effectiveness as a parent, and social/personal relationships.

According to my study, the profile of the average professional woman manager in 2004 was as follows: she was likely to live and work in a metropolitan city--probably Karachi--was the eldest child in an Urdu-speaking family, was employed by an MNC, highly educated, fluent in English, and roughly 30-35 years of age. There is a high probability that, if married, she had one or two school-going children. She was likely to belong to a high social class and her monthly household income was above PRs70,000. She depended primarily on domestic help to provide household and childcare. Her husband was a well

educated professional. Both her husband and in-laws were supportive of her role as a working woman, but the driving force behind her career seemed to come from her parents. Of the respondents, 50% identified one or other parent as a role model. Both parents were well educated and the father most likely to be a professional or government employee.

The socio-demographic profile of professional women has thus not changed drastically between 1988 and 2004. Nor does it seem that the Pakistani woman manager--unlike her western counterpart--pays a high price for her career costing terms of personal/family commitments. The Pakistani woman professional manager in the private sector seems to have the “best of both worlds” in socioeconomic and cultural environment that most people in the developing world would label difficult. As Haeri (2002) states, “Pakistani professional women have to reconcile their careers’ with their culture’s demand regarding their duties as wives and mothers”. p 407.


A question that this study raises is that does this imply that women from the lower-middle class will be unable to go as far as women from a higher socioeconomic income group? The key lies in “the fluent English-medium, highly educated” woman. If urban parents, especially fathers--as women’s main role models--ensure that their daughters attend English-medium schools, gain fluency in the language, and achieve professional managerial degrees, the chances of rising to a managerial-level position, no matter what their social background, increases. This is not a prediction dictated by social needs, but in fact by the laws of demand and supply. The global managerial job market requires that prospective managers have the right educational qualifications and the ability to communicate globally. At an international level, English happens to be the most widely used language in the workplace. The basic requirements for both men and women wishing to enter managerial levels in Pakistan are essentially the same. Logically, supply should be based on the requirements of demand. Given the global economic situation and rising inflationary pressures, Pakistani society is likely to be forced to accept more women in the workplace. However, the difference between working women in general and women in managerial positions--who have the chance of crossing middle-management boundaries in Pakistan’s private sector organizations--will be the deliberate choice of school-level education in English followed by higher education. Here, the onus is either on the government to provide English-medium education for all, creating a level playing field for all its citizens, or on parents to pay the price of an expensive education for their daughters at an English-medium school.

Limitations of the study and conclusions

The study’s primary limitation is that the sample used is too small. That said, the relatively small number of women managers in Pakistan allows our sample to be considered representative of the total population. Secondly, public sector organizations and those organizations where women could be owner/managers was excluded. The results of this study might give a skewed and unrealistic picture of Pakistani women in general. However, women in Pakistan find themselves at different levels of emancipation that vary with the nature of the communities in which they live and the level of urbanization or industrialization of these communities (Hafeez 1982). The profile of the average woman manager in the private sector might well differ from that of her counterpart in the public sector, from women working in offices, factories, or farms, and even from that of the average homemaker. This gives rise to the possibility of further research of managerial women in the public sector and longitudinal studies of women in both sectors.

This study should firstly lay to rest some of the stereotypes associated with Pakistani

women, one of them being that women in managerial positions necessarily quit their jobs after having had children. A significant number with young children continue to pursue their careers, whatever the myriad of underlying reasons, thereby proving empirically what they can do.

Secondly, as argued by Mirza (1997), the managerial profession appears to remain the domain of the “westernized upper-middle class woman” while the “average” office worker comes from the “lower-middle class.” Mirza (1997) predicts that the “rapid integration of lower-middle class women into the urban labour market is very likely to shake the existing gender order of society.” Keeping women out of the labour market has been a status symbol of the conservative section of Pakistani society, whose world is symbolised by the “segregation of the life worlds of men and women.” However, worsening economic conditions mean that these women are reorienting their educational priorities towards market-oriented education, which is thought to open doors to well-paying jobs. These include secretarial and technical office jobs (draftspersons, computer operators, and designers, etc.). This trend is reflected in the Labour Force Survey for 2003/4, which shows that the proportion of women in this occupational group is higher than that of men. 

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ANNEXURE 1
SECTION FOUR (OF QUESTIONNAIRE)

This section is about basic demographic data about you and your family.

In which of the following localities have you spent most of your development/
formative years? (Tick only one).

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Village | <input type="checkbox"/> City (e.g.:Sialkot,
Faisalabad, Hyderabad, etc.) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Town (Rahim Yar
Khan, Nowshehra, etc.) | <input type="checkbox"/> Metropolitan Areas
(i.e.: Karachi, Lahore) |

What is the city in which you are currently working?

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Karachi | <input type="checkbox"/> Islamabad |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lahore | <input type="checkbox"/> Other.(Specify _____) |

Which one of the following best describes your organization?

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Private Local | <input type="checkbox"/> Semi Government
(such as PIA, WAPDA) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Private Multinational | <input type="checkbox"/> Non-profit Organization
(NGO, CBO, etc.) |

How many years of formal English language education have you received in
schools/colleges? _____ (please give number of years)

What was the primary medium of instruction in your school? (Tick one)

- | |
|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Urdu medium |
| <input type="checkbox"/> English medium |

Please indicate your highest educational attainment?

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Primary | <input type="checkbox"/> Matric |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Intermediate | <input type="checkbox"/> Bachelors |

- Masters Professional (MBBS, BSc
Engg., CA, etc.)
 Doctorate

Please indicate your marital status?

- Single Divorced
 Married Separated
 Widowed

Please indicate the number of years that you have been married? _____
years

- Not applicable

Please indicate the number of children that you have? _____

- Not applicable

How many of your children fall in the following categories? Please specify the number in each category.

Infants/toddlers	
School going	
College going	
Working	

- Not applicable

Which, if any, of the following child care support system do you use? (Tick as many as apply)

- Maids/Servants Child Care Center
 Own Parents/Sisters Baby Sitters
 In-laws Husband
 Not applicable

Which, if any, of the household chores support system do you use? (Tick as many as apply)

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Maids/Servants | <input type="checkbox"/> In-laws |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Own Parents/Sisters | <input type="checkbox"/> Husband |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Not applicable | |

Please specify the order of your birth?

First in a family of _____
Second in a family of _____
Third in a family of _____
Fourth in a family of _____
Fifth in a family of _____
Other (please specify) _____

Did you have a role model as a child or as a young person?

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|

If yes, please specify what was your relationship with the role model? (e.g., teacher, relative, grand mother, etc.) _____

Please indicate the highest educational attainment of your father.

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Illiterate | <input type="checkbox"/> Primary |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Matric | <input type="checkbox"/> Intermediate |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bachelors | <input type="checkbox"/> Masters |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Professional(MBBS etc) | <input type="checkbox"/> Doctorate |

Please indicate the highest educational attainment of your mother.

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Illiterate | <input type="checkbox"/> Primary |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Matric | <input type="checkbox"/> Intermediate |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bachelors | <input type="checkbox"/> Masters |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Professional (MBBS etc) | <input type="checkbox"/> Doctorate |

Please indicate your mother's predominant working status in one of the following categories.

- Housewife Full-time job
 Part-time job

Please indicate the highest educational attainment of your husband.

- Illiterate Primary
 Matric Intermediate
 Bachelors Masters
 Professional (MBBS,BSc Engg., CA, etc.) Doctorate

What is/was your father's occupation? _____

What is your husband's occupation? _____

- Not applicable

Please indicate your husband's attitude towards your job (circle appropriate number below).

Extremely Extremely
Discouraging Encouraging
1 2 3 4 5 6

- Not applicable

Please indicate your in-laws attitude towards your job (circle appropriate number below).

Extremely Extremely
Discouraging Encouraging
1 2 3 4 5 6

- Not applicable

Please indicate your parents attitude towards your job (circle appropriate number below).

Extremely Extremely
Discouraging Encouraging

1 2 3 4 5 6

Not applicable

In which of the following brackets does your current monthly household income fall?

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Rs 10,000 – 39,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> Rs 100,000 – 129,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Rs 40,000 – 69,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> Rs 130,000 – 169,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Rs 70,000 – 99,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> Rs 170,000 – 199,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 200,000 or above | |

Please indicate your ethnic background?

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Urdu speaking | <input type="checkbox"/> Pashto |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Punjabi | <input type="checkbox"/> Baluchi |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sindhi | <input type="checkbox"/> Kashmiri |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) _____ | |

Please indicate the age bracket in which you fall?

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 21 – 25 | <input type="checkbox"/> 41 – 45 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 26 – 30 | <input type="checkbox"/> 46 – 50 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 31 – 35 | <input type="checkbox"/> 51 – 55 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 36 – 40 | <input type="checkbox"/> 56 – 60 |

ANNEXURE 2

Formative years, City of current work and
Ethnic background of the sample.

Spent formative years in following Localities	%
Village	1
Town	2
City	11.2
Metropolitan	85.9
Total	100
City of Current work	%
Karachi	57.3
Lahore	32
Islamabad	5.3
Hyderabad	2.9
Others	2.4
Total	100
Ethnic Background	%
Urdu Speaking	44.2
Punjabi	34.7
Others	21.1

Percentage of women working in a type of organization and managerial levels.

Type of Organization	%
Private local organization	24.4
Private multinational company (MNC)	56.1
Semi-government organization, e.g., Pakistan International Airlines (PIA), Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA), etc.	16.1
Not-for-profit organization, e.g., non-government organization (NGO), community-based organization (CBO), etc.	3.4
Designation	%
Officer/management trainee	10.3
Assistant manager	32.4
Senior manager/manager/acting vice-president	42.2
Deputy general manager/vice-president /senior vice-president	10.8
General manager/executive vice-president/senior executive vice-president	4.4
Chief executive officer (CEO)	0.0

Levels of education, years of schooling medium of instruction and Age Characteristics of the sample

Level of Education	%
Bachelor's degree	16.5
Master's degree	55.8
Professional degree (e.g., medical, engineering, or accounting degrees)	27.7
Doctorate	0.5

Years of English Schooling	%
Less than 14 years	24.9
14 years	16.0
15 years	5.3
16 years	34.0
More than 16 years	19.8
Medium of Instruction	%
Urdu	12.1
English	87.9
Age Bracket	%
21-25 years	19.6
26-30 years	29.4
31-35 years	18.6
36-40 years	9.8
41-45 years	7.8
46-50 years	6.9
51-55 years	5.4
56-60 years	2.5

Cross tabulation of age and marital status

Ages	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60
Married %	30	72	73	75
Single %	70	28	27	25

Order of Birth and Role model of the sample

Order of Birth	%
First	38.2
Second	22.9
Third	18.3
Fourth	11.5
Fifth	3.8
Other	5.3
Total	100.0
Role model as a child or as a young person.	%
Yes	47.4
No	52.6
Relationship with the role model.	%
Others	27.8
Father	23.3
Mother	20.0
Grand Father	6.7
Parents	6.7

Marital Status, Number of years married, number and category of children and child care support used.

Marital status	%
Single	47.8
Married/Widowed /Divorced /Separated	52.2

Number of years of marriage	%
Less than 5 years	18.3
5-10 years	12.9
11-20 years	12.9
More than 20 years	6.9
Not Married	49.0
Number of children	%
One	18
Two	17.4
Three	7.9
Four	.6
Five	.6
Categories	%
Infants/toddlers	26
School going	40
College going	19
Working	9

Child care support system used.	%
Maids/Servants	20.3
Own Parents/Sisters	18.4
In-laws	11.6
Child Care Center	1.0
Baby Sitters	1.4

Attitude of parents towards job

Parents attitude towards job	%
Extremely discouraging	.5
Strongly discouraging	.5
Slightly discouraging	2.5
Slightly encouraging	6.6
Strongly encouraging	18.3
Extremely encouraging	71.6
Husband's attitude towards job.	
Strongly discouraging	1.1
Slightly discouraging	5.3
Slightly encouraging	12.6
Strongly encouraging	26.3
Extremely encouraging	54.7
In-laws attitude towards job	%
Extremely discouraging	1.1
Strongly discouraging	2.3
Slightly discouraging	8.0
Slightly encouraging	23.9
Strongly encouraging	27.3
Extremely encouraging	37.5

Education of Father, Mother and Husband of the sample

Education of Father	%
Illiterate	0.5
Primary	2.9
Matric	5.9
Intermediate	6.4
Bachelors	30.4
Masters	22.5
Professional	27.9
Doctorate	3.4
Total	100
Education of Mother	%
Illiterate	3.4
Primary	7.3
Matric	17
Intermediate	12.1
Bachelors	37.4
Masters	15
Professional	6.3
Doctorate	1.5
Total	100
Education of Husband	%
Illiterate	1
Primary	1
Matric	1

Intermediate	1.9
Bachelors	24
Masters	34.6
Professional	36.5
Total	100

Occupation of Mother, Father and Husband

Occupation of Mother	%
House Wife	74.8
Full Time Job	14.6
Part Time Job	10.2
Total	100
Occupation of Father	%
Private Sector Employee	12.2
Professionals	35.1
Business Owner	20.7
Government Employee	24.5
Landlord	2.7
Academics	3.2
Skilled Labor	1.6
Total	100
Occupation of Husband	%
Private Sector Employee	11.3
Professionals	66.0
Business Owner	11.3
Government Employee	8.2
Landlord	1

Academics	1
Skilled Labor	1
Total	100

Current household monthly income

Current monthly household income.	%
Rs 10,000 – 39,999	25.2
Rs 40,000 – 69,999	17.6
Rs 70,000 – 99,999	15.7
Rs 100,000 – 129,999	12.4
Rs 130,000 – 169,999	7.6
Rs 170,000 – 199,999	4.8
200,000 or above	8.6

Cross Tabulations

Primary medium of instruction in terms of respondents' designations (%)					
Medium of Instruction	Officer / Management Trainee	Assistant Manager	Manager/ Senior Manager/ Acting Vice-President	Deputy General Manager/ Vice-President Senior Vice-President	General Manager/ Executive Vice-President/ Senior Executive Vice-President
Urdu	8.3	54.2	37.5	-	-
English	10.1	29.6	43.0	12.3	5.0

Women Managers level of education and presence of role models		
Education level	Women who had Parents as role models. %.	Women who had other relatives as role model. %
Bachelors	29	71
Masters	51	49
Professional	59	41

That there is the crux of the whole matter. Leadership - that intangible, hard-to-define something that sets some men apart, that blend of native talent and cultivated attributes, that radiant and inspiring gift taht causes some men unerringly to choose the right and to give others faith that it is right-leadership, whether God-given or man-cultivated, holds the key to the future in business world.

Clarence B. Randall, *The Folklore of Management*