

WOMEN'S HIGHER EDUCATION UNDER PUKHTUNWALI

Shabana Shamaas Gul Khattak¹

Abstract

This paper summarises some statistical findings of my doctoral study that explored factors affecting women's low participation in higher education in the province of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa, Pakistan. The article is based on the author's quantitative data analysis of Initial and Audit Surveys of the original doctoral dissertation (2014) that triangulated Pukhtun women's education under Pukhtunwali [unwritten social principles or beliefs of the Pukhtuns]. The sample women were final year BA/BSc. college students, randomly selected from Peshawar District. The study found a strong co-relation between economic class, parental education and profession that affected women's preference to family life over higher education and career. A dominant factor coming across was women's patriarchal social milieu of having more boys' as offspring to ensure a secure marital life. The study recommended further research of the issue, by adding rural and urban men's sampling, for future educational strategies to promote increased gender participation in higher education in Pukhtunkhwa.

Keywords: Pukhtuns, Higher education, Pakistan, Pukhtunkhwa, gender, *Pukhtunwali*

Introduction

Women's status in Pukhtunkhwa has many-sided because of settled and tribal settings. Therefore, women's status is suffering considerable from the economic class system and socio-culture diversity. This massive difference between the rich and

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poor further intensifies the situation in rural and urban division. However, with the implications from the tribal rule of law, women suffered immensely in Pukhtunkhwa conservative society. Patriarchy is regarded as a main mechanism of women's marginalization in all fields of life. Gender stereotype is a well-organised doctrine of human society. In the Pukhtunkhwa society the gender gap is more dominant as compared to the rest of the country. The societal norms and traditions have stronger roots when compared to religion that predetermine the gender specific roles in the area. Men and women have two separate worlds; private and public. This social reconstruction of Pukhtunkhwa patriarchal society, culturally determines the responsibilities of men's and women's roles in the society. Nevertheless, Islam enjoined upon men to be a fair companion of women and play an active role in women's life that has to be supportive, honourable and for their enlightenment. It is might be a reason that the Quran mentioned a spouse as clothing (covering and comforting) for each other (The Quran, 2:187). Similarly for a father or brother a daughter and a sister are considered an honour for the entire family. Thus, a woman is a synonym of modesty and chastity as well as a source of comfort, respect and solace. In other words their role within the family and society is to stand by each other, as a famous proverb said; man and woman are two wheels of a vehicle (family and society). However, an unfortunate ideology of sexual labour division is prevailing in Pukhtun society. Women's role is restricted to reproductive and care-giving in the household and men's role is productive, to earn bread for the family in public life (HAW, 2014; ADB, 2000:1). Because of this division, there is low or no investment in woman capital.

This study explores Pukhtun women's insights into their educational experiences under the Pukhtuns' patriarchal *Pukhtunwali*. The study provides a deepening awareness of the participating women's actual experiences of higher education.

Gender issues are of extreme significance in Pukhtunkhwa, for instance, while the overall literacy rate is 47%, this figure hides the disturbing reality that the literacy rate for men is almost double that of women (PES, 2013). Just as concerning, this figure is mirrored in participation figures in higher education, where female participation is chronically low as compared to male participation (PES, 2013). This study is aimed at addressing the prevailing patriarchal mind set.

Methodology

The data collection process was in two stages by random sampling strategies: The first stage of data collection was the Initial Survey of the original doctoral study, which contained structured-questionnaires. The original sample size was 40 (10 students each) from four colleges (Jinnah, Home Economics, Frontier and City) of Peshawar. Special permission was granted by the Directorate of Colleges Peshawar to use the real names in the study. The urban only sample is a limitation of this study however; it had a positive impact too, as it enabled the researcher to focus on a smaller group for more in-depth data analysis and interpretation. The questionnaire was distributed among the sample students who were young women of 18-20 years old from different socio-economic background.

The second stage was the Audit Survey. The original structured-questionnaire (of the Initial Survey) was again distributed among a larger sample of 172 students from the selected colleges. The Initial Survey Group was not a part of this larger survey. The larger sample was helpful because there was very little reliable data available on gender and higher education in Pukhtunkhwa. Thus, 172 (43 sample women from each sample college) participated in this survey. Questionnaire data analysis was organised topically, based on categories of issues under

investigation. Responses were grouped in topics and quantifiable data were expressed graphically.

Data Presentation and Analysis

To understand better the pedagogical opportunities for women in Pukhtunkhwa, the following variables were discussed with the sample women:

- a. Economic Class
- b. Parental Education
- c. Mothers' Professional Life
- d. Preference to Marriage over Higher Education
- e. Career versus Family

a) Economic Class

The sample women's economic class was inferred from their fathers' monthly income (in Pakistani Rupees). The primary emphasis on fathers' occupation was checked out against monthly income. Classification of economic classes was as follows:

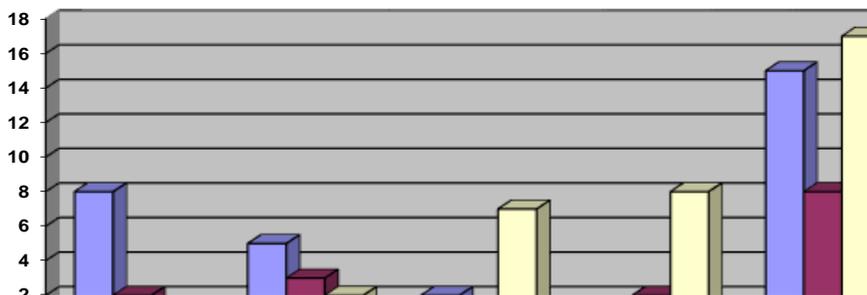
200,000 and above	=	Upper Class
50,000 to 200000	=	Middle Class
20,000 to 50,000	=	Working Class

For the purpose of this study, it was a rough classification of economic class, the sample women's residential areas were excluded as an indication of their economic status because some upper class people in Pukhtunkhwa prefer to live in their old big family houses, while some middle class people reside in luxurious bungalows in the cities.

The initial survey explored Jinnah College, with 85% upper-class fathers and 15% middle-class, Home Economics College, with 50% upper-class, 20% middle, and 30% working-class fathers and Frontier, with 30% upper, 35% middle and

35% working-class fathers. City University had 5% upper, 25% middle-class and 65% working-class fathers.

Fathers’ Monthly Income, to explore the Economic Class



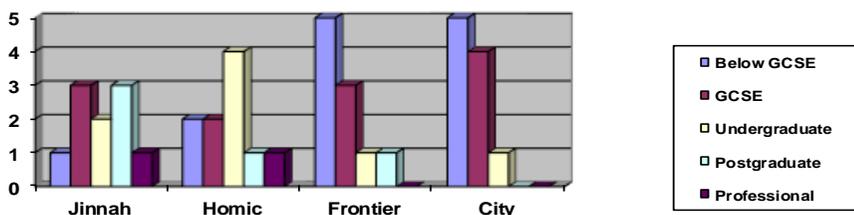
b) Parental Education

This variable reported a correlation between the sample women’s economic class and their college attendance. The mothers’ standard of education and their professional life were not considered in ascribing economic class, because in Pukhtunkhwa, fathers are the bread earners for the family, so most of the mothers do not work. Therefore, education is also preferentially given to men in the family. The following graph shows the Pakistani qualifications compared to the British equivalent certificates or degrees.²

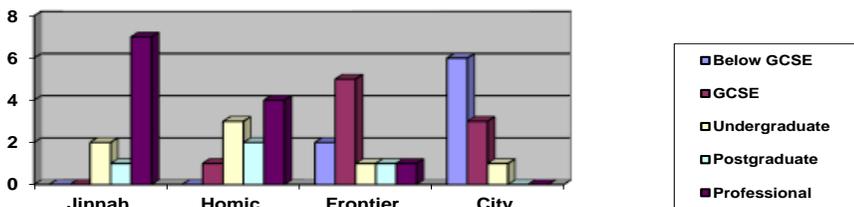
²Pakistani qualifications are not equivalent to the British qualifications. According to UK NARIC Matriculation (Matric) which is a Secondary School Certificate (SSC) is below GCSE, Intermediate (Inter) comparable to GCSE, undergraduate (BA/BSc) is considered A-levels and Postgraduate (MA/MSc.) is equivalent to first degree.

Parental Education

Mothers



Fathers

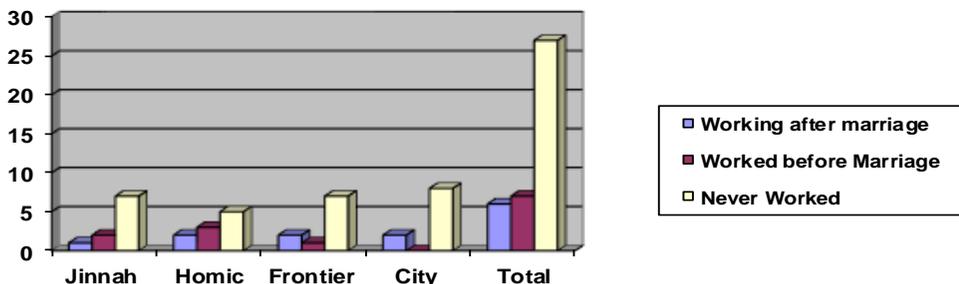


The data analysis indicated that higher education is highest for upper-class fathers. The standard of education of mothers was lower than that of the fathers. This is because Pukhtun men do not necessarily get married to highly educated women. Most of the marriages in the society are arranged by the family. However, as compared to working-class, the upper and middle-class parents were more educated. In other words, education in Pakistan is for wealthy people.

Mothers' Professional Life

Hussain (1995) argued that her choice of the variable of mothers' professional life in her study was to check the inclination of her sample for higher education. However for the

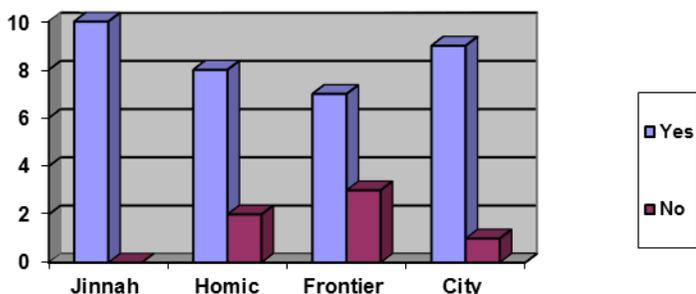
purpose of this study it was necessary to examine the sample women’s mothers’ professional life because it might serve as an example for them to follow their footsteps. The Pukhtun society lacking women role models, who are good mothers as well as great professionals.



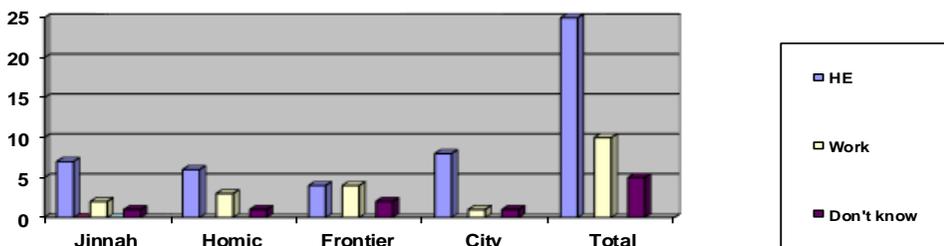
30% of the sample women’s mothers did some kind of paid work outside their homes after marriage, whereas 70% had never worked at all. Therefore the sample women never have seen women with a successful professional career within the family and in society.

c) Preference to Marriage over Higher Education

The majority of the sample women preferred marriage over continuation of their higher education across all the four colleges. Jinnah was the top (75%), followed by the rest of the three colleges, with 70% (Frontier), 60% (City) and 55% (Home Economics) of the sample women.



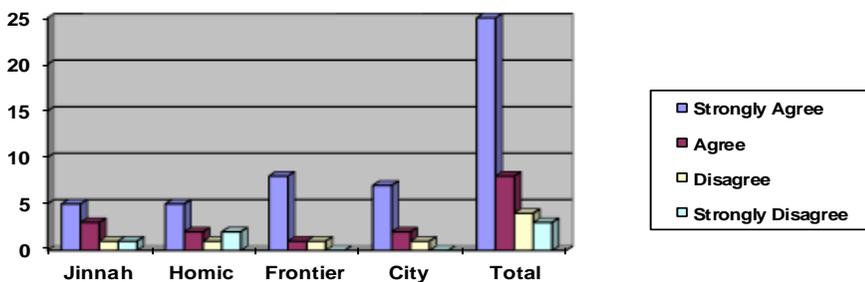
d) Work or Higher Education



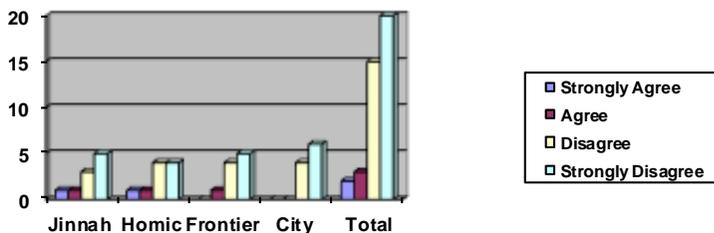
It was interesting that most of my sample women (60%) chose higher education as compared to work after their BA/BSc degree, while 28% wanted to work soon after their degree completion. These were mostly lower middle and working class women. This was followed by 20% sample women who were not sure about their future. Their parents will decide their future, whether to continue with the higher education or do some sort of work. There was variation in their responses that linked to their economic class.

e) Career versus Family

The sample women were asked their feelings on the statement: ‘a successful family (husband and children (more boys and a girl or no girl) is more important than a successful career’. The majority of them strongly agreed with the statement: family matters, and successful husband, children are more important than a career.

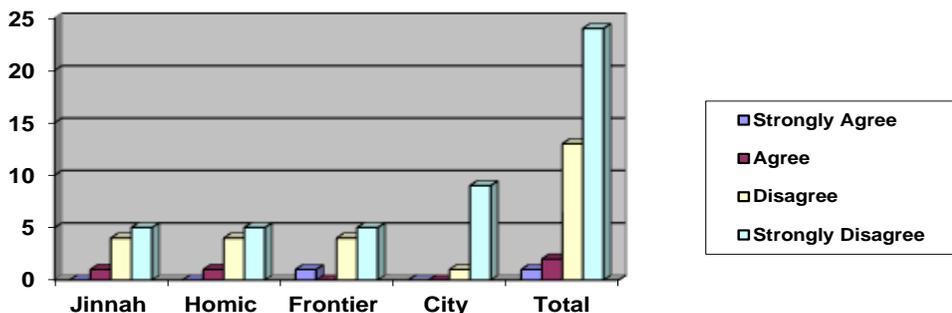


Thus, 80% of the sample from Jinnah agreed with the statement that a woman would be strongly satisfied and happy with having a complete family rather than having a professional career, followed by 75% from Home Economics and 84% from Frontier and City colleges respectively. The opposition was minimal: 20% from Jinnah, 25% from Home Economics and 16% from Frontier and City. 80% of sample women agreed and 20% disagreed with the statement. The sample women’s definition of a complete family was: husband with a good career and salary with children, but more sons and fewer daughters. Therefore, I then asked them to give their feelings on the following statement: ‘**women can get satisfaction with only daughters’ offspring?**’



Thus, 90% of the sample disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement (90% Jinnah, 70% Home Economics, 90% Frontier, and 100% City). 20% from Jinnah and Home Economics agreed or strongly agreed, while 10% of Frontier agreed and none from the City college sample woman agreed. So, a total of 30% of the sample women agreed with the statement. However, in the later stages of data collection, some of these women came up with a slightly changed point of view.

In extension to the above statement, another point was investigated; to explore the sample women’s perception about working or professional women’s status in Pukhtunkhwa. There are very few examples of women as role models in education and medicine, such as gynaecologists, or lecturers and professors. So, the next statement was: **‘a woman can be a good mother with a successful career’**.



A minima 18% of sample women agreed with the statement. 93% of the women strongly-disagreed or disagreed and 100% of the City sample strongly disagreed or disagreed, followed by 90% of Jinnah and Home Economics and Frontier.

Based on the Hussain (1995) triangulated pattern, the above three statements reveal much about the women's general perceptions of the care-giving role and career conflicts as well as the preference of having sons rather than daughters only. The sample women did not challenge the existing mindset of the society. Similarly, having a family and children, for the sample women, was more important than having a career. My sample women were aware of the conflict between care-giving and the pursuit of a career, but they gave greater importance to pursuing a care-giving role in the future, rather than pursuing a career.

Comparative analysis of the initial and Audit Surveys

To audit the Initial Survey findings, an Audit Survey was conducted as mentioned in the methodology section. Random sampling strategy was applied to cross check the findings with the Initial Survey. The questionnaire was distributed among the sample in one of their normal college days. All the sample women of the Audit Survey did not join in any other data collection instruments of this study. Similar to my Initial Survey, the fathers' monthly income and occupation were used as rough indicators of the sample women's economic class. Thus, Jinnah was considered to have the highest number of upper-class fathers, followed by Home Economics, Frontier and City.

I followed Hussain (1995) homogeneity formula because the small sample size created difficulties to apply any statistical tests, such as χ^2 (Chi Square) and z-test (of proportions) for comparison of data from different research tools. However, the

selected homogeneity test of χ^2 to compare the two surveys made the larger comparative group analysis possible. Thus the General table and formula for test of homogeneity was as follow:

Survey	Initial Survey (2008)	Audit Survey (2009)	Total
Jinnah	(a_1)	(b_1)	(c_1)
Homic	(a_2)	(b_2)	(c_2)
Fortier	(a_3)	(b_3)	(c_3)
City	(a_4)	(a_4)	(c_4)
Total	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>N</u>

Similarly, the following statistical analysis formula was applied to compare the data of Audit and Initial surveys' independent samples are calculated the values of χ^2 :

$$\chi^2 = \frac{N^2}{AB} \left[\sum_1 \frac{a_1^2}{c_1} - \frac{A^2}{N} \right]$$

N = Total number of observations.

A = Sum of values of first sample.

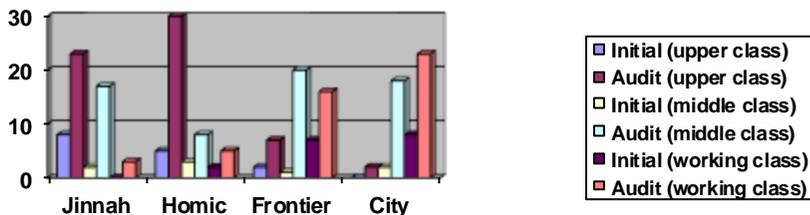
B = Sum of the value of second sample.

a_1 = Values of the first sample.

$c_1 = (a_1 + b_1)$ = Sum of values of first sample and second sample.

There are $(n - 1)$ degrees of freedom.

A Comparison of Economic Class between the initial and Audit Surveys



The Audit Survey revealed that Home Economics had the most upper-class students (60%), with Jinnah in second place (40%), unlike the Initial Survey. The fathers of the Home Economics sample women came up with high income as compared to the Jinnah. Both the colleges are situated in the premises of University of Peshawar, which has an ideal learning environment to attract top students of Pukhtunkhwa. Also, there is a quota for the University of Peshawar employees, so, some working-class (7%) women appeared in Jinnah and Home Economics sample too. Another significant change from the Initial Survey was more working-class women in Frontier and City colleges appeared. Few upper-class fathers also arose in City as well, which thus provided one of my high numbers of working-class sample women. Thus the statistical analysis is:

Survey	Initial Survey (2008)	Audit Survey (2009)	Total
Jinnah	08	23	31
Homic	05	30	35
Fortier	02	07	09
City	0	2	02
Total	15	62	77

Formulation of null and alternative hypotheses:

H_0 = Two surveys results are homogeneous.

H_1 = Two surveys results are not homogeneous.

Level of significance is 5%.

Test statistics is:

$$x^2 = \frac{N^2}{AB} \left[\sum_1 \frac{a_i^2}{c_i} - \frac{A^2}{N} \right] \text{with } (n - 1) \text{d.f.}$$

Critical region is defined as:

$$x^2 \geq X^2_{0.05(1)} = 3.84$$

Now to calculate the value of x^2 :

$$x^2 = \frac{(77)^2}{(15)(62)} \left[\frac{08}{31} + \frac{05}{35} + \frac{02}{9} + \frac{0}{02} - \frac{(15)^2}{77} \right]$$

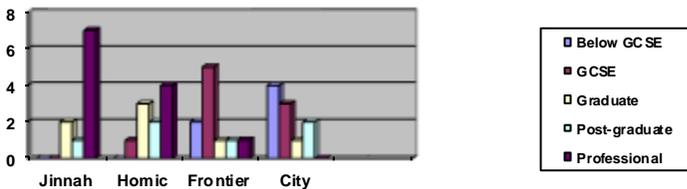
$$= \frac{5929}{930} (0.294)$$

$$= 1.87$$

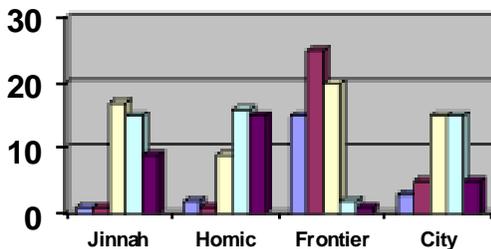
Results: As the tabulated value is greater than calculated value i.e. 1.87, hence we cannot reject the null hypothesis H_0 , and consulted both the surveys are homogeneous.

Fathers' Standard of Education

Initial Survey



Audit Survey



The Audit Survey about the standard of sample women’s fathers’ education was slightly different from the Initial Survey results. The largest percentage of below GCSE fathers were from Frontier (35%) followed by City (7%), Home Economics (5%) and Jinnah (3%). However, Home Economic has the largest body of professional (35%) and post-graduate (40%) fathers. The second largest college with post-graduate fathers was City (35%), which also had 12% professional fathers. However, at City College, most of the fathers were from the education sector, which is one of the lowest paid departments in Pukhtunkhwa. There were a good number of fathers in Jinnah with graduate (40%) and professional degrees (21%). Home Economics had the largest number of qualified fathers, while Frontier had the lowest qualified fathers according to the Audit Survey.

There was a co-relation between the sample women’s fathers’ education and their monthly income. However, only holders of medical and engineering professional degrees had the high income that categorised as upper-class. The percentage of undergraduate fathers was high at Frontier (47%) as compared to Jinnah (40%), Home Economics (21%) and City (35%). Most of the fathers of Frontier and City colleges go for distance education, which is the lowest standard of education in the country. The statistical analysis is:

Survey	Initial Survey (2008)	Audit Survey (2009)	Total
Jinnah	10	42	52
Homic	10	42	52
Frontier	10	63	73
City	10	24	34
Total	40	171	211

Formulation of null and alternative hypotheses:

H_0 = Two surveys results are homogeneous.

H_1 = Two surveys results are not homogeneous.

Level of significance is 5%.

Test statistics is:

$$x^2 = \frac{N^2}{AB} \left[\sum_1 \frac{a_i^2}{c_i} - \frac{A^2}{N} \right] \text{with } (n - 1) \text{ d.f.}$$

Critical region is defined as:

$$x^2 \geq X^2_{0.05(1)} = 3.84$$

Now to calculate the value of x^2 :

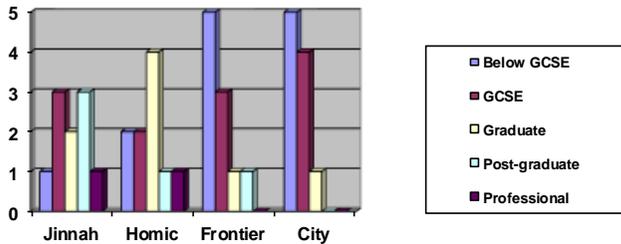
$$x^2 = \frac{(211)^2}{(40)(171)} \left[\frac{100}{52} + \frac{100}{52} + \frac{100}{73} + \frac{100}{34} - \frac{(40)^2}{211} \right]$$

$$= \frac{44521}{6840} (0.5)$$

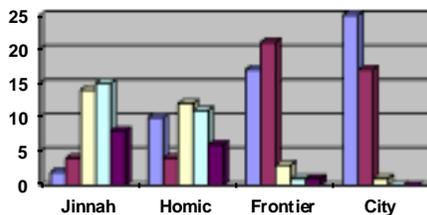
$$= 3.254$$

Results: As the tabulated value is greater than calculated value i.e. 3.254, hence we cannot reject the null hypothesis H_0 , and consulted both the surveys are homogeneous.

Mothers' Standard of Education Initial Survey



Audit Survey



The Audit Survey revealed that 18% of the Jinnah sample had a professional degree, though the college had also a large number of mothers with postgraduate degrees (35%) and graduate degrees (33%). 23% of the Home Economics mothers had left school before GCSE; only 10% had a GCSE qualification; 28% had graduate and 26% had postgraduate degrees, with a good number (14%) of professional qualifications. In a conservative place like Pukhtunkhwa, this is indeed a good percentage of professional degree qualifications, but most of the mums were housewives and did not take any interest in paid/unpaid work after marriage.

40% and 50% of the mothers of the sample women of Frontier had below GCSE and GCSE qualifications, respectively. A minimal number of 3% had achieved postgraduate and professional qualifications. Similarly, 60% of the City sample had mothers with below GCSE and 40% with GCSE. None of their mothers had postgraduate degrees or professional qualifications. The statistical analysis is:

Survey	Initial Survey (2008)	Audit Survey (2009)	Total
Jinnah	10	42	52
Homic	10	42	52
Frontier	10	43	53
City	10	42	52
Total	40	169	209

Formulation of null and alternative hypotheses:

H_0 = Two surveys results are homogeneous.

H_1 = Two surveys results are not homogeneous.

Level of significance is 5%.

Test statistics is:

$$x^2 = \frac{N^2}{AB} \left[\sum_1 \frac{a_i^2}{c_i} - \frac{A^2}{N} \right] \text{with } (n - 1) \text{ d.f.}$$

Critical region is defined as:

$$x^2 \geq X^2_{0.05(1)} = 3.84$$

Now to calculate the value of x^2 :

$$x^2 = \frac{(209)^2}{(40)(169)} \left[\frac{100}{52} + \frac{100}{52} + \frac{100}{53} + \frac{100}{52} - \frac{(40)^2}{209} \right]$$

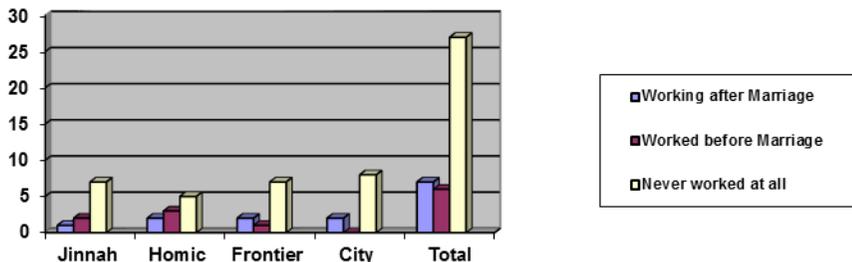
$$= \frac{43681}{6760} (0.101)$$

$$= 0.652$$

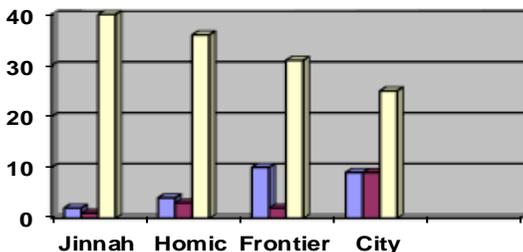
Results: As the tabulated value is greater than calculated value i.e. 0.652, hence we cannot reject the null hypothesis H_0 , and consulted both the surveys are homogeneous.

Mothers' Professional Life

Initial Survey



Audit Survey



The sample women’s mothers appeared to have no professional life, because the majority (77%) of the mothers had never worked in their life. Only 15% did some sort of work after marriage, but those mothers were mostly from Frontier and City colleges. There was not a big difference between the sample women’s responses as compared to the Initial Survey. The statistical analysis is:

Survey	Initial Survey (2008)	Audit Survey (2009)	Total
Jinnah	10	43	53
Homic	10	43	53
Frontier	10	43	53
City	38	43	81
Total	68	127	209

Formulation of null and alternative hypotheses:

H_0 = Two surveys results are homogeneous.

H_1 = Two surveys results are not homogeneous.

Level of significance is 5%.

Test statistics is:

$$x^2 = \frac{N^2}{AB} \left[\sum_1 \frac{a_i^2}{c_i} - \frac{A^2}{N} \right] \text{with } (n - 1) \text{d.f.}$$

Critical region is defined as:

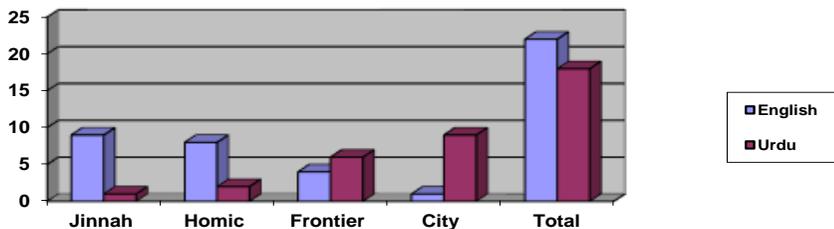
$$x^2 \geq X^2_{0.05(1)} = 3.84$$

Now to calculate the value of x^2 :

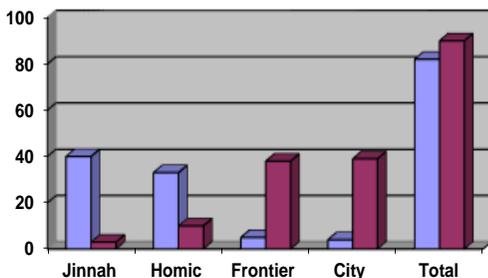
$$\begin{aligned} x^2 &= \frac{(209)^2}{(68)(127)} \left[\frac{100}{53} + \frac{100}{53} + \frac{100}{53} + \frac{1444}{81} - \frac{(68)^2}{209} \right] \\ &= \frac{43681}{8636} (0.28) \\ &= 1.416 \end{aligned}$$

Results: As the tabulated value is greater than calculated value i.e. 1.416, hence we cannot reject the null hypothesis H_0 , and consulted both the surveys are homogeneous..

Sample Women’s Language of Instruction Initial Survey



Audit Survey



95% of the sample women from Jinnah and 80% from Home Economics College used English as a medium of instruction and had been instructed in English since primary school. However, there were a small percentage of sample women in Frontier and City colleges (12% and 9%) that used English as well, but those English medium schools grow like mushrooms in Pukhtunkhwa society because of their low standards and low fee structure.

Compared to the findings of the Initial Survey, there was not a significant difference in the Audit Survey. Jinnah and Home Economics sample women studied and are studying in an English medium of instruction, while Frontier and City have some non-elite English-medium-instructed sample women, but they could

not express themselves in English at all. The upper class fathers of City College did not send their daughters to English medium schools. The statistical analysis is:

Survey	Initial Survey (2008)	Audit Survey (2009)	Total
Jinnah	10	43	53
Homic	10	43	53
Frontier	10	43	53
City	38	168	206
Total	68	297	365

Formulation of null and alternative hypotheses:

H_0 = Two surveys results are homogeneous.

H_1 = Two surveys results are not homogeneous.

Level of significance is 5%.

Test statistics is:

$$x^2 = \frac{N^2}{AB} \left[\sum_1 \frac{a_i^2}{c_i} - \frac{A^2}{N} \right] \text{With } (n - 1) \text{ d.f.}$$

Critical region is defined as:

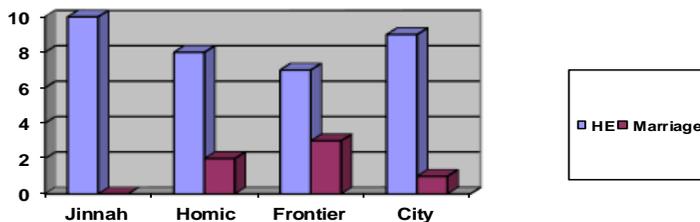
$$x^2 \geq X^2_{0.05(1)} = 3.84$$

Now to calculate the value of x^2 :

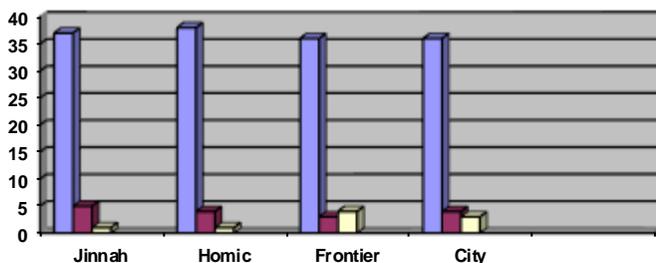
$$\begin{aligned} x^2 &= \frac{(365)^2}{(68)(297)} \left[\frac{100}{53} + \frac{100}{53} + \frac{100}{53} + \frac{1444}{206} - \frac{(68)^2}{365} \right] \\ &= \frac{133225}{18972} (0.20) \\ &= 1.404 \end{aligned}$$

Results: As the tabulated value is greater than calculated value i.e. 1.404, hence we cannot reject the null hypothesis H_0 , and consulted both the surveys are homogeneous.

Preference of Marriage over Higher Education Initial Survey



Audit Survey



Majority of the sample women gave preference to higher education rather than marriage. This was in contrast to the result of the Initial Survey; however, there was a minor shift among the sample women regarding marriage. The percentage who preferred marriage over higher education was 12% in Jinnah, 10% in Home Economics, 7% in Frontier and 10% in City. Furthermore, there was an adequate number of sample women who were unsure and ticked “don’t know” in their responses. They were very few from Jinnah (3%) and Home Economics (3%), but a good number from Frontier (10%) and City (7%).

The Audit Survey revealed that some sample women had a preference for marriage, and some were unsure. Those cultural and social implications were involved in the data analysis process

(Hussain, 1995). However the issue of women and security provided a new theory form data analysis: the sample women were reluctant and fearful to discuss their intention for marriage and higher education. The statistical analysis is:

Survey	Initial Survey (2008)	Audit Survey (2009)	Total
Jinnah	10	43	53
Homic	10	43	53
Frontier	10	43	53
City	10	43	53
Total	40	172	212

Formulation of null and alternative hypotheses:

H_0 = Two surveys results are homogeneous.

H_1 = Two surveys results are not homogeneous.

Level of significance is 5%.

Test statistics is:

$$x^2 = \frac{N^2}{AB} \left[\sum_1 \frac{a_i^2}{c_i} - \frac{A^2}{N} \right] \text{With } (n - 1) \text{d.f.}$$

Critical region is defined as:

$$x^2 \geq X^2_{0.05(1)} = 3.84$$

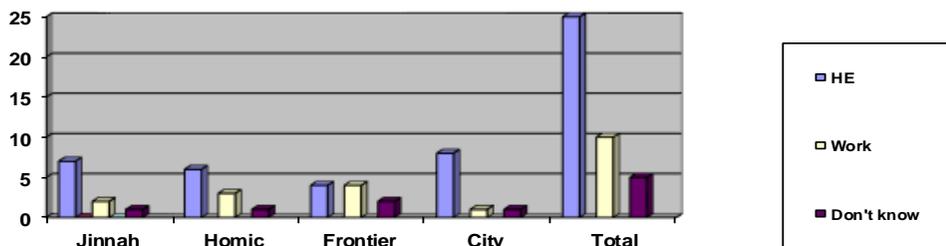
Now to calculate the value of x^2 :

$$\begin{aligned}
 x^2 &= \frac{(212)^2}{(40)(172)} \left[\frac{100}{53} + \frac{100}{53} + \frac{100}{53} + \frac{100}{53} - \frac{(40)^2}{212} \right] \\
 &= \frac{44944}{6880} (0.20) \\
 &= 1.306
 \end{aligned}$$

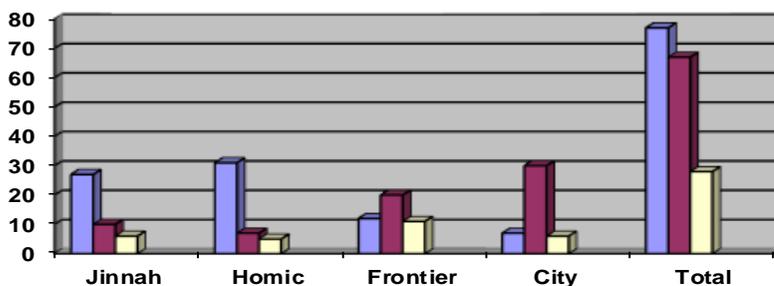
Results: As the tabulated value is greater than calculated value i.e. 1.306, hence we cannot reject the null hypothesis H_0 , and consulted both the surveys are homogeneous.

Work or Higher Education

Initial Survey



Audit Survey



44% of the sample women chose higher education as compared to 40% in the Initial Survey; while 16% of sample women were unsure about their future in work or education. However, the majority of Jinnah (62%) and Home Economics (72%) sample women wanted to continue to their higher education. The sample women’s perception was different from the Initial Survey; the Audit Survey revealed nearly an equal percentage of women wanted to continue higher education and work. Thus the statistical analysis is:

Survey	Initial Survey (2008)	Audit Survey (2009)	Total
Jinnah	10	43	53

Homic	10	43	53
Fortier	10	43	53
City	37	158	195
Total	67	287	354

Formulation of null and alternative hypotheses:

H_0 = Two surveys results are homogeneous.

H_1 = Two surveys results are not homogeneous.

Level of significance is 5%.

Test statistics is:

$$x^2 = \frac{N^2}{AB} \left[\sum_1 \frac{a_i^2}{c_i} - \frac{A^2}{N} \right] \text{with } (n - 1) \text{d.f.}$$

Critical region is defined as:

$$x^2 \geq X^2_{0.05(1)} = 3.84$$

Now to calculate the value of x^2 :

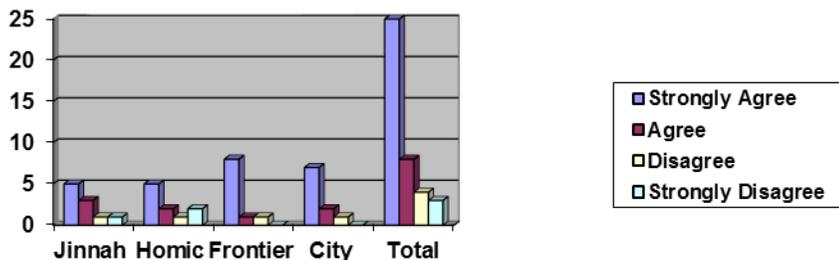
$$\begin{aligned} x^2 &= \frac{(354)^2}{(67)(287)} \left[\frac{100}{53} + \frac{100}{53} + \frac{100}{53} + \frac{1369}{195} - \frac{(67)^2}{357} \right] \\ &= \frac{125316}{19229} (0.07) \\ &= 0.45 \end{aligned}$$

Results: As the tabulated value is greater than calculated value i.e. 0.45, hence we cannot reject the null hypothesis H_0 , and consulted both the surveys are homogeneous.

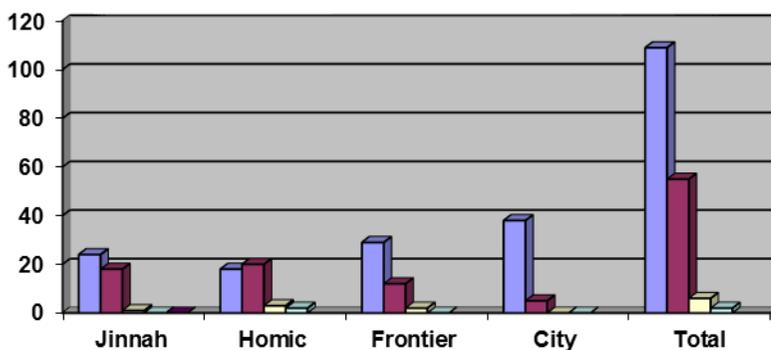
Career versus Family

A successful family (husband and children (more boys) life is more important than a successful career.

Initial Survey



Audit Survey



Once again, a majority of the sample women strongly agreed (60%) or agreed (37%) with this statement; a successful family life is more important than a career. This is in contrast to the Initial Survey, in which 80% of the sample women strongly agreed with this statement.

In both surveys, there was no economic class difference in their perceptions about family and career. The sample women did not even think for a single minute before writing their answers. They immediately showed their preference for family over career. The statistical analysis is:

Survey	Initial Survey (2008)	Audit Survey (2009)	Total
Jinnah	10	43	53
Homic	10	43	53
Frontier	10	43	53
City	40	169	209
Total	70	298	368

Formulation of null and alternative hypotheses:

H_0 = Two surveys results are homogeneous.

H_1 = Two surveys results are not homogeneous.

Level of significance is 5%.

Test statistics is:

$$x^2 = \frac{N^2}{AB} \left[\sum_1 \frac{a_1^2}{c_1} - \frac{A^2}{N} \right] \text{with } (n - 1) \text{ d.f.}$$

Critical region is defined as:

$$x^2 \geq X^2_{0.05(1)} = 3.84$$

Now to calculate the value of x^2 :

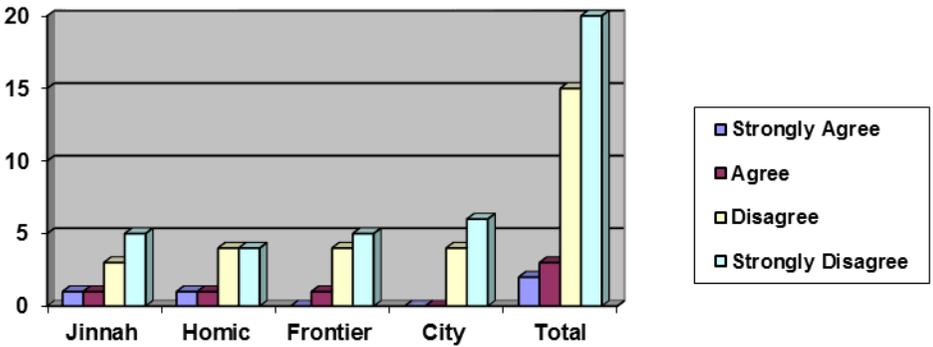
$$\begin{aligned} x^2 &= \frac{(360)^2}{(70)(298)} \left[\frac{100}{53} + \frac{100}{53} + \frac{100}{53} + \frac{1600}{209} - \frac{(70)^2}{368} \right] \\ &= \frac{129600}{20860} (0.301) \\ &= 1.87 \end{aligned}$$

Results: As the tabulated value is greater than calculated value i.e. 1.87, hence we cannot reject the null hypothesis H_0 , and consulted both the surveys are homogeneous.

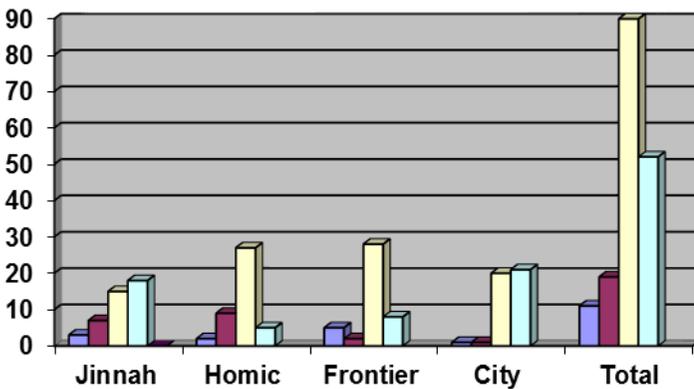
Perceptions about Daughters-only Offspring

The sample women’s definition of a complete family was a husband with a good career and salary with children, but more sons and fewer daughters. The Initial Survey explored the sample women perception; **‘would you be satisfied with the daughters-only offspring?’** Surprisingly, none of the sample women wanted to be a mother of daughters only. The Audit survey responses were as follows:

Initial Survey



Audit Survey



The majority (83%) of the sample women in the study strongly disagreed and 17% disagreed with this statement. Once again, there was no economic class variation in their responses, which was similar to their responses to previous career versus family question. A mere 7% of sample women strongly agreed and 11% agreed. However, in the Initial Survey, 90% of the sample strongly disagreed or disagreed with the statement (90% in Jinnah, 70% in Home Economics, 90% in Frontier, and 100% in City). 20% in Jinnah and Home Economics, 10% in Frontier, and none from the City sample woman agreed or strongly agreed with the statement. So, a total of 30% of the sample women agreed with the statement. The statistical analysis is:

Survey	Initial Survey (2008)	Audit Survey (2009)	Total
Jinnah	10	43	53
Homic	10	43	53
Frontier	10	43	53
City	40	176	216
Total	70	305	375

Formulation of null and alternative hypotheses:

H_0 = Two surveys results are homogeneous.

H_1 = Two surveys results are not homogeneous.

Level of significance is 5%.

Test statistics is:

$$x^2 = \frac{N^2}{AB} \left[\sum_1 \frac{a_1^2}{c_1} - \frac{A^2}{N} \right] \text{with } (n - 1) \text{ d.f.}$$

Critical region is defined as:

$$x^2 \geq X^2_{0.05(1)} = 3.84$$

Now to calculate the value of x^2 :

$$\begin{aligned}
 x^2 &= \frac{(375)^2}{(70)(305)} \left[\frac{100}{53} + \frac{100}{53} + \frac{100}{53} + \frac{1600}{216} - \frac{(70)^2}{375} \right] \\
 &= \frac{140625}{21350} (0.501) \\
 &= 3.82
 \end{aligned}$$

Results: As the tabulated value is greater than calculated value i.e. 3.82, hence we cannot reject the null hypothesis H_0 , and consulted both the surveys are homogeneous.

Concluding Comments

It is interesting to note that the qualitative and quantitative data analyses of both the instruments (focused interviews and structured-questionnaire) tested some different variables (for qualitative data analysis see; Khattak, 2018). However, both the surveys found a co-relation between economic class, parental education and higher education/career of the sample women. Money is a matter of this triangulation; wealthy-educated parents encouraged their daughters for higher education rather than career and neither at the price of rejecting a good marriage proposal. A strong recommended place for woman is to be a mother of many boys by the *Pukhtunwali*. The sample women did not see any woman with a successful marital and professional life in family and society. They accepted this status quo and patriarchal mind set of the society. In contrast, higher education and career for lower-middle and working class uneducated parents was an economic need for their family support and a source for dowry collection. Most of the sample women thought about marriage and having a complete family to a great degree. They did not want only daughters' offspring. Preference for sons is common in most South Asian countries particularly in Pukhtunkhwa because the bloodline of a father is carried by a son

rather than a daughter, a cultural interpretation of Islam. Thus *Pukhtunwali* considered sons as father's shoulders that further strengthen their tribe. And women being honour, correlated to *ghairat*, *nang*, and *namos* should a flag bearers of different social norms and the tribal code. These tribal values make up —a complex identity based on economic moral and social independence (Mann, 2005:3 cited in Jamal, 2014). Thus the study explored a low status of women discouragement towards women's work and career in upper and upper-middle class was because to their mothers, who did not work in their life as *Pukhtunwali* considered it a threats to male-honour.

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