

**Inclusion and Exclusion of Women in the Ministry of Foreign
Affairs of Pakistan; A Feminist Approach**



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IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE MOST BENEFICIENT,
THE MOST MERCIFUL

'By the morning light, and the night when it is still. Your Allah Has not Forsaken Thee, nor is He Displeased. And verily what is to come will be better than what has gone by.'

(Surah Al-Duha: 93)

Al Quran

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Abstract

This research focuses on 'gender' in relation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan. The why of women's potential diminutive role is explored via the application of the feminist approach, which examines the inclusivity/exclusivity of women. This research made use of purposive interviews with curated persons in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The collated data was thematically analysed, using a descriptive method.

The study examined if the application of feminist theory is possible on an Eastern society, while looking at potential underlying causes for the exclusion of women in the Ministry, which were discovered to be mainly sociocultural. The research determined that women do not have equal representation vis a vis their male counterparts in all the ranks of the Ministry due to social stereotyping and sociocultural discrimination, amongst other reasons. Moreover, the need for the inclusion of women was established by examining how social disenfranchisement may make women better empathisers and how their experiences allow for a thorough examination and solution of relevant problems. The study is significant because it identifies a lack of Pakistani feminist scholarship pertaining to the bureaucratic sector and examines if western feminist ideologies are actually applicable on a South Asian country. Finally, this research concluded that women are indeed excluded from the Ministry via social and institutional constraints.

CHAPTER NO. 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction and Overview

“Where are the women?”

Ann Tickner put forth this question in the 1980s when she looked for feminist research papers for her students and realized there was extraordinarily little scholarship on gendered perspective in the domain of peace and conflict studies. Since then, many feminist narratives have been penned to examine the role of women in the field of conflict and conflict resolution. This research will primarily be looking at the feminist domain in the vast field of peace and conflict. But before this study extends to the venerable feminist analysis, it is important to understand the background of peace and conflict in relation to Pakistan.

The field of peace and conflict studies has grown vastly throughout the latter half of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty first century. It deals with both peace processes and international conflict, amongst other topics of interest. International conflict can be defined as conflict between differing nation-states and/or external non-state actors and nation-states (Maoz and Abdolali 1989). Modern states now rely on their foreign services to maintain international peace and harmony on the global sphere. Therefore, the role of a country’s foreign ministry can be stated to be particularly important.

When speaking of conflictual situations, women are considered the major victims of international conflict escalation, with a large number subjected to violence, economic hardship, exclusion in decision-making, and lack of basic rights (Nowrojee 2005). Despite this, little attention is paid to the impact women can have toward conflict mitigation and resolution, especially at the international level (Nowrojee 2005) (Khawaja 2017). From a feminist perspective, the role of women is vital to the understanding of the nuances of peace and the

mitigation of conflict. Of course, female participation in all domains of Pakistani civil society is increasing, especially in the twenty first century (Khawaja 2017). However, societal and institutional biases persist, which can hinder the inclusion of varied perspective to the field of feminist peace and conflict. To narrow down the focus, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan has been chosen as the scope of this study.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan is a credible body that helps in the maintenance of the country's foreign ties and its foreign policy (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020). The Ministry employs both men and women. However, it is important to note that at the ambassadorial level, men far outweigh the number of women appointed in the field. Furthermore, though there are eminent female diplomats representing Pakistan abroad, many younger women feel their representation is limited (personal communication, 2020). Changes in this domain are a must if the inclusion of women is to become the norm for Pakistani society. "The challenge for a state is to recognize the changing trends and make necessary adjustments in its approach..." (Rizvi 2014). As stated by Rizvi, a rehaul of traditionalist perspective is necessary.

The peace and conflict studies discourse in Pakistan is relatively new, though the study of security, foreign relations, and diplomacy have always been central to mainstream Pakistani discourse (Shami 2009). In an order to expand on the burgeoning new field of Pakistani peace and conflict studies, it is important apply a critical eye to the domain and recognize the gaps in the field. Only by filling in these gaps can the normative reality of Pakistan tie in with the epistemological considerations of feminist thought in the modern world. It is important to allow Pakistani scholarship to reflect the gendered realities of Pakistan, and for this, such a large civil and governmental body is a perfect fit.

Therefore, this study will apply a feminist lens to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for two underlying reasons; firstly, women undergo social disenfranchisement even in prestigious arenas, and secondly, the diverse experiences of women enrich any discourse that is done in the bureaucratic sector. These two reasons will become the basis for the argument that there is indeed a need for feminist voices to not only be included but implemented in the examined domain. Moreover, this study will use the case of the Ministry to examine if western feminist ideologies are applicable to Pakistan in actuality. It will, therefore, utilize the grounded theory approach to tie in existing theories to the data's results, since it is also a critique of other theoretical domains and their applicability to an eastern society.

Furthermore, this study will be taking a look at what reasons may cause the exclusion of women in foreign services. These causes will be broken down and examined in light of the exploratory nature of this research. This research has also stemmed from the question mentioned at the beginning of the introduction, and looks at the social, and systemic inequalities faced by women during conflict resolution (Sharoni 1992) (Tickner 1989) (McLeod and O'Reilly 2019). The purpose of this study can thus also be defined as seeking reasons behind the exclusion of women based on their own narrative.

It is necessary to get a thoroughly polarized snapshot of any explorative study, and so the narrative of women becomes important alongside of men. This research, too, will include both. If the problem is not recognized and worked on, it will only keep a restraining lid on the contributions of women for the betterment of Pakistan. Therefore, this research will explore the role of women in Pakistan's foreign services process (from all three tiers of the Ministry) and why their different perspectives are important to the domain.

1.2 Problem Statement

Based on the assumption that there appears to be existing disparity between the involvement of female and male foreign officers and ambassadors in foreign policy making within Pakistan, leading to an uneven representation for women. This is a problem because male relevant approaches and decision making may differ from the actual needs of women their policies will be affecting. Women bring a variety of diverse perspectives to the field of peace and conflict, and the absence of this can lead to a continuation of social and systemic disenfranchisement of women in Pakistan. The Foreign Affairs Journal, Institute for Inclusive Security, and the Foreign Policy Magazine have all stated a gap in women's inclusion in security, foreign affairs, government, and public services.

1.3 Research Questions

1. To what extent is a feminist approach applicable to the field of foreign services?
2. Which key factors may act as a deterrent to equal gender representation in the Ministry?
3. Why is there a need for the inclusion of feminist perspectives in the Ministry?
4. What actions can be undertaken by the relevant institution to make their foreign policy process more inclusive vis a vie the existing status quo?

1.4 Objectives

This study aims to explore the application of a feminist approach to a South Asian society in relation to foreign services of Pakistan. Moreover, this research will look at the levels of employment in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the statistical inclusion of women at any given period. Additionally, this study will examine whether the assumption put forth by this study can be labelled true or false via an exploration of the possible causes which measure the inclusivity/exclusivity of women in this domain. This study will also aim to describe the conditions are which are undergone by female foreign policymakers involve possible exclusion

in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Lastly, this research will also examine the reasons for why the representation of women is of such importance.

1.5 Significance

This research is significant due to three main reasons.

Firstly, this research aims to examine both the similarities and inconsistencies of mainstream feminism in regard to an eastern social structure, therefore allowing for a nuanced approach to feminism that has not been explored before in Pakistani academia.

Moreover, this study is significant because it will fill in a research gap as the role of Pakistani bureaucracy has not been studied before in regard to the inclusivity/exclusivity approach. It is important to note here that the only similar gendered perspective is in relation to women in parliament, for example by NS Khan (1985) and H Tabassum (2013). This study seeks to provide the first of its kind Pakistani feminist analysis in keeping with a theoretical model that has not been previously applied to eastern scholarship. Nearly all Pakistani gendered scholarship is written via the perspective of men. For example, foreign policy experts such as Hasan Askari Rizvi, Shaharyar Khan, and Abdul Sittar do not elaborate on the role of female foreign policymakers in their books. This study will act as an alternative to such discourse.

Thirdly, this research highlights how Pakistani women's unique characteristics and experiences should make them an integral part of the foreign services processes. This is necessitated by not only the different priorities of men and women, but also by the vastly different experiences of both genders. Pakistani society is unique in its mix of Western and Eastern ideologies, and this research will utilize the unique experiences of women especially.

Lastly, it may be a substantiated (albeit minor) referential body of work for Pakistani women seeking a heightened role in the world of peace and conflict studies. This research aims to act as a small-scale basis for the propagation of sociological feminist discourse in Pakistani

scholarship. This may, down the road, aid in the development of critical peace and conflict studies scholarship in Pakistan, along with a much needed feminist angle.

CHAPTER NO. 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Feminism has developed as both a movement and a theory across the world in recent years, and it is vital to understand the factors of conflict, gender identity, historic background, and foreign affairs in relation to it. This is necessary to glean a thorough picture of the field of mainstream feminism and to examine if and what sort of feminist discourse currently exists in Pakistan.

Conflict is an important initial lens to use to understand the nuances of gender inequality and power struggles. *Conflict*, for centuries, has been a part of the human experience. Historically, it has occurred at both the individual and group level, with broader conflict taking the form of group-based discord and dissent (Pruitt 1998). It is a phenomenon that arises out of dissatisfaction and can be defined as ‘deeper struggles over unsatisfied human needs that require resolution’ (Ramsbotham et al, 2011). Many realist works consider international conflict as an inherent condition between states, nonstate actors, and even individuals, and that through the course of any event, conflict may arise where there is a clash of opinions, demands, and needs (Williams 2004). Moreover, a body of work from both liberal and constructivist camps, too, discusses the nature of international conflict and its presence and role throughout history, especially in the shaping of the modern world (Mowle 2003). The nature of conflict leads to many branches in the social sciences when academics study the nature of conflict. A resultant branch is, thus, international conflict resolution.

Conflict resolution is ‘a range of forms of resolving disagreements which may be manifested at different levels of society,’ according to Sanson and Bretherton (2001). Looking at conflict resolution from the same sociological lens used for examining the definition of conflict above, it can be determined that conflict resolution encompasses the process of resolution as well, and not just the completion of it. International conflict resolution, especially, involves state-based

resolution that involves a nuanced approach to the control of conflict. This definition has shifted greatly in academia. For example, John Burton's definition of conflict resolution extends beyond what he refers to as the realpolitik of the realist's perception and the "power politics" frameworks. Therefore, he defines conflict resolution as "the transformation of relationships in a particular case by the solution of the problems which led to the conflictual behavior in the first place' (Burton 1990).

Conflict resolution, therefore, may involve realigning the process of resolution to allow for a wider inclusion of all affected parties. Historically, this often took the shape of envoys, or peace treaties between nations and nation tribes (Balch 1978) (Yassine-Hamdan and Pearson 2014). The role of the ambassador was an important one, though a successful resolution was variant. In modern times, diplomacy (both overt and covert), negotiation, foreign cooperation, and eco-cultural exchange take the form of conflict resolution (Bercovitch et al 2009). From a broader perspective, peace and conflict studies involves the necessity of conflict resolution, which Ramsbotham, Mialli, and Woodhouse (2011) discuss in great detail in their book *'Contemporary Conflict Resolution.'* Here, the authors provide a detailed scaping of conflict resolution, its evolution over the decades, and how a grassroots approach has proven more successful.

Additionally, Sanson and Bretherton (2001) look at conflict resolution in terms of 'individuals, groups and nations,' while seeking to understand the social context in which this take place. The research helps enunciate the depth of conflict resolution in keeping with differing sections of society. Sanson and Bretherton (2001) discuss the need for involving every party that has been part of the conflict in its resolution, because only when all vested interests are taken into consideration and equally represented, can a 'win-win solution' be reached.

Conflict resolution developed rapidly as an academic field through the 1970s and 1980s, as new voices were added to the arena. Interestingly, the feminist role in peace and conflict began developing the most as a framework in this period, when authors such as Sharoni and Burton emphasized the need for the inclusion of women in the arena. Though, the discourse on women's inclusion in war and peace has gone back to at least the start of the twentieth century, it was not till the conflicts of the late twentieth century that the literature began to focus on the lack of women (Sharoni 1993). With ethnic and civil warfare, a new form of international relations was taking place of which women needed to become a part as increasingly, women were often the most subjugated and disenfranchised affectees of conflicts (Khawaja 2017).

However, when we speak of women-centric problems it is also pertinent to examine such notions from a gender balanced perspective to allow for a more nuanced, all-inclusive approach. The construction of gender, itself, becomes a key thing to note here, especially in light of social conflicts (Butler 2011). Gender is a baseline discussion of postmodernist thought, according to Butler (2011), who feels that gender has many variants, from physical anatomical laws to cultural laws. Butler cites how early modern feminists like Beauvoir felt that gender was constructed. Does this imply that gender, and all resultant power politics, then are a form of social construct? How does this play into the notion of gender inequalities, if the idea of gender itself is defined by society? Based on Butler's assumption it can be established that gender roles can play a key position in determining power roles. Structuralizing gender lends to an epistemological understanding of the socialized exclusion or inclusion of the group in minority, be it statistically or be it via discourse. Gender inequalities are, thus, important to examine in light of feminist inquiry since the understanding of gender can allow for an equitably representative discourse in the field of feminist peace and conflict studies.

Feminist theory in the field of peace and conflict studies allows for an academic appraisal of mainstream feminism and permits a deeper understanding of its nuances. It seeks to understand

the notion of gender disparity considering sociological constructs, while exploring women's experiences, societal roles, and most importantly, their needs and wants. Gender based inequalities, both covert and overt, have always been at the centre of feminist discourse (Sharoni 1993). Academics in the field, such as Ann Tickner, encourage the inclusion of feminist discourse in the field of international relations because it allows an understanding of the world from 'the perspective of the socially subjugated' (Tickner 1992). 'Feminist theories can offer us new insights on the behaviour of states and needs of individuals,' according to Tickner (1992). One such theoretical approach that developed during this period was the inclusivity/exclusivity approach. Though still a relatively newer lens in the field of women in peace and conflict, it has grown to encompass the necessity of inclusion and the parity of perspectives.

Feminist theory in this field highlights the unequal distribution of resources and disparate behavior toward women based on social, cultural, economic, and political factors (Weber 2006) (Sharoni 1994). These factors can play a key role in holding back women from personal and professional growth and from keeping them away from the process of conflict resolution, even though their needs may differ from that of men's. It is imperative to understand why there is a need to foster a feminist aspect to international relations and conflict resolution at the bureaucratic level. A feminist framework for international relations may provide analyses for not only the theoretical considerations of gender relations and inequalities, but also the values that preserve the subservience of women-centric ideologies. Moreover, Sharoni (2001) argues that the current discourse of this field eliminates a gendered perspective often, and thus has a huge literature gap. This exclusion according to Sharoni, has 'often been explained through reference to the public-private dichotomy'. Here, she explains that in the public domain, politics remain a matter for men and involves a mainstream inclusion of masculinity, while

women are bound to the 'private sphere' and delegated a more domesticated role in general (Sharoni 2001).

To do this, academics have sought to examine the formation of an international norm through the 1980s and 1990s, as stated above. This wave of feminists seeking to establish a feminist space in the field of peace and conflict essentially sought to *fill in a normative gap* in the traditionalist field of foreign policy. This may have stemmed through the dichotomy of two approaches (Tryggestad 2014). Firstly, as apparent, a new problem arose as the shift in the nature of the public sphere itself became apparent in the latter half of the twentieth century. The international state system and the academia may have lacked an adequate response to this problem, thus causing a rise in feminist discourse (Tryggestad 2014). Secondly, when structural shifts occur in the international political arena, it can also cause a shift in the understanding of what may or may not pose as a danger to state security and relationships at both international and national level. This potential compromise to the understanding of foreign relations led to the rise of a newer model of understanding, i.e. the importance of feminist applicability to the public stratosphere. Tryggestad (2014) examines how in such conditions, it is non-state actors, international networks, and social groups which often help in determining the issue. They also play an integral part in solution formulation, and even in the changing of previously dominant approaches to the field. Therefore, feminist discourse stemmed naturally from these two conditions.

This does bring into question the *reasons for why women's perspectives are important* in this changing environment. From a sociological point of view, women are equally capable of public and political participation due to (a) *socialized disenfranchisement*, and (b) *experiences that differ from men's* (Khawaja 2017). These two divisions allow for a better understanding of why the inclusion of women is a necessity in the field of international relations and peace and

conflict studies. This question of why is key to understanding the nature of feminist discourse and the potentiality of growth.

Firstly, *social disenfranchisement* is suffered by women because of being part of a historically marginalized group (Khawaja 2017). As stated by Tickner (1992), women are often the first victims in times of economic hardships, which necessitates the inclusion of women and feminism in conflict resolution. The inclusion of women can allow for a new perspective on the behavior of states and the understanding of individual and societal needs that is based upon the resultant empathy that women may begin to foster after undergoing hardship (Tickner 1992).

Feminist discourse also focuses on *how* the disenfranchisement may occur, namely via patriarchal perpetration. For example, Rita Manchanda (2005) says that ‘men use violence and the threat of violence to marginalize women, especially in restructuring “normalcy.”’ Manchanda (2005) discusses the methods used to marginalize women and their conflict-time experiences especially through societal reconstruction. Manchanda states that this is a historical trend apparent through most conflicts that diminishes the plight of women affectees. However, Manchanda’s main focus is on how impactful the role has been of those women who have been a key component of conflict resolution, and how their marginalization actually makes them better at making grassroot changes. Manchanda (2005) seeks to cement the need for more female involvement in conflict resolution. Francis Fukuyama (1998) also states how men have naturally aggressive tendencies, that may lead to a harsher political climate and may fracture international foreign affairs. Their harsher nature also perpetrates the patriarchal oppression of women even in westernized democratic states due to the normative nature of power politics. (Khawaja 2017) (Fukuyama 1998). Similarly, the traditionalist approach to foreign policy in a male dominated world can make the shift difficult, even as it occurs. For example, Sweden’s

announcement of a feminist foreign policy was met with ‘giggles,’ as stated by the Swedish Foreign Minister (Wallstrom, 2016).

Secondly, *the role of women’s experiences* in the public stratosphere has been highlighted by several authors. For example, John Burton, an eminent pioneer of the field of conflict resolution, stated the importance of the role women can play in this domain (1990). Burton discussed how ‘human needs’ play an inherent role in ‘conflict control,’ and that factors beyond just power struggles determine how such conflict may play out and get resolved. Burton talks of underprivileged groups, minority groups, and disenfranchised people in the duration of a conflict, and that women, as a minority group, have a significant contribution to make to conflict resolution processes especially in the public domain (Burton, 1990). Interestingly, Burton does not state that women are ‘softer’ by nature or more peace-oriented, but instead, that women are more likely to further peace and opt for conflict resolution processes in light of their ‘social experiences’ (Burton 1990). Moreover, Ann Tickner (1992) states that feminist theories are ‘constructed out of the experiences of women that have generally been rendered invisible.’ There are sociological feminists who believe that women should not only be included in existing structures, but instead, women’s experiences and understanding of matters that were previously bound to a male centric agenda should allow a differing voice on any pertinent issue (Northrup 1990). Forcey (1991), too, states the need for understanding that women should not be viewed as better peacemakers due to a more nurtured approach, but instead, should be an equal part of decision making and public sphere processes alongside men due to a need for several varied approaches to feminist conflict resolution. According to Forcey, women’s diverse perspective gives a clearer approach to the nature of peacemaking and state building.

Feminist examination is significant because it allows the field of peace and conflict studies to deviate from simplistic explanations of gender. Of course, it is also important to understand

that due to the very novel and deeply multi angulated nature of this area of inquiry, feminist peace and conflict research in the context of the bureaucracy may be hard to define in definite terms. However, the basics of the probe itself remain the same across most feminist inquiry, i.e., feminist theory in peace and conflict studies aims to develop, augment, and establish methodology that is open to the varied nuances of gendered inclusivity and exclusivity. It looks critically at the gray areas between the generalized process of foreign affairs and seeks variables that help transform and shift traditionalist agendas (McLeod and O'Reilly 2019). The feminist perspective, while wide-ranging, understands gender as a concept that must be dismantled, examined, and connected with to seek the *why* of gendered conflict development and *how* resolution may be reached if women have more involvement in the public stratosphere.

Moreover, the inclusivity/exclusivity approach is greatly similar to critical peace and conflict research, in that it establishes an alternative method of inquiry to the otherwise positivist agenda of mainstream research in the field. Additionally, it is necessary to highlight that feminist theory seeks to cause positive ripples in the field of feminist peace and conflict studies scholarship, as the need for such discourse itself stemmed from an aim to improve the condition of marginalized women in societal and systemic structures. The inclusivity/exclusivity approach, by its very nature, critiques ideologies that are often male dominated while it highlights the traditionalism of current methodologies and aims to achieve positive social change.

Feminist peace and conflict theorists build upon the idea of 'intersectionality of peace' to develop the idea of power relations while they occur and are experienced by all affectees, whether they are researchers, or women in the process of conflict resolution. This notion of intersectionality allows for a nuanced approach, especially as feminist theories seek to enrich peace and conflict theories, epistemologies, and methodologies (McLeod and O'Reilly 2019). They show that feminist considerations of intersectionality allow for an exploration of feminine

identities without allowing for common contradictions and stereotypes that often arise in relation to feminist works in the social sciences. In addition to this, the feminist approach creates a narrative analysis which classifies structural, societal, and systemic disparities. This is done via contextualizing relevant cases to the domain. This allows feminist theorists to develop the common argument of there being a need for practise and not just theory in terms of feminist conflict resolution. Therefore, the inclusivity/exclusivity approach is a positive addition to the scholarship of peace and conflict studies.

Similarly, Caprioli (2000) in her research on gendered conflict discusses how women are inherently more pacifist not just by nature, but via their social experiences. According to Caprioli, equal representation for women means that there is a more *pacifying effect on state behavior*. So, where inclusivity/exclusivity is the aim, female involvement can heighten the chances of peace. In line with Caprioli's study, Adeogun and Muthuki (2018) also discuss the varying factors which make women credible members especially in light of gendered perspectives. This research, published over twenty years after the first wave of feminist conflict theories, builds on the necessary addition of feminist thought in peace. Adeogun and Muthuki (2018) discuss how the daily experiences of women shape their discourse and allow them to provide a different perspective to the public stratosphere. The authors use the example of South Sudan where women, after being denied a role in resolution and reconstruction of their society, began a reformatory process from grassroots up. Their desire to partake in the public arena shows that an integrate approach to gender equality can prove successful, especially by helping sustain peacebuilding in the long run.

Two examples are often studied in the late twentieth century's feminist discourse on the impact women's inclusion can have for gendered equality. Nowrojee (2005) discusses how women in Sierra Leone had undergone inevitable violence, mainly in the shape of sexual violence, due to their societal vulnerability at the time of war. The study shows, however, that inclusion of

women and a women-centric approach to public processes has allowed for the victims of the Sierra Leone conflict to move closer to justice and recovery. Similarly, Hamilton's research on '*Rwanda's Women; The Key to Reconstruction*' focuses on a rather unique case study. According to Hamilton (2000), inclusivity has allowed the women of Rwanda to take charge following the civil war, with women leading advocacy and support groups and taking charge in the workplace. Hamilton (2000) states how reducing power disparity has allowed for women to feel more a part of Rwanda's rehabilitation. Most importantly, Hamilton's research highlights some of the areas where women suffered the most as the result of conflict and also were, surprisingly, able to find develop support there post war; namely, through family, community, private and government jobs, and through an increased presence in the government and in media (Hamilton 2000). Their inclusion and the utilization of their perspective in the public sector has thus far, helped avoid the dogmatic recurrence of protracted conflict. Interestingly, both these cases have involved politicising women's experiences, often for the better, to create lessons and a feminist scholarship that may help abet a pro-woman discourse especially in times of conflict (Nowrojee 2005) (Hamilton 2000). The inclusion of women in foreign policymaking, too, has interestingly played a part for these countries.

The inclusivity/exclusivity approach to gender naturally fits in *foreign policy making and foreign affairs* at a state level due to the nature of feminist discourse. For example, True (2010) states that variances in relation to the 'ontology of gender' can be considered normative in the domain of International Relations based feminism. Although most feminists working in the domain of peace and conflict explore gender disparity as a domain of structure and institutions, others understand gender as an 'ideological hierarchy,' that is, mainly a result of patriarchal structures of socioeconomic and political bodies globally, and are often reinforced via the 'ideologies of globalization' (True 2010). This is done via traditional structures that still try to function in a postmodernist world. This, of course, hinders the progress of true feminist thought

and its applicability in the world order. Moreover, feminist discourse centralizes gender disparity, and focuses on gender discrimination for the analysis of foreign policy processes and discourse. Often, academics such as Aggestam et al (2018) view the study of foreign policymaking and foreign affairs as having a very narrow perception, which may be state based with a lesser focus on individualistic needs. A study of foreign affairs and foreign policymaking via the feminist lens may allow for newer insights into how rationality and equality are utilized in foreign policy, and how this may fit into a changing, globalized worldview of inclusivity and comparative exclusivity (Aggestam et al 2018). Such discourse, feminist academics argue, can allow for a better understanding of why feminist foreign policy making can be hindered via the normative structuralism of the foreign policy domain. Traditionalist structures are harder to break down. Moreover, a feminist approach to bureaucratic structures in light of international relations and foreign affairs also allows a beneficial assessment of state-centric ideology and how they may play a role in trying to hide existing 'gendered boundaries' which determine foreign policy. Aggestam et al (2018) and True (2010) state that the 'public sphere of state institutions has largely been associated with men and masculinity.' Therefore, this is defined as a space where feminist perspective is often invariably excluded or minimized. This theme is often discussed by feminists when highlighting the variables involved in the disenfranchisement of women. Richey (2001), also suggests that the nature of foreign policy is gendered, citing examples of perceivably feminist countries like Denmark to discuss the little inclusion of women in its foreign affairs. This is interesting because even in the twenty first century, feminist discourse discusses how a seemingly pro-feminism state does not reliably adhere to an inclusive foreign policy approach. Though, there is growth, the growth is still rendered narrow by the unwillingness of most states to adapt to feminist inclusivity at state level (Aggestam et al 2018) (True 2010).

Moreover, academics also cite the importance of understanding the nuanced reasons for fostering an increase in the understanding and inclusion of a feminist discourse. Bashevkin (2018) also looks at the *role women play in diplomacy*, highlighting the non-homogenous nature of female foreign policymakers via the examples of US foreign policymakers. Bashevkin (2018) argues against stereotyping female diplomats and instead, encourages feminist scholarship to examine the different experiences of each policymaker. This, Bashevkin feels, is what determines the true role of women in the field of conflict resolution, since underpinning them with the same monotonous motives and perspectives is only a hinderance to feminist discourse. As stated above, Fukuyama (1998) feels that due to men's aggressive nature, they need to be constrained via laws, rules, and contracts etc. Fukuyama states how 'more women need to be brought into the domain of international politics as leaders, officials, soldiers, and voters,' allowing them to forward their own interests in an otherwise male dominated agenda. Fukuyama goes as far as stating that reasons need not be established to understand the correlation between mainstream feminism and antimilitarism, but instead to understand that the inclusion of women will naturally have a sobering effect on international relations. According to Fukuyama's research, 54 percent men agreed with maintaining superior militarized power globally, whereas only 45 percent women agreed in comparison. 'Women, moreover, are less likely than men to see force as a legitimate tool for resolving conflicts,' says Fukuyama (1998). Interestingly, a modern, democratic state is more feminized in nature relative to autocratic regimes, which in turn may necessitate the inclusion of women in foreign affairs if states wish to democratize themselves in light of changing global attitudes (Fukuyama 1998). Fukuyama, too, therefore supports the claim of women's experience necessitating a balanced approach to governance and foreign affairs. However, though eminent scholars like Fukuyama have predicted the growth of feminist states in relation to foreign policymaking and conflict resolution, there are still only a few cases that can be said to fit the exemplified model.

Existing literature shows that there are only three states in the ‘new, globalized world’ that have *defined feminist foreign policies*: namely, Sweden, France, and Canada. These countries have given a wider role to their ministries of foreign affairs, allowing for an inclusive and comprehensive foreign policy for each (Aggestam and Rosamond 2016). Most literature examines both the Swedish and Canadian policies since they came one after the other. *Sweden’s foreign policy* may be considered more detailed of the three (and also the oldest since it outranked the other two by at least a year) The Swedish foreign policy agenda which was established in 2016, encompasses all domains of foreign policy and seeks to advance gender equality. These vocal international promises underpin the rising trend of reformulating foreign policy and state security-based aims that allow feminist discourse to take centre stage at a global level. This contains a grassroots reordering of foreign affairs for Sweden, which feminist discourse asserts must be guided by the principles of ethics, diversity inclusion, and women empowerment (Aggestam and Rosamond 2016). The Swedish government’s acceptance and propagation of feminist foreign affairs and conflict resolution centralizes the fact that feminist discourse is right when it seeks to establish the importance of a feminist state of affairs, considering first world states are now adopting the feminist model. Feminists theorize that the depoliticization and consequent repoliticization of the gender and security nexus in Sweden may be counted as a catalyst for a slow but sure change (Aggestam and Rosamond 2018). This does not of course, guarantee a readymade acceptance of women-centric foreign policies, but it does act as a starter toward ensuring a more equitable and balanced international system (Wallstrom 2016). As the global order changes in the twentieth century (as a result of the late twentieth century’s global shift), the feminist approach to foreign affairs and foreign policymaking may well become the underpinnings on the new world order. This is apparent by the adoption of a similar model by the Canadian government soon after the Swedish resifting.

Similarly, the Canadian Council for International Cooperation emphasised the vital status of a gendered perspective to foreign policy building, especially for socio political development in the Sustainable Development Goals for *Canada*, according to Tiessen and Swan (2018). Furthermore, the report contained references to aid implementation and resultant efficacy, which were to be weighed in relation to the implementation of gender parity, women's empowerment, and gender relevant transformative shifts in the socio-political fabric of Canada's foreign affairs. Considered an important shift from the previous governmental policies, during the tenure of which reference to feminist agendas were eliminated from policy statements and supplanted with "equality between women and men." The current government puts progressing genderized inclusion "at the heart of Canada's international assistance," especially stating that a "feminist lens will be applied throughout all of Canada's international assistance activities" (Tiessen and Swan 2018). This is an interesting case to note in terms of genderization of foreign policy because it showcases a working model of feminine conflict resolution, albeit even an imperfect one. With a functional model of feminist thought in full application, the field of conflict resolution naturally burgeons into more diverse channels. This may, in turn, help in lessening the disenfranchisement of women while allowing for female experiences to also create equalized state-based relations.

On the other hand, what is apparent in the field of feminism, especially in the examination of the development of feminism throughout the latter half of the twentieth century is the prevalence of 'white' women and 'white privilege in the domain. 'It is the dominance of white women as architects and defenders of a framework of feminism...' says Daniels (2015). In the twenty first century, as the field develops further, many members of the academia have critiqued the first two waves of modern mainstream feminism as inherently grounded in the whiteness of their perpetrators (Daniels 2015). There is, however, little existing literature that does carry out a critique of the whiteness factor in modern feminist discourse.

An interesting point of contention regarding feminist discourse is that it universalizes the experience of women and indirectly boxes them into one approach and a singular perspective (Aziz 2017). The whiteness of mainstream feminism is, in the few academic critiques, a failure to allow for more nuance to the domain of feminism. Though it aims to provide a gender balanced approach, it fails to provide a racially, economically, and ethnically balanced approach to equality (Aziz 2017). Western mainstream feminism puts most feminist interests as one and the same, and perhaps even unknowingly marginalized the lived experiences and needs of other women groups. This is important to note regarding mainstream feminism because it provided a basis for understanding why there have been so many offshoots of the movement, be it black feminism, brown feminism, intersectional feminism etc (Brewer and Dundes 2018). Moreover, western mainstream feminism often does not account for lived religious experiences or beliefs, and many of its critiques stem from an inability to understand sociocultural distinctions, according to Bruno (2006). In fact, some academics argue that trying to superimpose universal women rights with a blatant disregard for cultural and religious norms can classify as a form of intellectual colonialism, stemming from a white saviour complex (Bruno 2006). Therefore, western mainstream feminism is not an all-encompassing domain. Though it has allowed for women empowerment, it has also been diverted into cultural and racial offshoots that determine the necessity of varied perspectives and experiences of women. (Aziz 2017). Which is why the experiences of women in relation to Pakistan, and especially a sector as important as the foreign services of Pakistan, must be examined.

The domain of feminist discourse regarding the foreign affairs sphere has mainly kept its focus on gender balancing, i.e. on the notion of developing frameworks that allow for sustainable inclusion of women in conflict resolution processes. However, when the same *conceptual models are applied to Pakistan*, the lens on inclusivity/exclusivity appears to be still greatly lacking in terms of feminist discourse. With a few feminist studies done on the inclusion of

women in security, governance, and foreign affairs, there is still little to no development in Pakistani academia that targets the inclusivity/exclusivity approach. Asma Khawaja (2017) is one researcher who narrows the focus down to women in Pakistan and the lack of a women-centric perspective to the issue of security within the country. Khawaja centres around the need to recognize the importance of involving women in all decision-making levels of the country. Khawaja (2017) states that 'Pakistan is second to last in terms of gender equality worldwide' and that the nation's gender disparity is 'systemic.' She states how women have been eliminated from public spaces as their roles have been compromised. She says, 'Women have to face gender discrimination both in their public and private life, forcing them to settle for a lower social, economic and political status than those of male.' This gender discrimination also holds women back from equalized participation. Women, according to Khawaja (2017), have learnt to hold themselves back as agents of social change despite recognizing their different experiential living from men in Pakistan. Zaka (2012) expounds on the necessity of understanding the need to include women in all spheres of public life, especially academia, foreign affairs, and governance. This, Zaka states, will allow for an inclusive, knowledge based paradigm to conflict resolution for policymaking in Pakistan. Sustainability of these knowledge based paradigms is key to allow for a more gender balanced approach to Pakistani foreign policy. Shami (2009) talks of exemplary women who helped establish political representation for the women of Pakistan. For example, Fatima Jinnah proved a catalyst for Pakistani women, going as far as to politically challenge Ayub Khan as a presidential candidate. According to Shami this 'increased the threshold of political ambitions amongst the female politicians of the Subcontinent to the very highest levels.' Moreover, the political growth and the role of women in Pakistan increased through the first two decades of Pakistan's formation. The first female ambassador to the Netherlands, Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan, was appointed in 1954. Also, 'equality of status, equality of opportunity, equal pay for equal work and guarantee of rights for

Muslim women under the Muslim personal law of Shariah' were also included in the Charter of Women's Rights, the creation of which was done by Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz. According to Shami, this allowed for a women centric approach to mainstream political and state-based discourse in Pakistan at the time. Shami also notes that till 1973, the constitution did not include a charter that outright discussed men and women being equals by law. However, Pakistani feminist literature is still lacking on the nuances of genderized foreign policy. The gender based inclusivity/exclusivity approach is absent from peace and conflict scholarship in Pakistan. Historically, the country has had notable women in the sphere of foreign affairs, with some notable names being Maliha Lodhi, Naela Chohan, Hina Rabbani Khar, and Sherry Rehman, though the challenges faced by these women at both societal and institutional level are paramount (Khar 2012) (Mahmood and Ahmad 2013). However, the gap in the feminist discourse in relation to the bureaucratic sphere is a notable one, especially in keeping with the development of feminist theories in the Western hemisphere. It is, therefore, necessary to develop a localized feminist discourse that allows for a contextual application of women-centric ideas and perspectives that go beyond the realm of analysis into the field of implementation (Sharoni 1993). Gender is a deeply nuanced approach, and till its application is broadened at state level, there may perhaps be little growth in the domain (Aggestam et al 2018). Therefore, it is imperative to understand the epistemology of feminist discourse.

CHAPTER NO. 3: RELEVANCE TO PAKISTAN

This chapter will examine the role of the Ministry and why it is important to a case study that pertains to the women of Pakistan. Moreover, this chapter will utilize the literature that was studied in the previous chapter and see if there is a broad applicability of the theoretical underpinnings of mainstream western feminist discourse to an Eastern society like Pakistan.

As stated above, it is key to see the role that the Ministry has played since the creation of Pakistan, and to examine the profiles of some of the higher positioned and women of the ministry who, interestingly, were also mentioned repetitively by the interviewees when they were asked to name any notable female diplomats that they could recall. For a research that examines mainstream feminism from the perspective of an Eastern society it is important to understand that the application of feminism can go only so far which will be seen in the current context further on this chapter.

3.1 History and Overview

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan manages the diplomatic ties of the state with other countries and international institutions like the United Nations. Also, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs maintains Pakistan's offices abroad and carries out the country's consular activities that allows for improved ties with the host country. Moreover, it helps in the formulation of the foreign policy of Pakistan, as well (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020).

The Foreign Services of Pakistan were created in 1952, five years after the creation of the country (Arab Naz et al). This is an offshoot of the pre-partition Indian Civil Service which was established by the British for governance of the subcontinent. Once Pakistan was created, the induction for foreign services began to happen through the structure of the Civil Services of Pakistan. In the twenty first century, appointment to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs occurs yearly via the civil exams of the country, after which the chosen segment is put through

rigorous training. The first segment of training is generalized and the second is specialized and takes place in the capital city of the country, Islamabad (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020).

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs's official data, the total number of staff they appoint is 2432. Of this, the officers comprise of 561 individuals, of which 321 are deployed in the country's foreign missions abroad.

The Ministry of Foreign Services is an important institute to study for several reasons. Firstly, the Foreign Services of Pakistan is a rather significant body since it is considered in the top three tiers of the country's civil services (W. Muftee, personal communication, 2020). The Services enjoy an elitist identity and is often one of the three main groups chosen by civil service aspirants. Secondly, the Ministry has held importance throughout the history of Pakistan's volatile and ever-changing relations with its neighbours, allies, and different countries of the world. Foreign office diplomatic missions and representation of Pakistan worldwide began from the very next day of independence and its importance and effectiveness continues to grow till date. Thirdly, the foreign office has had many recent successes such as taking up the case of Kulbhashan Yadav, highlighting the occupation of Kashmir on international platforms (Iqbal 2019), playing a pivotal role in reducing tensions between Saudi Arabia and Iran (and thus helping prevent the furtherance of conflict in Middle East), and improving amenable terms with friendly countries such as China and Turkey. Foreign office does all this with a total staff of 2,432 as stated above, which explains why it is regarded as one of the highest respected and sought-after department of Civil services.

Pakistan's foreign policy has always been a highlighted issue within the country due to the influence of different stakeholders, thus it has had its fair share of media coverage, making it a career with another attraction. Foreign office properties and embassies are regarded to be located in the most expensive areas of the world, with Pakistan consulates foreign missions

offering exposure and the chance to travel most of the world (F. Malik, interview, 2020). Pakistan's foreign office has also been the crux of the country's diplomatic relations.

3.2 History of Women in the Foreign Services of Pakistan

Women have played a pivotal role in the foreign services of Pakistan, notably by the appointment of its first female foreign secretary a mere five years after its creation.

However, Naz et al 2013 state that 'Women politics was not much appreciated in Ayub Khan regime as set for men. Women had few reserved seats and even six women representatives remain symbolic with having no role at all.' Though Bhutto's era saw a constitutional change in the representation of women, Zia's regime banned the inclusion of women in Pakistan's civil service. In modern times, there has been a 10% quota set in Federal Government Jobs for women. However, this is not representative of the demographic structure of Pakistan's populace where 48.76% are women (Samaa News, 2017).

To understand the role of the women in the foreign services of Pakistan, it is also important to take a look at some of the noteworthy names and examine their contributions to Pakistan. Below are three randomly chosen females who have served Pakistan over a long career;

3.2.1 Notable Female Diplomats

Tehmina Janjua

Tehmina Janjua joined Foreign Service in the year 1989 and ultimately she served in Pakistan's mission in New York and for United Nations. She gave her best services as Director General of Strategic Planning and moved on to becoming the spokesperson in the foreign Ministry in 2011. In between 2011 and 2015 she also served as Ambassador of Pakistan to Italy. In October 2015, Tehmina Janjua became Pakistan's envoy in United Nations Headquarters. By December of the same year, she was known as the first woman and the first person to represent from a

developing country, to preside over the convention on nuclear weapons. In March 2017 she took up the designation of Pakistan's foreign Secretary, and finally retired in 2019.

Maleeha Lodhi

Maleeha Lodhi works as a representative to the UN. She is the first Pakistani woman to hold this position. She was appointed by Benazir as Pakistan's envoy to USA. Following this, she became a member of the UN Secretary General's Advisory board on Disarmament in 2001 till 2005. Meanwhile was also appointed as Pakistan's High Commissioner to the UK at court of St James' in 2003. In 2015, she was the first woman to be appointed as a representative to the United Nations in New York City.

Naghmana Hashmi

Ambassador to Pakistan in China, Ms. Naghmana Alamgir Hashmi left her ambassadorial duties in China on behalf of Pakistan earlier this year. She has been serving as an ambassador since 1983. Along with other accomplishments, she is well known for her efforts for promoting friendship between Pakistan and China, namely bringing awareness among people about the economic and trade ties between both the countries. She is famous for highlighting how successful could CPEC be in Pakistan, and how beneficial it would be for the betterment of socioeconomic development for both the countries. Apart from this, she also helped a lot of Pakistanis trapped away from home in a time of difficulty when Covid-19 first broke out in the city of Wuhan. her efforts are well appreciated as she took a stand for the people of her country. Hashmi joined the foreign services in 1983. She served Pakistan as an ambassador in several countries like France (1987-1990), Indonesia (1994-1997) and Ireland (2007-2012).

These three encompass some of the prestige and hard-earned glamour associated the foreign services in Pakistan. It is important to look at their career trajectories because they serve as an exemplary working women model for other women aspiring for professional success.

However, would the same level of inclusivity apply to lower ranked women in the Ministry?

This too must be examined via the data gathered.

3.3 Foreign Services of Pakistan in the 21st century

3.3.1 Institutional Conditions

Of the 2020 Foreign Minister's Honours List, only 7 are women and female organizations. The rest of the list is dominated by men. Is this a representation of the performance of the women in foreign services, the quantitative disparity between the two genders, or an institutional setback that may have held back the development of Pakistani women? (See Chapter 5 for analysis).

The Ministry of Foreign Services is an Equal Opportunities organization (Z. Iqbal, interview, 2020). Equal opportunities in (Sheridan and Conway 2001) the workplace allow for growth of both genders on an equitable footing and allows for fostering of trust, motivation, and commitment to work efficiently.

3.3.2 Social Conditions

According to Spokesperson Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Zaheer Pervez Khan women may have "extraneous social drivers" outside of the Ministry which may hinder their ability to perform well (Z. P. Khan, interview, 2020). Moreover, Khan states that, "Professional growth for women in Pakistan is challenging due to their family roles, especially taking care of households and raising children. In developed countries, most of such burden is shared by the government by providing child-care at municipal level so women can focus on their work. Provision of Safety and Security from harassment inside the workplace and outside in society is also crucial for their development."

3.4 Application of mainstream western feminism to an Eastern society

When we begin to apply the framework of gender inclusivity/exclusivity approach to Pakistan, two problems arise. They are stated below;

1. Is the application of the approach possible to a third world country?
2. Why is there a lack of feminist discourse pertaining to foreign affairs within Pakistan?

Firstly, an important point of contention regarding feminist theories is their intersectionality. Is feminist discourse applicable to a third world country model? It is imperative to understand that the inclusivity/exclusivity approach developed as a result of western ideological debates on the inclusion of women. This does not guarantee that western feminine scholarship may fit entirely-or even at all-to the conditions concurrent to eastern nations. Galtung mentions how there is a lot to be learnt from eastern states regarding peace and conflict studies, and perhaps this approach may serve feminist discourse well when it seeks a nuanced approach to gender balancing and inclusion. This diversity should extend to include women from diverse backgrounds. This diversity should also allow for an examination of social and institutional conditions which may differ from western ones. It is imperative to note here, that this case study seeks to do that, albeit at a minor level, by trying to look for the dualities and parallels between how western feminist thought focuses on gender equality and how an actual bureaucratic structure may really be utilizing the ideology of 'equality for all.' Of course, western feminist scholarship may not fit a third world country at all, which is why it is important to examine the collated data.

Secondly, it is important to note the glaring lack of widespread Pakistani feminist discourse, especially in the field of peace and conflict. Very few studies by local authors focus on the role of women in peace and conflict especially in relation to the bureaucratic sector. Khawaja (2017) also highlights this lack by stating the shortage of women in feminist scholarship in Pakistan. Therefore, perhaps western feminist ideologies may not be fully applicable to Pakistan (though

this does not discount the applicability of modern feminist thought here) because there is no relevant South Asian feminist theory to apply here. In that case, the data becomes the basis for determining the broad generalities which can fit into a case study regarding Pakistan.

It must be recognized that there are two important variants for why a better hearsay for women can improve the feminist experience at the Ministry and also aid in improving conditions for a segment of employed Pakistani women.

Firstly, this research takes a look at the **social disenfranchisement** of women. How does social disenfranchisement of women guarantee that their inclusion will be of importance? This is done via understanding the three components of disenfranchisement (Smith-Doerr and Croissant 2011);

- Alienation

Women can become estranged from their social groups due to the concept of alienation. Alienation can occur when the dominant group, i.e. the patriarchal structure, forces its own dogmas upon the affected group. For example, men are the naturally dominant sex, according to Fukuyama. They can create pockets of isolation for women around them. This can foster loneliness and resentment amongst the affected group. The women in foreign services, even ones at level BPS 17 and BPS 18) at the relative start of their careers, feel underappreciated and under represented (see Appendix). This can affect their ability to grow professionally and personally and may even cause alienation with the organization they chose to work with.

- Cynicism

Cynicism may develop in victims of perceived violence or persistent abuse (Costa et al 1986). This is highly likely to develop in marginalized groups, of which women are a part. Women themselves then may become cynical in turn when they are subjected to alienation especially.

Therefore, foreign service officers can become sceptical of improvement in the situation of their workplace. For example, when asked if equal opportunities will help in the provision of better role for women in the Ministry, two out five respondents did not feel that it would. This cynical outlook can hinder women's participation because then they may themselves choose not to get involved in the nuanced processes of conflict resolution.

- Perceived victimization

Following alienation and cynicism, victimization affects the women's perception by creating feelings of mistrust and resentment and establishing a fear of mistreatment at the hands of their environment (Lukenbill 2013). For example, one respondent stated that "Stereotyping is a rampant issue. There is much less understanding of work life balance also, especially for women. There is also workplace harassment that scares women from protesting for our rights" (survey, 2020). This, too, can keep women from voicing out their opinions.

When marginalized groups undergo the process of disenfranchisement, they naturally become susceptible to the shifts in their environment. This creates a need for security and understanding that the marginalized group hopes for. In the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the respondents, too, felt greatly marginalized. However, each of the female respondents talked of how they support other women in the organization. For example, one respondent stated that her own experiences made her able to sympathise with the women in her workplace. She mentioned how she was able to provide them 'breathing' holes, i.e., a leverage on their work responsibilities, something which she was deprived of (B. Salam, survey, 2020). Another respondent stated that she often sits in for her colleagues who are working mothers (survey, 2020). The resultant need of understanding and security that stemmed from their deprivation of the same has made them more open to helping others in their position. Therefore, the social

disenfranchisement of women may create empathy for those in a similar boat and permit a more holistically positive environment when their perspective are included.

Secondly, we examine how **women's experiences allow for a better insight** into the problems that are relevant to them. By including the experiences of females, the process of conflict resolution is no longer confined to generalized solutions only. It now includes the perspective of the previously excluded group, and can allow for a realization of the ground realities from people who are working in that domain, especially the BPS 17, 18, and 19 officers who can provide an operational insight into the very heart of the Ministry. Oftentimes this awareness opens the door to the fact that the gulf between the two segments of the sample population is very wide in terms of experience. Women diplomats overseas, for example, may have different needs in terms of work-life balance. As stated by one respondent, the environment in foreign services does not able her in maintaining a work-life balance. Additionally, another respondent shared how difficult it is for working mothers in the Ministry to manage the burdens of their work at the Ministry and at home. This allows for a gendered perspective that was otherwise missing. Moreover, the inclusion of women at higher levels in the Ministry can allow for a fresh approach to foreign policy that may not have been there before. Furthermore, involving females at the decision making level of foreign policy can allow for issues to be highlighted that otherwise might have been swept under the rug, e.g. the United Nations Resolution 1325 has allowed for a focus on issues unique to women.

The third reason is that when women are included, it presents a **softer image** of the country. Image building is an important aspect of consular activities abroad, with many of Pakistan's famous female diplomats leaving a lasting impression. This may cause improved bilateral and multilateral ties in terms of the state appearing more gender positive in nature. After all, as research shows (see Chapter 2), democratic states tend to have more feminist foreign policy departments. So, for the sake of image building, the participation of women is considered key.

Some women do take issue with the notion of a softer image, because they feel that it compromises their work ethic and credibility if the only reason they get to stand for their country is for a softer image (personal communication, 2020). However, the image building does not discount the fact that it does create a need to give women prominent roles in the services. This is an important aspect of the role of women in the Ministry because of the five female respondents from the low and mid tier of service, four stated that they sought to represent Pakistan. One female respondent stated, “I have always tried my best to represent my country fairly both abroad and home whenever and wherever I was given an opportunity and served my country and my fellow countrymen to the best of my capacity.” The responses of the majority of the chosen sample show the drive for prominence, and acceptance that Pakistani women have. This can only help the Ministry in terms of gaining a nuanced feminist approach to their activities.

As stated above, mainstream feminism does act as a theoretical base to why a gender balanced approach is necessary to any domain and especially at the political and civic front (Weber 2006). However, it is also important to note that when the literature of westernized academia is applied to Pakistan many of the similarities will eventually come to a stop. The critique of mainstream western feminism is often credited to postcolonial feminism, which started as a criticism, and eventually became a budding approach to analysing the key issues in the domain. Postcolonial feminist theorists focus on exploring why there is a lack of gendered perspectives to the understanding of the impacts of colonialism and even whiteness (Narayan et al 2000). Postcolonial feminism also seeks to explain the tendency of western feminist discourse to streamline and force its assertion on women globally because the scope of western mainstream feminist thought is rather confined (Narayan et al 2000). In this way, postcolonial feminism tries to account for seeming flaws within western feminism. It does, especially focus on the imposition of cultural, economic, religious, and social norms by western feminists. This

imposition of subtextual colonialist ideas, or at least predominantly western ideas, can create apparent differences in western and eastern feminism.

Firstly, mainstream feminism puts a lot of emphasis on bodily autonomy and sexual freedom (Ryan 2001). Western feminist scholars often bring into question the need for the inclusion of women's bodily and sexual rights, for example in countries like France the demand for prostitution to become legal and the demand for female sexual expression to not be monitored by the state or the society are all extrapolated via women marches and feminist activists. However, where Pakistan is concerned the ideology of feminism is more relevant to . Though 'Mera Jism, Meri Marzi' has become a centralized slogan for the movement (Asfand 2020), it is only in the past two years that it has taken root and interestingly has very few female supporters.

Moreover, Western mainstream feminism has developed via the suffragette movement of the 19th and 20th centuries and via an increase of feminist discourse in relevance to security and peace in academia (Sharoni 1994). On the other hand, where Pakistani feminism is concerned, it is not a field that is greatly developed, and in fact, has only started coming into focus in the past decade, especially via the conduction of Aurat March (Baig et al 2020).

Thirdly, western mainstream feminism does not account for differences in religion, ethnicity, and race. It is only the offshoots of this feminist ideology which allow for the inclusion of ideologies like brown feminism, intersectional feminism etc. Most of the feminist discourse is relevant to the problems of white cis females (Ortega 2006). Whereas, when the Pakistani society comes into question, there are mainly two forms of feminism that are taking place within the country. One is Islamic feminism, which is trying to put an emphasis on the rights that the religion of Islam grants to its female followers (Baig et al 2020). Second is a secular 'brown' feminism that tries to be intersectional in its approach, for example, as demonstrated

via the agenda of the Aurat March which accumulates a large group of women from all walks of life for a women's right march on an annual basis (Baig et al 2020). There are very less commonalities between these two domains of feminism because the problems faced by the advocates of brown feminism are not exactly the problems are faced by the advocates of mainstream and mainly white feminism (Ortega 2006). There is a wide sociocultural gap that has to take into account differences of honour, society, traditions, modes of dress, freedom of mobility, and age relevant customs.

CHAPTER NO. 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Research Methods

This research utilizes case study design with a purposive interview approach, as it analyses collated data from a chosen population in an attempt to gain a realistic picture of the realities of the target population. This study took an exploratory form of research as it sought to gain a better understanding of an existing problem. This study started with a tentative assumption and that assumption was then explored thoroughly via data gathering and analysis. This research also made use of inductive reasoning since collated data was analyzed to infer explanations. Moreover, since the aim of the study was to contextualize the conflict resolution effect, exploration of the topic became a key factor in helping determine the ‘whys’ and the ‘hows’ of the topic of this research.

4.2 Qualitative Analysis

This study is qualitative in nature. This study involved gathering non-numerical data from officers of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and evaluating it through a descriptive analysis, since it did not look at statistical representation and instead looks at the inner processes of the Ministry to determine their experiences. This helped gain an insight into the application of a feminist approach to a problem relevant to Pakistan. Also, the qualitative analysis allowed for a real-world contextual analysis that could study underlying causes and effects in depth. The descriptive analysis proved greatly useful in helping establish common themes in the data available and allowed for meaningful insights into the domain of feminist peace and conflict studies.

There was only minor statistical representation in this study since its nature did not pertain to the need for quantitative analysis. Instead, stats were only used to compare the number of men to women at specific posts, to examine the gendered approach to the honours bestowed, and to

determine the level of employment opportunities the foreign services provide to the people and especially the women of Pakistan.

4.3 Data Collection

Data collection for this research involved the use of both primary and secondary sources of data collection. Primary research involves gleaning first-hand information from the sample population, whereas secondary data involves perusing existing sources of information. Purposive interviews were conducted to get an in-depth understanding of the topic, since this study utilizes the perspective of the affectees.

For this research, the primary data used took the form of interviews and questionnaires given to the relevant sample population. Firstly, interviews were carried out via e-mail and phone calls. In the first step, the interviewees were chosen via a careful selection criteria. Then, they were contacted via personal references, the Centre of International Peace and Stability at NUST, and via their public profiles on the internet domain. This took a period of over four months. Two of them signed consent forms provided by the supervising university, while the rest chose to give verbal or generalized consent. Secondly, questionnaires were given to lower and mid -level ranked officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to determine their responses and to make it easier to consolidate and analyse the data. These questionnaires contained eight generalized questions for both men and women, and seven questions that were meant only for female officers. All questions were kept open ended to avoid both interviewer and interviewee bias. Since none of the interviews were conducted face to face, this eliminated the possibility of interview bias tainting the results vis a vis body language. These questionnaires were distributed via Google Forms.

All of the primary data gathered was via remote access to the respondents due to the prevalence of Covid-19.

For secondary data, multiple research papers and books were consulted to provide a thorough examination of the topic at hand. This aided in determining the pivotal proponents of the theories being discussed and helped in establishing concurrent themes. It also facilitated in determining gaps in the literature since on such study was previously applied in Pakistan. Additionally, statistics were taken via the official websites of the relevant authorities, e.g. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan. Furthermore, data was gathered through reliable published local and international news sources especially for the career profiles of eminent female diplomats.

4.4 Data Analysis

All the data gathered via primary and secondary research helped identify the two main causes of under representation for women at the Ministry. That data also aided in identifying the ways of systemic exclusion that women in the Ministry face. Furthermore, this data helped the author of this study understand the opportunities available to the female foreign officers, and their own wants and desires regarding their careers at the Ministry. Perhaps, most importantly, this study was available to contextualize, vis a vis the foreign services, that why there is such a pressing need for female perspectives to be heard in conflict resolution.

The data was analysed via descriptive analysis done of the gathered data. The cause and effect of social and institutional exclusion of women was examined in light of the inclusivity/exclusivity approach. The sample population was pre-examined and then surveyed to provide a thorough contextual base to the understanding of the theories being applied. Also, the charts used in this research were generated via analytics applied to the results of the responses to the Google Forms survey.

4.5 Sampling

The sampling utilized for this research was stratified sampling since the target population was portioned into three subgroups, which were lower grade, mid grade, and upper grade. Stratified sampling allowed for the easier division of the sample population. Here, the lower ranked official comprised of officers from both BPS 17 and BPS 18 levels (e.g. Assistant Directors). For the mid-level ranked officials from the Ministry, officers with a grade of BPS 19 and BPS 20 were consulted (e.g. Directors and First Secretary). For the higher grade officials, officers with a rank of BPS 21 and BPS 22 were sought out. This included ambassadors and the current spokesperson of the Foreign Services. The intention of such sampling was to glean a thoroughly inclusive picture of each rank in the Ministry and to determine the perspectives of individuals from each rank and how they differ from or be similar to individuals from a different strata.

Within each chosen stratum, random sampling was applied with no demographic distinguishing since the study aimed to include the opinions of both men and women. Both men and women had an equal probability of being chosen based on their availability and willingness. At least two people each (one male, one female) were targeted for interviews and questionnaires from each strata. The intention of such sampling was to glean a thorough picture of each level, and to gain both reliability and validity in the research. This type of sampling also helped avoid the bias of a singular approach, e.g. men-based or women-based discourses may have clashed.

4.5.1 Scope

This research was intended to be conducted in the first half of 2020 and targeted only members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. No other ministry was deemed relevant to this study, and so no consultations were made of outsiders to the ministry since the aim was to understand the inside workings of foreign services. Most importantly, this study sought to study only the

experiences of 21st century Foreign Office officials for primary data research to keep the issues relevant to the applied theories.

4.6 Limitations

This study had four main limitations.

The biggest limitation to this research was the unprecedented spread of a pandemic. As Covid-19 spread through the world, it became more difficult to gain access to ministries. The author of this study was often told to get in touch again once the situation has improved. Officials were harder to reach and interviews took much longer to arrange than normal. No onsite field research could be carried out for interviews.

Secondly, very few women wanted to discuss the apparent problems or hinderances that they faced at their workplace. Four female respondents backed out at the start of the study, citing their fear of workplace backlash as a reason for not going through with the promised information provision. Younger women, especially, were unwilling to speak on a feminist study. Moreover, very few of the contacted women were willing to work on a study that may diminish or tarnish their reputation as upholders of the Ministry's agenda. This held true for women in the upper echelons of the Ministry especially. This is also apparent by the fact that many female respondents (one of whom spoke of harassment) chose to remain anonymous.

Moreover, an unexpected hinderance to this research was the inclusion of the word 'feminist' in the title and body of text. The name was perceived as negative by some of the people contacted and created a bias in the minds of potential respondents of this being a liberalist, anti-men scholarship.

Another limitation of this study stemmed from the lack of relevant literature. This made data gathering a laborious process, since little to no data exists for a gendered approach to conflict resolution in Pakistan. This proved especially trying in terms of establishing relevancy of the

chosen theoretical framework to a Pakistani model, since no precedence was set that allowed for an examination of feminist discourse in light of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan.

4.7 Literature Gap

The biggest identifiable gap presented in this study was the lack of Pakistani scholarship on the topic. Despite extensive examination, no credible sources were found that dealt with feminism in conflict resolution in Pakistan, especially in relation to foreign policy. Most of the existing literature that dealt with foreign affairs is penned by men. Also, moreover peace and conflict studies in itself is a newer domain in Pakistani scholarly discourse, and that made it harder to find relevant feminist perspectives in any scholarly work.

CHAPTER 5: INSTITUTIONAL CONDITIONALITIES

It is pertinent to note that any statistics used for this study are utilized only to examine a baseline of inclusivity or exclusivity for women. This study, otherwise, makes use of qualitative descriptive methods as it relies on the exploration of perspectives, opinions, and experiences to determine the outcome. Moreover, it is a data driven study that has sought to use the responses of the interviewees as a baseline for determining whether the inclusion or exclusion of women can be analyzed for Pakistan's bureaucracy via a feminist lens.

5.1 Overview of Respondent Profiles:

Initially, this study was intended for 8 potential interviewees, with two from each chosen rank of the Ministry, and one man and one woman from each rank, to ensure there was an unbiased opinion base. Moreover, the six main grades of the Ministry were divided into three broad categories, *low*, *mid*, and *high*, for easier data analysis. Below is an overview of the final number and profiles of interviewees from this study.

Lower Ranks	Mid Ranks	Higher Ranks
<i>BPS 17 and BPS 18</i>	<i>BPS 19 and BPS 20</i>	<i>BPS 21 and BPS 22</i>
4 respondents	3 respondents	4 respondents
1 male, 3 females	1 male, 2 females	5 males, 3 females

Designations according to Ranks:

Lower Ranks:

Of the interviewees from the lower grades of the Ministry, there were three Assistant Directors: 1 male and 2 females.

There was also one First Secretary (female).

- Murva
- Fatima Malik
- Anonymous female respondent
- Anonymous male respondent

Mid-Level Ranks:

Of the interviewees from the mid ranked grades of the Ministry, there were three Directors: 1 male, 2 females.

- Director National Assembly and Senate Affairs, Bushra Salam
- Anonymous male respondent
- Anonymous female respondent

Higher Ranks:

Of the highest ranked officials interviewed for this study, seven were ambassadors (5 males and 2 female) and one was a Director General (female).

- Current Spokesperson for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Zahid Hafeez
- Ex-Ambassador to Ukraine, Gen. (R.) Wajahat Muftee (in collaboration with current Ambassador to Romania, Mr. Zafar Iqbal)
- Ex-Ambassador to Russia, Mr. Qazi Khalilullah

- Ex-Ambassador to Serbia (amongst others), Mr. Nawaz Chaudhry
- Director General East Asia and Pacific, Ms. Samina Mehtab
- Ex-Ambassador, anonymous female respondent
- Ex-Ambassador, anonymous female respondent

The data collected concerned two segments of the sample population, namely men and women. The data thus collected was examined via the feminist lens. The opinions of men were compared to women, both intersectionally by comparing lower ranked women's opinions to higher ranked male officials, and also parallelly, to understand the differing narrative at the same rank based on gender. It is first important to define the thematic causes of the under-representation/adequate representation of women in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Once these causes are determined, it will be possible to look at why the inclusion of women is an important aspect of peace and conflict studies.

It is important to understand the structural causes of gender inequality. Institutional policies, rules, and attitudes provide a key insight into how the systemic inclusion or exclusion of women may take place. This may count as a form of subconscious discrimination where seemingly feminist institutions have underpinnings of traditional patriarchal dogma. This example was seen in the literature review where the case of the Danish government was looked at. Though a seemingly feminist body, its policies rarely align with feminist ideologies of equality between genders. Similarly, the Ministry may have an undercurrent of discrimination that stems from sociocultural approaches. For example, there had been little governmental support for the female foreign policymakers of Pakistan till the 1970s, when the changes to the 1973 constitution allowed for a bigger and better role for women in foreign policy (Shami). Moreover, Zia ul Haq banned the appointment of female officers in the Foreign Service of Pakistan (interview, 2020). At the start of the twenty first century, in 2002 there were only

seven female ambassadors appointed in the Ministry, whereas the men far outweighed them numerically in their foreign deployments (Dawn, 2002). As recently as 2019, of the eighteen foreign deployments abroad, only five were women. These statistics show that the inclusion of women in the foreign services is still not up to par, though statistical representation is only a minor part of the problem.

5.2 Workplace Attitudes and Behaviours

Based on the collated data, one of the men surveyed felt that women as a rule lacked ambition and drive. They felt that there is an innate lack of drive in women officers that stems from their naturally maternal roles. According to one respondent, women were "naturally maternal and sisterly" in approach for the men. This, accordingly, made them the "softer" sex according to said respondent. This only shows that the idea of women being milder in nature was still prevalent amongst men in the Ministry. This in turn creates problems for women who strive to appear as hard hitting and professional because the impression men have of them may keep them from taking women seriously. This proves troublesome in the context that of the respondents, four of the female respondents felt that they were unheard in the Ministry. How does this fit into the environment of a supposedly equalized organizational entity? It does not, because the attitude of men impacts the inclusion of women due to their attitudes acting as a barrier for the professional growth of women.

For example, Ambassador Chaudhry felt that currently, none of the women in the foreign office possessed the drive of the older generation of women. This does not discount the hard work and ambition of these previously appointed diplomats, but it does bring into question why the current female diplomats are not supposedly up to par. This may highlight the subconscious generalization and stereotyping that may exist in the foreign services regarding women. From a wider feminist perspective, this creates problems for women because often their experiences

are generalized to fit a mould instead of looking at the difference variety of experiences, including the years of employment, the number of foreign deployments, the service level, the certifications etc. In addition to this, there are also socially constructed attitudes toward women in the society, as discussed above. These can spill over into the professional environment and impact the behaviour of the people in positions of power. For example, one respondent wrote that "...female officers are often judged if they are not married then they are too ambitious and if they are then do not want to work esp (sic) young mothers/new Moms are not accommodated and understood fairly." Similar to Manchanda (2005)'s hypothesis men do use power to subordinate women and stereotype them into patriarchal roles. The power politics of gender and the subordination of a group plays directly into the conditionalities faced by the female segment of the sample population.

Therefore, the traditionalist behaviours in the environment can diminish the role of women in the Ministry. Kolstad (2015) states that culture can shape behaviour. Social interaction can influence behavioural habits from an early age, according to Kolstad, and so it is interesting to note that the men, while trying to be supportive, unfortunately end up falling into stereotypes.

5.3 Lack of Awareness

The men surveyed did not appear to have an idea of the mindset of the women. For example, one of the ambassadors interviewed felt that the only thing that could hold women back in the Ministry was a lack of ambition (W. Muftee, interview, 2020). Though this is a rather positive approach to the opportunities that may be available to the women, it does not account for the fact that the respondents felt that they were not given opportunities equal to their male counterparts. Again, four out of five female respondents from the low to mid tier ranks felt they had no equal opportunities whereas only one felt that she had similar opportunities- not better but not worst (Murva, survey, 2020). Moreover, one of the male respondents felt that female

representation in the ministry is quite encouraging. This is in comparison to the fact that four female respondents stated that they as women were unrepresented at the Ministry. This data comparison shows an interesting juxtaposition because it demonstrates that not only do the men have little idea of women's experiences, they also help perpetuate the myth of equal inclusion by unknowingly sidelining the potential problem. The claims of the female interviewees do not match with the claims of the male respondents.

Notably, only two of the male interviewees showed an awareness of female centric problems that may arise to the nature of their jobs. According to Gen. (R.) Muftee, "The only problem women face in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is that they sometimes have to make compromises on their own career or the career of their spouses. This is a natural corollary of the fact that in Ministry of Foreign Affairs one has to move to different countries every few years." Moreover, another ex-ambassador felt that women might have family constraints especially if their spouse is also from the Ministry, in which case they may be posted together unless they are Ambassadors. While their awareness of the problem is commendable, it does discount the fact that these are only two interviewees in a position of power who were able to cite an actual example of the issues which women face during their deployment with the ministry. Of the other males interviewed and surveyed there was a notable absence of understanding of the nuances of the problems that women undergo repetitively while working in such a competitive work space. So how do women deal with this lack of awareness on the parts of their male counterparts? Many women feel that this lack of awareness is actually part and parcel with the type of work that they do. For example, one respondent stated that there is much less understanding of the dilemmas that they undergo, and that growth is slow for women and the struggle of women is way more than the males. Moreover, one female ambassador stated that the hardest thing she had to undergo was getting the men to 'listen' (personal communication, 2020).

5.4 Institutional Support

In the interview with Gen. Muftee, he stated how he had overseen the establishment of a daycare during his tenure in Ukraine. This is an interesting answer to the question of how these men have supported women during their tenure because it allows for a practical basis to the men being allies for their female counterpart. This is a necessary aspect of modern feminist ideology, where allyship must extend beyond words and into actionable plans that truly help the women in question (Carlston et al 2019). However, though there may have been similar incidences of help extended to the female foreign officers, no one else makes a mention of anything similar.

This is notable because it shows that male allyship to feminist causes is not as prevalent as it should be, at least in the observed sample. None of the other ambassadors questioned had anything similar to add. Is this an oversight, or a prevalent trend in the Ministry? For this, the other responses of women are examined to gain insight.

One female respondent stated that “My experiences are quite different from the male colleagues because mainly they are preferred when it comes to interact and be at the front. But in actual the women are the ones doing the hard theory work” (F. Malik, survey, 2020). This is similar to the response of another female foreign officer who states that her experience is dependent on her gender and so is different from that of her male colleagues. These respondents felt that they were not allowed to partake in the same experiences as the men around them because of the conditionalities of their workplace. The apparent presence of gender bias in organizational practices, even ones that stem from sociocultural practises, may suggest that they have no power to determine their own success, and so are left with a gaping power disparity. If the workplace does not have a structure that can allow for a diverse solution to women centric problems (e.g. daycare in the foreign office), it may hinder the growth of women who are

already bound by social structures. Social structures, after all, play a pivotal role in shaping societal norms (Kolstad 2015).

Are you often presented with opportunities similar to or better than your male counterparts?

5 responses

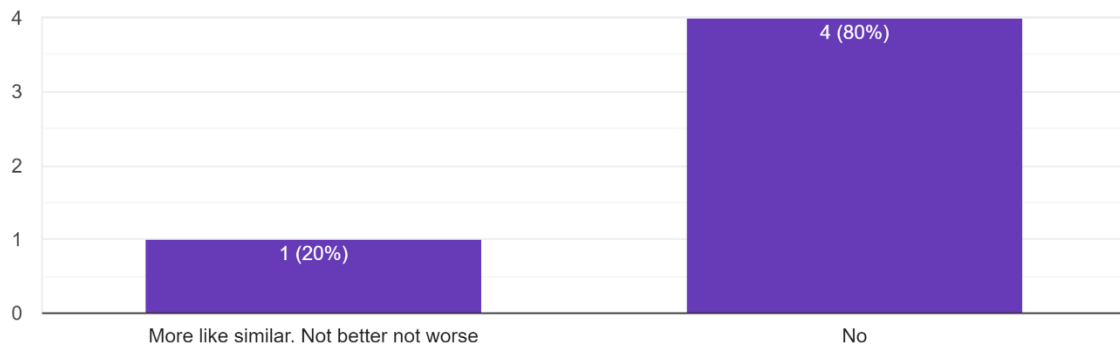


Figure 1

The above data shows that not one of the five low to mid level female respondents felt that the opportunities provided to them were up to par with the men. This is a disturbing trend, because each of the men questioned felt that women had ample opportunities for growth. Again, this highlights a disparity in women's lived experiences and the interpretation and understanding of the opposite gender at an institutional level. An example of this could be the Foreign Minister's Honours List 2020, in which only 7/86 of the people and organizations are women-centric (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020).

Lastly, there are always fewer women at the top level, according to one female ambassador. This is concurrent to the fact that there are no currently employed women at BPS 22 in Islamabad while there are 10+ men (N. Chaudhry, interview, 2020). While this does not mean that there had been no previous appointments at this level for women, it again highlights the glaring lack of consistency of professional growth for women in the Ministry. It is important

to note that it may not be the institution itself that could be hindering the exclusion of women, but perhaps culture itself.

CHAPTER 6: SOCIAL STRUCTURES

Every culture comprises of a system of meanings: ways of income generation, systems of market and government, social roles, religions, traditions in relation to clothing and foods and arts, normative behaviour, attitudes toward the global community, and beliefs and values about all every one of these components (Dunne 1995). Within a larger social structure, there may be many groups, with notably different subcultures. If a single ethos is dominant, its values may be considered the norm and may even be propagated. Fair or unjust, advantageous, or undesirable, social differences are a significant part of every culture (Dunne 1995). These socioeconomic, socio-political and sociocultural distinctions are accepted by almost all members of a society—and begrudged by some of them. This may be due to causal exclusion because of normative structuring of the society, and such factors can inhibit social and personal growth for the affected individuals as much as it provides cohesion and growth (Dunne 1995).

In chapter 3, it was determined that there are noteworthy female members of the foreign services who have contributed immensely to the field itself. However, it is necessary to examine the collated data and look if the same holds true across the spectrum, as done in chapter 5. After exploring the data, it can be determined that there are indeed sociocultural factors that can hold back the professional development of women.

Firstly, a look at the data available shows that in 2019, five women officers were appointed in senior consular positions abroad alongside thirteen men as shown in Figure. 1 below (Dawn, 2019). One respondent also stated that this year there are no women in the uppermost level of the hierarchy at least in the Ministry's headquarters (N. Chaudhry, interview, 2020). Even in 2005, out of a total of 408 officers at the Ministry, only 39 were women.

Secondly, it is interesting to note that the list of ‘famous’ (based on the responses of the interviewees and also on local news publications) foreign diplomats is rather short compared to men. Though there are eminent females in the field, as seen in Chapter 3, they’re outweighed by men quantitatively. For example, the batch Tehmina Janjua is from only had two women foreign diplomats, whereas the next batch had none. Perhaps, a traditionalist social outlook can have acted as a setback for other women to join the field (Q. Ullah, personal communication, 2020). In such a case, it becomes a necessity to look at the social conditions that may have hindered the inclusion of women within the bureaucratic structure.

Thirdly, a look at the profiles of the respondents paints a slightly disturbing picture. Women foreign diplomats are mainly hesitant to give interviews, even as anonymous sources. The men at the same posts, are readily available to participate in a study. Some of the women consulted stated that they did not like the idea of associating with a ‘feminist’ study, as it could prove damaging for their careers (personal communication, 2020).

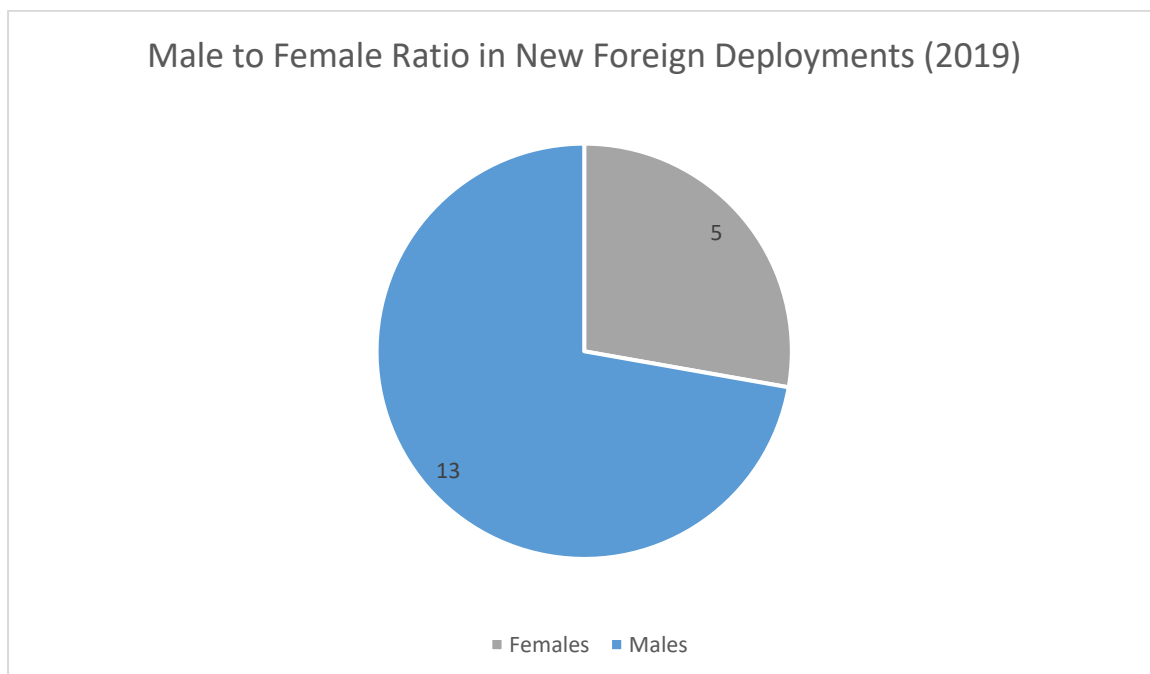


Figure 2

The above stated information underlines the fact that there is a problem. From both statistical data and the worries of the women, it can be deduced that perhaps, there is indeed hinderance to their growth in foreign services. This correlates to feminist discourse which highlights how women often are outnumbered by men in areas of policy and governance, and that there is always a hesitancy by women to come forward.

In application, the inclusivity/exclusivity approach vis a vis foreign affairs can establish a beneficial assessment of male-centric ideology and how they may play a role in trying to hide or even subconsciously perpetuating existing 'gendered boundaries' which determine foreign policy. In the Foreign Ministry, for example, women feel they are only half as appreciated as their male counterparts despite working harder than them (B. Salam, survey, 2020). The problem of harassment, too, is part and parcel of workplace problems. For example, 'there is a lot of harassment of lady officers especially abroad and especially in times of promotion,' according to one lady officer.

Such statements highlight the fact that there may be two main causes for gender inequality at the Ministry: social and institutional. Social causes describe the structure and normative nature of society and its roles, customs, and interpretations of the duties of each gender. Institutional causes look at the structural and systemic methods of oppression and discrimination. Both are key to understanding the nuanced perspectives of women and why they feel they may have been 'left out' (personal communication, 2020).

Below, we take a look at the breakdown of these issues which stem from the responses gleaned through the data.

6.1 The Question of Social Construct

Social causes are an incumbent part of the discrimination that women may face in the Foreign Services of Pakistan. For example, one of the questions asked in the survey was, 'In your

opinion are women held that in their careers due to their social roles in Pakistani society or have things improved generally?' Of seven respondents, nearly half felt that things are getting better in Pakistan. However, more than half of the respondents felt that women are definitely held back in their careers because of societal roles. So, what societal causes can hold back the development of women in the field of Foreign Services of Pakistan?

6.1.1 The Softer Sex

Firstly, there is a societal interpretation of women as the softer sex. This comes from a traditional perspective of women in the role of mothers, sisters, and wives (as mentioned by two male respondents). This domesticated image has often led to women being perceived as perhaps more timid than men. For example, Fukuyama stated that men tend to be more aggressive than women and Machinda (2005) also stated that men make use of violence to assert their dominance compared to their female counterparts. This can, unfortunately translate into the inhibitions of women being augmented when the narrative around them stems from a consistent view of them being weaker than the man they are surrounded by. They can be denied tougher tasks, later hours, or even foreign deployments due to this. Of course this perception may not really represent reality but it also should not ignore the fact that socially defined classification of women is an oft discussed part and parcel of their professional career, especially if they have to be deployed abroad as in the case of diplomats. Western feminism has often addressed the notion of being boxed into the image of the more 'nurturing' of the sexes, and how it appears to damage their credibility and workplace growth over the years (personal communication, 2020). This is one of the key areas where mainstream western feminism ties in with the normative reality of Pakistani working women.

6.1.2 Work Life Balance vis a vis Society

Secondly, the expectation on women to be bound to home life is also a problem for women seeking a foreign services career in Pakistan. This problem may not be unique to the Ministry, but it does hinder their growth. One female Director stated that women are ‘punished’ if not home (B. Salam, survey, 2020). Another response was that, ‘yes, women are still held back in their careers due to their social roles in Pakistani society esp (sic) working mothers. Nothing has improved!’ A female ambassador stated that she was often forced to choose between her family life and her professional tasks. From a feminist standpoint, the pressure is visible on women who try to seek a balanced role in a professional world that is skewed toward the other demographic to begin with. This is especially apparent by the number of senior most men available for comment in this study, whereas the senior most women are far and few, and also harder to reach. Increasingly, western feminism has deviated away from the domesticated role of women in society, where feminism in Pakistan may only be beginning to address it. It is encouraging to note that women are aware of how their home life responsibilities can factor in especially where their growth is concerned. Western feminism does address workplace biases (Sharoni 1993, 1994) but it does not often extend to the problems more prevalent in the Pakistani culture, e.g. childrearing, joint family structures, restrictions on traveling abroad for work etc (personal communication, 2020). This is where the glaring lack of Pakistani feminist discourse becomes even more apparent.

6.1.3 Social Stereotypes

Thirdly, the value women bring to the table compared to men can also become a problem. There may be a perception that women may leave their jobs due to family constraints, or that women may not be able to deal with the rigours of such jobs. In fact, a respondent stated how ambassadors and senior officers do not like working with junior married women. Whether it is the perceived volatility of the female’s tenure, or whether it is a form of social disregard for married women, it still furthers the exclusion of women from important roles in the foreign

services. One of the methods in which sexism is demonstrated in cultures globally is via the socialization of gender norms. For example, even in the West, gender roles have depicted women as the softer, emotional, and even weaker gender (Manchanda 2005). Therefore, women have often been side-lined only to the domestic sphere, while gender roles have depicted men as more fit for public life, leadership roles and even for growth and success in politics and academia. Furthermore, more than half of the female respondents agreed that there is a lot of stereotyping in the industry. One woman officer said, “Stereotype that women are less efficient and capable should be completely waived off...” (F. Malik, survey, 2020) while another stated that “Women should not be stereotyped for certain roles and positions” (B. Salam, survey, 2020). Implicit bias is unfortunately a dogmatic reality that stems from intergroup bias and which many Pakistani women may find themselves the affectees of. Mainstream feminism does take into account stereotyping, though it does not extend far enough to allow for an easternized approach to sociocultural habits and practises. This lack of complex understanding keeps mainstream western feminism from allowing the development of solutions relevant to problems faced by female Pakistani foreign ministry officers. The value of women should not be diminished based on pre-defined norms, which unfortunately seems to be the case here. Another female senior level official also stated that stereotyping is part and parcel of their working experience as women (S. Aftab, personal communication, 2020).

CONCLUSION

Conclusively, this study had aimed to look for inclusivity/exclusivity for women in the Foreign Services of Pakistan while examining if western mainstream feminism can be applied to a third world country's social fabric. Based on the analysis, feminist thought is applicable only to an extent, bound by religious and sociocultural ties which determine the normative reality of a society versus epistemological applicability. Moreover, sociocultural factors may perhaps always play a role in determining the inclusivity/exclusivity factor for women in Pakistan. Till western feminism allows for the complex varied concerns of differing cultures, there will always be a dissent between the role women can have in society vis a vis social norms. Interestingly, there seemed lesser disparity (on a relative basis) when women had made it to the top, compared to the lower ranks of the Ministry. However, it is undeniable that there is work to be done to improve the conditions and provide better opportunities for growth to women inside the Ministry. Women of ranks BPS 17, BPS 18, and BPS 19, and BPS 20 especially, do not appear to have the same perks that their counterparts enjoy.

The inclusion of women is a necessity due to the changing conditions worldwide. As the global stratosphere becomes more aware of the need for differing perspective on common issues, as the fight goes on for the representation of marginalized and disenfranchised group, and as the third world feminist movement takes root in Pakistani society, it is cognizant for both the ministerial bodies and academic bodies to recognize the need for including feminist perspectives in every strata. This can perhaps be done via increasing the statistical representation of women in the services. Furthermore, the deep rooted traditional patriarchal stereotypes need to be visibly eliminated from the Ministry to allow for the professional development of women. This can be done via creating change at the grassroots of the Ministry, and by introducing feminist scholarship and gender relevant courses to the specialized training

provided to new officers. Also, solidified cells of complaints, counsellor support, and similar aids can be created to ease the insecurities and worries of female foreign officers.

Finally, this research shows that the feminist discourse can be methodologically applied to a third world country, as long as allowance is made for possible differing conditions. This may open avenues for new feminist scholarship in the field of peace and conflict within Pakistan.

Appendices

Sample Questions:

Questionnaire

This research seeks to examine the role of women in Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (including its offices abroad). You can choose to answer anonymously.

Please feel free to answer as many questions as you can. One-line answers are sufficient, but details will be appreciated. This questionnaire consists of 9 questions for everyone, and additional 7 questions for females.

Name: _____ (optional)

Designation: _____

Q1. Do you often need to professionally interact with the women at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

Ans. _____

Q2. In your opinion, are the women around you under-represented or overrepresented at the decision-making level?

Ans. _____

Q3. Can you name any notable females in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? If yes, please state why you feel their performance is praiseworthy.

Ans. _____

Q4. In your opinion, what opportunities are available to women in the Foreign Ministry?

Ans. _____

Q5. In your opinion, are there any setbacks to the professional growth of women in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan?

Ans. _____

Q6. Will Equal Opportunities for women allow them a bigger role in the Ministry? (optional question)

Ans. _____

Q7. In your tenure, can you give an example of how you may have helped or supported women in your chain of command/department at the Ministry?

Ans. _____

Q8. In your opinion, are women held back in their careers due to their social roles in Pakistani society, or have things improved generally?

Ans. _____

Please answer the following questions only if you identify as a woman.

Q1. Do you feel your experience differs from that of your male counterparts? If yes, please state how.

Ans. _____

Q2. Do your professional goals often align with your workplace? Why or why not, please explain.

Ans. _____

Q3. Do you feel you have ample growth opportunities professionally at the Ministry?

Ans. _____

Q4. Are you often presented with opportunities similar to or better than your male counterparts?

Ans. _____

Q5. Do you feel overlooked/unheard/underrepresented at the Ministry? If so, can you please give an example?

Ans. _____

Q6. In your opinion, what improvements can be made to allow for more gender equality at the Ministry?

Ans. _____

Q7. Lastly, what do you think your contribution to the Ministry, as a whole, has been?

Ans. _____

Thank you for your time and patience.

Sidra Zia

Ms. Peace and Conflict Studies

NUST Islamabad

Respondent 1, Spokesperson MOFA:

Designation: (Spokesperson MOFA) Director

Q1. Do you often need to professionally interact with the women at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

Ans. Women occupy important positions in MoFA throughout the hierarchy. I interact with women on daily basis as subordinates, colleagues and superiors. Women are also serving as Staff members in my office.

Q2. In your opinion, are the women around you under-represented or overrepresented at the decision-making level?

Ans. Women are amply represented at all decision making levels, With introduction of special 10% quota in Federal Government Jobs, which is in addition to the general quota, Women will gradually rise up to the higher levels on senior positions with the passage of time.

Q3. Can you name any notable females in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? If yes, please state why you feel their performance is praiseworthy.

Ans. Ms. Saima Saleem, who despite her physical disability, achieved success in her career based solely on her performance quality of output. She outperformed her colleagues in Academy examinations before joining the Ministry and also during her diplomatic assignments. There are many other women who despite her family difficulties continue to perform.

Q4. In your opinion, what opportunities are available to women in the Foreign Ministry? Ans. All women in the Foreign Ministry have an equal opportunity to rise in ranks.

A number of women are serving as Ambassadors/High Commissioners representing Pakistan in different countries. Women has also served as Secretary, Spokesperson and a number of other important positions in the Ministry.

Q5. In your opinion, are there any setbacks to the professional growth of women in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan?

Ans. Foreign Minsitry encourages and supports women in their career development. However, there may be extrenous social drivers outside the Ministry e.g. family support, etc which may be a cause of setback in their professional grwoth

Q6. Will Equal Opportunities for women allow them a bigger role in the Ministry? (optional question)

Ans. Already Responded in Q. 4

Q7. In your tenure, can you give an example of how you may have helped or supported women in your chain of command/department at the Ministry?

Ans. The ultimate support which a male collogaue can offer to their female colleages is a condusive working environment where they could perform their duties without help and support from them.

Q8. In your opinion, are women held back in their careers due to their social roles in Pakistani society, or have things improved generally?

Ans. Professional growth for women is Pakistan is challenging due to their family roles. especially taking care of house holds and raising childern. In developed countries, most of such burden is shared by the government by providing child care at municipal level so women can

focus on their work. Provision of Safety and Security from harassment inside the workplace and outside in society is also crucial for their development.

Respondent 2, ex-ambassador Russia on phone call.

Respondent 3, ex-Ambassador Serbia on phone call.

Respondent 4, Director General Samina Mehtab on phone call.

Respondent 5, ex-Ambassador Ukraine.

Q1. Please state your full rank and position.

Ans. Ambassador of Pakistan

Q2. Did you often need to professionally interact with the women at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

Ans. Yes

Q3. In your opinion, were the women around you under-represented or overrepresented at the decision-making level?

Ans. Women are adequately represented in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Their number is less than men only because hitherto there were less women in public life. As for the officer category, some of newer badges have more women than men

Q4. Can you name any notable females in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? If yes, please state why you feel their performance is praiseworthy.

Ans. Dr Fareha Bugti, while working as Director (India) at the Foreign Office, earned a name. Amna Baloch, our High Commissioner to Malaysia, Saqlain Syeda, High Commissioner to Kenya, Mumtaz Zahra Baloch, Ambassador to South Korea are also among those who have served the country with dedication and devotion. Recently retired high

performers include Ms. Tehmina Janjua (previous Foreign Secretary) and Naghmana Hashmi (Ambassador of Pakistan to China).

Q5. In your opinion, what opportunities are available to women in the Foreign Ministry?

Ans. Ministry of Foreign Affairs is an equal opportunity organization. Opportunities for the women in the Ministry are only limited by their own ambitions.

Q6. In your opinion, are there any setbacks to the professional growth of women in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan?

Ans. The only problem women face in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is that they sometimes have to make compromises on their own career or the career of their spouses. This is a natural corollary of the fact that in Ministry of Foreign Affairs one has to move to different countries every few years.

Q7. Will Equal Opportunities for women allow them a bigger role in the Ministry? (optional question)

Ans. The organization is already an equal opportunity institution. It has seen women in every position up to the post of Foreign Secretary.

Q8. In your tenure, can you give an example of how you may have helped or supported women in your chain of command/department at the Ministry?

Ans. We established a day care in the Ministry where the babies are taken care of while mothers are working in the office.

Q9. In your opinion, are women held back in their careers due to their social roles in Pakistani society, or have things improved generally?

While there has been a continuous change and more and more women are entering the public life, the women do face constraints due to traditional cultural settings.

Respondent 6, Assistant Director No. 1:

Name: Murva

Designation: Assistant director

Q1. Do you often need to professionally interact with the women at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? *

Ans. Yes

Q2. In your opinion, are the women around you under-represented or overrepresented at the decision-making level? *

Ans. Given the historical context of women in jobs as important as that of a diplomat, i think the level of female representation is quite encouraging.

Q3. Can you name any notable females in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? If yes, please state why you feel their performance is praiseworthy. *

Ans. Tehmina janjua. Aisha farooqi.

Q4. In your opinion, what opportunities are available to women in the Foreign Ministry? *

Ans. I am new to this field. My opinion may change over time. However, i feel women are given equal oppertunities that even includes taking the woman card out of the equation in the FSP job

Q5. In your opinion, are there any setbacks to the professional growth of women in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan? *

Ans. There were during the late 1970s when gen zia barred women entry in FSP. that had its impact on the career of many female officers of that time and might even had impacted choices of female aspirants. So i think, there will always be a residual fear that any leader with that kind of mindset can bring a closure to our career

Q6. Will Equal Opportunities for women allow them a bigger role in the Ministry? (optional question)

Ans. Yes. In time, we will witness more female faces in top hierarchy if the trajectory of improvement goes on

Q7. In your tenure, can you give an example of how you may have helped or supported women in your chain of command/department at the Ministry? *

Ans. My tenure is only 7 months. So far i dont think i have managed to support or help anyone. Its the other way around.

Q8. In your opinion, are women held back in their careers due to their social roles in Pakistani society, or have things improved generally? (optional question)

Ans. Yes they are definitely held back in their careers because of xixocietal roles

Please answer the following questions only if you identify as a woman.

Q1. Do you feel your experience differs from that of your male counterparts? If yes, please state how.

Ans. Yes. Our whole experiences are shaped by who we are and gender has a defining role in that

Q2. Do your professional goals often align with your workplace? Why or why not, please explain.

Ans. Yes. I think i have molded my goals that can be achieved within workplace bounds

Q3. Do you feel you have ample growth opportunities professionally at the Ministry?

Ans. Yes hopefully

Q4. Are you often presented with opportunities similar to or better than your male counterparts?

Ans. More like similar. Not better not worse

Q5. Do you feel overlooked/unheard/underrepresented at the Ministry? If so, can you please give an example?

Ans. Yes. Because i am junior most

Q6. In your opinion, what improvements can be made to allow for more gender equality at the Ministry?

Ans. Its already a gender equal scenario at lower tiers. The same will be hopefully seen at higher levels in future.

Q7. Lastly, what do you think your contribution to the Ministry, as a whole, has been?

Ans. Nothing. I am a trainee

Respondent 7, Director no. 1:

Name: Bushra Salam

Designation: Director National Assembly and Senate Affairs

Q1. Do you often need to professionally interact with the women at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? *

Ans. No

Q2. In your opinion, are the women around you under-represented or overrepresented at the decision-making level? *

Ans. Under-represented!

Q3. Can you name any notable females in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? If yes, please state why you feel their performance is praiseworthy. *

Ans. Ms. Ayesha Farouqi (Former spokesperson MOFA). She has performed very well and gracefully in all her roles so far.

Q4. In your opinion, what opportunities are available to women in the Foreign Ministry? *

Ans. Same as Men if given.

Q5. In your opinion, are there any setbacks to the professional growth of women in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan? *

Ans. Yes, like female officers are often judged if they are not married then they are too ambitious and if they are then do not want to work esp young mothers/new Moms are not accomodated and understood faitly. They are often punished thay why they are not homes looking after what they are supposed to do naturally and no break is given to them.

Q6. Will Equal Opportunities for women allow them a bigger role in the Ministry? (optional question)

Ans. No

Q7. In your tenure, can you give an example of how you may have helped or supported women in your chain of command/department at the Ministry? *

Ans. I know what I went through so I can empathize with all such colleagues who were going through the same phase and had additional responsibilities like working moms and tried to help them as far as I could in my capacity and gave them breathing holes which I was deprived.

Q8. In your opinion, are women held back in their careers due to their social roles in Pakistani society, or have things improved generally? (optional question)

Ans. Yes, women are still held back in their careers due to their social roles in Pakistani society esp working mothers. Nothing has improved!

Please answer the following questions only if you identify as a woman.

Q1. Do you feel your experience differs from that of your male counterparts? If yes, please state how.

Ans. Yes, I often have to work harder than my male counterparts and still half appreciated as they are.

Q2. Do your professional goals often align with your workplace? Why or why not, please explain.

Ans. yes

Q3. Do you feel you have ample growth opportunities professionally at the Ministry?

Ans. No

Q4. Are you often presented with opportunities similar to or better than your male counterparts?

Ans. No

Q5. Do you feel overlooked/unheard/underrepresented at the Ministry? If so, can you please give an example?

Ans. Not overlooked but unheard and underrepresented yes!

Q6. In your opinion, what improvements can be made to allow for more gender equality at the Ministry?

Ans. Women should not be stereotyped for certain roles and positions. They should be given equal growth opportunities. Most senior officers/ Ambassadors do not want female officers to work with them esp married female officers are No no. Most female officers are deprived of good foreign assignments just because they are females.

Q7. Lastly, what do you think your contribution to the Ministry, as a whole, has been?

Ans. I have always tried my best to represent my country fairly both abroad and home whenever and wherever I was given an opportunity and served my country and my fellow countrymen to the best of my capacity.

Respondent no. 8, Assistant Director no. 2:

Name: Fatima Malik

Designation: Assistant Director

Q1. Do you often need to professionally interact with the women at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? *

Ans. Yes

Q2. In your opinion, are the women around you under-represented or overrepresented at the decision-making level? *

Ans. They are underrepresented

Q3. Can you name any notable females in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? If yes, please state why you feel their performance is praiseworthy. *

Ans. Maliha Lodhi and Tehmina Janjua. They come to mind since they are an inspiration for many Pakistani women.

Q4. In your opinion, what opportunities are available to women in the Foreign Ministry? *

Ans. In my opinion opportunities to travel and meet interesting people do exist however other opportunities are very limited for women since there are a lot of prejudices because of our society's mindset.

Q5. In your opinion, are there any setbacks to the professional growth of women in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan? *

Ans. Yes because they often discriminate based on your marital status and if you are too ambitious you are considered bossy.

Q6. Will Equal Opportunities for women allow them a bigger role in the Ministry? (optional question)

Ans. Yes definitely as without discrimination women may be able to prove themselves better.

Q7. In your tenure, can you give an example of how you may have helped or supported women in your chain of command/department at the Ministry? *

Ans. I always support my colleagues senior or junior irrespective of their gender.

Q8. In your opinion, are women held back in their careers due to their social roles in Pakistani society, or have things improved generally? (optional question)

Ans. Women are capable of managing their different roles in the society but what actually lacks is the due support and things changed have not changed as much as they should be.

Please answer the following questions only if you identify as a woman.

Q1. Do you feel your experience differs from that of your male counterparts? If yes, please state how.

Ans. My experiences are quite different from the male colleagues because mainly they are preferred when it comes to interact and be at the front. But in actual the women are the ones doing the hard theory work.

Q2. Do your professional goals often align with your workplace? Why or why not, please explain.

Ans. Yes they do but I wish that VPS 17/18/19 women we're promoted quickly.

Q3. Do you feel you have ample growth opportunities professionally at the Ministry?

Ans. Growth is slow in my opinion for women and the struggle of women is way more than the males.

Q4. Are you often presented with opportunities similar to or better than your male counterparts?

Ans. No

Q5. Do you feel overlooked/unheard/underrepresented at the Ministry? If so, can you please give an example?

Ans. If not always but often I do feel underrepresented.

Q6. In your opinion, what improvements can be made to allow for more gender equality at the Ministry?

Ans. Stereotype that women are less efficient and capable should be completely waived off because it is just the right chance or rather opportunity that can truly bring out the best in women. Senior officers also need to give space to the junior female officers and work with them comfortably.

Q7. Lastly, what do you think your contribution to the Ministry, as a whole, has been?

Ans. As I have recently joined and am currently working at a junior rank I strive to prove myself as a success story for other Pakistani girls.

Respondent no. 9, Assistant Director no. 3:

Q1. Do you often need to professionally interact with the women at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? *

Ans. yes

Q2. In your opinion, are the women around you under-represented or overrepresented at the decision-making level? *

Ans. They are given equal representation mostly. But, due to less number of females in the Ministry, obviously women are still under represented in some areas. However, during past few years young females are joining foreign service which would definitely improve their representation in future.

Q3. Can you name any notable females in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? If yes, please state why you feel their performance is praiseworthy. *

Ans. Tehmina Janjua- Former Foreign Secretary. She has done marvelous job during her tenure at the top most bureaucratic position in the ministry. Naghmana Hashmi- Former Ambassador to China. She has vast experience when it comes to bilateral relations between China and Pakistan

Q4. In your opinion, what opportunities are available to women in the Foreign Ministry? *

Ans. I believe MoFA is a fantastic place for women to work. It provides them with a very sophisticated environment and numerous opportunities to study further and develop their skills.

Q5. In your opinion, are there any setbacks to the professional growth of women in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan? *

Ans. No

Q6. Will Equal Opportunities for women allow them a bigger role in the Ministry? (optional question)

Q7. In your tenure, can you give an example of how you may have helped or supported women in your chain of command/department at the Ministry? *

Ans. I have not worked much in the Ministry so far, so cannot give a suitable answer

Q8. In your opinion, are women held back in their careers due to their social roles in Pakistani society, or have things improved generally? (optional question)

Ans. Things are getting better. However, they do face some issues due to our cultural norms and sometimes it becomes more challenging for women to balance their life and work

Respondent no. 10, Director no. 2:

Q1. Do you often need to professionally interact with the women at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? *

Ans. Yes

Q2. In your opinion, are the women around you under-represented or overrepresented at the decision-making level? *

Ans. Under represented.

Q3. Can you name any notable females in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? If yes, please state why you feel their performance is praiseworthy. *

Ans. Maleeha Lodhi and Naela Chohan, very poised agents of change.

Q4. In your opinion, what opportunities are available to women in the Foreign Ministry? *

Ans. Very few if we compare ourselves to our male counterparts.

Q5. In your opinion, are there any setbacks to the professional growth of women in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan? *

Ans. Yes, since we have to work much harder than our male colleagues. Any assertion on our part can often be misconstrued. Many married ladies like myself also have to compromise on our family life since the ministry can become rigid on policies.

Q6. Will Equal Opportunities for women allow them a bigger role in the Ministry? (optional question)

Ans. Hoopefully yes.

Q7. In your tenure, can you give an example of how you may have helped or supported women in your chain of command/department at the Ministry? *

Ans. I often sit in for my colleagues who are working mothers. I also often nominate hardworking girls for assignments.

Q8. In your opinion, are women held back in their careers due to their social roles in Pakistani society, or have things improved generally? (optional question)

Ans. Definitely. Our society is still very traditional, as are our organizational structures. Even the most modern workplace in Pakistan will be behest with old patriarchal mindsets. Very disturbing.

Please answer the following questions only if you identify as a woman.

Q1. Do you feel your experience differs from that of your male counterparts? If yes, please state how.

Ans. Yes, I and my female colleagues often have to keep a rigid demeanor when dealing with males.

Q2. Do your professional goals often align with your workplace? Why or why not, please explain.

Ans. Yes they do. But many times no.

Q3. Do you feel you have ample growth opportunities professionally at the Ministry?

Ans. No

Q4. Are you often presented with opportunities similar to or better than your male counterparts?

No

Q5. Do you feel overlooked/unheard/underrepresented at the Ministry? If so, can you please give an example?

Ans. Underrepresented and unheard yes.

Q6. In your opinion, what improvements can be made to allow for more gender equality at the Ministry?

Ans. Stereotypes must be eliminated from such a field. Junior women should not be discriminated against by senior male officers, especially ambassadors since many don't wish to work with younger married females. Our marital shouldn't play a role in our job assignments. Women should be allowed more foreign deployments as well.

Q7. Lastly, what do you think your contribution to the Ministry, as a whole, has been?

Ans. I do my best to represent Pakistan abroad since the image of my country and its people is very dear to me.

Respondent no. 11, First Secretary:

Q1. Do you often need to professionally interact with the women at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? *

Ans. Yes

Q2. In your opinion, are the women around you under-represented or overrepresented at the decision-making level? *

Yes. Under represented

Q3. Can you name any notable females in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? If yes, please state why you feel their performance is praiseworthy. *

Ans. Ayesha Farooqui, a very dear guide who was the former spokesperson at MOFA

Q4. In your opinion, what opportunities are available to women in the Foreign Ministry? *

Ans. I have been able to travel and represent my country abroad. Otherwise, many other FSP lady officers are overlooked for opportunities in favour of male counterparts.

Q5. In your opinion, are there any setbacks to the professional growth of women in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan? *

Ans. Yes many. Stereotyping is a rampant issue. There is much less understanding of work life balance also, especially for women. There is also workplace harassment that scares women from protesting for our rights.

Q6. Will Equal Opportunities for women allow them a bigger role in the Ministry? (optional question)

Ans. I doubt it.

Q7. In your tenure, can you give an example of how you may have helped or supported women in your chain of command/department at the Ministry? *

Ans. Have supported my junior officers when they are worked or reprimanded for jobs that might have earned a well done for men.

Q8. In your opinion, are women held back in their careers due to their social roles in Pakistani society, or have things improved generally? (optional question)

Ans. Definitely. It is not only society that holds us back due to expectations of us being mothers, daughters and wives first, but it is our workplace that puts these expectations on us also. That if we are married, why do we waste the department's time etc? So these setbacks exist in institutions as well as in our homes.

Please answer the following questions only if you identify as a woman.

Q1. Do you feel your experience differs from that of your male counterparts? If yes, please state how.

Ans. Yes we are made to work harder than our male counterparts. Also, there is a lot of harassment of lady officers especially abroad and especially in times of promotion.

Q2. Do your professional goals often align with your workplace? Why or why not, please explain.

Yes. I try my best but they do deviate

Q3. Do you feel you have ample growth opportunities professionally at the Ministry?

Ans. No

Q4. Are you often presented with opportunities similar to or better than your male counterparts?

Ans. No

Q5. Do you feel overlooked/unheard/underrepresented at the Ministry? If so, can you please give an example?

Ans. Underrepresented and unheard definitely.

Q6. In your opinion, what improvements can be made to allow for more gender equality at the Ministry?

Ans. Please stop stereotyping and harassing women in professional environments. It is the 21 century.

Q7. Lastly, what do you think your contribution to the Ministry, as a whole, has been?

Ans. As a proud Pakistani girl I do my consular duties with a lot of passion and love for my country.

Respondent no. 12, Director no. 3:

Q1. Do you often need to professionally interact with the women at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? *

Ans. Yes

Q2. In your opinion, are the women around you under-represented or overrepresented at the decision-making level? *

Ans. Over represented.

Q3. Can you name any notable females in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? If yes, please state why you feel their performance is praiseworthy. *

Ans. I feel the men outshine the women.

Q4. In your opinion, what opportunities are available to women in the Foreign Ministry? *

Ans. As many, if not more, than us men to grow.

Q5. In your opinion, are there any setbacks to the professional growth of women in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan? *

Ans. Not really.

Q6. Will Equal Opportunities for women allow them a bigger role in the Ministry? (optional question)

Ans. It's already equal opportunities, I see so many girls around me in MOFA these days.

Q7. In your tenure, can you give an example of how you may have helped or supported women in your chain of command/department at the Ministry? *

Ans. By being pleasant to them and being respectful.

Q8. In your opinion, are women held back in their careers due to their social roles in Pakistani society, or have things improved generally? (optional question)

Ans. Maybe but they are naturally maternal and rather sisterly for us. They do have responsibilities at home which should always be a female's first priority.

Respondent no. 13, ex-ambassador (anonymous source) on phone call.

Respondent no. 14, ex-ambassador (anonymous source), personal communication.

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