

MALE CHAUVINISM, REALITY OR MYTH: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE RURAL AREAS OF CENTRAL PUNJAB (PAKISTAN)

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ABSTRACT: *This contemporary research study was designed to critically evaluate either male chauvinism is a reality or a myth in this modern age. The interpersonal relationship of both men and women has been tried to access from multiple angles using the lens of male chauvinism. In most cases, the literature history has presented women as the victim of social injustice, imprisoned in the chains of culture and religion, experiencing political transgression, and social deprivation. This analytical cross-sectional quantitative research study was conducted in the rural areas of central Punjab, Pakistan. This particular investigation was executed in the district Faisalabad (selected randomly) located in the middle of the region (central Punjab). Tehsil¹ (Samundari) of the mentioned district was selected randomly. Furthermore, four union councils were selected from the above-mentioned tehsil (Systematic random sampling) and fifty respondents were picked up (convenient sampling) and thoroughly interviewed from each gender group that summed up into two hundred respondents in total. A well-structured closed-ended questionnaire was personally administered on the respondents. The collected data was analyzed by SPSS software (version 2020). Chi-square and Gamma statistics were employed to check the association between the variable and the direction of relationship respectively. The findings of this research study indicated that 62.0 % of females and 55.0 % of males were agreed that the condition of women was good in society. Moreover, 61.0 % of females and 53.0 % of males were of the view that women should participate in the economic spheres of household activities. It was revealed by 48.0 % of females and 44.0 % males that women could play their role in the development of the country. 50.2 % of males and 50 % females were of the opinion that women should hold positions of power in the society, 39.0 % males and 48.0 % females were agreed that domestic violence is no more existing in the society. Lastly, 46.0 % female and 54.0 % male respondents interpreted that male chauvinism has decreased in the society that is permitting women to enjoy considerably equal rights in comparison to men. This study concluded that male chauvinism is decreasing very rapidly and would become a past story soon. Male chauvinism in this modern age has reduced to merely a fantastic myth and no more a reality.*

Key words: Male Chauvinism, Society, Gender Discrimination, Social Injustice, Central Punjab, Pakistan

¹ A **tehsil** (also known as tahsil, taluka or taluq) is an administrative division in some countries of the Indian subcontinent. It is an area of land within a city or town that serves as its administrative center, with possible additional towns, and usually a number of villages.

INTRODUCTION:

The Islamic Society of Pakistan has always been categorized as a male-dominated society where women are subjugated and are experiencing male chauvinism [1-4]. The major contributing factors of male chauvinism as revealed by the literature history are illiteracy [5], low socioeconomic status [6], stereotyping [7], unemployment among women [8], gender inequality [9], rigid customs traditions [10], and limited access to resources [11,12]. The condition of women in Pakistan has been very pathetic in terms of physical, sexual, and psychological abuse [13-16]. The scenario has been changed with the rise of science and technology and the subsequent interest of the govt. of Pakistan in empowering women-folk [17]. Now, women are participating in all the important sectors of life. The constitution of Pakistan has given considerable rights to women such as freedom of speech, freedom of marriage and divorce, freedom to get an education, freedom to participate in the elections, freedom to cast vote according to their choice, freedom of traveling, etc. [18-20]. To strengthen the position of women in the society, the federal and provincial governments of Pakistan has passed the following Acts as the need arises from 2011 to 2018:

“The Aid Control and Acid Crime Prevention Act (2011), Prevention of Anti-Women Practices Act (2011), Criminal Law (Amendment) (Offence of Rape) Act (2016), Criminal Law (Amendment) (Offences in the name of or pretext of honor) Act (2016), Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act (2016), Hindu Marriage Act (2017); Punjab women empowerment package 2012 (PWEP), Punjab women empowerment initiative 2014 (PWEI), Punjab women empowerment package 2016 (PWEP), Punjab development policy (2018); and Punjab women protection authority act (2017), Punjab protection of women against violence act (2016), Punjab Muslim family laws (Amendments) Act, (2015), Punjab family courts (Amendment) Act (2015), Punjab marriage restraint (Amendment) Act (2015), Punjab fair representation of women act (2014) the Punjab protection against harassment of women at the workplace (Amendment) Act (2012) (The Punjab Commission on the Status of Women, Assessed on 26-12-2018).”

To explore the condition of women in the male-dominated society, to explore the socio-cultural factors in the perception building of the people about male chauvinism, and to examine the religious and political perspectives of both genders on male chauvinism were the major objectives of this research study.

Significance of this Research Study:

The present study is very important in making the world realize that the condition of women is getting better with the change of time. The spread of education has invoked a new enthusiastic spirit in the minds of the people to identify their proper place in society. The rapid progress in the field of science and technology has changed the scenario. This study takes into consideration the social, economic, political, and religious spheres to have a deep understanding of the phenomena of the chauvinistic attitude of the male-folk towards females. The study is significant because it tries to evaluate the responses of both males and females about male chauvinism either it is existing in the society or not. Another major contribution of this study is the areas which were

randomly selected were located in the rural tehsil of district Faisalabad. Generally, rural women are considered backward, illiterate, and are considered more prone to domestic violence and are often subjected to chauvinistic attitudes. So, their opinion is weightier as compared to the literate and well settled educated women of the urban areas.

Theoretical Framework of the Study:

As has been beautifully said by Imenda [21] that both conceptual and theoretical framework gives life to research. Moreover, a theoretical framework is the guide and in the strict sense of the term is the “blueprint of a research study [22]. This research study is based on the feministic perspectives of liberal (individualistic form of feminism) feminism. Liberal feminism encompasses into its range a broad perceptible and it tries to take into consideration women of all over the world irrespective of the culture, religion, geographical location, social, and political attributes [23] unlike the other types of feminisms such as Cultural, Amazon, Black, Essentialist, Anarchic, Eco, and many other types of feministic approach. That is the major reason that I have incorporated liberal feminism as the pedestal of my research. The liberal feminists such Mary Wollstonecraft, Judith Sargent Murray, and Frances Wright of 18th century; John Stuart Mill, Harriet Taylor, Harriet Tubman, Susan B. Anthony, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton of 19th Century; and Betty Friedan, Rebecca Walker, Naomi Wolf, and Martha Nussbaum of the 20th century advocated for equality of legal and political rights assuming women are the neglected and oppressed section of society [24]. These above-mentioned feminists have always hatched an attractive propaganda for three centuries and still on the go against the widespread conception of male chauvinism regarding the oppression of women in almost all walks of life especially the liberal and equality feminists irrespective of the political, religious, geographical and social background of the women living in the different parts of the world. They tried to access the problem of male chauvinism with the yardstick of their own conception. They tried to imagine that people all over the world are the same in all aspects, but it is not the case as they reckon. The people of a particular area may not think it chauvinistic attitude as it is considered by the people of another area. The particular lens we use to see things is the major fault committed by the researchers because they formulate their own viewpoint about a certain phenomenon and usually stick to it. The culture, religion, geography, and political outlook of the women of the Western world are far different as compared to the East. The different feminist theories which have been developed by feminists may not be applied everywhere in the same manner without realizing that the people are different in the different regions. Islam focuses on equity but the equality feminists stress equality. This is focal of the clash between the Islamic and feminist perspectives. The slogan “My body, My will” is contrary to the Islamic injunctions as has been propagated by the liberal feminists. So, what is considered by the West as freedom has been regarded by Islam as the exploitation of women?

MATERIALS AND METHODS:

It was a cross-sectional quantitative research study and the research area of the present study was Central Punjab, Pakistan. Multistage sampling technique was extensively utilized throughout the course of the study. From central

Punjab, District Faisalabad was randomly selected. As far as district Faisalabad is concerned it is composed of six tehsils. At the 1st stage, one tehsil out of six (i.e. Samundri) was selected randomly. At the 2nd stage, four union councils out of 28 were selected randomly. Each Union Council is comprised of different numbers of villages and at the 3rd stage, from each Union Council, two villages were randomly selected. At the 4th stage, from each village twenty-five, respondents were selected randomly to make an overall sample of 200 respondents and an interview schedule was used for data collection which was pre-tested. The

respondents were selected with the help of voter lists available from the Union Council office. The collected data were analyzed by using SPSS software. To check the association between the variables, the Chi-Square test was utilized, and the Gamma test was administered to check the direction of the association of the variables (either positive or negative) at 5 % level of significance. Furthermore, to check the reliability of data (the Likert scale questions Cronbach Alpha test was administered.

Table 1: Distribution of the Respondents Regarding the Selected Sample

Name of Tehsil	Total No. of Union Councils	Sample drawn	No. of selected Villages	Sample drawn	Sample from each village	Size of sample
Samundri	28	4	30	8	25	200

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION:

In this quantitative study, the comparative approach has been extensively utilized to access the problem from both angles. To mitigate the research bias, the questionnaire is

administered on males as well as on females. The responses of the respondents have been compared so that we can reach valid and realistic conclusions.

Table 2: Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Respondents
N=200 F= Frequency P= Percentage

Statement	Response	F (Male) N=200	P (%)	F (Female) N	P (%)
Gender	Gender	100	50.0	100	50.0
Age groups (years)	15-25	32	32.0	56	56.0
	26-35	29	29.0	15	15.0
	36-45	12	12.0	16	16.0
	46-55	20	20.0	11	11.0
	56-65	7	7.0	2	2.0
Marital Status	Single	48	48.0	46	46.0
	Married	50	50.0	45	45.0
	Widow	2	2.0	5	5.0
	Divorced	0	0	4	4.0
Educational Level	Illiterate	5	5.0	4	4.0
	Primary	10	10.0	5	5.0
	Middle	2	2.0	2	2.0
	Matriculation	15	15.0	18	18.0
	Intermediate	24	24.0	31	31.0
	Graduation	22	22.0	24	24.0
	Masters	20	20.0	15	15.0
Family Structure	Post-Graduation	2	2.0	1	1.0
	Nuclear	32	32.0	52	52.0
	Joint	58	58.0	32	32.0
	Extended	4	4.0	4	4.0
Family Income	Single Parent	6	6.0	12	12.0
	Unemployed	14	14.0	58	58.0
	Up to 20000	41	41.0	24	24.0
	20001-40000	29	29.0	14	14.0
	40001-60000	13	13.0	3	3.0
Family Background	More than 60000	3	3.0	1	1.0
	Rural Background	50	50.0	39	39.0
	Semi-rural	35	35.0	31	31.0
	Urban	15	15.0	30	30.0

Table 2 reveals that there was a total of 200 respondents 100 males and 100 females. The majority of the respondents 32 (males) and (56 females) were in the age group 15-25. While 7% (males) and 2 % (females) were in the higher age group 55-65. Marriage is a sacred union so as far as marriage is concerned 55 % of males and 45 % of females were married. Data shows that the majority of the respondents were married. Married, divorced and widowed / widower respondents shared their views about male chauvinism far better as compared to the single respondents. Education is another important demographic variable that shows how much the respondents have an understanding of their surroundings. Data reveals that the majority of the respondents 24 % (males) and 31 % (females) were 12th standards (intermediate). Female respondents were more educated in this category (intermediate). The rural society of Pakistan is taking a new shift, the people are getting their daughters educated as compared to their sons. The obvious reason is the chance of getting a suitable match in the urban areas, but the parents are getting their boys learning new entrepreneurial skills fearing the low chances of getting employment in the government sector because the majority of the degree holders are wandering here and there in search of a job. The recent estimate shows that 671 PhD degree holders are jobless in Pakistan [25]. Family type in which the respondent is living signifies a lot in the perception building of the people regarding male chauvinism. The majority of the respondents 52 % female were living in the nuclear family system while 58 % of the male respondents were living in the

joint family system. Data shows that female respondents were enjoying greater autonomy as compared to the male respondents because the majority of them were living in the nuclear family system. Because the nuclear family system provides them more freedom, independence, and chances of involvement in familial decision-making. Income is another parameter that signifies the role he/she can play in the decision-making and can command greater power to ask for their respective rights in the family or anywhere else in the social fabric of the society. The data reveals that 58 % of females (majority) were unemployed while 41 % of males were employed. Family background is another important dimension that shows the influence of locality on the perception building of the respondents about the chauvinistic attitude. The majority of the respondents, because the study was conducted in the rural areas, 50.0 % males and 39.0 % of females belonged to the rural background. The family background of the respondents is much significant in understanding the psychological aptitude of the individual and his way of treating the women-folk in his daily routine. Education [26], family background, religious affiliation [27, 28], economic status [29], social sphere, type of locality, type of family [30], cultural sphere [31] of the individual—all these variables are important in predicting the attitude of an individual towards the female-folk because these variables are widely responsible in shaping the outlook of both men and women in their mutual inter-relationship.

Table 3: Perception of Respondents Regarding Status and Role of Women in the Society

Perception of the respondent about the role and status of women in society		Strongly agree		Agree		Indifferent		Disagree		Strongly disagree	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Condition of women in society	Male	10	10.0	55	55.0	23	23.0	11	11.0	1	1.0
	Female	7	7.0	62	62.0	21	21.0	7	7.0	3	3.0
Educated women are beneficial for the society	Male	52	52.0	31	31.0	2	2.0	9	9.0	6	6.0
	Female	70	70.0	11	11.0	3	3.0	1	1.0	15	15.0
Women can play their role in the development of the country	Male	44	44.0	35	35.0	7	7.0	7	7.0	7	7.0
	Female	48	48.0	32	32.0	1	1.0	3	3.0	16	16.0
Gender equality in society	Male	30	30.0	32	32.0	7	7.0	24	24.0	7	7.0
	Female	37	37.0	37	37.0	3	3.0	12	12.0	11	11.0
Women should participate in the economic spheres	Male	27	27.0	53	53.0	11	11.0	9	9.0	0	0.0
	Female	28	28.0	61	61.0	9	9.0	2	2.0	0	0.0
Women's capability to hold positions of power	Male	12	12.0	52	52.0	10	10.0	22	22.0	4	4.0
	Female	25	25.0	50	50.0	5	5.0	8	8.0	12	12.0

Data depicts that 55% of males and amazingly 62% of females were of the view that the condition of women is getting better in society. The obvious reason for this improved condition of women is due to social, political and religious awareness. Pakistan was ranked 134th out of 135 countries among the most derogatory places for women to live in 2012 [32]. Later, the report of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has ranked Pakistan at 123th out of 148 countries in the 2012 Gender Inequality Index in 2013 (GII) [33]. The recent findings of the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap published in 2016 ranked Pakistan 143th out of 144 countries among the most

derogatory places for women to live in [34]. The above-mentioned estimates are showing that the condition of women is going better gradually. Education is the vital force that can produce significant awareness in both sexes. It is the education which is responsible for the gradual uplift of women from the misery they were plunged in the past. In Pakistan, the education rate in women is 45.8% in 2015 [35]. The govt. of Pakistan is very concerned about the education of her masses. Free books, free uniforms, no tuition fees, and in some cases the students are facilitated with scholarships are being provided by the government without any gender discrimination. It is a stark reality that education women play

a vital role in the development of a country by participating in different walks of life. The Islamic Society of Pakistan is often considered as a male chauvinistic society in the world. Data reveals that 44 % of males and 48% of females were strongly agreed that women can play their role in the development of the country. Women are playing their active role in the health, education, political and socio-religious institutions of the country. According to the Labor Survey of Pakistan (2006-07), 70% of the female labor force is engaged in agriculture and its allied fields and plays a very hard-hitting role like milking, feed, and watch of the livestock [36]. Data reveals that: 32% of males and 37% of females are of the view that there must be gender equality. As we understand Islam is the religion of the people who live in

Pakistan and the people are of the view that there is no difference between the sexes except in some of the spheres ascertained by the cultural norms. Men and women have different spheres of life and they discharge their respective duties in their respective spheres. In Islam, there is absolutely no difference between men and women as far as their relationship to Allah is concerned, as both are promised the same reward for good conduct and the same punishment for evil conduct [37]. Data highlights that 52% of males and 50% of females are of the view that women can hold positions of power. The respondents are of the view that women can become politicians, bureaucrats, technocrats, etc. to provide dynamic and dedicated leadership to strengthen the position of their country in the world.

Table 4: Perception of Respondents Regarding Domestic Violence (Married Women), Cultural Influence, Religion, and Politics on Male Chauvinism

Variables		Strongly agree		Agree		Indifferent		Disagree		Strongly disagree	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Women are subjected to domestic violence	Male	8	8.0	39	39.0	30	30.0	17	17.0	6	6.0
	Female	10	10.0	48	48.0	16	16.0	15	15.0	11	11.0
Women are supervised when they leave their house	Male	25	35.7	40	57.1	5	7.1	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Female	31	40.8	40	52.6	5	7.1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Women faced sexual harassment at workplace	Male	12	12.0	59	59.0	18	18.0	9	9.0	2	2.0
	Female	24	24.0	37	37.0	21	21.0	12	12.0	6	6.0
Women are forced to perform non-domestic chores	Male	8	8.0	22	22.0	23	23.0	35	35.0	12	12.0
	Female	5	5.0	41	41.0	19	19.0	30	30.0	5	5.0
Response of respondents regarding Media's person of women domination	Male	10	10.0	44	44.0	17	17.0	25	25.0	4	4.0
	Female	17	17.0	54	54.0	12	12.0	14	14.0	3	3.0
Islam protects right of women in the society	Male	41	41.0	4	4.0	3	3.0	4	4.0	0	0.0
	Female	45	45.0	7	7.0	2	2.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Male chauvinism has roots in culture	Male	11	11.0	68	68.0	15	15.0	5	5.0	1	1.0
	Female	28	28.0	57	57.0	10	10.0	4	4.0	1	1.0
Government is protecting the rights of women	Male	7	7.0	36	36.0	20	20.0	34	34.0	3	3.0
	Female	10	10.0	47	47.0	24	24.0	14	14.0	5	5.0

The table mentioned-above describes the perception of the respondents (both males and females) regarding domestic violence, cultural influence, religion, and political scenario. 38.0 % of males and 48.0 % of females were agreed that women are subjected to domestic violence. These results are very much in line with [38] who concluded in his research study about mental and physical health consequences of violence on women-folk. They found out the different types of violence such as intimidating, insulting, and criticizing (psychological abuse); slapping, pushing, shoving, and beating (physical abuse); and forced sexual intercourse, and sexual degradation (sexual abuse). [39] Hossain, Ravneet Kaur [40], Sechrist *et al.* [41], and Alejo [42] also reported in their respective studies the issue of domestic violence. 57.1 % of males and 52.6 % of females both agreed that in the outdoor activities, females must be escorted by some male family members. During the interview, the researcher probed the female respondents that why they wanted to be escorted, most of them replied that they feel confident and it also shows a sign of respect for them. It was not at all embarrassing for them. It actually varies from culture to

culture, and religion also has some role to play in this phenomenon. As far as sexual harassment is concerned 37.0 % of females (most of the women were unemployed) and 59.0 % of males responded in an affirmation about the existence of sexual harassment at the workplace. The studies conducted by [43-47] have pointed out the elements of sexual harassment in their research studies. 35.0 % of males and 41.0 % of females were agreed that women are not forced to perform non-domestic chores. Actually, in Islam, the husband is responsible to provide all the provisions to the family. It is not the duty of the wife to do an office job and indoor or outdoor economic generating activities. 44.0 % of males and 54.0 % of females were agreed that it is media that is highly responsible for the portrayal of women in dark colors. 68.0 % of males and 57.0 % of females were of the view that male chauvinism has its roots deep in the culture. 36.0 % of males and 47.0 % of females were of the view that irrespective of the fact that the government has although framed legislation in favor of the rights of women, but she is doing nothing regarding the protection of women in the society.

Table 5: Perception of male chauvinism in the Islamic Society of Pakistan

Variables		Increased		Decreased		Remained the same	
		F	%	F	%	F	%
Women Perception about the Male Chauvinism in society	Males	23	23.0	54	54.0	23	23.0
	Females	29	29.0	46	46.0	25	25.0
Perception of the respondents about gender equality	Males	To a Great Extent		To Some Extent		Not at all	
	Females	23	23.0	58	58.0	19	19.0
Women perception about Islam as a male chauvinistic religion	Males	15	15.0	68	68.0	17	17.0
	Females	25	25.0	29	29.0	45	45.0
	Females	27	27.0	40	40.0	33	33.0

The above table reveals the perception of the respondents regarding male chauvinism in the Islamic society of Pakistan. During this research study, the respondents 54.0 % males and 46.0 % of females responded that male chauvinism has significantly decreased in the society. As far as gender equality in society is concerned 58.0 % of males and 68.0 % of females affirmed that there is gender society in society. When the respondents were asked about male chauvinism and Islam, 45.0 % of males responded that Islam is not at all a religion that promotes male chauvinism while 40.0 % of females responded that Islam promotes male chauvinism to some extent. As we know that Pakistani society is an Islamic society, and Islam allows considerably equal rights to women in their respective spheres of life. Women are participating in all the spheres of social, political, and economic spheres side by side with men. The constitution of Pakistan says that “all citizens are equal in the eyes of law”. It is the major reason that women are seen unleashing their potential capabilities in all walks of life. The description of the Bill which is passed by the government of Pakistan is listed as under which shows the concern of the government of Pakistan regarding women-folk. These laws are categorized as (1) National laws for the protection of women, (2) Recent policy initiative for women empowerment in Punjab, and (3) laws for the protection of women in Punjab.

It is a glaring sign that male chauvinism is no more existing in society [49]. Women are protected more as compare to men in this so-called male chauvinistic society. The govt. of Pakistan has provided considerable legal protection to women by passing several bills of protection. If we look at the participation of women in the political field we will come to know to that women make up 20.29 % (69 seats) representation in the National Assembly, [48], 17 % (17 seats), 20.5 % (76 seats), 18.5% (31 seats), 17. 7% (22 seats) and 18.5 % (seats) are reserved in the Senate, Punjab Assembly, Sindh Assembly, KPK Assembly, and Baluchistan Assembly respectively [50]. The ratio of women in the educational sector is rising day by day. There are 42% females and 58% of males are in the educational institutions of Pakistan [51]. In fact, women are participating in all the important sectors of life in Pakistan. There is no compulsion for women to get an education, participate in the business activities, and pursue the career they like particularly in the urban areas and generally in the rural areas of Pakistan [52].

Bivariate Analyses:

To check the association between the independent and dependent variables involved in this research study (dependent variable was “Male Chauvinism” and the

independent variables were Age, Marital Status, Income, Education, Family Background, and Type of Family) Chi-Square test was administered and to access the direction of relationship (Either + or -) Gamma test was utilized at 5 % level of significance. The value of Cronbach Alpha (.70) signifies that the data (mostly 5-point Likert scale) was significant and showed high reliability. The association between income and male chauvinism showed a highly significant relationship (p-value .004) and the Gamma value (-.019) shows a weak negative relationship between the variables. The association between education and male chauvinism shows a highly significant relationship (p-value .003) between the variables and the Gamma value (-.186) a very weak inverse relationship. The association between age and male chauvinism shows a non-significant relationship between the variables (p-value.749) and the Gamma value (.038) indicates a weak positive relationship between the dependent and independent variable. The research estimates show that income and education of the respondents definitely affect the perception of the chauvinistic attitude of the (male) respondents towards the female-folk.

CONCLUSION:

On the statistical analysis of the collected data, it was found that male chauvinism, in the 21st century, has become a thing of the past. Now, women are audaciously participating in all walks of life with enthusiasm and determination. They are moving on and on and on without any discrimination in almost all walks of life due to the advancement of science and technology. Education has given them new confidence to women-folk and it has molded the opinion of men to recognize the role, contribution, and determination of women along with the support of the political institution (government) by having affective legislation in favor of women. The opinion of men has significantly changed the role of women in the social, economic, and political spheres of life. The govt. of Pakistan is providing facilities to women by incorporating them into the job sectors. It is hoped that with the passage of time women will play a more significant role in the development of the country by unleashing their potential. The rural women of central Punjab, Pakistan has a very innate consciousness about their rights and duties that is why they are contributing in the agriculture, education, health, armed forces, and in many other departments of the province with zeal and zest. Their conception about male domination has considerably changed because of the gender interrelationship along with the vital contribution of education which has rendered both to think about the mutual

contribution to lead the country on the way to progress. Things are getting better with the passage of time, women have become educated, independent, and feel themselves more secure working with men where ever they find an opportunity. Their perception of male chauvinism, gender equality, gender roles, etc. has considerably undergone a positive change which will help them to grow in society. Hence, the study concludes that male chauvinism has reduced to an illusionary myth and it is no more reality in this modern age.

Conflict of interest: It is hereby declared by the authors that there is no potential conflict of interest with respect to research, financial relationship, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding: It is hereby declared by all the authors that “no funding” was received from any organization for the accomplishment of this review article.

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