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SURGERY IN LOW AND MIDDLE INCOME COUNTRIES



Societal Preferences for Gender of Surgeons: A Cross-Sectional Study in the General Population of Pakistan

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Abstract

Background Sociocultural norms and gender biases may result in surgeon gender preferences among the general public. This study aimed to understand preferences and perceptions related to surgeon gender among the general population in Pakistan, a lower-middle-income country.

Methods A cross-sectional study was conducted by the Aga Khan University, Karachi, among the adult general population in Pakistan. Sequential mixed-mode data collection was performed via online dissemination on social media platforms and in-person surveying at different geographic locations in Karachi.

Results Among 1604 respondents, 50% did not report having surgeon gender preferences in general. Among respondents with gender preferences, there was a highly significant preference for gender concordance across all surgical subspecialties (p < 0.001) except cardiothoracic surgery and neurosurgery. Exceptions where women preferred a male surgeon were neurosurgery (59.7% vs. 40.3%; p < 0.001) and cardiothoracic surgery (53.1% vs. 46.9%; p < 0.001). Moreover, respondents felt more comfortable communicating with (67.6%) and being examined by (73.3%) gender concordant surgeons. Men more commonly perceived male surgeons as more competent (26% vs. 14.5%; p < 0.001) and warmer (18.3% vs. 9.8%; p < 0.001) than female surgeons. Nevertheless, the most important factors influencing selection of a surgeon were the surgeon's reputation (69.6%) and experience (50.5%). Most respondents (84.5%) believed that more females should practice surgery.

Conclusion While around half of respondents do not have gender preferences, a significant proportion prefers a gender concordant surgeon across subspecialties. In a society where conservative sociocultural norms play a significant role when seeking health care, this makes yet another compelling argument for gender parity in surgery.

Russell Seth Martins and Mishal Gillani have contributed equally to this paper.

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Introduction

A population's perceptions and preferences are important considerations in the provision of surgical health care. Perceptions of surgeons' attitudes may affect satisfaction with treatment [1], adherence to postoperative rehabilitation [2], recommendation patterns [3], trust in surgeons [4], and malpractice claims [5]. The effect of surgeons' genders in mediating patients' perceptions of surgeons is a complex interplay of social stereotypes. On one hand, gender stereotypes of women as being generally more warm but less competent than men may influence the public's perceptions of female surgeons (stereotype "spillover effects") [6-9]. On the other hand, occupational stereotypes regarding surgery as a traditionally male profession may cause the public to perceive women surgeons as "out of place" and both less competent and less warm (stereotype "backlash effects") [10–12].

Although patients' gender preferences with regards to surgeons are not fully understood, they are believed to be determined by multifactorial social and cultural influences. In Western countries such as the USA, studies across surgical subspecialties including orthopedics surgery [13, 14], oral and maxillofacial surgery [15], plastic surgery [16], and otolaryngology [17] have shown the largest percentage of patients to have no gender preference in surgeons. On the other hand, in non-Western countries, patients are more likely to demonstrate preference for gender concordance when choosing surgeons in subspecialties that entail sensitive physical examinations, such as obstetrics and gynecology (OBGYN), breast surgery, and urology. For instance, in the United Arab Emirates, over 85% of women prefer female gynecologists [18]. This stronger preference for gender concordance needs to be better understood but may be attributed to different sociocultural norms in non-Western countries.

In Pakistan, women surgeons represent a small minority across all surgical subspecialties in the country, barring breast surgery [19]. Deterrents to female representation in the field of surgery in Pakistan include cultural barriers, lack of women surgeon role models, and gender discrimination and abuse in surgery [19–22]. In the absence of the existing literature from Pakistan, it is unclear whether public perceptions of women surgeons further systemic barriers to achieving gender parity. Understanding preferences of the general public with regard to surgeon gender is an important step toward providing population-specific surgical care while striving toward gender equality. Thus, this study aims to understand preferences and perceptions related to surgeon gender among the general population in Pakistan and compare these across different sociodemographic strata.

Methods

Study setting and population

This cross-sectional study was conducted by the Aga Khan University Hospital (AKUH) in Pakistan, over January–February 2021, after obtaining ethical approval from the institutional review board. An anonymous self-administered survey was distributed to the adult (\geq 18 years) general population in Pakistan.

Data collection tool

The survey used in this study was adapted by the research team from a previously available questionnaire [14]. A consent form preceded the survey, explaining the aim of the study and the extent of participants' involvement. In addition, screening questions asking participants' age, nationality, and country of residence, were also included before the main survey. Respondents not meeting the inclusion criteria for this study (adult Pakistani national residing in Pakistan) were thus excluded. The survey and its consent form underwent translation to Urdu, the national language of Pakistan, which is spoken and understood by most of the country's population. Both the English and Urdu versions of the survey were pretested amongst adult members of the general population to identify and address any ambiguities prior to dissemination.

The final survey consisted of the following sections:

Demographics Age, sex, education, marital status, province of residence, and monthly family income. Preference for Gender of Surgeons across Different Surgical Subspecialties

Perception of male and female surgeons Participants were asked to describe first male surgeons and then female surgeons from a list of 12 adjectives, six of which were coded as positive and six of which negative. A blank space was also left for participants to add their own adjectives, which were later coded as positive or negative. These were used to calculate a Positive Perception Score (PPS) for male and female surgeons, as was done by Inam et al. [19] (see Data Synthesis and Analysis).

Awareness of Challenges Faced by Female Surgeons Satisfaction with male and female surgeons Respondents who had undergone surgery at any point in their adult life were asked to rate their satisfaction with their surgeon on a Likert scale (1 =Satisfied; 2 = Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied; and 3 = Dissatisfied).

Sample size calculation and data collection procedure

Sample size was calculated using OpenEpi. Using an anticipated frequency of having a gender preference as 50% (which also provided the maximum required sample size) and 95% confidence level, the minimum required sample size was 384 individuals.

A sequential mixed-mode approach to data collection was used, whereby the survey was first distributed online via Google Forms and then in-person by a team of 15 data collectors. Mixed-mode data collection allowed a more nationally representative sample of survey respondents from different geographic locations across Pakistan via online platforms, while ensuring inclusion of the lower socioeconomic groups without internet access. Dividing the minimum required sample size of 384 equally across the two modes of data collection meant that a minimum of 192 responses were required from both the online and inperson data collection.

Online platforms for survey dissemination included Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. Both the English and the Urdu versions of the tool were available for respondents online. The screening questions ensured only individuals meeting the inclusion criteria responded online, as ineligible respondents were directly routed to the end of the Google Forms survey.

In-person data collection was performed in different geographic locations within Karachi, the largest metropolitan city of Pakistan, by the 15 data collectors. In a conservative society like Pakistan's, individuals may not be comfortable engaging in a survey interview with a data collector of the opposite sex. Thus, in order to achieve similar representation of both the sexes in our sample, we selected eight female and seven male data collectors. Moreover, the in-person data collection would also help ensure a representative age distribution, as it was expected that most responses from online social media collection would be from young adults. Cluster sampling was employed for the in-person survey dissemination, with the 15 data collectors operating independently across the five administrative districts of Karachi (East, West, South, Central, and District Malir). This would ensure an ethnically and socioeconomically diverse population, and help negate the selection bias of online data collection. Data collectors approached potential participants in their area, and after explaining the scope and nature of the study, screened them for suitability of inclusion. If subjects fulfilled the inclusion criteria, they were provided with the paper survey, in English or Urdu as desired, which was then self-administered.

Data synthesis and analysis

Statistical analysis was performed using IBM SPSS (Armonk, NY) version 23. Continuous data were reported as mean and standard deviation while categorical data were reported as frequencies and percentages. Chi-squared tests were used to compare categorical data. In the section Perception of Male and Female Surgeons, adjectives used to describe male and female surgeons were coded as "positive" or "negative". The Positive Perception Score was calculated by computing the percentage of positive adjectives used out of total adjectives used. The Positive Perception Score of respondents for male vs. female surgeons was compared using paired-sample *t*-tests. A *p*value <0.05 was considered significant for all analyses.

Results

Demographics

total of 1604 individuals. with Α mean age 35.08 ± 12.55 years and 47.7% aged >35 years, responded to the survey. A similar number of responses were achieved from the online (901/1604; 56.2%) and in-person (703/1604; 43.8%) data collection modes. The majority of respondents were from Sindh (60.1%) and Punjab (21.3%), with 85.9% belonging to large metropolitan cities. Among these, 890 (55.5%) respondents were women, 677 (42.2%) were men, and 37 (2.3%) preferred not to reveal their sex. Around 68.2% of respondents had a college (undergraduate or postgraduate) degree. Barring those who chose not to reveal their monthly family income (33.6%), the highest percentage (20.3%) of respondents reported a monthly family income <50,000 PKR (324 USD) (Table 1).

Preference for gender of surgeons

At least half of respondents overall reported no gender preference when choosing a surgeon for themselves (50%) or their family members (67.6%). However, among respondents who did have a preference, there was a clear preference for same-gender surgeons: around 89.5% of men preferred a male surgeon if they were to undergo surgery, while 88% of women likewise preferred a female surgeon (p < 0.001). In addition, although most respondents believed that male and female surgeons were equally competent (72.8%), a significantly greater percentage of women believed female surgeons to be more competent than male surgeons (10.2% vs. 4.9%; p < 0.001). Respondents from Punjab were most likely to report a gender preference when choosing a surgeon for themselves (58.4%; p = 0.009), as compared to Sindh (47.7%), Balochistan (51.4%), and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (44.7%).

Factors considered while choosing a surgeon

Overall, the most common factors considered in selecting a competent surgeon were the surgeon's experience (73.9%), reputation (46.9%), hospital (46.9%), and board certification (37%). Women were significantly more likely to report the surgeon's experience (79.1% vs. 68.2%; p < 0.001), hospital (50.6% vs. 43.4%; p < 0.005), and attitude toward patients (36.5% vs. 25.4%; p < 0.001) as factors when considering a surgeon. Men were more likely to consider the surgeon's age (21% vs. 16%; p = 0.011) and physical appearance (11.1% vs. 6.6%; p = 0.002) when selecting a surgeon.

Finally, a significantly greater percentage of women reported considering surgeons' genders when selecting a surgeon (16.7% vs. 10.9%; p = 0.001). Approximately one-fifth (19.4%) of respondents overall reported having been advised to choose a male surgeon over a female surgeon (Table 2).

Effect of education on gender preferences

Respondents with a college degree were significantly more likely to report no preference of surgeon gender if they (52.7% vs. 44.1%; p = 0.003) or their family member (69.7% vs. 63.3%; p < 0.001) needed surgery. Respondents without a college degree were more likely to consider surgeons' gender (17.3% vs. 12.7%; p = 0.015) and physical appearance (14.3% vs. 6.3%; p < 0.001) when selecting a selecting a surgeon. Respondents with a college degree believed that male and female surgeons were equally competent (75.1% vs. 67.6%; p < 0.001) and warm toward their patients (55.3% vs. 44.9%; p < 0.001).

Gender preference across surgical subspecialties

Most respondents reported gender preference for surgeons in OBGYN (76.5%), cardiothoracic surgery (51.2%), breast surgery (73.5%), and urology (53.6%).

Figure 1 shows respondents' preference of surgeon gender according to surgical subspecialties, after respondents with no preference were excluded. Women demonstrated gender concordant preferences for most specialties, which was particularly marked for OBGYN, breast surgery, and urology (all p < 0.001). Men displayed a highly significant preference for male surgeons for all but two surgical subspecialties, only preferring female over male surgeons for OBGYN (97.2% vs. 2.8%; p < 0.001) and breast surgery (96.8% vs. 3.8%; p < 0.001).

Table 1	Demographics
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Variable	Overall (<i>N</i> = 1604) <i>n</i> (%)/ Mean ± SD
Age	
18–35 Years	839 (52.3)
>35 Years	765 (47.7)
Sex	
Female	890 (55.5)
Male	677 (42.2)
Prefer not to say	37 (2.3)
Province	
Sindh	964 (60.1)
Punjab	341 (21.3)
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	161 (10.0)
Balochistan	138 (8.6)
Education	
Uneducated	115 (7.2)
Primary school	125 (7.8)
Secondary school	270 (16.8)
Undergraduate degree	460 (28.7)
Postgraduate degree and higher	634 (39.5)
Marital status	
Single	585 (36.5)
Married	938 (58.5)
Divorced	32 (2.0)
Widowed	27 (1.7)
Other	22 (1.4)
Monthly family income (PKR/USD)	
<50,000 PKR/ 324 USD	326 (20.3)
50,000-100,000 PKR/324-648 USD	217 (13.5)
100,000-200,000 PKR/648-1296 USD	223 (13.9)
>200,000 PKR/1296 USD	299 (18.6)
Prefer not to say	539 (33.6)

PKR Pakistani rupee, SD standard deviation, USD United States dollar

Perceptions of male and female surgeons

Overall, and in the male and female subsets of respondents, female surgeons were perceived significantly more positively than male surgeons. When compared according to level of education, however, a significant difference was only appreciated in respondents having a postgraduate or higher college degree (93.02% \pm 14.11% vs. 87.16% \pm 23.18%; *p* <0.001) (Table 3). There were no differences in the PPS between respondents from the four provinces.

Most respondents overall (84.5%) believed that more females should enter the field of surgery, with more women expressing this sentiment than men (89% vs. 79.5%;

 $p <\!\!0.001$). Men, on the other hand, were more likely to believe that females are better suited to non-surgical medical specialties (32.8% vs. 22.8%; $p <\!\!0.001$) are emotionally less stable than male surgeons (40.5% vs. 31.2%; $p <\!\!0.001$) and are less capable of handling difficult situations than male surgeons (28.7% vs. 19.1%; $p <\!\!0.001$). These results are shown in Table 4.

Women were more likely than men to perceive gender discrimination in surgery (49.3% vs. 39%; p < 0.001) and hostile working conditions in surgery (35.2% vs. 30%; p = 0.031) as reasons for the shortage of female surgeons (Table 4).

Satisfaction with male and female surgeons

A total of 529 individuals (33%) had undergone at least one operation, for a total of 1053 operations. Out of these, 585 (55.6%) operations were performed by male surgeons.

Respondents reported high levels of satisfaction with both male and female surgeons (84.3% vs. 83.1%, respectively; p = 0.254). Overall, 106 respondents had undergone operations by at least one male and at least one female surgeon. Out of these, 74 (69.8%) felt that both their male and female surgeons were equally competent.

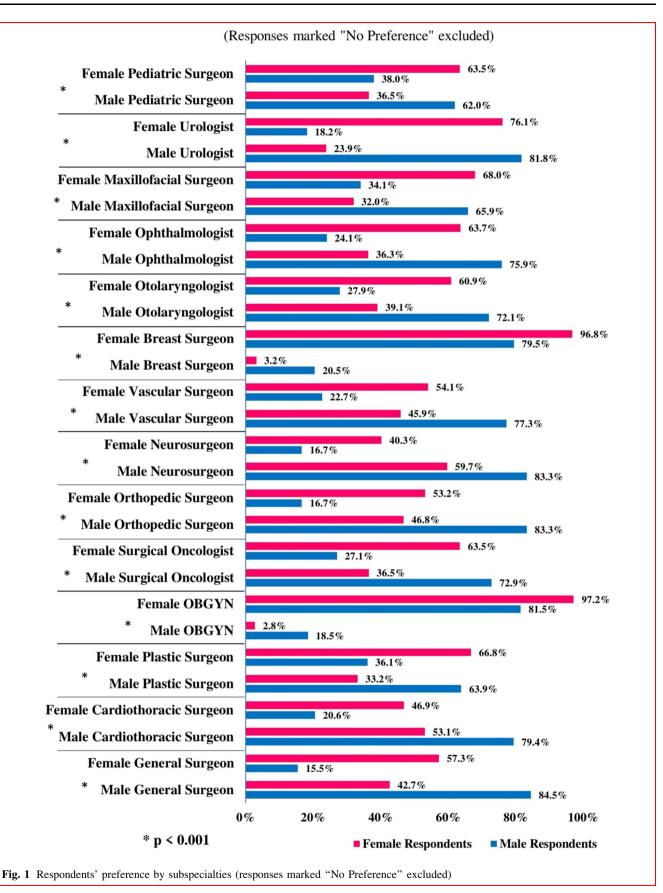
Discussion

Our findings show that while 50% of the general population in Pakistan report not having surgeon gender preferences in general, there is a significant preference for gender concordance across most surgical subspecialties. In our study, female surgeons were perceived as warmer but less competent than male surgeons. Gender Schema theory, which refers to a cognitive structure regarding the expectations a person has for other individuals based on

Table 2 Preference for gender of surgeons

	Overall <i>n</i> (%)	Male <i>n</i> (%)	Female n (%)	p Value
Preference for surgery for self				
Male surgeon	342 (21.3)	281 (41.5)	57 (6.4)	< 0.001
Female surgeon	460 (28.7)	33 (4.9)	419 (47.1)	
No preference	802 (50.0)	363 (53.6)	414 (46.5)	
Preference for surgery for family member				
Male surgeon	264 (16.5)	143 (21.1)	113 (12.7)	< 0.001
Female surgeon	255 (15.9)	77 (11.4)	176 (19.8)	
No preference	1085 (67.6)	457 (67.5)	601 (67.5)	
Who do you think is more competent?				
Male surgeon	309 (19.3)	176 (26.0)	129 (14.5)	< 0.001
Female surgeon	128 (8.0)	33 (4.9)	91 (10.2)	
No difference/both equal	1167 (72.8)	468 (69.1)	670 (75.3)	
Factors considered to select a competent surgeon				
Experience	1186 (73.9)	464 (68.2)	704 (79.1)	< 0.001
Surgeon's reputation	1117 (69.6)	486 (71.8)	611 (68.7)	0.180
Hospital surgeon works at	753 (46.9)	294 (43.4)	450 (50.6)	0.005
Board certification	593 (37.0)	238 (35.2)	340 (38.2)	0.216
Surgeon's attitude toward patients	507 (31.6)	172 (25.4)	325 (36.5)	< 0.001
Age of surgeon	295 (18.4)	142 (21.0)	142 (16.0)	0.011
Surgeon's gender	227 (14.2)	74 (10.9)	149 (16.7)	0.001
Amount of surgeon's published research	158 (9.9)	64 (9.5)	90 (10.1)	0.664
Physical appearance	142 (8.9)	75 (11.1)	59 (6.6)	0.002
Who do you think has a warmer approach to patients?				
Male surgeon	215 (13.4)	124 (18.3)	87 (9.8)	< 0.001
Female surgeon	555 (34.6)	229 (33.8)	321 (36.1)	
No difference/both equal	834 (52.0)	324 (47.9)	482 (54.2)	
Been told to choose a male surgeon over a female	311 (19.4)	125 (18.5)	178 (20.0)	0.486

Bold values indicates p < 0.05



biological sex, attempts to explain this perception [23], where men are expected to be direct and assertive ("agentic"), while women are expected to be supportive and nurturing ("communal"). However, women surgeons are expected to show a combination of both agentic traits so that they are deemed competent, and communal traits for societal approval [24].

At least half of the respondents in our study reported having no preferences for most surgical subspecialties, barring OBGYN, breast surgery, cardiothoracic surgery, and urology where the majority had gender preferences. The results like ours have been reported by a study conducted in Lebanon, where despite half the population reporting no gender preferences for surgeons overall, respondents were more likely to prefer male cardiac, orthopedic, and neurosurgeons over females [25]. Given the influence of mass media, it is likely that the historic predominance of surgeons across news media, medical dramas, and television shows reinforces gender biases in these specialties [26-28]. It is heartening, however, that social media movements such as #ILookLikeASurgeon and #YouCantBeWhatYouCantSee have made global strides in negating gender-based stereotypes by increasing the visibility of female surgeons around the world [29].

Preferences for gender concordance were also seen in how most respondents reported that they felt more comfortable communicating with (67.6%) and being examined by (73.3%) surgeons of the same gender as themselves. In the West, gender concordance is more likely to be preferred only in surgical subspecialties that entail physical examinations of a sensitive nature, such as OBGYN, urology, or breast surgery [30–35]. However, even in these subspecialties, a sizeable percentage of patients in Western populations still report no gender preference [34, 35]. The preference for gender concordance across most surgical subspecialties in our population likely reflects conservative sociocultural elements within Pakistani society.

Preference for gender concordance with regard to selection of surgeon may have far-reaching public health implications for surgery in Pakistan. The region of South Asia, which includes Pakistan, is second only to Africa in terms of unmet need for surgical care [36]. This notion is supported by the predominantly gender concordant surgeon preferences in our study, and the prospect of eliminating gender disparities in the unmet need for surgical care is an attractive incentive for national commitment to increasing women surgeons in Pakistan.

This study has a few limitations. These include unequal representation from the four administrative provinces of Pakistan, from rural populations in the country, and selection bias against nonusers of social media, despite employing a mixed mode of questionnaire dissemination. Moreover, although the self-administered nature of the survey provided respondents with privacy and helped reduce social desirability bias, it precluded those without the ability to read from filling the survey. In addition, the role of religion in mediating the public's perceptions regarding surgeons was not explored. Lastly, the proportion

Table 3 Positive perception scores for male and female surgeons

Positive perception score	Female surgeons Mean \pm SD	Male surgeons Mean \pm SD	p Value
Overall sample $(N = 1604)$			
Positive perception score (%)	88.05 ± 21.17	85.09 ± 25.31	<0.001
Male subset ($N = 677$)			
Positive perception score (%)	87.44 ± 21.14	83.66 ± 26.34	0.002
Female subset $(N = 890)$			
Positive perception score (%)	89.04 ± 20.40	86.70 ± 24.01	0.021
No education $(N = 112)$			
Positive perception score (%)	84.52 ± 26.54	83.03 ± 29.98	0.598
Primary education $(N = 121)$			
Positive perception score (%)	76.46 ± 25.71	75.46 ± 28.71	0.743
Secondary education $(N = 208)$			
Positive perception score (%)	81.07 ± 27.29	82.71 ± 25.61	0.410
Undergraduate degree ($N = 351$)			
Positive perception score (%)	89.81 ± 19.52	87.37 ± 24.57	0.111
Postgraduate degree or higher ($N = 530$)			
Positive perception score (%)	93.02 ± 14.11	87.16 ± 23.18	<0.001

Bold values indicates p < 0.05

 Table 4
 Perceptions regarding surgeons' gender and awareness of challenges for female surgeons

	OverallMaleFemale n (%) n (%) n (%)		p Value	
		n (%)	n (%)	
More females should enter the field of surgery ^a				
Strongly agree/agree	1355 (84.5)	538 (79.5)	792 (89.0)	<0.001
Strongly disagree/disagree	70 (4.4)	37 (5.5)	26 (2.9)	
MS have better surgical outcomes than FS ^a				
Strongly agree/agree	520 (32.4)	274 (40.5)	239 (26.9)	<0.001
Strongly disagree/disagree	566 (35.3)	192 (28.4)	357 (40.1)	
Females are better suited to non-surgical specialties ^a				
Strongly agree/agree	435 (27.1)	222 (32.8)	203 (22.8)	<0.001
Strongly disagree/disagree	757 (47.2)	251 (37.1)	488 (54.8)	
FS are emotionally less stable than MS ^a				
Strongly agree/agree	563 (35.1)	274 (40.5)	278 (31.2)	<0.001
Strongly disagree/disagree	671 (41.8)	214 (31.6)	439 (49.3)	
MS are more skilled than FS ^a				
Strongly agree/agree	607 (37.8)	303 (44.8)	295 (33.1)	<0.001
Strongly disagree/disagree	577 (36.0)	199 (29.4)	358 (40.2)	
I prefer being physically examined by SGS ^a				
Strongly agree/agree	1176 (73.3)	464 (68.5)	692 (77.8)	<0.001
Strongly disagree/disagree	151 (9.4)	77 (11.4)	62 (7.0)	
Communication is easier with SGS ^a				
Strongly agree/agree	1084 (67.6)	442 (65.3)	626 (70.3)	0.020
Strongly disagree/disagree	232 (14.5)	96 (14.2)	129 (14.5)	
FS are less capable to handle difficult situations ^a				
Strongly agree/agree	370 (23.1)	194 (28.7)	170 (19.1)	<0.001
Strongly disagree/disagree	920 (57.4)	320 (47.3)	579 (65.1)	
Respondent-perceived reasons for shortage of FS				
Early marriage of women in surgery	1117 (69.6)	456 (67.4)	640 (71.9)	0.051
Cultural barriers for women to practice surgery	810 (50.5)	353 (52.1)	439 (49.3)	0.269
Gender discrimination in field of surgery	722 (45.0)	264 (39.0)	439 (49.3)	<0.001
Hostile working conditions for FS	524 (32.7)	203 (30.0)	313 (35.2)	0.031
Long duration of training not feasible for women	390 (24.3)	157 (23.2)	228 (25.6)	0.269
Lack of awareness about a potential career in surgery	35 (22.1)	141 (20.8)	204 (22.9)	0.322
Less demand for FS (relative to MS)	236 (14.7)	95 (14.0)	134 (15.1)	0.570
Less competency of FS with regards to surgical skills	166 (10.3)	80 (11.8)	76 (8.5)	0.032

Bold values indicates p < 0.05

FS female surgeons, MS male surgeons, SGS same-gender surgeons

^aResponses marked "Neither Agree/ Disagree" not shown

of college-educated individuals from metropolitan cities in our dataset may hinder generalizability to rural populations from less privileged backgrounds.

Conclusion

The findings of this study indicate that while at least half the respondents do not have a gender preference when seeking surgical care, a significant proportion prefers a gender concordant surgical care provider. In a society where conservative sociocultural norms play a significant role when seeking health care, this makes yet another compelling argument for gender parity in surgery. Our results can form the basis for institutional efforts to work toward countering gender stereotypes and provide an environment that support women surgeons, while also encouraging more women to choose surgical careers. Considering that more medical students are now women, ignoring this equally qualified pool will serve as a missed opportunity to fulfill the goal of equitable surgical care for all.

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Declarations

Conflict of interest The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

Ethical approval This study was conducted in accordance with all ethical principles outlined in the 1964 Declaration of Helsinki and its future amendments. The institutional review board at the Aga Khan University reviewed and approved the protocol of this study.

Informed consent Informed consent was obtained from all respondents.

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