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PAKISTANI WOMEN

A Socioeconomic and Demographic Profile

Edited by

NASRA M. SHAH

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

IQBAL ALAM is a Researcher with the World Fertility Survey, London, England. He has a doctoral degree in Population Dynamics from Johns Hopkins University, U.S.A.

ASGHARI K. AWAN is Chairman, Maternity and Child Welfare Association of Pakistan. She is a medical doctor and also has a master's degree in Public Health from Harvard University, U.S.A. She retired as a Professor of Maternal and Child Health in 1977.

SABEEHA HAFEEZ is Director (research) in Women's Division, Cabinet Secretariat, Government of Pakistan. She has a doctoral degree in Sociology from University of Minnesota, U.S.A.

MEHTAB S. KARIM is a Research Fellow at the East-West Population Institute. He has a doctoral degree in Sociology from Cornell University, U.S.A.

RASHIDA PATEL is a Lawyer and Vice-Chairman of all Pakistan Women's Association at Karachi, Pakistan.

MAKHDOOM A. SHAH is Assistant Professor of Public Health, University of Hawaii, Honolulu U.S.A. He is also the President of Muslim Student's Association Inc., Hawaii. He has a doctoral degree in Public Health from Johns Hopkins University, U.S.A.

NASRA M. SHAH is a Research Fellow at the East-West Population Institute. She has a doctoral degree in Population Dynamics from Johns Hopkins University, U.S.A.

SABIHA H. SYED is Director General (Programs) in Women's Division, Cabinet Secretariat, Government of Pakistan. She has a doctoral degree from Harvard University, U.S.A.

PREFACE

My motivation to prepare this book emerged as a result of several factors, the shortage of good quality research on Pakistani women based on empirical observation and adequate methodology being a major one. The second main reason for me to undertake this study consisted of my own inability to answer certrain questions with regard to the roles and status of women in the absence of such empirical observation and information. My hope is that the present volume will fill in a substantial gap in the existing knowledge.

Since the celebration of the United Nations Women's Years in Pakistan in 1975, there has been a growing awareness of the significance of women's role among various groups in the country—policymakers, women's organizations and educated women in general. One measurable result of such awareness is the creation of a Women's Division within the Cabinet Secretariat. The need to integrate women in the development process is being emphasized in speeches by policymakers. Perceptions about the breadth of such integration cover areas such as increased opportunities for female employment, education, training in skills, and additional women's hostels in cities, etc. A core group of women concerned with women's rights, problems and issues is emerging and getting strengthened both within the structure of the All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) and beyond APWA.

Notable gains have been made with regard to institutional development which may provide greater access to educational and employment opportunities to women. The percentage of literate women has more than doubled in the country since the creation of Pakistan in 1947. Large

disparities between male and female literacy levels and school enrollment still persist, however. Similarly, the disparities between rural and urban areas are large for both sexes. Only one-tenth of the school age girls are in school in rural areas.

Existing Census data on labor force participation of Pakistani women do not indicate any increase in participation over the last two decades and about 8-10 percent women are reported to be in the labor force. Data from household surveys would have us believe, however, that participation rates are at least twice as high as reported in the Census data. Majority of the employed women work as tailors, weavers, domestic servants, agricultural workers and laborers. About 10 percent of the urban women work in professional and semi-professional occupations such as doctors, teachers and dais (midwives).

The average Pakistani woman lives somewhat shorter than the Pakistani male, and has slightly higher mortality during the childbearing years. Many of the pregnant and lactating women suffer from iron-deficiency anemia. A married Pakistani woman still bears about 7-8 children on the average. Few women practice contraception, and about four-tenths say that they will not use it in the future.

While a beginning towards the improvement in the situation of the Pakistani women has been made, a great deal still remains to be done. Any striking change would be very difficult to achieve in the absence of the overall level of development in the country. In outlining the development strategies the Government is trying to bring many of the institutions in line with the Islamic dictates. The question of integration of women in development and the subsequent redefinition of female roles is intrinsically related to the nation's choice of development strategies. Currently, I perceive several conflicting strains and tendencies between

Islamic prescription with regard to female status and the actual situation in the country. Such conflicts need to be resolved before an effective redefinition of female roles is possible. The analysis in this book should add to an understanding of the current roles and help in redefining the future.

There are a few areas which could not be adequately covered in this volume, primarily due to the lack of reliable information. For example, the situation of special groups of women such as beggars, women in prisons, women attempting suicide, destitute women, etc. could not be analyzed. Similarly, the analysis did not take into account the religious minorities of christians, hindus, pasrsis and others. Numerically, such special groups and minorities constitute a negligible proportion of the total female population in Pakistan. Women in particular groups, e.g. beggars, however, are in need of special assistance to help in their rehabilitation and therefore warrant attention. Special studies aimed at analyzing the situations of these groups of women are urgently needed. Also, special tabulations from survey and census data are essential for an analysis of these subgroups.

One other area that could not be adequately covered is that of the activities of voluntary organizations with regard to the status of Pakistani women. There are several small voluntary organizations which are making an effort to improve the conditions of women by providing educational, health or employment services. Information on such organizations was, however, not available to us. Despite these shortcomings, it is hoped that the volume will provide the much needed information on many different aspects of women's life for a majority of Pakistani women.

I would like to acknowledge the help and encouragement that many of my colleagues at the East-West Population Institute (EWPI) provided by suggesting funding sources, commenting on various chapters and discussing various topics. The Institute also provided support services for the project for which I am thankful. Mr. Keith Adamson, Acting Director of the Institute was highly supportive throughout the project, as was Dr. Lee-Jay Cho, Director of the East-West Population Institute. I would also like to acknowledge the contribution of Dr. Robert Retherford, Dr. Peter Smith, Dr. James Fawcett and Dr. Robert Gardner.

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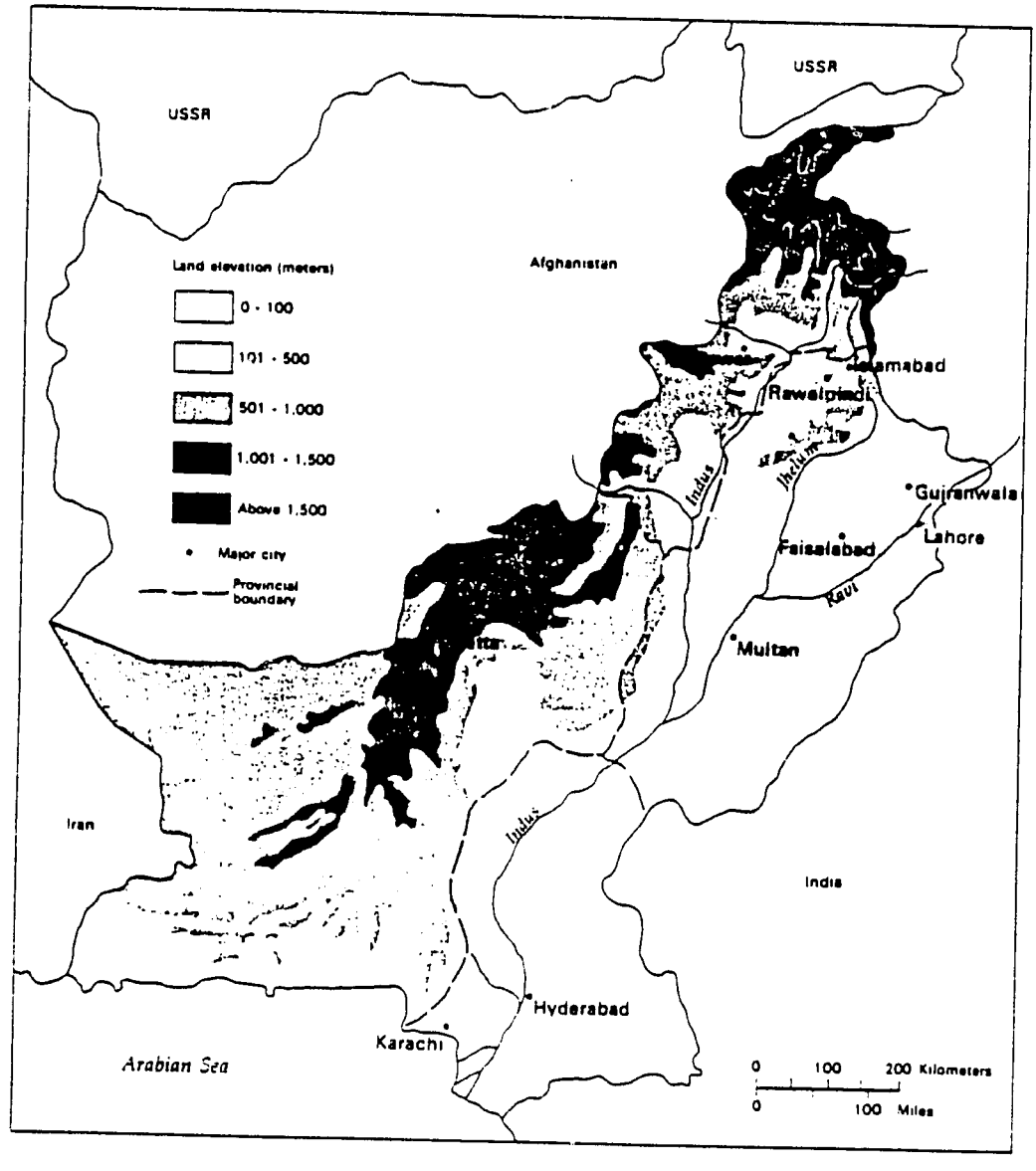
Nasra Mahboob Shah

April 19

General map of Pakistan showing location, land elevation, major cities and rivers.



1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

by

Nasra M. Shah

Women's increased participation in the national development is a theme which has received considerable attention in several developing countries in recent years. Many developing countries around the world are making a planned effort at integrating more women in the development process even though their strategies for accomplishing this may vary widely. A common problem that many of these countries have been faced with during their planning process is the general shortage of reliable and valid information on the current socioeconomic and demographic situation of women. This gap in knowledge is being filled gradually with the growing research on the topic. Another problem that many of these countries are faced with while planning for the integration of women into the development process is the general ambiguity, and sometimes disagreement, about the appropriate roles and the corresponding statuses of women in the development process.

Pakistan is similar to some other developing countries insofar as it does have an explicit policy about integrating women into the development process but suffers from a shortage of reliable and valid information on their socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, which is essential towards achieving this objective. Also, there are no clear-cut guidelines about how exactly women are to be integrated into the development process, and considerable disagreement exists within the country about women's

appropriate roles. The present volume is an attempt at addressing both of the issues stated above. It provides comprehensive data on the current roles and status[1] of Pakistani women and discusses the problems inherent in the redefinitions of the existing situation.

The major focus of the book is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the demographic and socioeconomic status of women over their life cycle. A detailed account of their religious, sociocultural and legal situation is provided by way of background. A holistic appreciation of the current role and status of Pakistani women is possible only when their lives are analysed in entirety, including aspects such as their cultural valuation in the family, community and nation, as well as their demographic and economic roles. The situation of Pakistani women is analysed from a wide perspective with the help of Census and Survey data as well as from religious and legal texts. An effort is then made to identify some of the constraints in possible role redefinition of Pakistani women. Finally, some suggestions and cautions are offered for the sucessful functioning of possible action programs for women. All of the analysis has been done by Pakistani researchers, either working in Pakistan or abroad.

In this introductory chapter, an overview of the Pakistani society is provided; first, in terms of the geographical and political set up, and second in terms of the sociocultural roots of the society. The latter is analysed specifically from the perspective of its influence on the status of Pakistani women. The third section of this chapter contains a brief description of some of the major organizations working towards an improvement in the status of women and discusses some of the current concerns and orientations about the role and status of Pakistani women. The final section presents the organization of the book and a brief discussion of data sources and quality.

I. PAKISTAN: AN OVERVIEW

Pakistan, literally meaning 'the land of the pure,' emerged as an independent nation on August 14, 1947 as a result of the demand for a separate homeland by the muslims of the Indian subcontinent. Pakistan had two wings, East and West, until 1971 when East Pakistan became the independent nation of Bangladesh following serious political turmoil.

The present day Pakistan comprises of an enumerated population of about 83.8 million persons, as of March 1981 (Population Census Organization, 1981), with a land area of 307,374 square miles. Females comprise about 40 million or 47% of the total population. An overwhelming majority (97.2%) of the population is muslim; hindus and christians constitute 1.4% and 1.3% respectively, while parsis, buddhist and people with other religions constitute less than .1% of the population. Geographically and administratively , the country is divided into four provinces: Punjab, Sind, North West Frontier Province (N.W.F.P.) and Baluchistan (see map on p.). Outside the province boundaries, in the northwest corner of Pakistan, there are federally administered Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir and the federally administered tribal areas (F.A.T.A.). Each province is divided into administrative districts of which the country had 62 in the 1981 Census, compared to only 50 in the 1972 Census. Each of the provinces has its own native language: Punjabi, Sindhi, Pushto and Baluchi. Within each language group, there are several dialects. Majority of the people speak their native language as well as urdu which is the national language.

Punjab is the largest province in terms of population size. It has 21 districts with about 56% of the population but only about 26% of the land area while Baluchistan has 44% of the land area but only 5% of the population. Because of the population distribution, Punjab has a very high

density of 229 persons per square kilometer compared with only 12 for Baluchistan. The other two provinces, Sind and N.W.F.P., have densities of 134 and 146 respectively (Population Census Organization, 1981; p. 1).

Pakistan is still a largely agricultural country with about 72 percent of its population living in rural areas and about 57 percent of its civilian labor force employed in agricultural occupations. While rice, cotton, cotton cloth, and carpets remain the major export items, and important sources of foreign exchange, the element of home remittances by Pakistanis (mostly males) employed overseas, particularly in middle eastern oil exporting countries, has registered a sharp increase in the last few years. Remittances consisted of 1.1 billion U.S. dollars in 1977-78 (Planning Commission, 1978, p.55) and exceeded 2.1 billion in 1980-81 (Pakistan Embassy, 1981). This phenomenon of home remittances has important implications for income distribution in the country. Remittances have had a positive impact on visible consumption by the families receiving remittances and the desire to seek employment overseas has been greatly strengthened in recent years.

The gross national product (GNP) per capita at current prices has been estimated to be 270 U.S. dollars in 1981, which although higher than some of the more populated countries like India and Bangladesh, is among the lowest in the world (Population Reference Bureau, 1981). While agricultural activity remains an extremely important segment of the economy it is expected that the proportion of labor force engaged in agriculture will decline gradually. In order to meet the food requirements of a rapidly growing population the government is trying to augment production by increasing cultivable land, improved irrigation systems, large scale efforts towards control of water logging and salinity, multiple cropping, etc.

Politically, the country has undergone several revolutions and transitions since its creation in 1947. With a belief in preserving her as an Islamic Republic and a democratic form of government, the political leaders have made attempts to establish parliamentary as well as presidential democratic systems. Political disturbances and military intervention have, however, made the emergence of a successful democratic system impossible to date, and the country has been under repeated military rule, as at present. The first martial law was imposed in 1958 followed by an attempt at a democratic system when in 1969 the political disturbances led to a second martial law. The third (and present) martial law regime was imposed in 1977 after mass scale civil unrest following the re-election of the late Prime Minister Bhutto to office.

The current Chief Martial Law Administrator, Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, is also the President of the country. He has appointed a cabinet of Ministers and Advisors to help him run the country. At present, there are no elected provincial or national law making bodies and political activities are banned. One step that the Government has taken towards the establishment of local government is the election of about 50,000 local level councillors as representatives of the people; 438 of these councillors are women.

Very recently, the Government has established a Federal Advisory Council, known as Majlis-e-Shura, in December, 1981. The Council will consist of a maximum of 350 members, 287 of which were nominated in December 1981. Representation in this Council has been given to religious scholars, women, farmers, labor and different professional and minority groups. The purpose of instituting the Council is to help create conditions in which the country could attain a democratic Islamic Polity. The function of this body consists of giving advice to the government and

to recommend the enactment of certain laws to the President. The Council would also discuss the five year development plans and make recommendations in this regard. The President has emphasized that the Council is not a substitute for parliament and has been established only to fill the vacuum in the interim period (Pakistan Embassy, 1982).

II. HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE PAKISTANI WOMAN'S CURRENT EXISTENCE

In order to understand many of the cultural priorities, customs, values and beliefs currently prevelant in Pakistan it is essential to understand the historical roots of the society. A brief account of such historical evolution is given below, particularly with regard to females.

Pakistani women live within a culture which is many centuries old. The current institutions, beliefs, attitudes and customs have been shaped and influenced by a long history during which the Indian subcontinent was conquered by Muslim rulers who brought the religion of Islam, which resulted in the conversion of a very sizable minority of local inhabitants to the Islamic faith.[2] The second major landmark is the colonial rule by the British in the Indian subcontinent from the late seventeenth century to 1947 when the subcontinent won independence and Pakistan was created.

Pakistan came into being as the result of a long and bitter struggle for independence from British rule and a division of the Indian sub-continent into two parts, India and Pakistan. Pakistan is an ideological state which resulted from the desire and struggle of the Muslims of the sub-continent to "develop their own distinctive culture and unfold their potentialities by following the Islamic way of life" (Rauf, 1975, p. 59). During the struggle for independence from the British rule, the Muslims of the subcontinent realized that as Muslims they could not

live and practice their religion under the domination of a Hindu majority. The Muslim League, while working jointly with the Congress for independence, had consistently worked on a two-nation theory. An independent-sovereign Muslim state was envisioned as an absolute necessity by the Muslims of the subcontinent so that they may live a life in accordance with the dictates of Islam. The claim of the Muslims of the subcontinent for a separate state was presented by the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the President of the Muslim League, in the following words on March 22, 1940:

> "The Hindus and Muslims belong to the two different religious philosophies, social customs, literature. They neither intermarry nor interdine and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their outlook on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Muslims derive their inspiration from different episodes. Very often the hero of one is the foe of the other, and, likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single State, one as a numerical minority and other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built for the government of such a State." (Saiyyed, 1953, p. 432)

The deep rooted philosophical differences between Hindus and Muslims, as expressed by the founder of the nation were crystalized by the poet-philosopher of the East, Allama Mohammad Iqbal, and were brought to the comprehension of all Muslims as a community. It was perceived by millions of Muslims that the grand design for living according to the dictates of Islam could not be realized in a State that might be controlled by Hindus. This strong feeling is rooted in the long history of the subcontinent during which Islam became a major force in India; and the subcontinent was ruled by Muslims.

While the recognition of the difference between the Muslim and the Hindu way of life constituted a basis for the struggle towards independence, there existed among muslims several customs, traditions,

attitudes and beliefs which had been deeply influenced by the hindu traditions that existed in the subcontinent prior to the advent of Islam. Many such customs and traditions which are non-Islamic in origin as well as spirit, for example, the dowery system, are still followed despite the legislation against them. As stated in a report on the status of women in India, Islam (and Christianity) "had to compromise with local customs and traditions since their followers remained under the influence of pre-conversion social and religious tradition" in pre-partition India (Government of India, 1974, p.38).

Several negative images about the role and status of women existed in the Hindu religion. Such images had traditionally been supported by the local inhabitants prior to conversion. After conversion to Islam, many of those images and beliefs continued to define the role and status of muslim women, and the influence can still be perceived in the present day Pakistan. In India itself, there are several traditions which continue to affect the status of Hindu women in the modern day. The Indian Committee on the Status of Women recounts the influence that the Hindu religion has had on the role definition of Hindu women. A woman is described by a multitude of derogatory attributes in the Hindu religion as being

> "fickle minded, sensual, seducer of men; given to falsehood, trickery, folly, greed, impurity and thoughtless action; root of all evil; inconsistent and cruel. . .

With regard to her appropriate roles, the Hindu religion states,

> "In her childhood a women must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband and when her lord is dead to her son; she must never be independent. Service and obedience to the husband are of paramount importance and a wife has no separate existence of her own. . ."

Furthermore, expectation of immolation on the deceased husband's pyre (sati) by the widow was the extreme limit of the notion that a woman's worth is nil without her husband (Government of India, 1974, pp. 40-41).

Such were the images and beliefs on which the roles and status of the female converts to Islam were based. These were the traditions of the Hindu majority in undivided India. When Islam was adopted in eighth Century A.D. many of the old belief systems of the converts to Islam did not change simultaneously (see chapter 2 for further discussion). During the muslim rule in the subcontinent, some muslim women, particularly from the aristocracy, had access to education and creative expression but the vast majority of the female converts continued to exist within the age old social structure, values and beliefs. Islamic precriptions with regard to rights of women to education, property, approval of marital partner etc. were neither institutionalized nor generally granted. Certain other aspects of the religion, for example, the prescription regarding purdah, were avidly accepted and incorporated into the way of life, partly because they were consistent with the existing belief system. Historically, seclusion of women and their withdrawal from work outside the home were important values held by upper caste hindus (Government of India, 1974, p. 4). Various forms of purdah are still practiced by Hindu women in the present day India (Papanek, 1973).

It would be erroneous to say that the present day status of Pakistani women is determined purely by the historical circumstances, but at the same time the force of tradition and custom must not be undermined in such an analysis. As Papanek states while discussing the differences in hindu and muslim forms of purdah, for example,

> "in the case of South Asian Muslims, the interaction with Hindu society is a particularly crucial point to consider." (Papanek, 1973, p. 309)

II.1 The Muslim Women's Movement

Historically, the basic role of the muslim woman in undivided India had been one of a mother and homemaker. Muslim girls were not encouraged to get educated, since formal (school) education was held in suspicion because of the western, colonial influence on such education. With the efforts of Sir Sayyed Ahmad Khan and other reform movement leaders, more women, particularly from the aristocratic families were sent to school in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of this century. In due course of time many of these women became leaders in the Pakistan movement and thus became visible in public life when they organized political or welfare activities. Several of them travelled to Europe. Many of them abandoned the traditional form of purdah, which consisted of wearing a burqah or veil.[3] As the movement for the creation of Pakistan gained momentum, women gradually became an important part of this movement and in December 1938 a resolution was passed to form an All India Muslim Women's Subcommittee as part of the All India Muslim League.[4]

Many women became mobilized and organized around a cause—the creation of a separate homeland where they could practice an Islamic way of life. Most of the women leaders in the Pakistan movement belonged to very highly placed families, several of whom had received titles from the British rulers.[5] They entered public life under a crises situation and were encouraged to struggle alongside with men for the Pakistan Movement (for a comprehensive and detailed account of the role of Muslim women in the Pakistan Movement see Mirza (1969)).

Involvement in the political struggle led to far reaching changes in the lives of many of these women leaders. A vivid illustration of the changing roles and status of women is provided, for instance, in an

autobiography of one of the women leaders in the Pakistan movement, Begum Shaista Ikramullah (1963). She was one of the first women to be elected to the national assembly in 1946, side by side with men. Daughter of Sir Hasan Suhrawardy, Begum Ikramullah had been raised in a protected, aristocratic household. She was educated in a Christain missionary convent school (which was the cause of much criticism by her relatives) while simultaneously observing purdah outside the school environment. She was an affluent lady of leisure during her early married life until she entered politics. Upon joining the parliament, she writes

> "In the dust and strife of life in the Parliament, I often longed for the peace and leisure of the days in purdah. But there could be no turning back, no return to the secluded and sheltered existence of the past. I had to continue on this new road on which the women of my country had set out, in which one would taste the joy of achievement as well as the bitterness of failure, to know hope and fear, disillusionment and attainment. And who can deny that this is a richer, fuller and more rewarding way of life?" (Ikramullah, 1963, p. 167-168)

After the creation of Pakistan, the crisis assumed a different shape and the women's organizations and committees played a very effective role in providing assistance to the migrant population (refugees) from India who had left all their possessions behind. About six and a half million refugees came to what is now Pakistan (Afzal, 1974, p. 27) and the task of rehabilitation was indeed stupendous. As the crises of refugee resettlement was getting resolved, many of the women who had taken an active part in the Pakistan Movement organized a women's organization known as the All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) in 1949. Begum Liaquat Ali Khan, wife of the then prime minister, became the founder president of APWA while Miss Fatima Jinnah and Begum Nazim-ud-Din became its patrons. Begum Liaquat Ali Khan is still very actively involved in activities of APWA. Today, APWA is one of the largest voluntary organizations of women in Pakistan with a membership of over 20,000 women.

III. CURRENT ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORTS, CONCERNS AND ORIENTATIONS REGARDING WOMEN'S STATUS

While the activities of voluntary organizations, such as APWA, together with government efforts, had made an attempt to improve the status of women, the question of the role and status of women received renewed attention from the government starting from 1975 when Pakistan celebrated the Women's Year as part of the United Nation's Women's Year. Since then, the focus of speeches and general writings seems to have shifted from a 'welfare approach' to a 'developmental approach'. Integration of women in national development is a theme which has been reiterated in many settings by many people. One response by the Government after the 1975 Women's Year was the appointment of the committee on Women's Rights in January 1976. In its report, the committee made several suggestions about the improvement in status of women in the spheres of marriage, divorce, custody of children, employment, family planning, etc. (Law Division, 1976). The committee also recommended that the mimimum legal age at marriage for males be raised to 21 years from 18 years. The Committee called for the establishment of a permanent commission on the status of women. The recommendations of this Commission were not adopted and implemented. However, the present government undertook a major step with regard to status of women. Following the growing demand for some body or commission to deal with women's matters, the present Government established a Women's Division within the Cabinet Secretariet in January, 1979. The main functions of this Division include the following subjects (Women's Division, 1979):

(1) To formulate public policies and laws to meet the special needs of women.

(2) To register and to assist women's organisations.

(3) To undertake and promote projects for providing special facilities for women.

(4) To undertake and promote research on the conditions and problems of women.

(5) To represent the country in international organisations dealing with problems of women and in bilateral contacts with other countries.

(6) To ensure that women's interests and needs are adequately represented in public policy formulation by various organs of Government.

(7) To ensure equality of opportunity in education and employment and the fuller participation of women in all spheres of national life.

As part of the Women's Division's work programme several projects and programmes have been started and many research studies have been contracted out as discussed by Syed in Chapter 12.

In addition to government efforts, organizations such as APWA are an important source for providing social services to women, and for mobilizing them for political or social action. The fundamental objectives of APWA go beyond the purely welfare efforts of the post partition period and consist of the furtherance of the moral, social and economic welfare of the women and children of Pakistan. APWA has established a number of institutions to meet these objectives. Even though APWA is the idea of women who have played a non-traditional role in the evolution of the country, the philosophy of APWA is not radical. APWA represents a group of women who seek gradual changes in the conditions of women but entirely within the context of Islamic culture (Chipp, 1970).

This group of women, and others like it, have drawn criticism from many different people, particularly the more conservative ones. Some reasons for the criticism, in my judgment, date back to the pioneering and non-traditional roles that these women took up, including an abandonment of traditional forms of purdah. The welfare activities of the APWA 'ladies' were (and still are) sometimes ridiculed by some as frivolous diversions of affluent women who have nothing else to while away their time. The Government has, however, been quite sympathetic to the efforts of APWA and has allocated large subsidies for its projects.

Apart from voluntary organizations like APWA, the following special purpose women's organizations have also emerged in recent years.

1. The Pakistan Women's Institute at Kinnaird College, Lahore was inaugurated in March 1975. The primary aim of the Pakistan Women's Institute is "to create an awareness among the educated women of Pakistan, of the role they can play in the socioeconomic development of the country" (Kazi, 1977, p.4). The Institute is primarily a research center and also serves a training need by providing career counselling and job placement of students.

2. The Women's Resource Centre/Shirkat Gah has Centres in Karachi and Islamabad. The Women's Resource Center/Shirkat Gah serves a research function and has published an annotated bibliography of women in Pakistan (Ayub, 1978). Several other bibliographies on Pakistani women have been prepared; some of the more comprehensive ones are by Mayo (1976), Helbock (1975) and Alauddin (1976).

3. Women's Action Forum: This group has recently been organized by women in Karachi. The forum is concerned with several different aspects of women's status in Pakistan which were discussed in a symposium arranged by the Forum in January, 1982 (Dawn Overseas, 1982).

In general, most people would agree that more Pakistani women are conscious about their possible career roles today than they were three decades ago; more people are concerned about how to redefine female roles so that women can make a greater contribution to the development and growth of Pakistan; and, relatively more concrete steps towards role definition are being taken than before. This relatively high degree of interest, however, does not imply that a clearcut strategy towards the role redefinition of Pakistani women is necessarily being implemented or is even present in the country. General principles with regard to certain elements in women's status (e.g. education or participation in selected occupations) are agreed upon and are being translated into action programs by the Government. There is, however, no coherent statement or policy which may outline what the appropriate role of an average Pakistani woman should be; how exactly should she be involved or "integrated" into the overall development of the country; or, what aspects of the attitudes and behavior of individuals and groups need to be changed in order to achieve an improvement in the status of Pakistani women.

At a recent National Conference of Women in Islamabad the President, General Zia-ul-Haq, stated that there are several questions which need to be answered with regard to the role of women in establishing an Islamic society in Pakistan and suggested that the participants deliberate upon them (Dawn, October 29, 1980). More specifically, he asked:

- What role can the women play in establishing an Islamic society in Pakistan?
- What will be their obligations and rights in Islamic Society and how can these rights be effectively protected?
- Which are those un-Islamic customs and traditions which militate against the rights of women and what steps can be taken to do away with them?
- What type of an administrative structure is needed to enable women to play an effective role in the national reconstruction, and how can it be set up?
- What measures should be adopted to establish special educational institutions for women for their religious education and training at higher level and how resources can be generated for it?
- What ways and means may be adopted to do away with the indifference and inattention from which the women are suffering in the fields of education, health and general services? What services can the women render in the Jehad (planned, deliberate struggle) for the eradication of ignorance, poverty and disease from the country?

These questions by the President clearly indicate that many of the basic issues with regard to a redefinition of the role and status of Pakistani women are still unanswered. Any comprehensive policy must therefore deal with the basic conceptual and administrative issues in the process of redefinition.

IV. ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

The book has thirteen chapters and is divided into four major sections. The first section, part I, deals with the religious, cultural and legal

roles and status of Pakistani women. The second section, part II, analyses their demographic situation in terms of the population composition, fertility, mortality, marriage and migration. The third section, part III, focusses on their socioeconomic situation in terms of health and nutritional status, education, employment, and fertility control and desires. Finally, part IV includes an analysis of the governmnent programs for women and a summary and conclusions of the study.

The analysis, where possible, has been done from the perspective of the women's life cycle. For example, Chapter 2 analyzes the roles of women as a daughter, wife and mother—roles which correspond with significant phases of the Pakistani woman's life cycle. Similarly, her health is viewed at various stages in the life cycle—as a child, and as an adult, child-bearing individual. The factor of age is frequently used as a control variable throughout the analysis: women's educational achievements, employment status, family planning behaviour, migration patterns, mortality and fertility are all analysed by age.

The analysis has attempted to present the trends in certain behaviours and growth of institutions since Pakistan came into existence. Data from two or more censuses and surveys have frequently been used to establish trends in behaviours such as employment, migration, contraceptive use, etc.

Each chapter has a summary at the end to facilitate a quick review. The footnotes and references for each chapter are at the end of the chapter. Additional relevant references which are not cited in any of the chapters but are useful for a study of Pakistani women are given in the Appendix C at the end of the book.

Male-Female Comparisons

A comparison of the female situation with that of male has usually been provided throughout the volume. At times, the female situation has been given more emphasis and has been highlighted relative to the male situation, but data on both are available in majority of the tabulations for a more detailed comparison by the reader. The availability of male as well as female data in most tabulations should enable the use of the volume by a wider audience, both of researchers and policy makers.

V. DATA SOURCES AND DATA QUALITY

The empirical data for this book are drawn from a number of census and survey materials. A description of the coverage and content of the major data sources is provided in Appendix A. For a quick reference to the major sources of demographic data and their content, the reader may refer to Table 1 in Chapter 5 (page). Sources on which the bulk of the analysis in the present study is based include: the Censuses of Pakistan of 1951, 1961 and 1972; the Housing Economic and Demographic (HED) Survey of 1973; the Population Growth Surveys (PGS); the Labour Force Surveys (LFS); the Pakistan Fertility Survey, 1975 (PFS); the National Impact Survey 1968-69 (NIS). Various other surveys by government and non-government departments are used and cited as appropriate.

Quality of demographic and socioeconomic data in Pakistan is an issue with which researchers as well as policy makers have been concerned for many years. The problems of age misreporting, underreporting of certain members of the family such as females, underreporting of certain activities such as female economic activity, definitional problems etc. have been the subject of repeated enquiry (e.g. see Krotki and Hashmi, 1977; Shah et al.,

1977). In the present study, different data sets have been compared to establish trends and also to check the reliability of information. In some cases, rather large discrepancies in data provided by different sources have been found. In such cases the findings should be treated with caution. An attempt has, however, been made to use the available information in as careful a fashion as possible.

Footnotes

1. No single definition of role and status of women may be sufficient to describe the present analysis. In general, the analysis in the book has been influenced by the definition of roles and status as discussed by Oppong (1980) and by Dixon (1978). The term "status" is used here generally to denote firstly, an access to resources such as education, gainful employment and health services etc.; and secondly, the position (or power, prestige and authority) that a woman has in various situations. The term "role" refers to the various behaviors and activities that a woman performs in relation to her status in a given situation. Oppong's framework of the seven roles of women has been used to summarize the findings in Chapter 13.

2. At present, about one-fifth of the total population of India is muslim, while almost all (97.5%) of the population of Pakistan and about 90% of the population of Bangladesh is muslim.

3. The traditional form of purdah consists of wearing the burqah or an overgarment to cover the whole body including the face.

4. Muslim league was the political party which was instrumental in creation of Pakistan.

5. Such as "Sir" or "Lady".

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FEMALE ROLE AND STATUS IN ISLĀM: PRESCRIPTION AND REALITY

by
Makhdoom A. Shah

I. INTRODUCTION

The objective of this paper is to examine the role and status of women in Pakistan, a Republic with Islām as her state religion. The role and status of women will be examined from the perspective of "prescription" or the role as defined in Islām and compared with the actual practices or the "reality." The prescriptive role will be derived from the injunctions of two basic sources of the law of Islām: Qur'ān, the divinely revealed book and the Hadīth - the words and deeds of the holy Prophet, Muhammad (peace be upon him - pbuh).

The paper is arranged in the following sections. It starts with a brief background of the status of women in the Hindu culture, and the historical influence of Islām in undivided India. This is deemed necessary to fully appreciate the differences - real as well as perceived - between the prescription and the reality. The next section deals with the prescription and defining in broad terms the role and status of women in Islām. Finally, the differences and gap between the reality and the prescription is examined under "Reality." The role and status is examined and analyzed from the perspective of a life cycle. Woman is seen as a daughter, wife, and a mother contrasted to man being seen as a son, husband, and a father.

Any discussion of the role and status of women is bound to raise one question: Is the prescription considered "optimal" to define the role and status of women to participate effectively in the modern times? I believe, based on my understanding of Islām vis ā vis other religions, that Islām as a way of life is optimally adequate and sufficient to define the limits of the role and status of women (and men) to live up to the needs and challenges of the modern, present day world. This belief is based on my conviction that Islām's major characteristic is the establishment of the community (Umma) (Rahmān, 1966). As Rahmān (1965, pp. 1-84) has argued, Qur'ānic teachings and Prophetic Sunnah prepares us to face the new forces and their impacts.

II. BACKGROUND

Islām, as is well known to the Muslims and to the well informed non-muslims, is a "DEEN" and not merely a religion. Deen, an Arabic word, refers to a complete way of life covering every aspect of the life of each individual and the community. Islām - the complete submission to the will of Allāh (God) - goes beyond the national, racial, linguistic, and color distinction and constitutes a Muslim Ummah or a Muslim nation.

Islām, as a religion, came to India in 711 A.D. when Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim conquered Sind and Multan (Raūf, 1975, p. 45). The major impact of Islām came during the years 999 A.D. to 1050 A.D. with the conquests of Mahmūd Ghaznavī (Sharīf, 1975, p. 5). There is a general concensus among scholars and historians that by the year 1206 A.D. most of India was under Muslim control. Millions of Indians - Hindūs, Christians, Buddhists, Parsīs - converted to Islām over the years. These new Muslims had followed their old cultures before converting to Islām. Many of them, followed some

elements of the Hindū culture in their everyday life even after they became Muslims. In the following we have briefly analyzed some of the pertinent elements of Hindū culture as these relate to the role and status of women in order to understand its impact on the roles and status of Muslim women in Pakistan.

Women in Hinduism and in Hindustan

The status accorded to women in the Hindū religion in Hindustan (India) has historically been low. The roots of that lie in the instructions of the classical law-giver. Manu, according to the research conducted by Carmody (1979), considers woman as wicked and as corrupt as falsehood itself. Carmody (1979, pp. 40-46) reports that in earlier Hindū religion, female deities have historically been considered frequently negative and are normally associated with disease and disaster. The Vedic woman's most honored role, according to Carmody, was that of a docile wife. To be born as a woman, historically, has been viewed as a result of a bad "KARMA" (bad luck).

Majumdar (1972), an Indian scholar, in his study of Indian culture, has analyzed the element of social movement in relation to other components of culture; and in that process of analysis he refers to the sayings of the classical law-giver, Manu, as these relate to woman. One pertinent passage as quoted by Majumdar is as follows:

> "A woman when her husband is dead may, if she chooses, emaciate her body by subsisting on flowers, roots and fruits, but she should not even take the name of a strange male. Till her death she should be forbearing, observe vows, should be celibatic and should strive after that superbly eminent code of conduct that is prescribed for women devoted to their husbands." (Majumdar, 1972, p. 4)

The role and status that a woman may enjoy due to the socio-economic status to which her family belongs, is rooted in the Hindū caste system which assigns certain castes, such as sūdrās, a very low status in society Majumdar (1972, p. 13).

The restrictions on the female for remarrying after the death of her husband, although strictly forbidden in Islām, are still practiced in many Pakistani families. Although Pakistan does not have any untouchables, the hierarchy of castes is very much in existence; and it limits the available opportunities to certain families and therefore affects the role and status of men as well as women negatively in such families as discussed in the Appendix.

Islāmic culture came to India in 711 A.D., as mentioned earlier. It touched and affected the lives of millions over the next one thousand years.[1] While millions adopted and followed Islāmic culture in the fine tradition of Muhammad bin Qāsim, Mahmūd Ghaznavi, Babur and Aurangzeb, millions of others made a wedlock of the Islāmic culture with the centuries old Hindū culture. That explains, partly, the basis of a rather distorted notion of the role and status of women among many Pakistani families.

Muslims, while remaining loyal to the fundamentals of Islām, assimilated many aspects of Hindūism in their daily lives.[2] It is not uncommon, for example, to see that many Muslims of India incorporated some of the magico-ritual practices like astrology into their otherwise Islāmic culture (e.g., see Gokak, 1971; and Sharīf, 1975). There are some who argue (e.g., Ahmad, 1967; Mujtabaī, 1978) that Islām in India over the centuries has gone through a process of "naturalization" and in the process it has adapted to the Indian environment and has developed its own characteristics. While there is no room for such a naturalization for an

informed practicing Muslim, it is not uncommon to find that the rites and rituals performed at the time of birth, coming of age, marriage, and death have a magico-ritualistic flavor[3] to them in clear defiance of Islāmic injunctions.

III. ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN IN ISLĀM: THE PRESCRIPTION

We may recall here that the prescription will be drawn from the Qur'ān and Hadīth. Qur'ān is the holy book of the Muslims, revealed by Allāh (God) to His servant and Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) and Hadīth is the sayings and deeds of the Prophet (pbuh) which have been compiled and documented by various scholars based on reports of the companions of the Prophet (pbuh). For the most part the prescription governing the major aspects of human life has clearly been described in the holy book, Qur'ān.* However, there are some areas, for example, the respect for the sexual needs and desires of husband and wife, etc. on which Hadīth provides greater depth and detail. There are a number of verses (Āyāt) in the holy book and numerous Ahādīth (the plural for Hadīth) pertaining to each of the aspects that will be discussed in this paper. An effort has been made to cite only a few of the relevant injunctions from the Qur'ān on all major aspects of the study. Additional directives from Hadīth have been documented where deemed necessary.

It was observed at the outset that the analysis will be from a perspective of the life cycle. While that framework will be preserved, the

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* The Qur'ānic verses in the text have been taken from Pickthal's (1977) translation. The consistencies and the validity has been checked by referring to the translation of the Holy Qur'ān by Abdullah Yūsuf Alī (n.d.).

role and status of woman, circumscribed and defined in the Qur'ān can be viewed from the following three perspectives:

a. aspects dealing with equality;

b. aspects dealing with built-in safeguards; and

c. aspects dealing with the elements of differences.

III.1 Aspects Dealing with Equality

There are a number of verses that signify that Allāh, the Creator, sees no difference or superiority and inferiority between man and woman with regard to His design (of creation), expectations of acceptable deeds and the rewards for those. Some of the salient injunctions in this connection are presented and briefly discussed below.

Man and woman have been created from a single soul. Adam was created first and then Eve was created and Allāh expresses His desire for creation in very clear terms. The woman was created so that the man may take rest in her. The following verse from Sūrat Al-A'rāf points out that man was to take rest in his mate. If anything, the entity that provides rest and comfort can be seen as having a greater emotional ability and cannot be inferior.

> "He it is Who did create you from a single soul, and therefrom did make his mate that he might take rest in her." (S. VII, V. 189).*

In another verse in Sūrat At-Taubah Allāh has given another characteristic of men and women in His expression of the role of the two in a relationship of friendship:

> "And the believers, men and women, are protecting friends one of another...." (S. IX, V. 71).

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* S. stands for Sūrat (section) and V. stands for verse within the Sūrat in this and all subsequent quotations for the Muslim holy book, the Qur'ān.

The elements of friendship and love and affection as these can and should be enjoyed between husbands and wives have been emphasized time and again. In Sūrat Ar-Rūm, Allāh expresses His signs in the following words:

> "And of His signs is this: He created for you mates from your selves that ye might find rest in them, and He ordained between you love and mercy...." (S. XXX, V. 21).

The love and benevolence, according to various scholars and commentators of the glorious Qur'ān (e.g. Ali, n.d., Maudūdī, 1979) implies love and benevolence not only between spouses but also amongst Muslims and other human beings.

Almighty Allāh has revealed His kindness, expectation and the reward for men and women in absolutely equal terms. While the roles for man and woman in the daily routines of life are bound to be different, the basic respect and recognition attached to these roles, as contained in the holy book is the same and equal. A noteworthy element pertaining to the equality of rights between husbands and wives can be seen in a verse from Sūrat Al-Baqarah:

> "...And they (women) have rights similar to those (of men) over them in kindness, and men are a degree above them. Allāh is Mighty, Wise (S. II, V. 228).[4]

The equality in rewards for the good deeds that any Muslim, male or female, may do are absolutely equal and so are the expectations that Allāh has from His creation. Some of the pertinent injunctions in this regard are:

> "Whosoever doth right, whether male or female, and is a believer, him (her) verily We shall quicken with good life, and We shall pay them a recompense in proportion to the best of what they used to do." (S. XVI, V. 97).

Another clear injunction with regard to expectations that God has set for the believer men and women and their reward is in Sūrat Al-Ahzāb.

> "Lo! men who surrender unto Allāh, and women who surrender, and men who believe and women who believe, and men who obey and women who obey, and men who speak the truth and women who speak the truth, and men who preserve (in righteousness) and women who preserve, and men who are humble and women who are humble, and men who give alms and women who give alms, and men who fast and women who fast, and men who guard their modesty and women who guard (their modesty), and men who remember Allāh much and women who remember - Allāh hath prepared for them forgiveness and a vast reward." (S. XXXIII, V. 35).

The acid test of equality in a social setting is possible when the weak have the same rights and protections as the strong. Historically, woman has been the target of male supremacy. While all of the above citations point to the equality that Allāh has ordained for the followers of Islām, the injunction in Sūrat An-Nūr is a perfect example of equality between husband and wife in the eyes of the Creator. The verses refer to a situation in which a husband may accuse his wife of indecent behavior involving another man. This calls for a punishment according to the Islāmic law if the husband swears (by Allāh) that the allegation is true. Since the situation under reference implies no witnesses, the husband's testimony will be deemed equal to four witnesses—a necessary condition for carrying out the punishment. The equality is guaranteed through the provision that (in the absence of witnesses) the punishment will stand averted if the wife swears by Allāh to the effect that the allegation is false. (See S. XXIV, verses 6-9). Some other pertinent aspects of equality with regard to the roles of females as daughter, wife and mother are discussed below.

Women as Daughters

The holy book has no injunction where one may see a difference in terms of the love and affection that one is supposed to give to male and female children. In one injunction, respect for life of children was revealed in connection with the murdering of children which was practiced in the old Arab world. Allāh, in Sūrat Al-Asrā, commands:

> "Slay not your children, fearing a fall to poverty. We shall provide for them and for you. Lo! the slaying of them is great sin." (S. XVII, V. 31).

Here, no mention is made of the gender of the child. But in another injunction (S. LXXXI, Vs. 8, 9) the Creator of the universe specifically forbids the murdering of female children, which was practiced during the pagan Arab days. This injunction condemns the practice under which the Arabs used to bury their daughters alive prior to the dawning of Islām. The practice of female infanticide is condemned by Allāh, the Almighty, in scathing terms in Sūrat An-Nahl:

> "When if one of them receiveth tidings of the birth of a female, his face remaineth darkened, and he is wroth inwardly. He hideth himself from the folk because of the evil of what whereof he hath tidings, (asking himself): Shall he keep it in contempt, or bury it beneath the dust! Verily evil is their judgement." (Sūrat XVI, Verses 58-59)

We can refer to one other injunction from the Qur'ān in which Allāh says that He will bestow male or female children on whom He wants to. Let's refer to a couple of verses of Sūrat Ash-Shūrā:

> "Unto Allāh belongeth the sovereignity of the heavens and the earth. He createth what He will. He bestoweth female (offspring) upon whom He will, and bestoweth male (offspring) upon whom He will: or He mingleth them, males and females, and He maketh barren whom He will. Lo! He is Knower, Powerful." (S. XLII, Vs. 49-50).

It is amply clear from these verses that the Creator does not see any difference in terms of His ranking of liking or approval of one gender over the other.

The Prophet of Islām (pbuh), as we know from the accounts of his life, had great affection for children. He is reported to stop, while walking, to pat the children. Nowhere does one find that he showed more affection to male over the female children. There is ample evidence from the sayings of the Prophet of Islām (pbuh) that a daughter is a source of blessings for the parents. Let us examine some of the ahādīth in this respect. One of the finest illustrations of the Prophet's views on the birth of daughters is found in the writings of Imām Gazzālī. He asserts (Gazzālī, Ihyā, n.d., Vol II, pp. 47-48) that "it is not good to be pleased with the birth of a son and displeased with the birth of a daughter." And then he refers to a number of ahādīth of the Prophet (pbuh):

> "If a man has got a daughter, teaches her good manners, gives her good food and gives charity to her out of what God has given him, she becomes the cause of fortune to him and makes the path to paradise easy for him after saving him from Hell fire."

Imām Gazzālī reports another hadīth, in which the Prophet is reported as saying:

> "If a man has got two daughters or sisters teaches them good manners up to their marriage, he and I will be in paradise like these two fingers."

Another hadīth reported by Gazzālī is extremely relevant to the situation in Pakistan, where, as we shall discuss, there is a difference in the treatment that girls receive compared to boys in most families. The Prophet of Islām (pbuh) is reported to have said:

> "If a Muslim goes to market, purchases something and after returning home gives it first to his daughters and not to sons, God will look at him[5] and God will not punish one to whom He will look."

While there are a number of ahādīth related to the treatment of daughters or sisters as it should be accorded, the following hadīth, reported by Imām Gazzālī, is, in my opinion, very adequate and appropriate regarding the treatment that female children should be accorded:

> "He who incurs pleasure of his daughter will get rewards of weeping in fear of God. If a man weeps for fear of God, God makes his body unlawful for Hell."

Woman as Wife

Another aspect of life in which man and woman have been given equal rights pertains to approval or disapproval for mate selection. The prescription with regard to the mate selection as contained in the tradition of the Prophet of Islām (pbuh) is quite clearly indicative of equality. The Prophet of Islām (pbuh) is reported by Abdallāh ibn Amr, (as narrated by Muslim) as saying: "The whole world is to be enjoyed, but the best thing in the world is a good woman." (Robson, 1975, p. 658). We can infer a couple of truths from this hadīth: First, the emotional component in a relationship (obviously within the bond of marriage) that a woman can provide is rated as the highest of the delights of the world. Secondly, the delight that a Muslim is to enjoy with his wife should be from a "good" woman; and a good woman is the one that follows the dictates and injunctions of Islām. Another crucial inference from this hadīth is that a man is allowed to marry a woman of his choice. But the religion of Islām also gives clear rights to the woman with regard to mate selection. While Islām does not allow the open and uninhibited "get-to-know" process as practiced in many parts of the world through dating and even common-law living before the wedding, it clearly gives all the rights to a woman that

her approval for mate selection must be secured. The following ahādīth illustrate this clearly.

Bukhārī and Muslim have transmitted on the authority of Abū Huraira who reported Allāh's messenger (pbuh) as saying, "A woman without a husband[6] must not be married till she is consulted, and a virgin must not be married till her permission is asked." (Robson, 1975, p. 665).

While the woman has been given complete freedom in terms of her approval of the mate that the parents or guardians may select, Islām provides considerable emphasis on a marriage as not just a relationship between two individuals—the husband and the wife—but a cohesive relationship between two families - those of the bride and the groom. Let's refer to another hadīth that must be read in conjunction with the previous one. This signifies the role that parents or guardians are to be accorded by the consenting partners in a marital union. Ahmad ibn, Hanbal Tirmidhī, Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Mājah, and Dārimī transmitted on the authority of Ā'isha, wife of the holy prophet, who reported Allāh's messenger (pbuh) as saying, "If any woman marries without the consent of her guardian, her marriage is void, her marriage is void, her marriage is void...." (Robson, 1975, p. 666). Thus we can see that the religion of Islām allows complete freedom to the woman to express her approval or disapproval for the mate that may be selected by her parents for her. By inference, the woman can express to her parents or guardians her wish to marry a given person. But at the same time each person is supposed to accord respect to the approval of the parents in the process of mate selection. It is the considered opinion of those learned in the art of interpretation of hadīth that the approval of parents remains a must in all cases.[7] It is argued that this provision is to ensure a proper selection of the right and proper mate, the

chances of which are enhanced through the experience and farsightedness of the parents or the guardians. One other hadīth that signifies the importance of the approval of the girl for her marriage is as follows. As transmitted by Bukharī, a woman was married against her wishes and when the woman reported the matter to the Prophet (pbuh) expressing her unwillingness for the union, he revoked her marriage.[8] The Prophet of Islām (pbuh) has urged that the man should see the woman that he wants to marry as transmitted in the writings of several Muslim scholars. This implies that the woman would also see the man.[9]

The Islāmic prescription with regard to duties and rights of spouses is based on just equality. As far as the prescription is concerned, a woman has four obligations that she must fulfill. These according to Qutb (1964, pp. 200-210) and Gazzālī; Ihyā, (n.d., Book II, pp. 50-52), as ascribed by the Prophet of Islām (pbuh) himself are: (i) she should satisfy her husband's sexual needs when he should want, (ii) should not allow anyone to defile the bed of her husband, (iii) should be faithful to him in his absence, and (iv) should not wastefully spend out of his property and earnings. In addition, she has the responsibility of being a good mother and educator to her children. These obligations, it may be observed, are to be reciprocated by the husband as well. He must respond to her sexual needs, provide her food, clothing and must not treat her in a manner devoid of kindness, respect and understanding. Let's examine some of the pertinent ahādīth in this respect.

Ahmad, Abū Dāwūd, and Ibn Mājah have transmitted that the Prophet of Islām (pbuh) was asked by the father of Hakim bin Mu'awiya al-Qushairī as to what rights can any wife demand of her husband. To that the Prophet (pbuh) replied, "That you should give her food when you eat, clothe her

when you clothe yourself, not strike her on the face, and do not revile her or separate from her except in the house (Robson, 1975, pp. 691-692)".[10] To take another example, Abū Dāwūd transmitted on the authority of Abū Huraira that the Prophet (pbuh) said, "The believers who show the most perfect faith are those who have the best disposition and the best of you are those who are best to their wives (Robson, 1975, p. 692)." Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Mājah and Dārimī have transmitted another hadīth in which the Prophet of Islām (pbuh) told his companions that those who maltreat and beat their wives "are not the best among you."

The equality, in Islām, has been ordained through the mechanism of mutual obligations and rights. Most of the injunctions, it may be appreciated, are embodied around a sense of justice, fairness, kindness, and understanding between the spouses. The general subject of mutual rights and obligations has been considered so important by the Prophet of Islām (pbuh) that one can find numerous specific instructions on subjects that may seem very trivial but in fact have great impact on the strength of relationship between husband and wife. We can refer to some of the comments by Imām Gazzālī (n.d., Book II, pp. 32-52) based on the tradition of the Prophet of Islām (pbuh) in this connection. The husband has been urged to be kind to his wife even in circumstances where a wife may accord ill-treatment to the husband, just as a wife has been urged to be kind to the husband in case he may accord her ill-treatment. This rather broad direction can ensure a harmonious relationship between the two. One can find aspects such as the instructions to the husband that at the time of sexual intercourse he must not separate from the wife to ensure that she has had an orgasm. Thus, we can see that the prescription provides a

balancing mechanism in relationships to ensure harmonious, cordial and affectionate relationship.

Woman as Mother

Woman as a mother has been accorded the highest respect that any person is supposed to accord in any relationship. God has ordained in Sūrat Al-Isrā that children should give respect and kindness to the parents. The relevant verses state:

> "Thy Lord hath decreed, that ye worship none Save Him, and (that ye show) kindness to parents. If one of them or both of them attain to old age with thee, say not "fie" unto them nor repulse them, but speak unto them a gracious word. And lower unto them the wing of submission through mercy, and say: My Lord! Have mercy on them both as they did care for me when I was little." (Sūrat XVII, Vs. 23-24).

Note that the verse under reference is an ordainment from Allāh, the Almighty to ensure kind treatment to both the parents without any distinction. Kindness to mother has specially been emphasized by God in Sūrat Al-Ahqāf (Surat XLVI, Verse 15). The respect that children are supposed to accord to their mother has been emphasized by the Prophet of Islām in very clear terms. It has been reported by Muslim and Bokhārī that a man asked the Prophet of Islām as to who had the first claim to his good treatment? The Prophet (pbuh) replied, "Your mother." The man asked: "And then who?" The Prophet replied: "Then your mother!" The man once again asked: "And then?" The Prophet said, "Then your father" (Robson, 1975, p. 1024).

To conclude the section on equality of rights of women, it may be observed that a woman has the right to education to the extent that Islām makes it obligatory for both men and women to acquire knowledge. She has the right to approve or disapprove the mate selected for her and she has

the right to express her desires in terms of the selection. She has been given the right to acquire property and go out for work in case she has to. The Prophet of Islām, as transmitted by Bokhārī, did take Rabī, daughter of Mas'ūd and other women with him when he went on expeditions of war (Al-Ali et al., 1960, Vol. II, pp. 87-88). They were to give first aid to the wounded and assist in the preparation of meals. Umm Sulaim and some other women were allowed by the Prophet (pbuh), as narrated by Anas B. Mālik, to give water to soldiers and treat the wounded (Siddiqi, 1978, p. 1001). Above all, men, be those fathers, husbands or children, are supposed to accord respect and kindness to women. The Prophet of Islām (pbuh) is reported by his wife Ā'isha, to have assisted her in the household chores, he patched his own clothes and washed them himself.

III.2 Aspects Dealing with Safeguards

The role and status of women all over the world has been viewed as one step below that of man. The position of women, is therefore, prone to abuse by male members of the society. The Qur'ān clearly builds safeguards into the social system to ensure that a woman in a Muslim society, where all the laws are in accordance with the injunctions of Islām, may not suffer. The following verses are noteworthy.

Sūrat An-Nisā is devoted mostly to women and their rights. One of the most pertinent verses in it deals with the context in which God has forbidden men to take women against their will. Historically, men in different societies have followed the social norm that if a husband dies, the close relatives like the brothers of the deceased man may marry the widow. Such an arrangement is still used in a number of societies; and this is to ensure that the property may not go out of the family. Islām forbids such an act. It does not allow women to be taken against their will. The injunction states:

> "O ye who believe! It is not lawful for you forcibly to inherit the women (of your deceased kinsmen), nor (that)ye should put constraint upon them that ye may take away a part of that which ye have given them, unless they be guilty of flagrant lewdness. But consort with them in kindness, for if ye hate them, it may happen that ye hate a thing wherein Allāh hath placed much good." (S. IV, V. 19).

The second part of the verse implies that if a woman has become a widow, the relatives of the deceased husband, be those brothers, sons or any other, should not take back from the woman the dower that the husband had given her. The implication is to ensure that the woman may have complete freedom to live with the dower without remarrying or may marry without any constraint.

In any society which respects and cherishes the holy bond of marriage, and does not allow any sexual contact between any two individuals except in marriage, there are chances of a slander on the weaker of the two sexes, the woman. The Creator in His infinite wisdom has perceived the psychology of His creation and has ordained the necessary safeguards to protect women. The slander on women has been condemned in the strongest words in Sūrat An-Nūr.

> "Lo! as for those who slander virtuous, believing women (who are) careless, cursed are they in the world and the Hereafter. Theirs will be an awful doom." (S. XXIV, V. 23).

Slander, it may be recognized, is totally forbidden irrespective of whom it is aimed against. Muslims, men as well as women, are forbidden any careless remark, action or expression that may hurt the feelings of another human being. But the specific mention of women in the verses referred to above signifies the safeguard provided to women in Islām.

III.3 <u>Aspects Dealing with Differences</u>

There are certain areas regarding the role and status where the expectations from women and men are different. This does not imply,

however, that women are inferior or that men are superior. The differences have been given to us by the Creator, Himself, and they serve the function of necessary safeguards at the societal level. The relative advantages and contributions of these differences as safeguards will be examined individually with each of the elements of differences. Let me emphasize here that in Islām the community is seen as more important than the individuals.[11] Almost all of the scholars of Islām have emphasized the need to have a harmonious community and society and as such the conduct of individuals is always judged more from the perspective of the service that individuals render to the creation of a harmonious community. (Raūf 1965, 1975; Siddiqī 1970; and Iqbāl 1962.)

The requirements or the expectations from women are different compared to those from men on the following aspects:

1. The number of spouses and divorce
2. Purdah (commonly known in the West as "veiling")
3. Inheritance
4. Witness

In the following we present the injunctions with regard to each of these elements. Besides discussing the Qur'ānic text I have attempted to provide a rationale for some apparent differences which may seem discriminatory at a first glance.

Marriage, Divorce and the Number of Spouses: A Muslim male may marry up to four wives under very strict provisions, but a woman cannot have more than one husband. Allāh, the Almighty, says in Sūrat An-Nisā':

> "And if ye fear that ye will not deal fairly by the orphans, marry of the women, who seem good to you, two or three or four; and if ye fear that ye cannot do justice (to so many) then one (only) or (the captives) that your right hands possess. Thus it is more likely that ye will not do injustice." (S. IV, V. 3).

However, in the same Sūrat there are additional injunctions which caution against the inability of man to give equal treatment to more than one wife.

> "Ye will not be able to deal equally between (your wives), however much ye wish (to do so). But turn not altogether away (from one), leaving her as in suspense. If ye do good and keep from evil, lo! Allāh is ever Forgiving, Merciful." (S. IV, V. 129).

While there is a provision for more than one wife, the actual spirit of the Qur'ān, as seen from the above injunctions, is strongly in favor of monogamy. The Creator Himself points out that His creation, the males, will not be able to accord and administer full justice. In my opinion, the provision is meant only to guard against an emergency situation such as a major war which may cause a surplus of females over males. Islām, as pointed out earlier, wants a harmonious society and as such there is no room for sexual vulgarity, which is quite possible if there is an excess of women and some of them are not married. But it is obvious that in spirit, Islām under normal circumstances is inclined towards monogamy.

Another aspect in which there is a difference concerns the provision of a divorce. There is a common misconception that Islām does not allow a woman the right to divorce her husband. There is no doubt that Islām gives more freedom to a husband to divorce his wife but the wife also has the right to seek a divorce. In referring to the rights of women to seek divorce, let us understand that divorce is allowed as a mechanism to separate from a union that may run into an unbearable state. The right to divorce is, however, most grudgingly provided by the Creator, Himself. It has been transmitted by Abū Dāwūd that Ibn Umar reported the Prophet of Islām (pbuh) to say: "The lawful thing which Allāh hates most is divorce" (Robson, 1975, p. 696). In terms of the legal provision safeguarding the rights of woman to give divorce, Islām, according to Qutb (1964, pp.

217-218), explicitly allows a woman to secure the right to divorce her husband at the time of entering into the marriage contract with him. In case a woman believes that for some strong reason she hates her husband and that her hatred is incurable, she may demand a divorce. This is amply supported by the life of the Prophet (pbuh) in the sense that women demanded divorce from their husbands and he facilitated such a dissolution of the marriage contract. In case a woman wants a divorce from her husband, she has the option to seek divorce without the option of keeping the dower (which may cause some motivation for the male to facilitate the dissolution of the union). In case the judge handling such a case feels that the woman has been treated in a way that the dower should be retained by the wife and the divorce should also be carried out, it is permissible.

With regard to the process and procedure of divorce the following injunctions from Sūrat Al-Baqarah are relevant:

> "And if they decide upon divorce (let them remember that) Allāh is Hearer, Knower.
>
> "Women who are divorced shall wait, keeping themselves apart, three (monthly) courses. And it is not lawful for them that they should conceal that which Allāh hath created in their wombs if they are believers in Allāh and the Last Day. And their husbands would do better to take them back in that case if they desire a reconciliation. And they (women) have rights similar to those (of men) over them in kindness, and men are a degree above them. Allāh is Mighty, Wise.
>
> "Divorce must be pronounced twice and then (a woman) must be retained in honour or released in kindness. And it is not lawful for you that ye take from women aught of that which ye have given them; except (in the case) when both fear that they may not be able to keep within the limits (imposed by) Allāh. And if ye fear that they may not be able to keep the limits of Allāh, in that case it is no sin for either of them if the woman ransom herself. These are the limits (imposed by) Allāh. Transgress them not. For whoso transgresseth Allāh's limits: such are wrongdoers.
>
> "And if he hath divorced her (the third time), then she is not lawful unto him thereafter until she hath wedded another husband. Then if he (the other husband) divorce her, it is no sin for both of them that they come together again if they consider that they

> are able to observe the limits of Allāh. These are the limits of Allāh. He manifesteth them for people who have knowledge.
>
> "When ye have divorced women, and they have reached their term, then retain them in kindness or release them in kindness. Retain them not to their hurt so that ye transgress (the limits)....
>
> "And when ye have divorced women, and they reach their term, place not difficulties in the way of their marrying their husbands if it is agreed between them in kindness..." (Sūrat II, Verses 227-232).

The injunction for three months as a waiting term for women for the finalization of a divorce is a built-in safeguard to minimize the chances of an impetuous and emotional decision for the divorce.[12] At the same time, it maximizes the chances of reconciliation. During the term of three months, the husband is supposed to divorce the wife three times, and it has been emphasized that the husband must not divorce the wife when she is menstruating. The emotional affinity during the non-menstruating days is higher and as such the chances of declaring a divorce are minimal. If the couple has sexual intercourse during the first and second pronouncement of divorce, the divorce is nullified. The emphasis on kindness has been repeated in the preceeding verses; and this signifies the respect that a man is supposed to give to the woman.

Sūrat II (Ayat 233) also describes that if the divorced couple has a child and the husband and wife decide that the woman will nurse and suckle the child, the father of the child then has to pay for the expense of boarding, lodging, and other necessities of the mother.

Purdah: The issue of purdah is very sensitive[13] and controversial. The controversy is aroused through the varying interpretations. It seems that there are two extreme views on the issue: one maintaining that the woman must be concealed from head to toe (for example Maudūdī, 1979); and the

other interpreting the injunction in a manner that the limit prescribed by the Law-Giver is being spread very thinly to justify individual actions (e.g., Khan 1972). The Qur'ānic injunctions are given in Sūrat An-Nūr and Sūrat Al-Ahzāb. Allāh says, addressing His Prophet (pbuh), in Sūrat An-Nūr:

> "Tell the believing men to lower their gaze and be modest. That is purer for them. Lo! Allāh is aware of what they do.
>
> "And tell the believing women to lower their gaze and be modest, and to display of their adornment only that which is apparent, and to draw their veils over their bosoms, and not to reveal their adornment save to their own husbands or fathers or husbands' fathers, or their sons or their husbands' sons, or their brothers or their brothers' sons or sisters' sons, or their women, or their slaves[14], or male attendants who lack vigour, or children who know naught of women's nakedness. And let them not stamp their feet so as to reveal what they hide of their adornment. And turn unto Allāh together, O believers, in order that ye may succeed." (S. XXIV, Verses 30-31).

In Sūrat Al-Ahzāb, Allāh addresses His prophet (pbuh) and commands:

> "O Prophet! Tell thy wives and thy daughters and the women of the belivers to draw their cloaks close around them (when they go abroad/out). That will be better, so that they may be recognized and not annoyed. Allāh is ever Forgiving, Merciful." (S. XXXIII, V. 59)[15]

In addition to these three verses in Qur'ān, there are numerous Ahādīth regarding the Purdah or covering of the body. Different scholars have discussed the implications of these verses and those of the ahādīth. There is a general agreement among them that man is mandated to cover his body from the naval to the knees all the time except when taking a bath in private or when otherwise not possible; e.g., while responding to a call of nature (in privacy) or having marital conjugation, etc. Women, on the other hand, according to most scholars have to cover the entire body with the exception of the face and hands (for example, see Badāwī, 1980). There

are some scholars, however, who interpret these verses of the Qur'ān in conjunction with the various ahādīth and come to the conclusion that women in Islām should cover the face as well. Maudūdī (1979, p. 194) takes such a stand, when he asserts "Though the veil has not been specified in the Qur'ān, it is Qur'ānic in spirit." Other scholars like Al-Albānī (1969, pp. 25-46), after a thorough examination of the injunctions and the various interpretations, conclude that covering of face and hands is not required.[16] It must be emphasized, however, that in Sūrat An-Nūr men have been ordained before women to lower their gaze and be modest.

Inheritance: The injunctions regarding inheritance are extremely comprehensive as laid down in Qur'ān. It is beyond the scope of this paper to get into an exhaustive treatment of the relevant injunctions concerning inheritance since that is an independent subject deserving individual discussion in its own right. It will be sufficient to emphasize two prinicples, as follows: (i) a person before dying may bequeath parents and near relatives a reasonable share of his wealth. It is important to note that for bequeathing no distinction has been made between the sexes, with regard to the proportion of wealth, be it to parents or other near relatives; (ii) all liabilities must be paid off out of the wealth and the property of the deceased before the inheritance is divided. Sūrat An-Nisā' (S. IV, Verses 11, 12, and 176) gives a comprehensive description of the proportions that each relative is to inherit upon the death of an individual. The broad outline of the rules of inheritance is laid out in Qur'ān. The precise details have been worked out by the scholars of Islām based on the practice of the holy Prophet (pbuh). In general, the daughter gets one-half of the share of the son. This difference can easily be seen

by some as a disadvantageous treatment being accorded to women. In practice and in terms of implication, I believe, it is not so. That is because a woman while being entitled to the share out of the wealth of the parents in addition to the dower she gets is fully entitled to complete care involving food, clothing and other necessities of life and these have to be provided by the husband. The man or the husband on the other hand cannot, under Islām, ask the wife to earn and bear the expenses of the family while he may retire and indulge in a life of relaxation.[17]

Woman as Witness: Islām emphasizes that any disputes that may arise between any two individuals must be resolved in fairness and ensuring righteous justice. In case where a doubt or contention is aroused, witnesses are to be used. For most serious crimes, allegations such as sexual involvement between any two individuals other than husband and wife, or murder, four witnesses are needed. For the settlement of most contested disputes two male or four female witnesses are needed. This clearly implies that one male witness is equal to two female witnesses. This difference can again easily be considered as a reflection of male superiority. The Qur'ān does not explain why two females are needed where one male would be required. Different people including some very well respected and recognized scholars like Maudūdī have given the reason that woman's abilities are limited. In my opinion, however, such an interpretation is reflective more of the personal prejudice of the scholars rather than the spirit of Islām. If the mental or intellectual abilities of women, in Islām, were to be seen as inferior compared to those of men, then the Prophet's wife Ā'isha (Allāh be pleased with her) would not have been a source of many of the most frequently cited ahādīth. Every student of Islāmic religion knows that there are numerous ahādīths that have been

quoted on the authority of female companions of the Prophet of Islām. In my judgement, it appears that the reason for having two women to constitute one witness stems from the fact that women have historically been less exposed to the business world than men and are therefore less experienced in understanding the intriguing complexities of human life.[18]

The next section deals with the role and status of women in terms of reality as it prevails in Pakistan.[19] My analysis of the actual situation is based on my own research and observations and those of my teachers, colleagues, and students.

IV. ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN IN PAKISTAN: REALITY

The roles that women, or for that matter men, perform and the status they enjoy are to a large extent a reflection of economic and social status of an individual or a family. The roles and status of women in Pakistan are different depending on factors like education, occupation, urban versus rural residence, the number of male and female children in a family, the worth of property owned, the relative prestige of the caste of the individual in the overall caste system (something contrary to the Islāmic spirit of equality), kinds of jobs and occupations of the previous generation, and the family's economic and political connections, etc. The role and status of women is determined by all of the factors mentioned above and by many others that one may recognize but may not be able to quantify. The role and status differences between various individuals depending on the general socio-economic status are found in all the four provinces—North West Frontier Province (NWFP), Punjab, Sind, and Baluchistan—and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and the Azad Kashmir area. While there are some cultural differences between these provinces and areas, a more meaningful difference is perhaps the one

between urban and rural areas. Differences between such areas are linked with the opportunities available in each. In general, the tasks and roles that women perform are determined in essence more by the economic opportunity and the economic status. Differences between such areas are linked with opportunities available in each. I have made an attempt to identify some of the broad economic categories as they exist in the urban and rural Pakistani situation; this description appears as an appendix to this chapter.

With these class and caste differences in mind, the role and status of women in terms of the life cycle is discussed below. The contrasts between the prescription and the reality and as such the gaps will be pointed out.[20]

IV.1 Woman as a Daughter

This phase in a woman's life covers the following major events:

- Birth
- Upbringing and education
- Career
- Mate selection and marriage

The Islāmic prescription with regard to all of the aspects enumerated above has been amply documented in Section III above. In the following, therefore, we will restrict the discussion only to the actual practices.[21] The birth of a male child, even if it is a higher order birth, is celebrated by the parents and the close relatives. It is customary to hold a feast for relatives and friends at the birth of a male child. Congratulations by friends and neighbors are received with offering of sweets. Many families distribute food and money to the poor to mark the happiness at the birth of a male offspring. On the other hand, the birth

of a female child, even if it is the very first birth in a family, is generally marked with "good wishes" for the newborn but the expressions, in many families, are devoid of happiness and congratulations. It is not uncommon to see grandmothers and at times mothers of the newborn female child weeping to express their sorrow at the unfulfillment of a desire to have a male child. Some idioms which symbolize such sentiments at the birth of a girl child translate as follows:

> "The father's head gets bowed down the day a girl child is born;
> The walls of the house tremble at the birth of a girl child;
> A stone has been born into the family."

The unfortunate practice of unhappiness at the female birth can at times lead to extremes. If a woman has had only female children, the parents of her husband may arrange for a second marriage for their son with the hope that the new daughter-in-law will give birth to a male child.[22]

The un-Islāmic practice of unwelcoming the birth of a female child does not stop at the occasion of birth and related celebrations. It persists throughout the childhood years. While the difference in the upbringing of male and female children in terms of the preferences for food and clothing and schooling is not practiced by many of the educated and affluent families, it is quite commonly found in families with limited education. In poorer families, more of the male than female children are sent to schools. In families where girls are sent to school, the primary level (five grades) of education is considered quite sufficient for females compared to higher education for boys. Many Pakistani observers and researchers have observed differences in the quality of food, clothing and medical treatment that are provided to male and female children. In some families the male children eat first and the females are served after that.

This does not hold true, however, in most cases where there are many male children and only one female child. In those cases the female child is often the focus of affection of all family members.

The respect and the affection for female children increases as they grow. The respect, in my opinion, is generally accorded because the female children start sharing the burden of household chores of mothers as they grow. The affection, however, is more out of a fear of the unknown. As the girl reaches her teens, the parents start planning for her wedding. With that starts a process of lamenting and fearing. It is not uncommon to hear "Allāh knows what He holds for our daughter in her husband's home."[23]

Most parents in Pakistan, irrespective of the socio-economic differences, perceive that their major duty toward daughters is to raise them in accordance with their own values and then get them married. Even in families where daughters are educated there is hardly any effort on the part of the parents to plan careers for them. It is not uncommon to hear in private conversations that many parents who send their daughters to, say medical schools, or aspire for a professional degree harbor the feeling that "education for daughters is good... she should be able to earn a living just in case she has to be on her own." The kinds of families who provide advanced education to their daughters have been discussed in some detail in the Appendix. We may add here, however, that once the daughters are married, some of them may pursue academic or professional careers provided the husband and in some cases the in-laws may allow such pursuits.

The biggest and the most crucial change in a girl's life comes when a husband is being selected for her. This decision, in many ways, determines the role and status of a girl for the rest of her life. The responsibility for mate selection rests with the parents. In some cases where the

brother(s) may have been more successful than the father, he (they) may exercise influence in this crucial decision. In exceptionally few cases is the girl allowed to find her mate. The marriage in most cases is arranged within the families of close relatives. Only in the case of some educated boys, marriage with cousins is sometimes not preferred and that too if the boy himself is independent enough to exert his choice. In some instances the engagements are announced at very young ages by the parents of girls and boys. The preference of the girl, or for that matter the preference of the boy, is seldom given any weight in the decision of mate selection. Parents of the girls as well as boys, particularly in the rural setting, have their own set of considerations that weigh heavily in the process of mate selection. The selection is generally dictated by family ties - (responding to the requests of brothers and sisters) and economic considerations. In some cases the parents of a girl may desire to marry their daughter into a family that may not require more dowry than they can afford. The converse is also true: the rich parents of a girl may receive many proposals underlying each of which may be a desire to marry the son into a rich family and thereby receive a lot of dowry. Political connections play a very important role in the "landlord" families. A politically well connected and well placed father of a daughter may get numerous proposals for his daughter. All of these otherwise rational considerations seem very irrational (and unjust) when we consider that the two individuals who are supposed to spend their life in a union for the rest of their lives are seldom consulted.

We may recall here that a woman under the Islāmic prescription is not allowed to be married against her wishes. In practice, however, with very few exceptions the girl's approval is never secured. In certain cases the

girl may express her dislike to her mother or older sisters for the mate that has been selected for her. But her dislike and disapproval generally fall on deaf ears. In certain cases the girls, or for that matter the boys, do not get a chance to see the mate selected by the parents before marriage—something clearly encouraged in Islām.

The discrepancy between prescription and reality is also found in the inheritance practices. Daughters in many families do not inherit the property of the father as it is supposed to be carried out under Islāmic injunctions.[24] It is not uncommon to find that the agricultural land in many families is not inherited by the daughters. In some cases women, at the death of their father, voluntarily do not claim their right to the property. In certain others, daughters do claim their share of the property of the father. Once the claim has been made, some brothers willingly give the share to the sisters. In some, though limited cases, brothers do everything possible to keep the property undivided including and up to taking imposters as sisters to the court and having declarations registered that they (sisters) do not want any share of the property of the father.[25] There are, however, other instances in which the brothers insist that their sister(s) must get their share of the entire property that is due to them but such instances are rare. The industrialist class in Pakistan seldom gives a share of the industrial property to their daughters.[26]

IV.2 Woman as a Wife

The reality as it relates to the role and status of woman as a wife is, once again, quite shocking while compared to the prescription. In many families the wife has the needed security, comfort and understanding that is supposed to exist between the spouses. But in certain others the wife

is the most neglected person in the house.[27] To start with, some husbands do not accord the tolerance, kindness, love, and the compassion that Islām prescribes for wives. The roles based on fairness and justice as discussed under prescription have, unfortunately, been translated into a practice under which the wife is expected to do anything that the husband may desire. In some extreme cases the wife may have to ignore her duties to God (such as offering her prayer on time) to satisfy some trivial need or command of the husband, such as warming the food for the husband the moment he may so desire.

In the following, some specific situations have been discussed that portray the kind of unwarranted and un-Islāmic treatment that is in practice accorded to the wife.[28]

While it is the husband's duty to provide the basic needs of the wife, some husbands are found negligent in providing these. Many wives, particularly in the poor families, are generally overworked, undernourished, and undercared which would of course vary in accordance with the economic status of the husband. The situation is at times even further complicated and aggravated if there is a powerful mother-in-law in the household who commands the control of the household affairs. In Islām, as we noted in the earlier section, the mother is supposed to be accorded the highest respect; this norm is generally upheld in Pakistan. Daughters-in-law are also expected to be respectful to their mothers-in-law who sometimes misuse their position. Some mothers are unkind to the degree of being cruel to their daughters-in-law. In certain families the unmarried sisters of the groom may also commit excesses on his wife. These excesses are generally seen in the form of a disproportionately more share of household work for the wife, lesser or inadequate medical care, poor

emotional bond between the husband and the wife, and sharp-tongued and unkind verbal remarks from mother-in-law and sisters-in-law. In families kwhere the emotional bond between the husband and the wife is subjected to unwarranted interference and control by the mother-in-law or other immediate relatives of the husband, the wife is at times made to go through a situation where she may not receive adequate clothing and food. In certain rare cases there may be impositions and restrictions imposed on the wife against visiting her parent's home or her parents' relatives. This rare practice is more likely to occur in situations where the parents of the wife may be poorer and may not have the social or political connections necessary to remedy the situation. What complicates the relationship the most stems from the fact that, in clear violation of the Islāmic prescription, the mechanism of divorce is always discouraged strongly by the family of the wife. There are instances in which a woman may have lived her entire life in a real "hell" in her husband's house but her parents and siblings continue to push her to live there and not seek a divorce.

In certain cases the wife may be made to go through a prolonged separation. We may recall that Allāh has ordained that no husband may keep his wife in a situation where separation may linger. But in practice it is resorted to quite often though in limited cases where the marriage may not be smooth. In such cases, depending on the financial status of the husband, the wife may have all her material needs fulfilled but in almost all cases her emotional needs are totally ignored.

Another area in which the practice is quite or perhaps totally contrary to the injunctions regarding prescription is polygyny. In almost all the cases where a husband contemplates or contracts a second or the subsequent

marriage, the first or the previous wives are invariably always ignored. The intensity of unjust treatment may vary depending on the general socio-economic status or the religiosity of the husband but it usually does exist. The prescribed equality, fairness and justice that the husband is supposed to follow is found missing in almost all the cases. In certain cases it may be extreme to a degree that the children of the first wife may be neglected in terms of education, clothing, and food.

Perhaps the most severe disparity between the prescription and reality is seen in certain cases of divorce. While divorce, under Islām, is supposed to be carried out in the most kind manner, in practice, however, some men commit the most unkind acts. It is not uncommon to find that in the course of divorce the wife may not get her dower. In certain cases the young child that the mother may be nursing is left with the mother but without adequate child and mother (wife) support. Similarly, the due process of Islāmic law in terms of divorcing over three months is at times totally ignored and a husband may express the three divorces in one pronouncement. Thus, the kind of treatment that a wife is accorded is in many instances contrary to the injunctions of Islām as these are contained in Qur'ān and ahādīth.[29]

IV.3 Woman as Mother

The insecurities and inequities that a woman suffers as a daughter or as a wife start receiving their compensation in most cases when their children grow and become independent. The respect that a mother is supposed to be accorded is in practice accorded in most cases. Among couples who have a happy marriage, the woman is generally well looked after as a mother also. But even in instances where the marriage of a couple may not have been a happy one, the mother starts enjoying security, respect and

comfort as the children grow older and become independent. But there is a contradiction and disparity between the prescription and reality even in the role of a woman as mother. In certain instances a mother who has had an unhappy marriage may resort to excessive interference in the life of her daughter-in-law. Thus, the relationship that is supposed to be based on mutual love and respect between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law is reduced to one of gross injustice and excess by the mother-in-law. The daughter-in-law often retaliates thus leading to intense conflict between the two. Such conflict is unfortunate, because in some cases it sets the foundation of an unjust treatment that may become a part of the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship, during the subsequent generation. The husband's positon is very difficult in this type of situation; he is expected to play the balancing role.

In some, though limited, instances the mother may not be accorded the prescribed respect. This usually happens in situations where the son may be partial towards his wife who does not have the desire to give the respect that the mother-in-law is supposed to be given.[30] It is generally believed that if the husband is willing to give the due respect to his mother, his wife would also invariably accord a treatment of respect. The respect for the older generation in general and the respect for mother-in-law in particular has traditionally been an important value but is now on the decline.[31]

V. CONCLUSION

The injunctions regarding prescription of role and status of women in Islām are embodied around justice, fairness, kindness, compassion, and understanding between men and women. The injunctions of the Qur'ān and the

sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), as discussed above, cover all domains and aspects of behavior ensuring harmony and respect. The reality or the practice, unfortunately, in many instances leaves a lot to be desired. Woman as a daughter, as a wife, and as a mother in Pakistan does not always enjoy the status that the Islāmic prescription provides. The natural question is: Why the discrepancy and the gap between the prescription and the reality or practice?

A number of arguments or responses may be offered to explain the discrepancy. The answer may partly lie in the fact that many Muslims who converted from Hindūism have meshed the tradition and culture of their forefathers with those of the Islāmic way of life. For any analytical researcher the argument that the old traditions practiced by the converts for centuries have acted as a barrier in adopting "Islāmic Culture" while logical is not sufficient. It is insufficient on the grounds that some others who in Pakistan, Bangladesh and India follow the true Islāmic culture, are also from the families of converts. It, therefore, seems that the disparity between the prescription and reality in all likelihood lies in something over and beyond the simplistic explanation of the influence of Hindū culture.

Qutb's (1964, pp. 230-243) explanation, in my assessment, comes closest to the truth. In his words, "at the root of the present miserable plight of the Eastern woman lies the wretched poverty that the East has been afflicted with now for many generations past." The social injustice, we contend, has perpetuated a constant misery and poverty for the majority, while a select minority have enjoyed the bounties of life to the fullest extent. The caste system, in India or in the Hindū religion, if not the root cause, has at least contributed immensely to this social injustice. This social injustice has deprived millions of the otherwise available

opportunities. Since Islām does not allow any discrimination on any grounds, one is constrained to argue that among the earlier converts many did not follow Islām's injunctions fully; for had they followed the Islāmic culture, they and their future generations' total lives would have been transformed according to Islām. Had there been a real Islāmic governmental system, there would have been no inequities and people, including women, would have had access to education on equitable grounds. In addition, the fundamentals of Islām would have been incorporated into the educational system.

The national educational system has till recently, failed in incorporating the fundamentals of Islām in the curriculum. Even those who do have schooling do not therefore have any meaningful comprehension of the Qur'ān and Sunnah because these were not included in the schooling system until recently. The elitist class tends to send their children to English medium schools. Many of these children cannot even read Qur'ān in Arabic. The Qur'ān and Hadīth, as observed above, are in Arabic, but the translation in Urdū (the national language of Pakistan) and English are widely available. But since less than twenty percent of the population is literate (i.e., can read with understanding), a majority of the population is devoid of any meaningful understanding of the religion. Poverty keeps most of the people so preoccupied in the issues and pursuit of basic needs of subsistence, that many do not have the time or the willingness to read and learn. Hence, an utter lack of understanding and practice of Islām in daily life. In general, only the ritualistic aspects of the religion are being practiced and emphasized, and Islām is not being practiced as a way of life. Under these circumstances it is not difficult to understand Pakistani women have not been provided the rights and status that the religion has prescribed for them.

APPENDIX
ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE MAJOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASSES IN URBAN AND RURAL PAKISTAN

The urban population of Pakistan can be divided into the following broad categories which, to a large degree, reflect the economic opportunities to which a person has access:

1. The Civil Servant Group: The senior civil servants' group has had a prestigious social standing since the days of British rule. While the British Indian Civil Service and its colonial legacy after independence is beyond the scope of this paper, some brief remarks are in order. The colonial British rulers, it is believed by all familiar with the history of colonialism, followed the practice of "divide and rule." One of the tools used for this treacherous strategy was to identify a small class of civil servants who were to manage the administration of departments like the foreign service[32], district administration, police, customs, audit and accounts, information, railways, forest, postal services, etc. The individuals who were selected for such services were accorded a very high social status. After the independence, Pakistan followed the colonial tradition and had a cadre of services called "Central Superior Services" and in addition had a provincial civil service cadre. Persons belonging to these services in the initial stage were predominantly the close relatives or friends of those who took charge of the services of the country at the time of independence in 1947. The women from families of the Civil Servants class have historically had a rather distinguished role and status. Most commonly these women had been educated in private institutions and they had always enjoyed a luxurious life style.[33] After finishing their schooling, these women were married mostly to the young civil servants and did not take employment which had low social recognition and esteem. Professions such as medicine and university or college teaching were the preferred jobs for those few who opted to work. As these women's spouses progressed through their careers of civil service, they got involved in doing more social work and related voluntary activities. In brief, they did not seek employment as an

economic necessity. At present, women from these families seldom observe purdah; and most of the household chores are done for them by servants who in many instances are lower level employees and/or the spouses and children of these employees.

2. Business Community: Pakistan has had a small business community. During President Ayub's regime (1958-1968), it was commonly heard, and to some degree with an element of truth, that twenty-two families in Pakistan controlled more than seventy-five percent of the wealth of the nation. The women from these families, again, got the best of education, predominantly through private schools. On growing up these ladies were mostly married into the business community and sometimes a civil servant could be married into the business family. These women, once again, did not usually take work as a financial necessity. Some medical doctors and some college lecturers were from these families. Some of them did get involved in the voluntary work. The All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) has had most of its leaders from the families of civil servants, old Nawabs (semi-autonomous rulers during the British Colonial rule) and some big businessmen. They seldom need to work in the kitchen as they can afford servants. A few of the older women of these families observe purdah; the younger generations besides being the fashion setters, don't observe purdah.

3. Big Landlords: Pakistan, to date, has had two land reforms. The first one was introduced during Mr. Ayub's regime and the second one during Mr. Bhutto's regime. In simplistic terms we may consider any person or a family as a "big landlord" who at any time had five hundred acres of irrigated land. These families which are mostly concentrated in Sind, Baluchistan, the lower Punjab and the northern part of the Northwest Frontier Province, are generally conservative. Until recently the girls from most of these families did not usually receive much education. Their women are raised with the rural norms and tradition but with the urban-luxurious amenities. The families often reside in urban areas. They hardly have any real chance of doing something on their own and are generally expected to marry into influential landlord families according to the desire of their parents. Most of the women from this class observed purdah, as many do even today.

4. Armed Forces Officers: The officers of the Armed Forces, in Pakistan, present a sub-culture of their own. In almost all cases the girls from these families do receive some education. The women from this privileged class always enjoy the luxury of servants at the government's expense. Many of the girls from these families enter professional careers. The medical profession, followed by lectureship in colleges are the preferred occupations. The women from this class seldom observe purdah.

For all practical purposes the classes of people that have been enumerated so far belong to urban communities; and constitute a fairly small fraction of the total urban population. The remainder comprises small business owners, junior government officials and a vast majority of laborers and unemployed dependents.

In the rural areas, which constitute more than seventy percent of the population, the following classes of people can be identified in relation to the role and status of women:

A. Landowner-Self-cultivators: This group may include families that may have landholdings which are adequate for the family or may even have the holding of a size that is sufficient to provide some degree of economic affluence. In almost all the cases the male children attend schools and in some, though extremely limited cases, female children also attend school. In such cases, however, the female children seldom go beyond the primary level (5 grades) of education. Most of these families are conservative Muslims. The women, in almost all the cases, help the men-folk in farm related jobs. In some cases the women take the food to the fields while the males are working on the farms. In most of the cases, however, the females do assist the men in preparing the fodder for the animals, particularly the milk-yielding buffaloes and cows. In a number of cases women in this group observe purdah when they go out of their community, whether visiting relatives or going to a doctor or shopping. It is very rarely that women of this class will pursue some professional career. In a few cases, however, girls do take up teaching jobs provided they do not have to work in a city where they may not have a close relative like a brother or an uncle with whom they could live.

B. Limited Landowners and Tenants: With the increase in population and the constant division of land, there is a growing number of self-cultivators whose landholdings are growing smaller and smaller with the distribution from generation to generation. These families know only one skill and that is farming. Hence many of these families get land on tenancy from some of the other small landholders or from the rich, affluent landlords who do not want to and can afford not to self-cultivate. The male children of these families also go to schools and some of them after completing high school or two to four years of college take clerical jobs in cities and supplement the income of the family. The female children are usually not sent to school or attend school only up to primary level. Majority of the women in these families do not observe purdah even though they are fairly conservative. This may partly be due to the fact that these women cannot afford to practice purdah because many of them help their men in farming. Some even take small jobs like carpet weaving, basket weaving and other small jobs that may not require specialized skills and yet may supplement income.

C. Kameens and Craftsmen: A village in the subcontinent has historically been a self-contained and self-sufficient unit of society. Each village used to have and many still have a regular corps of craftsmen (the indigenous name for them in Punjab is Kameens) that serve the technical needs of the community. This corps includes professions such as blacksmith, carpenter, barber, washerman, waterman, cobbler, and watchman. The practitioners of these professions, historically, did not have their own land and they served various needs of the community within the sphere of their trade and skill and in turn the community provided them subsistence. While the corps still exists in most of the villages, it is not uncommon that many of the male children from these families take jobs in the cities and nearby towns. Some of the newer generation of barbers, for example, have their salons in the towns and cities while the older generation caters to the need of the community in which they live. It is sometimes possible to find the son of a carpenter as a qualified engineer with a university

degree. Some of the families in which some bright children have been successful have moved out of the villages. A vast majority of these craftsmen still work with an arrangement that some members of the family are working in towns and cities as employees or as owners of small business and the others work in the villages. The status and roles of women from these families, in the villages, have not changed much over the years. They work in the houses of the landowners and the cultivators on occasions like marriages, births, and deaths. It is extremely rare that one may see a woman from these families observing purdah. There are exceptions, however. The wives of the achievers do observe purdah although at the expense of raised eyebrows of the females of the cultivators' families. The younger females from these families are turning more and more towards trades such as carpet weaving, sewing, and embroidery work.

Although these families do not usually own land, with some very limited exceptions where the achievers may have bought some land, almost all of them do have buffaloes and cows. The maintenance of these animals rests mostly with the women-folk, as men are either too busy in taking care of their professional chores or want to relax after a day's work.

D. Laborers: In addition to the categories of people discussed above, there is a class of people who live in villages but neither have any land nor are involved in any of the arts and crafts discussed above. These may be members of a class of people who once were employed in various trades in the villages but over the years stopped pursuing the vocations of their forefathers. Some of these may be from the families of former farmers and cultivators but over the years their landholdings got so small that they sold off the land and resorted to other jobs. A majority of these people seek unskilled or semi-skilled jobs on daily paid or monthly paid basis wherever they can get them. Some work in the communities where they live; others work in nearby towns and cities. The girls of some of these familes go to schools. It is not uncommon to find some achiever male children out of this gorup who have made it through high school and college. The female children, on the other

hand, seldom go beyond primary school. They are increasingly found engaged in handicraft related occupations.

While discussing the various sub-groups in the urban areas, it was remarked above that in addition to the classes of people discussed, there are petty officials and laborers. The socio-economic status and the roles performed by most of the urban laborers are about the same as those of the rural labor class women. The exceptions may be that the urban-poor at times have access to running water and electricity; and the urban laborers are mostly working for cash whereas their rural counterparts sometimes work for "kind" as well. Hence the relative comfort of an electric fan and easy access to transportation is perhaps a little more available for the urban laborer but at the cost of congested housing.

Footnotes

1. After the conquest by Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim, the other noteworthy landmarks that brought the Islāmic culture to the Indian subcontinent, are the following: (a) Early Muslim Period (1200-1526) within which the following kings left lasting cultural impressions on the lives of Indians: Mahmūd Ghaznavī; Alā-ud-Din Khiljī; the Tughluq dynasty; Amīr Taimūr; and Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ahmad; (b) the Moghul Empire (1526-1857). For the impact of Islām on Indian culture, see: Gokak (1971); Rauf (1975); Mujtabaī (1978); and Abbott (1968).

2. Islām has always remained one and the same and will remain the same, but different people have tried to interpret it differently with regard to the non-fundamental aspects.

3. For an account of such rituals see: Sharif, 1975; Ali, 1976; Ahmad, 1976; D'Souza, 1976; Lambat, 1976; and Levy, 1962.

4. The "degree above them" refers to the duty of the man to maintain the woman. Woman, it is agreed by all scholars of Islām, is entitled to special protection. The sexes, otherwise, have equality of law. Another reference from the Qur'ān establishes beyond any doubt that the reference in this verse is only for maintenance. In Sūrat IV, Verse 34 Allāh, the Almighty says, "Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because God has given the one (man) more (strength) than the other, and because they support them from their means. . . "

5. The implication is that God will like that person (him); and God looks only at those whom He likes; and He will not punish them.

6. A woman previously married but not currently married due either to divorce or death of her husband.

7. Some scholars believe that there is a difference of opinion on this issue. Fazlur Rahmān, for example, while reviewing the earlier draft of the paper, has pointed out that Abū Hanīfa allows a woman to contract her marriage herself.

8. The hadīth has been narrated by Khansā' daughter of Khidhām and this narrative is in relation to her own marriage (Robson, 1975, p. 665).

9. Abū Dāwūd, Muslim, Ahmad, Tirmidhī, Nasā'ī, Ibn Mājāh, and Dārimī have transmitted a number of ahādīth in which the Prophet of Islām (pbuh) urged men to see the girls they wanted to marry (see: Robson, 1975, pp. 661-662).

10. This means that the husband should not separate from the wife and send her back to her parents' home, or leave the house himself.

11. The great philosopher-poet of the East, Iqbāl, on the subject of the individual in a community observes, "the community has an enduring life, while individuals are born and perish" (Sīddiqī, 1970, p. 75).

12. The importance of saving a marriage and discouraging a divorce has been signified, as discussed, by the need for three declarations. Here, we may examine one Hadīth which points out the dislike the Prophet of Islām (pbuh) expressed towards the idea of three declarations being made at one time without any interval between them: Nasāi transmitted on the authority of Mahmūd bin Labīd who reported that God's messenger was informed about a man who had divorced his wife declaring it three times without any interval between. It is reported that the Prophet (pbuh) arose in anger and said, "Is sport being made of the Book of Allāh Who is Great and Glorious, while I am among you?" (Robson, 1975, p. 6[illegible]).

13. The sensitivity in my opinion stems from the fact that many educated Muslim men and women, due partly to their exposure to the western influence, do not want to listen to the Islāmic injunctions, what to talk of following them.

14. The part dealing with slaves does not apply these days as Islām over the years did away with slavery.

15. The verse is believed to refer to special situation: the earlier days of Islām, when the hypocrites teased some Muslim women when they went out at night.

16. Al-Albanī also supports that this is the interpretation of Malik-Ash-Shafii, Abū Hanīfa, and Ahmad-bin-Hanbal, three of the Islāmic jurists who have provided the basic interpretations of the Islāmic law.

17. Some critics may argue that what if the woman does not want to get married? It was observed earlier that Islām attaches greater emphasis to the society than to the individual. In an Islāmic society there is no room for celibacy either of males or of females. Any person, man or woman, who opts not to marry when he or she can marry, in practice violates one of the basic injunctions of the faith.

18. Even if we examine the business world of today in a country like U.S.A., we would not find many women as the Chairperson of Boards of Directors of Corporations like I.T.&T., G.M., and the like. It may also be pointed out that men have a greater tendency and ability to get into intrigue which women given their historical roles may not like or understand, and if the alleged wrongdoer is a male, he stands a lesser chance of winning in a dispute where there are two women as witness than one woman.

19. While the intent is to restrict our focus only to Pakistani women, most of our observations, however, may very well be applicable to most of the other Muslim countries as well.

20. This section will not get into any detailed discussion of the reality of the roles and status of women in various socio-economic classes since this has been presented in the appendix.

21. A note of caution is in order: Most of our discussion is in general terms; and applies to most of the women in Pakistan. The general trends discussed here are generalizable but certain specific modes of behavior and practices as these may relate to the issue of role and status of specific families within specific socio-economic classes may vary considerably.

22. Within the Pakistani culture, it is commonly believed that the name of the family can be preserved and continued only through the male offspring, hence the great demand for male offspring.

23. This fear of the unknown perhaps brings out the realization on the part of the parents that they did not welcome the birth of the daughter and did not give her the same affection as they did to the male children. Hence a last minute compensation!

24. For a comprehensive treatment of the subject see Chapter 4 by Patel in this book.

25. The familes that do not want to give the share of the property have their own justification. It is commonly heard that the father or the brothers spent the daughters' or sisters' share on their wedding; and hence the daughters should not have a claim to the property.

26. They justify this unIslāmic practice by the fact that they would not give the share of the property to their daughters and would not expect their daughter(s)-in-law to bring any property. The marriages, in most of these families, are within the industrialists' families.

27. The treatment accorded by some husbands is based on a distorted and incorrect understanding of some of the ahadīth and a verse in Qur'ān that have been interpreted by some overzealous pseudo-scholars to literally make the wife a slave of the wishes of the husband.

28. The readers are cautioned that the instances discussed here cannot and should not be generalized. In some families such treatment is accorded. In others, however, the wife is the real queen of the household.

29. This does not imply that the woman in Islām suffers more than in other religions. It is my conviction that women suffer more in some other societies, following other religions. The improvement in the condition of women brought about by Islām is acknowledged by Muslims and non-Muslims alike (e.g., see: Charnay, 1971, p. 59).

30. According to the Islāmic prescription the mother-in-law is supposed to be accorded the same respect as one's own mother.

31. Some of the reasons for a decline in this value are rooted in the notions of independence and privacy generated by the western education, combined with a poor knowledge of the Islāmic prescriptions as taught in the Qur'ān. It is not uncommon to find that some otherwise well-educated persons have never studied the Qur'ān.

32. The foreign service was manned only by Britishers during the colonial rule.

33. This was sometimes through illegal means and at the expense of the government.

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3

CULTURAL DEFINITIONS OF SEX ROLES

by

Sabeeha Hafeez

A major assumption in this article is that sex differences are culturally conditioned. Although the question of whether sex roles are primarily biologically or socially determined remains largely unresolved, belief in cultural conditioning of sex roles is the very basis of change toward improvement in the conditions of women. Sex is a condition of being; it cannot be changed. But the status attached to a person of a given sex can be improved.

Sex roles for the purpose of this article are defined as "appropriate behaviours, rights and privileged of two sexes in a given culture." Some of the questions worth raising with regard to cultural definitions of sex roles are: What are cultural priorities that are important in the definition of sex roles? Conversely speaking, what are the standards of correctness or incorrectness of sex roles that define or delimit cultural priorities? Which persons in the family and society represent, carry or influence such norms and values? What level of knowledge exists on the standards of correctness or incorrectness associated with sex roles? Does information on a certain norm repeat itself because such a norm is known to be the only norm? Have the questions been directed towards that particular norm only? I have made an attempt to address some of these questions below.

In a society which is undergoing change it is difficult to attribute static definitions to sex roles. One way to overcome this difficulty is to confine the discussion to the cultural definitions of conventional sex roles, changes in such roles and the problems generated by such changes. Thus, the major areas for discussion in this article are:

- Nature and extent of saliency of housewife/motherhood role.
- Nature and extent of expansion in this conventional role.
- Nature and extent of recognition of change in conventional role.
- Nature and extent of internalization of new role leading to possible redefinition of sex roles.

Data Sources:

While no comprehensive national study on cultural definitions of sex roles is available, there are several small scale surveys which may be used for drawing inferences about this. The author has conducted some studies among relevant subgroups of urban women in Karachi City and rural women in the province of Sind. The findings from these studies have been used extensively in the present paper to analyze cultural definitions of sex roles in Pakistan. In addition, findings from relevant theses written by Master's degree students in the Sociology Department of the University of Karachi have been used. While Master's theses may sometimes lack the desired quality of research, they do provide some suggestions about the situation. A brief description of the major studies by the author used for the analysis in this paper is given below.

Karachi Housewives Study: Consisted of a purposive study of 135 married women from middle class areas in Karachi City. Of all women interviewed, 73 (or 54 percent) had never worked, 51 (or 38 percent) were

currently working and 11 (or 8 percent) had worked in the past but were not currently in the labor force. The data were collected by means of a questionnaire in April-August, 1977.

Village Studies in Sind: Consist of exploratory studies based on observation, informal interviews and structured questionnaires involving one week's stay in each village. A total of nine villages were observed in the districts of Tharparker, Thatta, Sanghar, and Sukkur in September-December, 1979.

Women in Administrative Positions: Out of 65 women administrators contacted from government, semi-government and private organizations, 43 or 66 percent provided information which was collected by means of a detailed questionnaire, informal interview as well as observation. The data were collected in 1976 in Karachi City.

Women in a Match Factory: Using a combination of interview, questionnaire and observation techniques, 87 female workers in a match factory in Karachi City were studied in 1976. The total number of employees in the match factory consisted of 800 males and 300 females.

Future Anticipations of University Women: In 1976, 150 women students from the Departments of Sociology, Social Work and Psychology at the Karachi University were asked to write an essay on the following theme: "Imagine you are 60 years old today; describe your life since high school." In addition, students were asked to provide background information about their age, marital status, education and occupation of parents. These essays were content analyzed to study the future anticipations of university women.

For further details about the methodology of the studies see Hafeez, 1981a-d. It may be emphasized here that findings based on data from the

city of Karachi and the province of Sind may not be generalizable to Pakistan as a whole, and more studies at the national level are necessary to study national patterns.

Nature and Extent of Saliency of Housewife/Motherhood Role

A woman in almost all cultures essentially bears and rears children and a man earns bread. This definition of sex roles is still largely intact in many cultures. Concern for expansion in women's rights and benefits in all societies is a manifestation of this. While women for various reasons have begun to expand their role outside the home, men are expected to expand their role at home in many developed countries. Cultural variations exist in the extent to which men and women have been able to widen the scope of their roles in and outside home in various countries.

The most prevalent and salient role of an adult Pakistani woman is still that of a housewife and a mother. She conforms to the conventional image of an ideal woman: "Chiragh-e-Khana" - (lamp of the household). She is endowed by the Pakistani society with the Utopian qualities of nobility, dignity, humility and submission. With marriage the role of housewife becomes a compulsory role. An unmarried woman usually lives with her family where she may or may not share the responsibility of household tasks with other members. The prescriptions for married women's routine at home are not made up in terms of working days or non-working days, as in Western societies. The routines prescribed are daily routines centering around home and children. In a study of middle class housewives in Karachi, for example, 23 percent stated they stayed at home during the weekend and no change from the daily routine was reported by them (Hafeez, 1981a).

Woman's expectations about control and autonomy are shrouded within this limited role. She considers herself the boss at home, ruler and powerholder. This specific expectation for herself has emerged as the more prevalently perceived standard than earning for her children or providing for her children's education and training. Career experience, current or past, does not seem to significantly change a woman's perception about the motherhood role as being the most significant one. Among the middle class housewives, in Karachi, 55 percent women from the group of careerists, 64 percent from that of exclusive housewives and 46 percent from that of housewives who have discontinued their career considered management of the house as the most important thing that women should be doing at home (Hafeez, 1981a). In the same study, we found that more careerists and housewives who have been married longer (15 years or over) are likely to state that household management is the most important thing to be done at home, compared with those who have been married less than 15 years. The longer the duration of marriage, the more firmly the idea of the role of housewife seems to be entrenched.

What a woman can do or what she cannot do depends partly on whom she identifies with. She learns to (and is taught to) identify with the female role models at an early age. Growing up for a girl in Pakistan means excitement of preparing for womanhood as well as the awareness of future responsibilities. A little girl in Pakistan, with a few exceptions, is expected to follow the conventional role and she is usually not given any alternative choices. Mothers have definite career aspirations, wishes, desires and expectations for their sons, but usually not for their

daughters. Conscious effort and considerable interest is indicated for bringing up sons but rearing of daughters is taken for granted.

Differences in importance attached to the sex of children is pointed out by a content analysis of 86 'lorians' or lullabies published by the Institute of Folk Heritage (1980). The compilation contains a negligible number that mention the female child (4), while a considerable majority mention the male child (65), while 17 do not specify any sex.[1] In this analysis a little girl is portrayed as being inferior to a boy. She deserves consolation for her weakness. There is no other way to compensate for her shortcomings except through pity and sympathy. Other specific sex-typed images as mentioned in 'lorians' are as follow:

Male Images	Female Images
Pride of ancestory.	Envious of her brother's diet.
Precious, likened with moon.	Worthy of consolatory treatment - black skin brings luck.
Source of joy, delight, glow of the house.	Surrounded by her toys.
Worthy of attention, demands special treatment and comfort.	
Glorious - compared with prince roaming in the streets playing and enjoying life.	
Worthy of sacrifice of his mother's sleep and time.	
Meant for cherishing high aspirations, dreams.	
A leader, a tribal chief, and owner of thousands and thousands of horses.	
Meant for rich inlaws.	
Needs protection against evil eye.	

In the other lullabies, where sex is not specified, some common images of the child irrespective of sex refer to the loneliness of the parents in old age bred by separation of child of either sex, resemblance of child's features with his/her parents, and thankfulness to God for His bounty.[2]

Village studies in Sind tend to support male and female images mentioned in the lullabies discussed above to some extent. One pattern that emerges from these studies is that most male children at the age of 5 are in school but girls of the same age are not. Parents' expectations match well with actual practice for the male child but not for the female child. Gaps in the expectations and practice for the female child reflects ambivalence in the priorities for a girl. The girls, though occupied with household tasks are expected to attend school (Hafeez, 1979). Little girls at an early age internalize the meaning of cultural standards that limit or define their personal choices. In the poor families, work at home conflicts with the probability of girls attending school. Her work is of course unpaid. In some of the more affluent families parents believe that girls when they are with their parents should not be burdened with household duties since they would be working for the rest of their lives at their in-laws' house, once married. Little girls from such families either just attend school or stay at home without doing very much.

In the Sindhi villages, resistance to female education is, however, often expressed. Parents and their daughters do not perceive "high" or "low" status of women in terms of high or low level of their education. High status is perceived by them as maintenance of their family tradition (Hafeez, 1979). One young girl in a village in Tharparker, Sind, said:

"Since girls in our community do not acquire much education they are married off at a young age. It does not make much difference to us if the girls from the 'Arian'* families go in for education beyond primary level. We neither feel sorry for ourselves nor we question as to why we are not permitted to study after class five. It just does not happen in our families. We do not care if the girls from other communities are getting education or not".

Nature and Extent of Expansion in Conventional Role

In urban centers of Pakistan as well as in rural areas, women have been expanding their roles by way of education, employment, participation in the voluntary organizations and participation in the political process. In one village we studied in Sind, for example, mothers expressed support for women's education. We can infer this from the statements of some older women who reported in retrospect that they would have preferred to have attended school rather than just serving their parents or doing household work at the age of 12 (Hafeez, 1979). On the whole, the girl's own response towards their lack of schooling was passive. On the contrary, there is some indication of a growing interest in education expressed by boys in a study village in Sanghar. We found that young boys take turns in dropping out of school. If one brother is in school, the other is working to supplement family income. The emphasis seems to be on sharing the opportunity for acquiring some education, and the responsibility for assisting the father at work, not on completing certain class levels or grades. This is a case of "rotated dropout" expressed by the boys in this village.[3] Some parents in the Sind villages are, however, sending their daughters to school. In another study based on a random sample of 100

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* Arian is a caste group.

respondents from a village in the Punjab, it was found that literate parents tend to favor female education (Akram, M., 1970).

While parents may not send their daughters to school, they are quite willing to let them work at the carpet centers or industrial homes. Whatever the bars against their working may be, parents are softened by the first cash income the daughters bring home. Once young girls become available for income earning activities they can be provided some education on their job site. This possibility has been realized by the Government; in Baluchistan, for example, with the cooperation of the Education Department, classes in elementary education are being held in some carpet centers.

Expansion in the role of urban women by way of employment has been on a small scale but in multiple directions. The small number of females in the labor force are absorbed in many different professions. Expansion in the role of middle class women has occurred over a generation as shown in our study of middle class housewives in Karachi—26 percent women in our sample had careers against only 4 percent of their mothers (Hafeez, 1981a).

Teaching and medicine are the most popular professions among educated Pakistani women. Both of these professions are not necessarily secluded and segregated. Women teachers can be located in coeducational schools, colleges and universities (all universities and some professional colleges in Pakistan are coeducational). Some women study medicine with men. While they practice as Gynecologists, some may work on reseach teams with men, and participate in professional meetings with them. Other than teaching and medicine Pakistani women are engaged in activities such as nursing, law, accounting, engineering, chartered accountancy, civil service, sales, managerial positions in hotels and advertising companies. They hold

administrative positions in banks and government offices. They contribute as scientists. They earn their livelihood as stenotypists, clerks and telephone operators. Illiterate urban women have been working as vendors and laborers and as factory workers.[4]

Motivations for Employment

Different motivations attract women to different professions. Small scale surveys by university students in Karachi provided the following findings. The girls who were attracted to the profession of nursing felt so because of the opportunity they would have for serving humanity rather than the emoluments they would receive or any intrinsic interest they may have had in nursing (Ali, 1963). The low public esteem in which other professions are held was found to be responsible for girls taking up teaching which is socially approved (Butt, 1963). In another study it was found that the lower the income group to which a girl belongs the more inclined she is to make teaching her profession (Jamal, 1963).

Most of the teachers from middle class families in Karachi, the majority of whom got their jobs through personal contacts, have been working to supplement family income; 72 percent of the women who have discontinued teaching for various reasons reported that factors other than economic need had motivated them to work. The factors that had attracted the latter group of women to teaching were: interest (18%), a desire to utilize their education (9%) or easy access to a job (27%); respect attached to profession (9%); and the fact that the educational institution was owned by their relatives (9%). Among those who were currently working as teachers at the time of survey, 58 percent reported that they were working in order to supplement family income or for improving the standard

of living of themselves busy, 20 percent mentioned they were interested in working, and 4 percent said that work has become a habit for them (Hafeez, 1981a).

In a study of women in administrative jobs in Karachi, we found that access to administrative jobs is made easier by the women's upper middle class background. Some of them admitted they were able to locate senior adminstrative positions for themselves in advertising companies because of their family background. The women in administrative jobs are highly qualified and some of them have been trained abroad. A set of interrelated variables seems to keep married women in administrative positions. Some of these variables are economic needs of the family, satisfaction, self fulfillment, women's own intention to continue working, the expectations for a higher standard of living and a better style of life, the supportive attitudes of the husband, the mother-in-law, the children and the employers (with their formalized support system of maternity leave, etc.) (Hafeez, 1981b).

In the case of factory workers, these women view their entrance into factory labor as accidental and forced by family circumstances. They had neither the aspirations nor the training to do factory work and did not view their work as a vocation or a profession. A small number of women who believe in the interrelationship between education and employment continue to study privately in hope of moving from the factory job to another one like nursing or teaching for prestige considerations. Most factory workers anticipate discontinuing their work if and when their economic conditions improve (Hafeez, 1981d). Among factory workers, we found that women influence each other to work. They bring in their friends and influence the management to hire them. Thus, women who usually stay at home and are

unaware of the ways and means for landing jobs are facilitated by this informal pattern of recruitment. Otherwise they may not find employment.

While uneducated women from the poor class may pursue factory work or related work, the uneducated ones from the middle class usually may not do so largely because of greater cultural constraints on their employment. In general, the relevance of their education to career is not stressed by the parents of educated women. As a result, they do not see education as preparation for a job. Some of the reasons for not working include the husbands' attitudes and criticism of the in-laws as shown in the study of Karachi housewives. Other reasons given for being unable to work were: nonavailability of good employment, responsibility of bringing up children and other circumstances. The stated reasons for not going back to work (among the discontinuers) even if they desire, were children, pregnancy, restriction imposed by husband, lack of training in a specific field and nonavailability of job or little or no opportunity. Very few women seem confident that they will successfully emerge from various constraints imposed upon their working outside home. Finally, marriage was reported by teachers and factory workers as a reason for discontinuing their career. (Hafeez, 1981a and d).

Despite the small changes in women's roles, marriage continues to be of a high cultural priority.[6] In well-to-do families marriage for women is preferred to their preparation for career on the completion of high school education. Observation suggests that a delay in marriage of women is a cause of concern both for the woman herself and for her parents.

Changes in Roles through Employment

When women work they not only bring additional income home but are likely to gain an awareness of other aspects concerning themselves or society in general. For example, in the Karachi housewife study, more careerists than housewives were aware of the Woman's week celebration which was organized by the Government at the time the data were collected (Hafeez, 1981a). Furthermore, those who work gain the consciousness of the importance of having their own income. Among the careerists there seems more of an egalitarian relationship with their husbands. A change is expressed in the daily routine of the housewives who work as teachers in the metropolitan environments. Quite a few women bring their office work home and do not go out much on their own. The time which is likely to have been taken up in visiting friends and relatives is devoted to doing office work at home (Hafeez, 1981a).

For the careerist who is working as teacher in Karachi and has encountered some control over her life from earning her income, the significance of the motherhood role seems to decline somewhat, but this role still remains a central focus of her life. In addition to the Karachi housewives study, other studies from small scale samples in Karachi have shown that women are able to successfully combine the roles of workers and mothers and that working mothers from various socioeconomic groups do not neglect their household and child care responsibilities (Ismail, 1972; Khaeri, 1964; Bano, 1971; Hafeez, 1981a). These findings, though on a small scale lead us to question cultural notions that career undermines, undervalues or negates women's role of motherhood.

The married factory workers in urban centers gain a different experience from working. Their earning ability does not seem to have given them a sense of power but only an opportunity to escape from their day-to-day worries. Most of the unmarried women give their complete salaries to their mothers and the married ones to their husbands and therefore have relatively little control over their earnings. Nevertheless, a distant pay off of women's earnings is present, since the additional income brought in by them is spent mostly on the education of their children in anticipation of preparing them for better jobs.[7] However, some portion of their salary is spent on consumption items; food, clothing and luxury items. The factory workers are so overwhelmed by their helplessness as a reason to work that they fail to recognize their contributions to industry. In addition to this experience, many women have encountered situations of unauthorized deductions from their pay, delayed payments of bonus, and compensation of wages for maternity leave, and inaccessibility to worker's education at the training institute (Hafeez, 1981b).[8] Response of factory workers in general to such experiences of discrimination or deprivation is one of helplessness. This is so because they lack consciousness of their role as producers and probably lack an awareness of their rights as workers.

Changes in Roles Through Participation in Voluntary Organizations and Other Organized Activities

Participation of women in voluntary organizations and organized social welfare is another avenue for directed social change in the lives of women, their families and society. On the whole the participation rate of women in voluntary organizations is found to be low. In the study on middle

class housewives in Karachi, 90 percent did not belong to any clubs or associations, 3 percent were members of social clubs, 3 percent held membership in political associations or political parties, 2 percent in religious associations, 1 percent in sport clubs, and 1 percent in a professional association or union. Of those who did not belong to any club or association, only 3 were members of some committees in their workplaces (Hafeez, 1981a). Several students have analyzed the correlates of women's participation in voluntary agencies. Findings from these studies are, however, not always consistent with each other and are therefore not reported here (e.g. see Shah, 1965; Alam, 1967; Hassan, 1968; Bano, 1966; Khaeri, 1964).

Finally, with regard to political participation, the Pakistan government has recently instituted a system of elected councillors who represent their constituencies. Due to the reservation of seats, only 438 female councillors were elected, compared to 51,000 male councillors; thus, women constitute only 0.86 percent of the total councillors (Hafeez, June 1980). Two women have been elected to the non-reserved or general seats (see Chapter 4). As is the case with any constitutional provision that has been implemented for the first time, the implementation of the provision regarding the election of women councillors has left some gaps. Table 1 shows the distribution of women councillors by province in various councils. Women councillors have been elected to District Councils, Municipal Corporations, Municipal Committees and Town Committees, but no women have been elected to union councils (village level councils), except for one female councillor in Sind. The reason for lack of female representation at the village level needs further study.

With regard to the correlates of women's participation in the political process in the past, little information is available. Their educational level is one factor (Mustafa, 1977). In one survey conducted in Karachi a few months before the 1977 national election, a close association was found between literacy and political awareness and participation in political life. The poorest class which was considered the least informed had shown relatively more involvement. A number of them who were not registered voters had attended public meetings, although this could be because rallies provided them with a recreational diversion from the monotony of their daily chores and fewer restrictions on their mobility. The middle class in this study manifested great civic responsibility as can be seen from the fact that 70 percent of the women from these groups were registered as voters (Mustafa, 1977).

Nature and Extent of
Recognition in Changed Role

Nature and extent of recognition by women of a new role can be assessed in terms of ambivalence or confusion over their conventional role and perceived equality or fair treatment. Some of the women who have taken up non-conventional roles and are largely concentrated in urban areas tend to be ambivalent or confused. In the study on middle class housewives, careerists and those who have discontinued their career do not include "serving husbands" in their standards of prime importance that they they would like to preserve at home; yet they attach a great amount of importance to the motherhood role. Also, professional women working as administrators in government, semi-government and private organizations being fully aware of their contributions to their organizations perceive or experience inconsistency in their sex and positions; hence feel ambiguity.

In the study of women administrators, women reported that when decisions are made, all senior staff members participate, but usually the men in the organization have the final word more often than the women, also the tougher (i.e., non-routine and policy) decisions are usually made by the male staff members. They felt that when men commit blunders in their work they are seldom ridiculed as women are in a similar kind of situation. They further felt that regardless of their high administrative positions they are criticized by their family if the official duties compel them to keep late hours at their work or travel long distances. They also said that while dedicated women are respected for their earnestness in their work by most persons in the organizations, they are considered a threat by their male peers. They perceived that a flare of anger or disgust or strong dissatisfaction with inefficiency expressed by women are usually attributed to their emotional instability, whereas similar outbursts by men are largely condoned. They thought that they are respected for holding senior administrative jobs, but are criticized by their male colleagues if they develop friendships with other male colleagues. Their ideas carried little weight in comparison to their more aggressive male colleagues and they are given fewer opportunities to represent their organizations in higher order level meetings (Hafeez, 1981b).

What a woman experiences in a job is likely to influence the probability of her working on a more or less continued basis, and thus contributing to an expansion of the female labor force. The probability of women being aware of the lack of recognition awarded to their work varies with their social class, i.e. their level of education, nature of profession and experiences on the job. The educated women with some job experience are aware of the inequalities and express definite reactions

towards these experiences as in the case of women administrators discussed above. The factory workers, on the other hand, are so overwhelmed by their helplessness that they fail to recognize their contributions to industry, with the result that they seek sympathy and consolation from management rather than recognition of their efforts (Hafeez, 1981d).

The nature of recognition desired or needed by women varies wich the nature of their profession. For highly educated women from the upper middle class women working as administrators in the government and private organizations, winning recognition and support from their male colleagues is very important (Hafeez, 1981b). Factory workers need to gain consciousness of their exploitation by management. The middle class housewives who have discontinued working consider the approval of their families an important factor which influences their decisions to stay on the job. More than half of all those housewives who have discontinued working have been unable to reenter the labor force because of their husband's attitudes and other reasons; 82 percent of those who discontinued working said that they would not work again. It seems that just the effort of overcoming any hurdles is not seen as worthwhile by them. They hesitate to disrupt the peace and tranquillity of what is considered a normal family life (Hafeez, 1981a).

When asked about their perceptions about superiority/inferiority of males, Pakistani women do not necessarily consider themselves inferior to men. In the study on middle class housewives many (65%) felt that women are equal to or superior, while 35 percent believed that women are generally inferior. The former group of women stated that there is a division of labor between the sexes and going out to work does not necessarily make men superior; of them, 47 percent said women are equal as

they do the same work men do; 28 percent said if the man earns, the woman gives birth to children and takes care of the house; another 13 percent stated they are equal as they share the responsibility together; 8 percent said that men and women are equal in Islam and the remaining 4 percent gave other reasons.

Toward Redefinition of Conventional Role: Internalization of a New Role

In Pakistan very few highly educated women are on the verge of redefining their role expectations. Institutions—family, education, etc.—indicate little or no preparation of young girls for any new role. Women's satisfaction with their career and interest in their work represents one path through which they may be able to initiate redefinition of their conventional role. Studies of various occupational groups have provided the following findings. Interest in their job among women in two industrial organizations was found to be a function of being married, better educated, relatively older (26-50) and earning higher income. (Rs. 301-above) (Nazlee, 1964). Amongst the air hostesses, job satisfaction was found to be a function of the opportunity for promotion, fewer hours spent in flying (110 or less per month) and a higher income (Rs. 1001-15000) (Ghori, 1970). Among teachers, air hostesses, bank workers and employees of pharmaceutical concerns, those with higher level of education (graduates and above) expressed a greater desire to take up or continue a career as well as marry a man of their own choice (Ara, 1975). Working women from a slum area were found to enjoy popularity among the family members while those not gainfully employed did not necessarily enjoy greater respect by their husbands (Ismail, 1972).

Irrespective of the nature of job, some women draw self-fulfillment from working. Those women administrators who had initially begun to work due to economic necessity did not quit when their economic conditions improved. The reasons that they gave for not quitting were the self-fulfillment they received from working and because work outside the home had become a part of their lives (Hafeez, 1981b). The housewives who continued to work after marriage reported that they enjoyed working ouside their homes; that they drew enjoyment from self-fulfillment, feeling of autonomy and being with their colleagues.

On the institutional level change towards redefinition of sex roles may be anticipated, though on a very small level. This can be easily seen in the growing number of young girls being engaged in income generating activities at the carpet centers and industrial homes, and in the changing attitudes of some parents in villages and cities towards preparing young girls for some career. We have observed that some parents who are reluctant to send their daughters to school willingly let them generate income from working at the carpet centers and industrial homes. Whether their husbands would let them do the same after marriage would be a significant element in determining the permanency of this new role.

In the Pakistani villages an enlightening trend towards breaking away from negative sanctions against the employment of women is emerging. For example, a canal 'Patwari'* in a village in Thatta, Sind, wants his two little daughters to become nurses; one headmaster in a semi-rural town in Sanghar has prepared one of his daughters to be a middle school teacher and the other daughter is under training for the job of a health visitor

* A patwari is a government official who keeps an account of the land ownership demarcations within a village.

(Hafeez, 1979). These isolated cases indicate microscopic change in parental expectations for preparing their daughters for unconventional roles. Quite a few women in Karachi favored vocational education for their daughters indicating perceived relevance of their education to the adoption of careers (Hafeez, 1981a). More than half of the university women who wish to have specific jobs anticipate a 'new traditional' type of marriage where the wife may be in a career or a job but the husband's job is still predominately responsible for family maintenance (Hafeez, 1981c). Although these women will work to generate or enhance their family incomes they will probably not be reciprocated in any form by their husbands in work at home. This conclusion is based on the experience of wives already in the labor force who were interviewed in the various surveys discussed above. Thus, the cultural definition of sex roles is undergoing perceptible changes but the rate of change is perhaps slower than what some of the social reformists may desire. Several governmental and non-governmental programs designed to accelerate the pace of change are underway.

Table 1. Distribution of Female Councillors by Province, Pakistan, 1981

	Total	Punjab	Sind	NWFP	Baluchistan
District Council (rural area)	91	30	35	18	8
Municipal Corporations	29	13	13	2	1
Municipal Committees	94	61	22	11	0
Town Committees	224	132	92	0	0
TOTAL	438 **	236	162	31 *	9

Source: Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, Islamabad, July 15, 1981.

* In addition there are 4 vacant positions at the district council level.

** This figure is likely to rise considerably in Sind and Punjab in near future for the councillors at the Union Council level and likewise in other Provinces. It is expected 900 women councillors in Punjab and 2,240 women councillors in Sind at Union Council levels will be nominated through indirect election.

Footnotes

1. The author was constrained to content analyze only the 'lorians' published by the Institute of Folk Heritage (1980). This publication was found to be the only one available on the subject. The author did not make a search for male or female oriented lorians. Although it is not clear whether the publishers of the volume had an equal access to male or female oriented lullabies, several lullabies which have a girl child as a subject are known to exist. The presence of a much larger number of male oriented lullabies in this volume raises a research question pertaning to the reliability and validity of the material which was content analyzed and to the inherent limitations of the technique of content analysis. There is probably a need for supplementing such analysis with other techniques of data collection and analysis.

2. A study is needed to assess the impact of lorian or lullabies on the attitudes and behaviour of children in the long run, and on the impact of other factors that might mitigate the influence of lorians.

3. The prevalence of this hypothetical insight based on only one village needs to be tested from a representative sample of several diverse villages. This phenomenon has not been reported by other researchers, in Pakistan.

4. The occupational structure of employed Pakistani women is discussed in Chapter 10.

5. Of the 48 women who reported their income, 10% were earning Rs. 2000 per month or more while 38% were earning between Rs. 500-1000 (approximately U.S. $200 and $50-$100, respectively).

6. As noted in Chapter 2, Islam considers marriage to be obligatory on those who can afford to marry.

7. This is a somewhat unusual finding considering that in most other countries additional income is reported to be used for purchasing consumption items such as food, clothing or maybe even luxury items (e.g. see Safilios-Rothschild, 1980).

8. For example, lack of accessibility to training has been experienced by female workers at the National Institute of Labour Administration Training, where male workers were selected for the worker's management program but women workers were not.

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4

LEGAL STATUS OF WOMEN IN PAKISTAN

by

Rashida Patel

In examining the status of women in Pakistan, we have to keep in view the fact that Pakistan is an ideological state. Islam and the aspirations of the Muslim Community of pre-partition India, are the basis and the purpose for the coming into being of Pakistan as a separate State in 1947. It is generally accepted by the orthodox as well as less conservative men and women in Pakistan that the status and rights of women provided in Islam are not actually available to women in Pakistan. The rights and status of women in Islam have been socially disregarded and buried by customs and traditions alien to Islam over a period of time and history.

In the legal sphere, the British rulers of pre-partition India introduced statutory laws to regulate practically every sphere of life except personal and family life. In matters relating to marriage, divorce, dower, inheritance, succession and family relationships, it was the Customary Laws and the so-called Religious Laws subject to Customs, which continued to be applied with few modifications by legislative enactments. Since 1827, when the British settlers, enacted the Bombay Regulation IV, followed by other enactments, Customary Laws had precedence over Religious Laws, for more than a century. Customary Law, which was derogatory and detrimental to the rights of women and did not countenance the Islamic rights of women was applied in pre-partition India to Muslims. The Muslim

women's rights of inheritance and rights of divorce were completely negated till the late 1930's when The Muslim Personal Law Shariat Application Act of 1937 (Government of Pakistan, 1966a), and the Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act 1939 (Government of Pakistan, 1966b), were enacted, whereby a limited move was made to restore to Muslim Women of pre-partition India, a few of their Islamic rights regarding inheritance and divorce.

More recently, some legislative reforms have been brought about in Pakistan, by the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance 1961 (Government of Pakistan, 1961a), the West Pakistan Family Law Courts Act 1964 (Government of Pakistan, 1964), and the West Pakistan Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act 1962 (Government of Pakistan, 1962). The latter Act attempts to bring in complete focus Muslim Personal Law, subject to statutory provisions. The Superior Courts in Pakistan have in a few cases reinterpreted Islamic Law, differing from earlier misinterpretations, thus legally restoring to women a few of their Islamic rights. Despite these reforms, I have argued elsewhere that "these changes by judicial decisions are still few and far between and the women of Pakistan continue to suffer from age-old customs and tradition, and are borne down under misinterpreted Islamic Law." (Patel, 1979, p.22).

With regard to the legal status of Pakistani women, personal law of each religious sect within Pakistan is applicable to the respective subgroups within the country. Separate and different sets of laws are applicable to Muslims, Hindus, Parris and Christians in the sphere of personal and family life. In the case of Muslims, the Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) is applicable in matters such as succession, property, betrothal, marriage, divorce, will, etc. Courts are required to apply to Sunni and Shia Muslims their own respective Personal Law (Government of Pakistan, 1962).

As Muslims form the bulk of Pakistan's population, and this paper is limited in content and scope, I shall be dealing herein exclusively with the personal law as applied in Pakistan to Muslims with emphasis on the legal status of Muslim women in Pakistan. The paper is organized as follows. It deals first with the most important aspects of a woman's life in Pakistan namely marriage, divorce, custody of children, inheritance, political rights and rights guaranteed by the constitution. After a discussion of each of these, results from an empirical survey aimed at assessing public knowledge about various laws are presented. The final sections contain a discussion of the current legal status and possibilities for change.

I.1. LAWS RELATING TO MARRIAGE

The concept of marriage in Islam is the joining together in matrimony of a male and female by free consent, for the purpose of legalizing natural sexual relationship, procreation, setting up a home, nurturing and caring for children, living together as husband and wife in harmony, mutual care, comfort and concern, and for protecting against immorality. Marriage creates legal, moral and religious obligations on the husband and the wife.

"As is well settled, marriage among Muslims is not a sacrament, but in the nature of a civil contract. Such a contract undoubtedly has spiritual and moral overtones and undertones, but legally in essence, it remains a contract between the parties which can be subject of dissolution for just cause. In this respect Islam, the 'Din-ul-Fitrat' (religion of nature), conforms to the dictates of human nature and does not prescribe the binding together of a man and a woman to what has been described as 'holy deadlock.'" (Supreme Court of Pakistan, 1967, p. 97). Thus, marriage is

in the nature of a contract in which mutual rights and obligations, which are lawful in accordance to Islamic Law, can be defined. It is affected by proposal from one side and an acceptance on the other. Islamic Law did not insist upon any particular form in which the contractual performa should be effected. A Muslim male and a single Muslim female having attained puberty, and not being within the prohibited degrees for marriage relationship, can enter into a valid marriage contract.

Nikahnama (Marriage Contract)

In recent times it has become natural and essential to set down rules, procedures and laws to regulate the institution of marriage. In Pakistan some of these have been legislated by the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance 1961 (Government of Pakistan, 1961a), (hereinafter referred to as the Ordinance) and the Rules, framed thereunder (Government of Pakistan, 1961b). The Ordinance has under its Rules prescribed a standard form of nikahnama or marriage contract. The nikahnama has kept intact the prevalent practice for the bride and the bride-groom if they so desire, to appoint their vakils (attorneys) for the purpose of the marriage. The standard nikahnama requires details about the bride and the bride-groom to be filled in, as discussed below. Besides, certain special conditions which may be agreed to by the parties, can also find place in the standard form of nikahnama.

The details, that are to be filled in the prescribed form are: the names and addresses of the bride and the bridegroom, names, address and signatures of the vakils (attorneys) if any appointed by the parties to the marriage, names, addresses and signatures of the witnesses to the appointment of the vakils, names, addresses and signatures of the witnesses to the marriage. Signatures of the person performing the marriage and of the marriage registrar are also required. Finally, the signature of the

bridegroom or his attorney is required on the nikahnama, and in the case of the bride, the signature of the bride is mandatory even when the vakil if appointed by her, also signs. The purpose of the signatures is to record the free consent of the parties to the marriage. Emphasis on the signature of the bride is to ensure that the bride has personally consented to the marriage. In actual practice, however, marriage arrangements are usually the parents' domain and the daughter is consulted for her consent, often as a mere formality. Furthermore, very few brides actually know what is written in their nikahnama, partly because many of them are illiterate. In case of illiterate girls the forms are usually thumb impressed by the bride as merely a legal formality.

Regarding personal status, it has to be declared whether the bride is unmarried, divorced or widowed, the standard nikahnama also requires the bridegroom to declare whether he has an existing wife and if so whether the requisite permission under the Ordinance has been obtained to contract another marriage. With respect of dower (haq-mahr) the nikahnama asks these questions: What is the amount of dower stipulated? How much of the dower is prompt and how much is deferred? Whether any part of the dower has been paid? Whether any property has been given to the bride in lieu of the dower?

In addition to the above, there is a column regarding agreement about special conditions if any, whereby the parties may stipulate any conditions to the marriage contract, which are not opposed to the Islamic concept of marriage. There is a question in the standard form of nikahnama about whether the husband has delegated the power of divorce to his wife if so, under what conditions. The husband can delegate his right to pronounce divorce to his wife either conditionally or without reservations. Such a

delegation of right is known as haq-e-talaq-i-tafweez. Where the husband delegates his right of pronouncing divorce to his wife, the wife is entitled to exercise the right and pronounce Talaq (Divorce) on behalf of the husband and thus dissolve the marriage tie (subject to section 8 of Muslim Family Law Ordinance 1961). Another important question posed in the nikahnama pertains to whether the husband's right of divorce is in any way curtailed. If these conditions are properly spelt out the rights of the bride can be protected by the marriage contract.

In actual practice, however, a line is usually drawn across these questions in the nikahnama and these columns remain unused. Often, the bride and the bride's parents are not even aware of this manner of protecting her rights. Even where there is an awareness, there is a strong hesitation on the part of the bride's parents to negotiate at the time of marriage any special conditions in the marriage contract. Occassionally, one comes across families of judges and lawyers or other educated families who have these conditions inserted in the nikahnama. By far and large, traditions and customs do not support the proper utilization of the standard nikahnama, particularly with regard to special conditions in the marriage contract. In actual fact even if the bride's parents would like to have the conditions set out in the nikahnama, the bridegroom's side may take it as an insult or lack of trust. Though legally possible, it can be extremely awkward for the bride or her parents to insist on conditions in the nikahnama as this is customarily not done. However, in respect of haq mahr (dower), there is often negotiation and agreement at the time of marriage or before the marriage is settled.

Registration of Marriage

The Ordinance also provides for the compulsory registration of the nikah or marriage with the nikah registrar who is appointed by the Government for this purpose. While the machinery and procedures have been provided, there is a lot of room for improvement in marriage registration. Non-registration of marriage does not invalidate the marriage where it can be otherwise proved; yet courts have laid emphasis on the evidentiary value of the registration of a marriage, to prove the factum of the marriage. In a recent case it has been held by a judge of the Lahore High Court, "Without prejudice to the case of either party, I may straight away observe that under Islamic Law, nikah may be performed orally and such a nikah is not invalidated merely because it is not registered according to the provisions of the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance 1961. However the Ordinance provides a punishment if one contravenances the provisions regarding the registration of nikah." (Lahore High Court, 1980a, p. 791).

The effective implementation of the provisions in the Ordinance in respect of registration of nikah has become very important due to their evidentiary value for proving a nikah. Marriage registration has gained additional importance with the recent promulgation and enforcement of the Hudood Ordinance. The Islamic Law relating to zina (adultery), has come into force with the enforcement of Hudood Ordinance (VII of 1979) (Government of Pakistan, 1979). In recent reported cases it has been seen that on being accused on the charge of 'Zina' (adultery) the man and the woman try to find refuge in the assertion that they are married.

Islamic Law and courts in Pakistan are inclined to lean in favour of the existence of a marriage, when there is a dispute as to the factum of marriage and legitimacy of the child. To cite an example, in one case

decided by the Supreme court of Pakistan, the plaintiffs Mst. Shamim Firdous and minor son through his mother had filed a civil suit for declaration that they were the wife and son of the defendant Lt. Col. Sher Afzal, who denied the marriage. It was alleged that the plaintiff was married to the defendant according to Sharah-i-Muhammadi,[1] before the coming into force of the Ordinance. The Court endorsed the principle, "Cohabitation of man and woman, or their behaviour in other respects as husband and wife always affords an inference of greater or lesser strength that a marriage has been solemnized between them. Their conduct being susceptible of two opposite explanations, the court giving effect to the presumption of innocence is bound to be moral rather than immoral" (Supreme Court of Pakistan, 1980, p. 228).

Age at Marriage

The current minimum age of marriage for males and females has been set at 18 and 16 respectively.[2] The Ordinance has amended the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929 (Government of Pakistan, 1966c), in which a child has been defined as a person who if a male, is under eighteen years of age, and if a female, is under sixteen years of age. Before the amendment, the Act defined as child, a female under the age of fourteen years and a male under the age of sixteen years. The Child Marriage Restraint Act provides for punishment for a male over the age of eighteen years contracting child marriage, and punishment for whoever performs, conducts, or directs any child marriage and any person having charge of a minor,* who promotes or permits such a marriage. The female child or the male child bear no liability and cannot be punished.

*Under the Act, minor means any person of either sex, who is under eighteen years of age.

There is nothing in the said Act (or any other law), however, which renders a muslim marriage invalid by a female not having attained sixteen years or a male not having attained eighteen years. It is well settled by judicial decisions of courts in Pakistan, that a male and a female who have attained puberty can enter into a valid marriage under Muslim Law, even though they may not have attained the minimum legal ages prescribed by the Child Marriage Restraint Act 1929 (Government of Pakistan, 1966c). Under Muslim Law puberty is presumed in the case of a female if she has attained the age of fifteen years, or is established on the basis of her menstruation or pregnancy. A female having attained puberty is sui-juris to contract a valid marriage and does not require the consent of her parent or guardian. This law has recently been upheld in a case in the Lahore High Court (Lahore High Court, 1980b).

Dower

Dower is an incidence of a Muslim marriage. It is a legal and moral obligation under Muslim Law on a husband towards his wife. Dower is the sum of money or property or any other thing, which the husband pays to his wife as an incidence of the marriage contract. Normally at the time of marriage, the amount of dower is agreed to and specified. Even where no dower is specified at marriage, the wife can claim "proper dower" from her husband. A marriage without a specified dower or where it is agreed that there shall be no dower is valid. Dower because of its nature, being an obligation by the husband and a right of the wife, is known as 'haq-mahr', that is the right of dower.

Specified dower may be prompt or deferred, as discussed earlier. Prompt dower is payable on demand by the wife. Deferred dower becomes payable on the dissolution of marriage by divorce or death of the husband,

unless the wife foregoes it. Under Section 10 of the Ordinance "where no details about the mode of payment of dower are specified in the nikahnama or the marriage contract, the entire amount of the dower shall be presumed to be payable on demand" (Government of Pakistan, 1961a, p. 44). That is to say the law describes the specified dower as payable on demand, where no distinction is made in the nikahnama as to how much dower is prompt and how much is deferred. Where the marriage is not consummated, only half the dower is payable to the wife.

Some jurists defined dower as the sum of money or property payable by the husband to the wife in consideration of her entering into a marriage with him. In pre-Islamic society, dower was paid to the bride's parents as a kind of compensation. Islam changed this and dower became the exclusive right of the wife. In its present form it is payable to the wife. Many jurists define it as an obligation imposed by the law upon the husband as a mark of respect to the wife. "The payment of dower is enjoined by the law merely as a token of respect for its object (the woman), wherefore the mention of it is not absolutely essential to the validity of a marriage and, for the same reason, a marriage is also valid although the man were to engage in the contract on the condition that there should be no dower" (Charles, 1957).

Dower, agreed upon at the time of marriage, can be changed by mutual agreement between the husband and the wife. The dower amount or property can be increased or added to, or it may be decreased or reduced. The wife can also agree to forego her haq-mahr. Courts in Pakistan have usually attempted to vigilantly guard against any undue pressure being exerted on the wife for remmission of her dower. In cases where it is alleged that

the wife has agreed to forego her dower, the courts require strict proof so as to determine that no undue influence was exerted on her for remission of dower.

The amount of dower agreed upon at the time of marriage, differs in accordance to family customs and practices. Among some communities and families the practice is to agree to a traditional amount as mahr, which is only Rs. 32 (U. S. $3.2). More often a reasonable amount is stipulated as the mahr. Substantial mahr can give protection to the wife against divorce by the husband. Where an adequate amount of mahr is agreed upon it becomes an economic asset to her for her maintenance in case her husband divorces her.[3] The present interpretation of Islamic Law does not consider alimony for the ex-wife as a right accruing to her on divorce.

In the actual practice, the payment of mahr to the wife is normally not made even where the specified amount or part of it is stipulated as prompt. Often the wife, where marital relations are harmonious, does not demand her haq-mahr from her husband. It is mostly in cases where the marital relationship between the husband and wife are strained or in cases of a dissolution of marriage that the wife or ex-wife demands her haq-mahr from her husband. If the husband fails or refuses to pay the mahr, his wife can sue him for the payment of her mahr. Mahr is in the nature of an unsecured debt of the husband, unless otherwise agreed. The Family Courts or the courts sitting in appeal of its decrees have exclusive jurisdiction in the matter of mahr and the wife can sue for recovery of her dower at the place she normally resides.

On the dissolution of marriage or the death of the husband, if any part of the dower remains unpaid, it is the first debt payable from his estate. The widow is entitled to retain possession of any part of her husband's

assets or property till the payment of her dower claim. If the wife dies, and her dower remains unpaid, her heirs can claim the dower.

Dowry

Dowry is distinct from dower. Dowry (jahez) is the gifts, that the bride receives from her parents, relations or friends on the occasion of her marriage. Social practices have found deep roots in Pakistani life, whereby the institution of dowry has become a social evil. Socially it has become an obligation on the parents of the bride to provide for a substantial dowry, often far above their economic means. At times, before settling the marriage the bridegroom's parents stipulate certain articles or property as dowry. In case if the bride goes to her in-laws home with insufficient or inadequate dowry, she is often ridiculed and taunted about it. Some families find it difficult to marry their daughters because they cannot afford a dowry for their daughters. Many a time the dowry system makes the daughters in the family appear as a burden. There are several instances where the father or the brother borrow money or sell their lands in order to provide dowry for the daughter or sister. Customs have been established for the display of the dowry at the time of marriage, with a lot of show and artistry. It has become a matter of pride and status, apart from being a necessity for the marriage of a girl. In recent years, the custom of display of dowry has become less pronounced in the relatively more educated families. Yet one does find even the girl who is working and earning, saving up for her dowry (jahez). Dowry may comprise of any property, clothes, jewelry, household articles of daily use and may even include refrigerators, air-conditioners, electric appliances or cars depending on the financial status of the family.

There is also a social obligation on the bridegroom and his parents, to provide bridal gifts for the bride on the occasion of marriage. This usually consists of clothes and jewelry for the bride. It is customary to have lavish entertainments and feasts for family and friends on marriage occasions. These entertainments and feasts have assumed such proportions as to become a financial burden on the not so well-to-do. The bride's family is expected to feed all the 'barat' (the wedding party), which comprises the family, relatives and friends of the bridegroom.

The social evil of dowry and bridal gifts and heavy expenditure on feasting on the occasion of marriage made it necessary to legislate against the growing tendency for excessive dowry, bridal gifts and feasting. The first legislation on this behalf was the 1967 West Pakistan Dowry (Prohibition of Display) Act (Government of Pakistan, 1967), which now stands repealed and has been replaced by the Dowry and Bridal Gifts (Restriction) Act of 1976 (Government of Pakistan, 1976). The purpose of the 1967 Act was twofold, to prohibit the display of dowry and to lay down that dowry is the exclusive property of the bride and ensure delivery of possession to her. The 1976 Act provides for restrictions on the amount, whether in cash or in kind. It also restricts the expenditure on marriage. Section 3 of the Act provides that "neither the aggregate value of dowry and presents given to the bride by her parents nor the aggregate value of the bridal gifts or the presents given to the bridegroom shall exceed five-thousand rupees."[4] The Act also restricts the amount of expenditure on the marriage by each party, to a maximum of rupees two thousand five hundred. Penalty has been provided for violation of the restrictions prescribed under the Act.

Needless to say, that in actual practice the restrictions on the value of dowry, bridal gifts and expenditure on marriage are unrealistic. In the higher income families it is common to spend rupees five thousand on one outfit included in the dowry of the bride, whereas for the lower income families even the limited amounts are far beyond their means. In practice, the Act is blatantly flouted by the rich and the poor alike.

I.2. LAWS RELATING TO DIVORCE AND SEPARATION

Restitution of Conjugal Rights

On marriage the wife is required to live with her husband and perform her marital duties. If a wife refuses to live with her husband he may sue her for restitution of conjugal rights. There is no reason why a wife can not similarly demand the fulfillment by the husband of his marital duties, but in actual practice such legal action is unknown in Pakistan. There is no absolute right for the husband or the wife to require the other party to perform their marital duties, and for just cause the husband or the wife may refuse to live or cohabit with the other partner. Non payment of dower, or failure to maintain, or cruelty by the husband, are accepted defenses against a suit by the husband for restitution of conjugal rights. "Even where the husband has obtained a decree for restitution of conjugal rights, the wife cannot be compelled to live with him" (Lahore High Court, 1976, p. 670).

The decree for restitution of conjugal rights cannot be enforced by specific performance, that is by forcing the wife to live and cohabit with her husband. Nor can the decree be enforced by detention in a civil prison which can be ordered in other cases. Where a wife has no property, the decree against her for restitution of conjugal rights will remain

ineffective except as a declaration of the husband's rights. In simple words, the court cannot compel the wife to go and live with her husband, only the property of the wife can be attached and the court cannot order detention. Usually it is the husband who files a suit for restitution of conjugal rights, and in many cases simply to try to avoid payment of maintenance to the wife.

Dissolution of Marriage

A few modern jurists like K. N. Ahmed hold the view that a Muslim husband cannot justly divorce his wife in the absence of reasonable grounds and without having recourse to an attempt at reconciliation. He bases his contentions on the verses in the Holy Quran and Traditions of the Prophet (May Peace be on Him) dealing with divorce, and on the opinion of Abu Hanifa that if there is no urgent need for release from the marriage tie, the divorce is 'haram' (forbidden) and on the consensus of juristic opinion that divorce is strongly disapproved and discouraged in Islam. "Divorce is permitted as a matter of necessity for the avoidance of greater evil which may result from the continuance of a marriage. But even in such cases an attempt is first to be made for reconciliation by referring the matter to arbitration. Thus it is laid down in the Qur'an, 'And if you fear a breach between the two (husband and wife), then appoint an arbiter from his (husband's) people and an arbiter from her (wife's) people. If they desire agreement, Allah will effect harmony between them.' According to the spirit of the law, it is only when disagreement continues and efforts to bring about a reconciliation prove unavailing that the parties may dissolve the marriage" (Ahmed, 1972, p. 5).

Formerly, under the law in Pakistan a Muslim husband could divorce his wife by the mere pronouncement of divorce "Talaq, Talaq, Talaq" three

times. Quranic injunctions regarding reconciliation and arbitration had been completely disregarded. The Muslim Family Laws Ordinance 1961 (Government of Pakistan, 1961a), has to some extent endeavored to make legally binding the Quranic injunction of reconciliation before a "Talaq" (divorce) becomes effective. Section 7 of the Ordinance provides that:

"(a) Any man who wishes to divorce his wife shall, as soon as may be, after the pronouncement of talaq in any form whatsoever, give the Chairman[5] notice in writing of his having done so, and shall supply a copy thereof to his wife. Whoever contravenes this provision shall be punishable with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year or with fine up to rupees five thousand, or with both.

(b) A talaq shall not become effective, unless revoked earlier, until the expiration of ninety days from the day on which notice is delivered to the Chairman.

(c) The husband can revoke the talaq, before it becomes effective, that is before the expiry of the ninety days period. The revocation of talaq can be expressed or otherwise.

(d) If the wife is pregnant at the time talaq is pronounced, the talaq shall not be effective until the period of ninety days from the date of delivery of the notice of talaq or the pregnancy, whichever is later, ends.

(e) Nothing shall debar a wife whose marriage has been terminated by talaq, from remarrying the same husband without an intervening marriage with a third person, unless such termination has become effective for the third time.[6]

(f) The Chairman is required within thirty days of the receipt of a notice of pronouncement of talaq, to constitute an Arbitration Council for

the purpose of bringing about reconciliation between the parties, and the Arbitration Council shall take all necessary steps to bring about such reconciliation."

The Ordinance lays down the procedure to be adopted by the husband, on the pronouncement of talaq. It is obligatory for the husband to give notice of the pronouncement of talaq to the Chairman, and a copy thereof to the wife, and the talaq does not become effective before the expiry of ninety days from the day the notice of pronouncement of talaq is received by the Chairman. The mere pronouncement of talaq without notice to the Chairman does not make a divorce effective under the law in Pakistan.

Legal Effect of Talaq (Divorce)

Thus, the Ordinance regulates the legal procedure before the effectiveness of talaq. The effect of the Ordinance is that a husband pronouncing 'Talaq' has to give notice to the Chairman who is required to form the Arbitration Council, whose sole function is to try to bring about a conciliation between the parties. Where no reconciliation can be effected, the talaq unless revoked, becomes effective after the expiry of ninety days from the day on which the notice has been delivered to the Chairman.

At present the functions of the Chairman under the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance 1961 have been assigned to the Chairmen of the Local Councils (Panchayats) within their territorial jurisdictions.

In my opinion, the present law and practice does not protect the Islamic rights of the wife. There is no requirement for the husband to comply with his obligations before the divorce becomes effective. There is no legal requirement for the husband before he divorces his wife, to pay the stipulated dower/haq-mahr or to return the dowry and belongings of the

wife, or to undertake or arrange for the maintenance dues of his wife, or for the maintenance (past or future) of his minor children or for the restoration of the custody of the children to their mother where she is so entitled. There is no provision requiring the Chairman to decide these issues before the divorce becomes effective, or even to consider these issues, on receipt of notice of 'Talaq'. If the wife wishes to pursue legal remedies to recover her dower, or maintenance or custody of her children or maintenance for the children in her custody, she has to file a suit before the relevant Family Court. Legal redress is indefinite and painfully slow, especially as the number of Family Courts is not sufficient to meet the need. If a wife wishes to recover her dowery or property or personal belongings, in the possession of her husband or ex-husband she has to file a suit in the Civil Court. The cumbersome procedures and delays in Civil Court cases have made litigation, especially for an unprotected woman without financial backing, extremely difficult.

Family Courts

The West Pakistan Family Courts Act 1964 (Government of Pakistan, 1964), was enacted as a response to the complaints and cries against delays in adjudicating of family disputes and the constant demands by Womens' Organizations to remedy the cumbersome procedures and long drawn litigation in family cases. The Act came in force to make provision for the establishment of Family Courts for the expeditious settlement and disposal of disputes relating to marriage and family affairs. The Family Courts have exclusive jurisdiction in cases relating to Dissolution of Marriage, Dower, Maintenance, Restitution of Conjugal Rights, Custody of children, Guardianship, Justification of Marriage.

The avowed purpose of the Act, the settlement and expeditious disposal of disputes relating to marriage and family has not been achieved to date, mainly because the Act has not been properly implementated. No separate Family Courts as such have been established. The jurisdiction of Family Courts has been assigned to civil judges having jurisdiction in the area, who are already overburdened with work. Disposal is slow as the number of judges is far below the need. Settlement of matrimonial disputes requires special atmosphere and interest for which the civil judges acting as family court judges, neither have the time nor the necessary training. As a result, the conciliation proceedings usually are just one more adjournment in the line of several adjournments which have become the order of the day in civil cases. Though procedures have been simplified under the Act, these cannot by themselves change proceedings, unless strictly enforced. Women and children continue to suffer from long drawn litigation in family cases which causes great hardship, especially in cases for maintenance, custody and dissolution of marriage.

The West Pakistan Family Court Rules 1965 (Government of Pakistan, 1965), provides that the Courts having jurisdiction to try a suit will be the ones within the local limits of which the cause of action wholly or in part arose or where the parties reside or last resided together. Furthermore, in suits concerning dissolution of marriage or dower, the Court within the local limits of which the wife ordinarily resides shall also have jurisdiction. This latter proviso is particularly helpful to women seeking dissolution of marriage or dower.

Divorce by Wife

When the wife seeks divorce and the husband does not consent to it, she has to file a suit in a Family Court having jurisdiction for dissolution of

marriage under The Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act 1939 (Government of Pakistan, 1966b), hereinafter referred to as the said Act. The purpose of the Act was to consolidate and clarify the provisions of Muslim Law relating to suits for dissolution of marriage by women married under Muslim law.

A woman married under the Muslim Law is entitled to sue for a decree for the dissolution of her marriage on any one or more of the following grounds, namely:

(i) that the wherabouts of the husband have not been known for a period of four years;

(ii) that the husband has neglected or has failed to provide for her maintenance for a period of two years;

(iia) that the husband has taken an additional wife in contravention of the provisions of the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, 1961;

(iii) that the husband has been sentenced to imprisonment for a period of seven years or upwards; provided that no decree shall be passed until the sentence has become final;

(iv) that the husband has failed to perform, without resonable cause, his marital obligations for a period of three years;

(v) that the husband was impotent at the time of the marriage and continues to be so;

(vi) that the husband has been insane for a period of two years or is suffering from leprosy or a virulent venereal disease;

(vii) that she, having been given in marriage by her father or other guardian, before she attained the age of sixteen years, repudiated the marriage before attaining the age of eighteen years;

Provided that the marriage has not been consummated:

(viii) that the husband treats her with cruelty, that is to say-

(a) habitually assaults her or makes her life miserable by cruelty of conduct even if such conduct does not amount to physical ill-treatment, or

(b) associates with women of evil repute or leads an infamous life, or

(c) attempts to force her to lead an immoral life, or

(d) disposes of her property or prevents her from exercising her legal rights over it, or

(e) obstructs her in the observance of her religious profession or practice, or

(f) if he has more wives than one, does not treat her equitably in accordance with the injunctions of the Qur'an:

(ix) on any other ground which is recongnized as valid for the dissolution of marriages under Muslim Law.

Under this latter provision can be included grounds such as Li'an, a form of divorce which takes place under circumstances where a man accuses his wife of adultery, the wife denies the allegation, and the husband fails to prove it by four witnesses; Ila, where a man makes a vow that he will not have connection with his wife for four months and observes it; Zihar, which means comparing his wife with the back of a female within prohibited degrees of relationship, a form of imprecation which involves the separation of husband and wife till expiation is made, and the husband does penance.

The most important ground recognized in Muslim Law for dissolution of marriage at the instance of the wife is Khula, which means release from the

marriage tie at the instance of the wife, for consideration to the husband. A full bench of the High Court was referred the question: "Under Muslim Law, is the wife entitled to Khula as of right?" (Lahore High Court, 1959). The full bench dealt exhaustively with the subject, and came to the following conclusion:

> "The rights of the spouses as regards dissolution may be summed up by saying that the husband can effect a dissolution himself by pronouncing a divorce, while the wife has to approach the court and she is to get a dissolution only if the Court regards further continuance of the marriage as not proper. But if it does regard continuance of marriage as improper, there is no further limitation on its jurisdiction to dissolve the marriage. The answer to the question referred is that the wife is entitled to a dissolution of marriage on restoration of what she received in consideration of marriage if the judge apprehends that parties will not observe the limits of God" (Lahore High Court, 1959, p. 566).

As already discussed earlier, at the time of marriage a provision can be included in the nikanama whereby the prospective husband delegates his power of divorce to his prospective wife. Even after marriage, the spouses can enter into an agreement under which the wife secures from her husband the power to divorce herself on his behalf. When the wife has such a right, she can divorce herself on his behalf in the same manner in which the husband can pronounce 'Talaq, Talaq, Talaq'. This is a very important provision of Muslim Law of marriage and enables a wife to safeguard her future married life. Where the wife has the right of tafwiz, she can dissolve the marriage by exercising the right of 'talaq-e-tafwid', without going to a court of law to seek divorce. Just as the husband is required

to serve notice, she is required under section 8 of the Ordinance to mutatis mutandis follow the provisions of section 7 of the Ordinance and is thus required to follow the same procedures as the husband for obtaining divorce. She must serve notice to the Chairman of the Union Council and on her husband and the case then goes through the same procedure as when the husband initiates divorce.

I.3. CUSTODY OF CHILDREN

Under Muslim Law the father is the natural guardian of the person and property of his minor child from wedlock and is also responsible for maintenance.

The general concept is that among Muslims of the Sunni sect, the mother is entitled to custody (Hizanat) of the minor daughter till she attains the age of puberty, and is also entitled to the custody of her minor son till he attains the age of seven years. Under Muslim Law as applicable to Shias the mother is entitled to the custody of the minor daughter till she attains seven years of age and minor son till he attains two years of age. The mother loses this preferential right of Hizanat, in certain circumstances, such as her remarriage to a person not related within the prohibited degrees to the child, or immorality on the part of the mother, or neglect. The age limits have no authority either in the Holy Quran or Hadith, but have been fixed as the result of opinion of some Muslim Jurists.

In Pakistan, for the appointment of guardian of the person or property of a minor, or custody of the minor, an application is to be made under the Guardians and Wards Act, 1890 (Government of India, 1890). The Court is required to make the necessary order consistently with the welfare of the

minor, guided by the age, sex, and religion of the minor, and by the character and capacity of the proposed guardian.

There is case law to the effect that the mother is entitled to continue with the custody of the minor even after his or her attaining the ages as laid down by Shia and Sunni Muslim jurists. The courts in certain circumstances have refused to allow the father the custody of his son over seven years when it decided that it is in the welfare of the minor to remain with his mother.

I.4. INHERITANCE

The Islamic laws of inheritance assign specified shares for the family of the deceased, that is ascendants, descendants, spouses and in certain cases collaterals. Both male and female heirs inherit. It is essential to note that at the advent of Islam women did not inherit and under the current law, where the daughter and son inherit from their father or mother as residuaries, the daughter's share is half the share of the son. The wife's share is only one-eighth from the estate of her deceased husband leaving issues, whereas the husband inherits one-fourth of the estate of his deceased wife, leaving issues. The principles of inheritance laws are laid down in broad outline in the Holy Quran. The power of testamentary disposition is limited, so that the heirs cannot be wholly denied their rights of inheritance. All distribution takes place after the legacies and debts have been paid.

Despite the existence of specific laws, the major problem today is that a very large section of the female population is denied their Islamic rights of inheritance. Especially in the case of the daughter it is customary in certain families and communites to give substantial dowry to

the daughter and completely ignore her rights of inheritance. Before the coming into force of the West Pakistan Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act 1962 (Government of Pakistan, 1962), women were often denied inheritance under prevailing customary laws. Pakistani women are now legally fully entitled to inherit according to rights granted to them in Islam, but custom still holds fast in many sections of the population and many women do not get their right. Conventions make it difficult for the female to claim her share since she is expected to defer to the brothers. It is my impression that more families are beginniig to accept the females as co-sharers in inheritance. Even today, however, a number of females are bypassed from inheritance.

I.5. POLITICAL RIGHTS

Women in Pakistan have the same rights as men to vote in any election, to contest for any public office and to hold such office. Women are eligible on an equal footing with men to vote as also to contest election for any seat in the National or Provincial Assemblies or Local Bodies. In addition to this, Article 51(4) of the Constitution of 1973 provides that until the expiration of a period of ten years from the commencing day or the holding of the second general election to the National Assembly, whichever occurs later, ten seats in addition to the number of seats referred to in clause (I) shall be reserved for women and allocated to the provinces in accordance with the Constitution and Law. This means that there are ten special seats reserved for women in the National Assembly for which only women can contest. The electoral college for these seats is composed of the members of the National Assembly, from the province to which the seats are allocated. Similarly in the Provincial Assemblies, 5

percent seats are reserved for women, and the members of the relevant Provincial Assembly form the electoral college.[7]

Even at the local levels, seats have been reserved for women in the urban areas. In the elections to local bodies held in 1980, some women contested the election for the general seats. Only two women from the province of Punjab alone were elected to the general seats. No other women were elected to these seats in the Province of Sind, even from Karachi, which is comparatively active and the population is more literate than the rest of Pakistan. The remaining women Concillors have been elected on the reserved seats for women for which the electoral college is composed of members of the local/municipal councils, who are all male with two exceptions (see table in Chapter 3).

In my opinion, this special concession to the women of Pakistan in the form of reserved seats, through the vote of the members of the Assembly is infact detrimental to the interests of women and their participation in the political life of the country. With the availability of this special concession, women politicians have concentrated on these seats with the result of moving each other out, and creating a shortage of women of ability and intellect on the political scene. Besides, in granting party tickets, the consideration of the reserved seats will always weigh against women members of the party.

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF PAKISTANI WOMEN

The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973[8] had provided specific mention of various aspects of women's rights as discussed below (Government of Pakistan, 1973). It is stated in the chapter on Fundamental Rights, provided in Article 25 that (1) "All citizens are equal before law and entitled to equal protection of law (2) There shall be no discrimina-

tion on the basis of sex (3) Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any special provisions for the protection of women and children." Furthermore, among the principles of policy, Article 34 provided that steps shall be taken to ensure the full participation of women in all spheres of national life, and Article 35 provides that the State shall protect the marriage, the family, the mother and the child.

Article 27 provided safeguards against discrimination in services. It states that no citizen otherwise qualified for appointment in the service of Pakistan shall be discriminated against in respect of any such appointment on the ground of race, religion, caste, sex, residence or place of birth, with the proviso that in the interest of the said service, specified posts or services may be reserved for members of either sex if such posts or services entail the performance of duties and functions which cannot be adequately performed by members of the opposite sex. Generally speaking women are eligible to all the services (except for armed forces) of the Government of Pakistan, and an increasing number of women are being appointed in all cadres of the services of Pakistan. Nevertheless, discrimination against women exists.[9]

II. WOMEN'S AWARENESS OF LEGAL RIGHTS: RESULTS FROM A SURVEY

Promulgation of laws and ordinances do not, however, ensure that women would actually make use of the rights available to them. One essential element in not claiming their due rights is the lack of awareness and knowledge of laws. In a society where less than fifteen percent of all women are literate and about three-fourths still live in rural areas, knowledge of legal rights is bound to be low. Furthermore, laws which may not be supported by socio-cultural attitudes are likely to be even less

well known. Since there are no empirical data on the extent to which Pakistan's women know of their legal rights, we have made a preliminary attempt to gather such information in a survey, as discussed in this section.

While researchers may have their own impressions about the extent to which women are aware of their legal rights no empirical studies have been conducted in Pakistan on this subject. We have made an attempt at collecting some information from a purposive sample of men and women from cities in Pakistan. Lawyers, teachers and other respondents to whom the author and voluntary workers of APWA and Pakistan Women Lawyer's Association had relatively easy access were requested to fill out a questionnaire on awareness of legal rights. A copy of this questionnaire is appended at the end of this chapter. Data from 113 women and 64 men were collected. It may be noted that a purposive sample like the one used for this study has the merit of being conveniently located but is reflective of the opinions of a rather small subgroup of the population. The findings based on the opinions and knowledge of this subgroup must be treated as illustrative only and are not easily generalizable to other subgroups in the population. Respondents were asked two types of questions. First, their opinions about the percentage of Pakistan's women who know about certain rights e.g. to inherit property or to divorce etc. Second, their own knowledge about certain factual matters e.g. legal age at marriage for females, laws about custody of minor children, etc.

Table 1 shows the basic characteristics of the male and female respondents in the sample. Almost all the resondents had an education up to at least matriculation (10 grades), and the majority had an education up to B.A. (Bachelor of Arts) or above. About 61% of the respondents were 30

Table 1. Basic Characteristics of Male and Female Respondents
Legal Rights Survey, 1980

Variables	Male	Female	Total
N	64	113	177
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Education			
Less than B.A.	13	22	18
B.A., LLB	45	35	39
M.A.	42	43	43
Marital Status			
Single	25	47	39
Married	71	43	54
Widowed	2	9	6
Divorced	2	1	1
Age			
<30	23	49	39
30+	77	51	61
Whether Employed			
Employed	86	57	67
Not Working	14	43	33
Type of Job[a]			
Lawyers	27	14	20
Teachers	13	40	27
Gov't Service	31	14	22
Others	29	32	31

[a]For employed persons only

years of age or older. A large proportion were married—71% of the men and 43% of the women. About two-thirds (67%) of the respondents were currently employed at the time of survey while the remaining one-third were not working or were unemployed. About one-fifth of the respondents (27% males and 14% females) were lawyers, who would by the nature of their profession, be expected to be more knowledgeable about legal matters than other respondents. Forty percent of the women were teachers while about 31% of the men and about 14% of the females were in government service. Thus, the respondents in our survey are urban, educated, and (mostly) employed persons who could safely be regarded as a part of the relatively higher socio-economic group in the country. Their impressions about the extent of awareness of legal right can be considered an adequate 'educated guess' about the actual situation. Their own knowledge about selected laws can be considered as rough estimate of the upper limit relating to the knowledge of specific laws.

Results

The data provided by male and female respondents has been presented together for both groups, mainly because of the small number of cases. Table 2 presents the respondents' assessment about the percentage of Pakistai women who are aware of specified rights which they legally have. A large majority (about 71%) of the respondents felt that only up to 20% of all Pakistani women were aware of their right to contest elections for seats reserved for women in the national and provincial assemblies. About two-third of the respondents felt that only up to 20% of the women know that they have the right to contest elections. Women in Pakistan have actually had reserved seats in assemblies and the right to vote since pre-partition days.[10] But if our respondents' assessment is accurate, a

large percentage of the Pakistani women are not aware of their right to contest elections. The right to vote is perhaps more widely known—forty-one percent of the respondents said that over 60% of Pakistan's women are aware that they have the right to vote. Knowledge about voting rights is probably related with the active political campaigning that various political parties do before election time. The female vote can be crucial and political party workers make a strong effort to get as many women out to the polling booths as they can.

The right to inherit the father's property is provided by the Islamic religion and is guaranteed under the laws existing in Pakistan, as discussed above. Not all women in Pakistan are aware of this right, however, according to our respondents. About thirty-one percent of our respondents felt that only up to 20% of the women in Pakistan know that they have the right to inherit father's property (Table 2). About half (47%) of the respondents said that in their opinion, only up to 20% of all women claimed their right to inherit such property. A majority (60%) of the respondents said that in actual practice only up to 20% of all women get a share in the father's property. Respondents were asked to comment on why they think that women do not get their due share in the father's property. Over three-fourth (78%) of the respondents said that factors such as ignorance and illiteracy of women, customs and traditions and reluctance to claim the right were responsible for women not getting their due share. Eight percent said that women did not get their share because of the brother's reluctance to give the share, and another 8% said that since women were given a dowry at the time of marriage, they were not given a share in father's property (data not shown). Thus, it seems that according to a large majority of our respondents only up to one-fifth of the Pakistan's women get their due share.

Table 2. Respondents' Assessment About the Average Pakistan Woman's Awareness of Legal Rights, Legal Rights Survey, 1980

	Percent of Women Who Know About the Right				
Knowledge of the:	0	1-20	21-60	61-100	Total*
Right to inherit father's property	1	30	37	32	100.0
Right to vote	1	17	41	41	100.0
Right to contest elections	2	65	20	13	100.0
Right to contest elections for seats reserved for women in various assemblies	1	70	21	8	100.0
Right to divorce and legal protection under Family Laws Ordinance	5	55	36	4	100.0
	Percent Who Claim the Right				
Claim legal share in father's property	1	47	40	12	100.0
	Percent Who Get the Right				
Get legal share in father's property	5	55	4	6	100.0

*Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

With regard to their right to initiate divorce preceedings, 60% of the respondents felt that only up to 20% women had knowledge about the right to divorce and about the legal protection that was available in this context (Table 2). Divorce, although allowed by the Islamic religion is culturally regarded to be a very improper incident which must be avoided at all cost. A woman at the time of marriage is advised to live in the husband's home whatever the circumstances. Greater awareness about the woman's rights to initiate divorce would have to be accompanied by a change in attitudes towards divorce in order for women to make use of this right when necessary.

Table 3 presents data on the knowledge of the respondents in the present study about specific laws relating to different aspects of women's lives. Responses have been tabulated as accurate or inaccurate depending on whether they agreed with the laws as they exist. The statements in Table 3 represent the laws that are prevelant in Pakistan. Over ninety percent of the respondents provided accurate answers to five of the eleven laws about which they were asked. These five laws included divorce procedures with regard to informing the chairman of the Union Council and setting up of an arbitration council and custody of children. Fewer respondents had accurate knowledge when the details of the laws were specified. For example, only 50% respondents had accurate knowledge about the conditions under which a woman can initiate divorce proceedings, and 75% knew accurately the period until which divorce is not valid after pronouncement.

One finding which is of particular interest for demographers and other social scientists is that only 37 percent of the respondents had accurate information about the minimum legal age at marriage which is 16 years for

Table 3. Respondents' Knowledge About Selected Laws (Percentages), Legal Rights Survey, 1980

Know that:	Have accurate knowledge	Don't have accurate knowledge	Total %
Minimum legal age at marriage for females is 16 years [a]	37	63	100.0
The Chairman of Union Council must be informed by a man intending to divorce his wife	90	10	100.0
An Arbitration Council needs to be set up	95	5	100.0
The Arbitration Council needs to be set up within 90 days	60	40	100.0
Divorce is not effective until 90 days after pronouncement	75	25	1000.0
A woman can initiate divorce proceeding if she has just reason	50	50	100.0
Woman has right to take custody of children in case of divorce/separation	95	5	100.0
Woman has right to take custody of male as well as female children	92	8	100.0
She can retain custody until male child is 7b	80	20	100.0
She can retain custody until female child is 15b	66	34	100.0
Father is required to pay maintenance for minor children	97	3	100.0

[a]Twenty-two percent reported the minimum age to be 14 or 15 years while 33% reported it to be 18 years.

[b]There are exceptions to this law under the Shia law. See text for discussion.

females in Pakistan. It has, however, been held by courts that a Muslim girl who has attained the age of puberty (presumed at 15 years or earlier) can validly enter into a marriage.[11] Majority (41%) of the respondents in our study said that the legal minimum age for marriage of females was 18 years. The relatively low level of accurate knowledge for this item raises an interesting question. If this educated urban sample does not have accurate information about the legal age at marriage, it may be reasonable to expect that the population in general would have an even lower level of accurate knowlege. Furthermore, if the public in general believes that legal age of marriage to be higher than 16 (perhaps 17 or 18) than there might be a tendency to over-report the age of marriage by respondents in national surveys. When the respondents were asked about their opinion on whether the legal minimum age of marriage is generally adhered to, only 39% said that it is.

Finally, respondents were asked to express their opinion on whether they thought that employers discriminated against women when hiring personnel. Eighty percent of the respondents said that they did. The types of jobs in which they said there is discrimination included industry related and physically hard jobs, public contact and decision-making jobs and teaching (Table 4). Over one-third (35%) of the respondents said that the reason for discrimination against women in jobs is their physical weakness and other female attributes (Table 5). Others provided reasons such as: inefficiency of female workers, male dominance, social customs and religious reasons.

Thus, our survey shows that a large proportion of our respondents felt that relatively few Pakistani women had any knowledge of their right to contest elections or to initiate divorce proceedings. While several of

Table 4. Types of Jobs in which there is Discrimination Against Women, Legal Right Survey, 1980[a]

Type of Job	Percentages	
Physically hard	18	
Industry related	16	
Public contact and decision-making jobs	31	
Teaching	12	
Other	4	
No discrimination	19	
Total	100.0	N = 162

[a]Based on responses to the first job mentioned

Table 5. Reasons for Discrimination Against Women in Jobs, Legal Rights Survey, 1980[a]

Reasons for Discrimination	Percentages	
Physical weakness and other female attributes	35	
Females are inefficient workers	12	
Male dominance	19	
Social customs, religious reasons	11	
Other	4	
No discrimination	19	
	100.0	N = 150

[a]Based on responses to the first reason mentioned

them know about their right to inherit the father's property much fewer claimed or actually got such property. With regard to the respondents' own knowledge about certain laws, over 90% had accurate knowledge about divorce procedures and custody of children. Fewer (about 50-60%) knew about the details of the laws. Eighty-percent of the respondents felt that employers discriminated against women when hiring personnel. Thus, it seems if our respondents' assessment is correct, a great deal of education is necessary before a substantial proportion of women become aware of and demand their legal rights.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Legally a Pakistani woman who has attained majority and is of sound mind is sui-juris and independent in every respect. She is free to own property and deal with her property in any legal manner she decides. She can carry on and conduct business or industry, enter into any profession or occupation against which there is no legal bar. According to the law she does not need the guidance or guardianship of any person, male or female. A woman who has attained puberty can enter into marriage or sue for dissolution of marriage. A major woman can sue and be sued in her own name and behalf, and take all manner of judicial proceedings she thinks fit. She can enter into any lawful contract, arbitration or conciliation without referring to any male relative, whether father, brother or husband. Marriage does not give the husband any legal right over his wife's property, or earnings. Similarly marriage does not give the wife any right over the husband's property except as envisaged by the law or the marriage contract. Under the Muslim Law a husband is bound to provide for the maintenance of his wife and children and he is required to make payment of the haq-mahr (dower) as also to abide by any financial stipulations in the nikahnama (marriage contract).

After marriage the husband and wife continue to retain their individual legal identities as individuals. Under the law the wife cannot be forced to live with her husband against her wishes. While a woman cannot herself effect a dissolution of marriage by pronouncing divorce she can approach a court for such dissolution, under specified conditions. A divorced or widowed woman is free to marry again.

In actual practice, however many of the legal rights guaranteed by the laws and the constitution are not actually available to Pakistani women. This is partly a result of the sociocultural attitudes existing in the society of which women are a part, and partly a result of the general lack of awareness about the legal rights of women. In a survey that was conducted to assess public awareness of legal rights, about one-third of the respondents said that in their opinion, only between 1-20% of the Pakistani women know that they have the right to inherit fathers property. Also, only a little over one-third of the respondents had adequate information about the minimum legal age at marriage for females.

Status of women has been the focus of growing concern in Pakistan and some women's groups and other educated persons have been active in demanding that Pakistani women should be given their true Islamic rights. At a recent National Conference of Muslim Women held at Islamabad from October 27-30, 1980 as a part of the National Hijra Centenary Celebration, the President of Pakistan raised several important questions about the roles, rights and obligations of women in an Islamic society and how the society could be restructured so as to ensure the greatest effective participation by women.

While considering the restructuring of Pakistani society in relation to the status of women, one element that poses a somewhat conflicting

situation consists of the differing views of the relatively liberal and conservative muslim scholars, planners and the public. There are some muslim liberals within the movement, who earnestly desire that changes should be constructive and conducive to a proper channeling of the fundamental legal principles of Islam according to the needs and conditions of modern life. Today there exist differences between the protaganists of Quranic understanding based on reason on the one hand, and the champions of literal interpretation on the other hand. The liberals believe and propogate the need to rediscover the intrinsic purity and justice of Islamic law, and to reinterpret it in response to the needs of latest developments in the present age. The orthodox thinkers, on the other hand, are not prepared to accept change and would like to hold on to fossilization of laws and institutions, and will make every effort to hinder progress by their own notion of Islam. In this movement the role, rights and status of women in Islam is one of the controversies between the orthodox and the liberals. Demands for equality and rights of women, is termed by the orthodox as un-Islamic and a manifestation of Westernization.

Recent illustrations of differences in interpretation of Islamic law are found in the Draft of the Pre-emption Order 1980 and the Draft Offences against the Human Body (Enforcement of Qisas and Diyat) Ordinance 1980. These were notified as Orders to bring in conformity with the Injunctions of Islam. These proposed Ordinances were published in the Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary, dated December 13, 1980 for eliciting public opinion. The proposed Ordinances have been strongly opposed by the public. The Council of Islamic Ideology through a press release stated that nearly 2000 comments/objections have been received from the public. A very large number of women's organisations, objected to sections in the Draft of

Offences against the Human Body (Enforcement of Qisas and Diyat) Ordinance 1980, which they considered discriminatory against women. In a report of the Meeting on the subject organised by the All Pakistan Women's Association on February 11, 1981 wherein nineteen organisations participated, it was stated:

"The Section 10 of the proposed Ordinance which makes it mandatory that two muslim male witnesses fulfilling certain requirements are necessary for proof of Qatl-e-Amd (Intentional Murder) liable to qisas (punishment)[12] is strongly opposed as it excludes women. It is urged that the exclusion of women as witness in the above section is neither Islamic nor rational nor in the interest of the security of the family, and is against the interests of public policy. There is not a single verse in Holy Quran which excludes women as witness for proof of qatl-e-Amd liable to qisas.

Under Section 25(2) of the proposed Ordinance, the Diyat for a female victim of an offence of murder has been fixed half that of a male. There appears to be no justification in Islam for such a distinction."

These two proposed Ordinances have not been made law to date.

Footnotes

1. Muslim law.

2. For a discussion of the actual age at marriage, differentials in and correlates of age at marriage see Chapters 5 and 6.

3. In present day inflationary trends, even where reasonable amounts are agreed to at the time of marriage, these amounts become inadequate to meet the needs of the wife.

4. Approximately U.S. $500.00

5. The Chariman of the Union Council under the Basic Democracies System which was in place in 1961. The system of Basic Democracy was abolished in and the functions of the Chairman were therefore subsequently performed by civil judges.

6. Subsection e of section 7 provides that couples whose talaq (dissolution of marriage) has become effective in the mode prescribed by section 7 may remarry without an intervening marriage, unless the termination of the marriage has become effective for the third time. Formerly a divorced wife could not remarry her ex-husband without having undergone a marriage and divorce with another person.

7. Since the military regime took power in April 1977, the assemblies stand dissolved and elections have not been held.

8. The Articles 25, 27 and 35 are among the Articles which are not included in the Provisional Constitutional Order 1981 (Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary, dt. March 24, 1981). As such, these articles are not part of the Constitutional Law and not operative at present.

9. For instance a Public Service Commission Advertisement No. 38 of 1980 dated 10th November 1980 (Daily News, 1981) listed women as ineligible for the post of social welfare officer of grade 16 in the social welfare division and/or for posts of six public relations officers in the Pakistan Telegraph and Telephone department. The employers are probably able to justify the ineligibility of women under the proviso to Article 27.

10. For discussion of the current situation see section I. 5. in Political Rights above.

11. Even though the question was asked in terms of the minimum legal age of marriage, some respondents may have answered it in terms of the age at which the marriage generally takes place.

12. Under the proposed Ordinance qisas means punishment by causing similar hurt at the same part of the body of the offender as he caused to the victim, or by causing his death if he has committed qatl-e-amd in exercise of the right of the victim or of a wali (person entitled to claim qisas) of the deceased.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE TO ASSESS OPINIONS ABOUT AWARENESS OF LEGAL RIGHTS

Dear Respondent:

We are circulating this questionnaire to a number of persons in Pakistan to get an idea of their opinion about the general awareness of legal rights of women in Pakistan. Most of the questions are asked in terms of women in Pakistan. Most of the questions are asked in terms of your judgement about how much knowledge an average Pakistani woman has about her legal rights. The objective of this study is to provide a background for any programs that might be designed to increase general awareness of women about their legal rights. I would be grateful for your coperation in filling out this questionnaire. Thank you.

Ms. Rashida Patel
Vice Chairman
Rights and Responsibilities APWA
and
President
Pakistan Women Lawyers Association

Q.1. In your opinion, what percentage of adult Pakistani women (mind you, all Pakistani women both urban and rural) are aware of their right to inherit father's property (Mark (X) on only One line).

0% - 1-20% - 21-40% - 41-60% - 61-80% - 81-100% -

Q.2. In your opinion, what percentage of adult Pakistani women claim their legal share in father's property, and what percentage actually get thier due share (MARK ON ONE LINE EACH FOR A & B).

A. Percent Claim: 0% - 1-20% - 21-40% - 41-60% -

61-80% - 81-100% -

B. Percent Actually Get Due Share: 0% - 1-20% - 21-40% -

41-60% - 61-80% - 81-100% -

Q.3. What do you think are some of the reasons for women not getting their due share in father's property? Please list below:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

Q.4. Do you know what the legal minimum age at marriage for girls in Pakistan is?

14 - 15 - 16 - 17 - 18 -

Q.5. Is this legal age at marriage generally adhered to for most marriages in Pakistan?

Yes - No -

Q.6. In your opinion, what percentage of adult Pakistani women know that they have the right to vote in general elections?

0% - 1-20% - 21-40% - 41-60% - 61-80% - 81-100% -

Q.7. What percentage of the women in Pakistan know that they have the right to contest general elections for national, provincial, or local government?

0% - 1-20% - 21-40% - 41-60% - 61-80% - 81-100% -

Q.8. What percentage of the Pakistai women know that there are reserved seats for women in the National Assembly, Provincial Assemblies, and Local Bodies?

0% - 1-20% - 21-40% - 41-60% - 61-80% - 81-100% -

Q.9. Do you think that employers discriminate against hiring women in certain jobs?

Yes - No -

Q.10. If yes, which particular jobs are such discriminations most common in

Occupation 1: _____

Occupation 2: _____

Q.11. What are some of the reasons for such discrimination?

_____

_____

_____

Q.12. Is a man pronouncing Talaq (Divorce) to his wife required to intimate the Chairman Union Council (or the relevant judical officer performing the functions of the Chairman, Union Council) and serve notice of such intimation to his wife under the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance?

Yes - No -

Q.13. On receipt of the notice of Talaq, is the relevant authority required to set up an arbitration council to bring about reconciliation between husband and wife?

Yes - No -

Q.14. If yes, within how many days?

30 days - 60 days - 90 days -

Q.15. For how many days at the maximum after serving the notice to the concerned authority does the Talaq not become effective and can be revoked?

30 days - 60 days - 90 days -

Q.16. In your opinion, what percentage of Pakistani women know about the procedure of divorce and legal protection provided under the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance?

0% - 1-20% - 21-40% - 41-60% - 61-80% - 81-100% -

Q.17. Under the present laws, can a Pakistani woman initiate divorce proceedings against her husband?

Definitely yes, for any reason -

Yes, but only for specific reasons provided by law -

No, never - Don't know -

Q.18. Do you think that mothers have the right to take custody of their children in case of divorce/separation?

Yes - No -

Q.19. Can mothers take custody of only male children, only female children, or both?

Only male children - Only female children -

Both - None -

Q.20. Is there an age limit after which the mother is required to give up custody of her male and female children?

Male: Age 3 - Age 7 - Age 15 -

Female: Age 5 - Age 10 - Age 15 -

Q.21. Do you think that the father is required by law to provide maintenance for his minor children?

Yes - No - Don't know -

Q.22. How can Women's Organizations increase the awareness among women of their legal rights. Please indicate your priority by inserting numbers:

Television - Radio - Publications -

Newspapers - Magazines - Talks -

Person to person - Legal Aid Services -

NOW I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW A FEW THINGS ABOUT YOUR BACKGROUND

a. What is your age: _____ years

b. Sex: male _____ female _____

c. What is the highest grade of education you completed _____

d. Are you single, married, widowed, or divorced?

Single - Married - Widowed - Divorced -

e. Are you currently employed in any job:

Yes - No -

f. If yes, what is your occupation _____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION

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5

POPULATION COMPOSITION, MORTALITY AND FERTILITY*

by

Iqbal Alam
Nasra M. Shah

The total size of the population, the rate at which it is growing and its age and sex composition are crucial factors in a country's development. A high rate of population growth may in some cases be a severe hurdle in the provision of basic social services such as schools, hospitals and adequate housing. Pakistan, since its birth, has been faced with the problem of a high growth rate of population averaging between 2.5 to 3.0 percent per year. This high rate of population growth has resulted from a substantial decline in mortality since the 1940s while the birth rate in the country has remained steadily high.

A high growth (and birth) rate has several implications for the status and roles of Pakistani women. First, a high birth rate suggests that the reproductive role constitutes a highly significant aspect of a woman's life and may impede her participation in other spheres of activity such as in the country's labor force. Second, too frequent childbearing may, in many cases, have a negative impact on a woman's health. Third, any improvement in the general socioeconomic situation of the family may be severely hampered by a high rate of population growth and women may suffer

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particularly since families in Pakistan generally prefer to invest their resources (e.g. in education and health) in male rather than female children. Research and observation indicate that all of the above statements are generally true in the case of Pakistan.

The government has active health and population programs to control both mortality and fertility. These programs are discussed in some detail in Chapter 8 and 11 respectively. The government has estimated that the crude death rate (number of deaths per 1,000 population in one year) was about 11 while the crude birth rate (number of births per 1,000 population in one year) was 41 in mid 1980 (Population Division, 1981, p. 167).

In this chapter, we first provide an overview of the population size, its growth, its age and sex composition, and its provincial and rural-urban distribution. Then, we examine the mortality patterns both for males and females and at different ages during the life cycle. In the final section, we analyze the fertility of the population and the changes in it over time. We also discuss the differentials in fertility by the age at which women were married, region of residence and rural or urban location.

Data on the above mentioned demographic characteristics are beset with measurement errors that have been discussed by several demographers both in and outside of Pakistan. It is not our objective to deal with the measurement problems in any detail in the present paper. The reader is referred to relevant studies of this whenever necessary.

I. POPULATION SIZE, GROWTH AND COMPOSITION

The basic sources of demographic data in Pakistan consist of decennial censuses, four of which have been conducted to date, in 1951, 1961, 1972, and 1981. The latest census, for 1981, has recently been completed and the

data are now being processed. In addition to the census, demographic information has been collected in national sample surveys such as the Population Growth Experiment (PGE), 1962-65, Population Growth Surveys (PGS) during various years and special purpose fertility/family planning surveys. A summary of the data sources along with the major demographic variables on which they provide information is provided in Table 1. A description of each of these data sources is provided in Appendix A.

The population of Pakistan was enumerated to be 35.7 million in 1951 which increased to 42.8 million by 1961 and 65.3 million by 1972 (Table 2). According to preliminary results released by the census organization it had increased to 83.8 million by March 1981. There is considerable disagreement about the completeness of coverage in the various censuses. The U.S. Bureau of the Census has estimated that there was a net underenumeration of 16 percent in the 1961 census and of 6.3 percent in the 1972 census. Krotki (1963a and 1976) also estimated that the 1972 census suffered from a substantial undercount. A close look at Krotki's analysis, however, suggests that his estimates of undercount are fairly exaggerated, and that the undercount is likely to have been smaller than claimed by him.[1] It is still too early to say much about the 1981 census undercount. The count is, however, very close to the figure predicted by the Pakistan Planning Division. Some of the factors which would need to be taken into account while judging the accuracy of the 1981 census include the coverage of the roughly 2 million Pakistanis who are working outside Pakistan, and also the coverage of over 2 million Afghan refugees who were living in Pakistan at the time of the census.

Table 1. Availability of demographic data from various sources, Pakistan, 1961–1976

Data sources	Demographic variables (x = data available)											
	Age	Sex	Marital status	CEB[a]	CSL[b]	Household listing/ composition	Births last year	Deaths last year	U/R[c] breakdown	Provincial breakdown	Pregnancy history	Where available
1951 Census	x	x	x						x	x		Published
1961 Census (Total population)	x	x	x						x	x		Published
1972 Census (Total population)	x	x	x			with CO[d] x			x	x		Published
PGE 1962–65[d] (Estimated total population)	x	x	x				x	x				Published
PGS 1968, 69, 71[d] (Estimated total population)	x	x	x	x[1]	x[1]		x	x	x			Published
PGS latest 1976[2,d] (Estimated total population)	x	x	x	x	x	with CSO[d] x	x	x	x	x		CSO[d]
NIS 1968[d] (Ever married women sample)	women 10–49	some husbands interviewed	ever married only	x	x		x		x		x	Tapes available
PFS 1975[d] (Ever married women sample)	x[3]	x[3]	x[3]	x	x	x	x		x		x	Tapes at WFS, London
HED survey, 1973[d] (Estimated total population)	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x		Published
LFS 1974–75[d] (Estimated total population)	x	x	x						x	x		Published
Registration	x	x	x			x						No published data available
Other[4]												

[1] Only for 1971—unpublished data.

[2] PGS data have been collected for 1976–78. The report for 1977 is expected to become available within the next few months.

[3] Data on these characteristics available for all members of sampled households.

[4] Two surveys—one on migration and another one on 'population and development?' are currently underway and would yield national level data on fertility and mortality.

a = children ever born; b = children still living; c = urban/rural; d, Abbreviations for surveys and agencies are: CO = Census Organization; CSO = Central Statistical Office; PGE = Population Growth Experiment; PGS = Population Growth Survey; NIS = National Impact Survey; PFS = Pakistan Fertility Survey; HED = Housing, Economic and Demographic Survey; and, LFS = Labour Force Survey.

Table 2. Estimates of the population and growth rates, various years

	Unadjusted population (in thousands)	Annual geometric rate of growth (percent) for unadjusted totals
1951 Census	33,740[a]	1.8[a]
1961 Census	42,880[a]	2.4[a]
1972 Census	65,309[b]	3.6[d]
1981 Census	83,782[c]	2.9[d]

Sources: (a) Afzal (1974) p. 2.
(b) Pakistan Census Organization (n.d.): Table 3.
(c) Pakistan Census Organization (1981): Table 1.
(d) Calculated by the author.

Despite the dispute about the exact population size of Pakistan, the fact remains that the population is growing at a very fast rate, of around 3.0 percent per year (Population Division, 1981, and Planning Commission, 1978, p. 391). The implications of such rapid population growth for the country's economic future are bleak because of the strain of having nearly 3 million new mouths to feed every year. The already large population will double in size in the next 23 years if population continues to grow at this pace.

I.1 Provincial and Urban-Rural Distribution

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Pakistan has four provinces which vary considerably in terms of population density and land area. Table 3 shows that in 1981 the province of Punjab contained 47.1 million population and had a density of 229 persons per square kilometer compared with a density of only 12 persons per kilometer in Baluchistan which had only 4.3 million (or 5%) of the total population. Sind and N.W.F.P. had about 19 million and 10.9 million people in 1981. The federally administered tribal areas (F.A.T.A.) had 2.2 million while Islamabad, the federal capital, had about 0.34 million population.

Of the 83.8 million persons, 28 percent or 23.7 million were living in urban, while the majority (72%) were living in rural areas in 1981. The proportion of population that was urban was 18% in 1951, 22% in 1961, and 27% in 1972. The intercensal annual growth rate of urban population was 4.5% during 1951-61, 4.6% during 1961-72 and 4.2 during 1972-81; the corresponding growth rates for rural areas were 1.8%, 3.2% and 2.5%. These figures provide an indication of considerable rural to urban migration within the country. Furthermore, the ratio of urban to rural growth of the total population was lower in 1961-72 compared to 1951-61, 1.7 and 3.0

Table 3. Provisional population by provinces, 1981 Census

Area	Population (in thousands)		Percentage change in Population (1972-81)	Sex-ratio (Males per hundred Females)		Proportion 1981 Census	Density per sq. KM	Urban population as percentage of total population
	September 1972	March 1981		1972	1981			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Pakistan	65,309	83,782	28.28	114	111	100	105	28.28
N.W.F.P.	8,388	10,885	29.77	108	108	12.99	146	15.23
F.A.T.A.	2,491	2,175	(-)12.68	103	108	2.60	80	-
Punjab	37,610	47,116	25.28	116	111	56.24	229	27.53
Sind	14,156	18,966	33.98	115	110	22.63	134	43.37
Baluchistan	2,429	4,305	77.23	113	112	5.14	12	15.61
Islamabad	235	335	42.55	124	119	0.40	369	60.20

SOURCE: Population Census Organization (1981): Table 1.

which suggests a reduction in the pace of urbanization; the ratio had declined further to 1.3 during the 1972-81 intercensal period.

Well over half (58%) of the urban population lives in cities of more than 200,000. Over one-third (38%) live in the three largest cities, Karachi, Lahore and Faisalabad, all of which have populations of more than one million. Karachi is the largest city with an enumerated population of 5.1 million followed by Lahore with 2.9 million (Population Census Organization, 1981, p. 6).

I.2 Sex and Age Composition

Of the 83.8 million persons in the country in 1981, about 47 percent (or roughly 40 million) were female (calculated from sex ratio in Table 3). Table 4 shows unadjusted age distributions of the population from 1951 - 1972. Age structure from the 1981 census is not yet available to us. The percentage of females in the total population has consistently been a little over 46 percent. While one might expect the proportions of males and females to be roughly equal, Pakistan has a known history of higher female mortality and greater underreporting of females, factors which contribute to their smaller proportion in the population.

According to the 1972 unadjusted figures, about 16% or 4.7 million females are in the preschool ages 0-4 while over half (51%) can be classified to be in the 'dependent' age groups comprising of those less than 15 and 60 or over. About 29 percent or 8.27 million girls are in the school going age group 5-14. Less than one-fifth of girls in these ages are actually in school as described in Chapter 9 on education. The percentage of women in the childbearing ages (15-49) was 44-45 percent of all women over the three censuses. In 1972 the total number of women in childbearing ages was 12.73 million. The current population plan is based

Table 4. Reported Census age distribution for Pakistan by sex, 1951, 1961 and 1972 (number in thousands)

		Census[a] 1951		Census[b] 1961		Census[c] 1972	
	Age Group	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
MALES	All Ages	16,697	100.0	21,168	100.0	33,394	100.0
	0-4	2,174	13.0	3,301	15.6	4,725	14.1
	5-9	2,149	12.9	3,456	16.3	5,317	15.9
	10-14	2,700	16.1	2,098	9.9	4,384	13.1
	15-19	1,922	11.5	1,916	9.1	2,910	8.7
	20-24	1,350	8.1	1,635	7.7	2,351	7.0
	25-29	1,158	6.9	1,586	7.5	2,450	7.3
	30-34	1,009	6.0	1,330	6.3	2,057	6.2
	35-39	817	4.9	1,126	5.3	1,791	5.4
	40-44	806	4.8	1,040	4.9	1,645	4.9
	45-49	627	3.8	824	4.0	1,283	3.8
	50-54	651	3.9	827	3.9	1,319	4.0
	55-59	364	2.2	449	2.1	642	1.9
	60 & over	950	5.7	1,563	7.4	2,520	7.6
FEMALES	All Ages	14,279	100.0	18,274	100.0	29,068	100.0
	0-4	2,079	14.6	3,157	17.3	4,668	16.1
	5-9	1,919	13.4	3,016	16.5	4,815	16.6
	10-14	2,362	16.5	1,711	9.4	3,451	11.9
	15-19	1,811	12.7	1,617	8.9	2,423	8.3
	20-24	1,159	8.1	1,448	7.9	2,211	7.6
	25-29	857	6.0	1,456	8.0	2,196	7.5
	30-34	754	5.3	1,202	6.6	1,903	6.5
	35-39	606	4.2	958	5.2	1,539	5.3
	40-44	610	4.3	871	4.8	1,417	4.9
	45-49	481	3.4	671	3.7	1,044	3.6
	50-54	495	3.5	639	3.5	994	3.4
	55-59	335	2.3	357	2.0	543	1.9
	60 & over	811	5.7	1,161	6.4	1,841	6.3

[a] Excludes non-Pakistanis and population of agencies and special areas of frontier regions.

[b] Excludes from 1961 the population of special areas and added areas number 3,437,939 attached to the Deputy Commissioners of districts in Peshawar and D. I. Khan.

[c] Excludes the population of FATA and Kohistan and the FATA in Hazara District.

Source: Afzal (1974):34-35 and Population Census Organization (n.d.): Table 4.

on an estimated number of 15.9 million women in reproductive ages 15-44 in 1979-80 (Population Division, 1981, p. 167). Thus, 45% of the Pakistani females are children below the reproductive ages, about 44% are in the reproductive ages and remaining 11% are women age 50 and over who have completed their reproductive period.

It was mentioned above that there has been a tendency towards selective underreporting of females in Pakistan. Table 5 shows that the number of males per 100 females has been consistently higher in all the sources while there does seem to be a small tendency towards a decline. From 117 in 1951 the sex ratio has declined to 111 in 1981. Sex ratios seem to be particularly high among adolescent persons 10-14 and 15-19. It has been suggested that this pattern of sex ratios is probably related to selective under enumeration and/or age misreporting of young girls who are not yet married. Young women age 10-14 are perhaps reported as being less than 10 while young women 15-19 are reported to be older than 19 thus resulting in high sex ratios for these age groups (for a detailed discussion of sex ratios in Pakistan see Rukanuddin, 1967; also see Alam and Nobbe, 1977; Nobbe and Alam, 1977). There is also a tendency towards higher sex ratios among persons age 50 or more which can result both from age misreporting, selective under enumeration.

I.3 Rural-Urban Differences in Sex and Age Composition

Table 6 shows the male and female age distribution and sex ratios based on the 1972 census for rural and urban areas. The sex ratio in urban areas was 119 compared with 113 in rural areas. If one assumes that the pattern of age reporting is similar in rural and urban areas, what are the probable reasons for higher sex ratios in urban areas? One argument that has been used in the past is that of male selective migration to urban

Table 5. Comparisons of age-specific sex ratios (males per 100 females) in the 1951, 1961, 1972 and 1981 Censuses, Pakistan

	1951	1961	1972	1981
0-4	104.5	104.6	100.8	-
5-9	112.0	114.6	110.4	-
10-14	114.4	122.6	127.0	-
15-19	106.1	118.5	120.1	-
20-24	116.6	112.9	106.3	-
25-29	135.1	108.9	111.6	-
30-34	133.8	110.6	108.1	-
35-39	134.8	117.5	116.4	-
40-44	132.3	119.4	116.1	-
45-49	130.3	125.5	122.9	-
50-54	131.9	129.4	132.7	-
55-59	108.5	125.8	118.2	-
60-64	117.0[a]	133.5[a]	142.5	-
65+	-	-	132.9	-
Total	116.8	115.8	114.9	111.0

[a]Data for 1951 and 1961 are for 60+ ages.

- not available.

Source: Office of Census Commissioner (n.d.): Statement 5A, page III-A; Population Census Organization (n.d.): Table 4; and Population Census Organization (1981): Table 1.

Table 6. Population age composition and sex ratios for urban and rural Pakistan, 1972[a]

Age Groups	Urban			Rural		
	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	Male	Female	Sex Ratio
All Ages	9,019,171	7,561,180	119	24,374,475	21,507,057	113
(Percent)	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	-
0-4	13.6	15.5	104	14.4	16.4	100
5-9	14.6	16.1	109	16.4	16.7	111
10-14	13.0	13.0	119	13.2	11.5	130
15-19	9.5	9.8	116	8.4	7.8	122
20-24	8.3	8.6	115	6.6	7.3	103
25-29	8.0	7.9	122	7.1	7.4	108
30-34	6.6	6.5	121	6.0	6.8	104
35-39	5.7	5.4	128	5.2	5.3	112
40-44	5.3	4.6	138	4.8	5.0	109
45-49	4.0	3.2	147	3.8	3.7	115
50-54	3.8	3.0	115	4.0	3.6	127
55-59	1.8	1.5	136	2.0	2.0	113
60-64	2.3	2.1	146	3.3	2.6	142
65-69	0.9	0.8	139	1.3	1.8	126
70-74	1.2	1.0	142	1.7	1.4	137
75 & over	1.1	1.0	127	1.9	1.6	133

[a] Excludes the Population of FATA, Kohistan areas and provincially administered tribal areas adjoining Hazara District.

Sources: Population Census Organization (n.d.): Table 4.

areas which results in higher sex ratios in such areas (e.g. Krotki, 1963b). It should be noted here that the sex ratio in urban areas according to the 1961 census was even higher—126. The decline in sex ratio between these two censuses is probably related both to a decrease in male selective migration over time and better coverage of females in urban areas in the census. In the 1972 census, sex ratios in the urban areas are particularly high among relatively older age groups, 35 and above, with some exceptions.

The percentage of female children aged less than 15 is the same (45 percent) in both rural and urban areas. There is, however, a slightly larger proportion of women in the reproductive ages in urban as compared to rural ages—46 percent and 42 percent respectively. Part of this differential could be the result of female migration into urban areas on account of marriage. But other factors such as differential age reporting between the two areas seem to be equally plausible explanations for this apparent rural-urban difference. Finally, the percentage of older women (age 50+) is higher in rural compared with urban areas—13% and 9% respectively.

II. TRENDS, LEVELS AND DIFFERENTIALS IN MORTALITY

Estimation of mortality and fertility levels and trends in Pakistan is particularly difficult because although the country has reasonably extensive census data, it is not so favorably endowed with other traditional sources of demographic data such as vital registration. Officially a system of birth and death registration does exist, but the coverage is so incomplete that practically no attempt has been made to tabulate the data (Afzal, 1974). As pointed out earlier, even the accuracy

of census data is doubtful. In recent years however the lack of conventional data in the form of complete registration of vital events and accurate census counts has been, to a great extent, compensated by the information from many national socio-demographic sample surveys that have been undertaken since the early sixties.

The first systematic attempt to study the level of fertility and mortality in Pakistan on a sample basis was through the Population Growth Estimation (PGE) experiment, a dual record survey conducted from 1962 to 1965. Two systems, a cross-sectional survey (CS) and a longitudinal registration (LR) system were used to collect data on births and deaths for a national sample. Births and deaths reported from these two sources were matched and an adjustment was made to correct for underreporting in either source through the use of the Chandra-Deming (CD) adjustment technique. Further description of the PGE is given in Appendix A. There is a general agreement among demographers that the fertility and mortality estimates provided by CS seem to be too low and that the real levels lie somewhere between the estimates based on LR and CD. In a recent exercise, Afzal (1977) has recalculated the CD rates after adjusting the denominator (sample population) and has observed that CD estimates of CBR and CDR were inflated by 12% and 9% respectively. In addition to the PGE, data from several other national surveys have been used in order to arrive at an estimate of mortality levels and trends.

Estimates from earlier studies indicate that the crude death rate (CDR) was around 40 per 1,000 during the early part of the twentieth century. It declined gradually to about 30 per 1,000 by 1950, mainly as a result of control of diseases such as small pox, cholera and plague (Robinson, 1967; Davis, 1951). By the mid-sixties, the CDR had declined to around 18 per 1,000 as estimated in the PGE (Table 7).

Table 7. Levels and trends in crude death rates and infant mortality rates, 1881-1975

Period	Source	Crude Death Rate			Infant Mortality Rates		
		Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
1881-1891		41	na	na	na		
1891-1901		44	na	na	na		
1901-1911		43	na	na	222		
1911-1921		49	na	na	212		
1921-1931		36	na	na	176		
1931-1941		31	na	na	168		
1962-65	PGE - CD	18	17	20	136	137	135
	PGE - LR	15	14	16	143	140	146
	PGE - CS	11	na	na	105	111	98
1968-71	PGS	11	11	11	113	153	85
1970-75	PFS	na	na	na	143	135	152

na = not available

Sources: Davis (1951); Farooqui and Farooq (1971):103.
Statistics Division (1973 and 1974, Table 1 and 15).
Author's tabulation from 1975 Pakistan Fertility Survey.

Female mortality has been found to be consistently higher than male mortality in all the three approaches used in the PGE. According to the CD estimates for 1962-65 the crude death rate (CDR) was 20 per 1,000 for females compared with 17 per 1,000 for males (Table 7). The PGS seems to have underestimated both male and female mortality but a relatively higher female mortality has been indicated by the 1971 PGS. The Planning Commission has estimated the CDR to be 14 per 1,000 for 1978 and plans to reduce the CDR to 10.2 over the plan period 1978-83 (Planning Commission, 1978, p. 365).

A clearer picture of the male-female mortality differential is provided by the ratio of the male to female deaths at various ages, shown in Table 8. Among children less than 1, mortality is somewhat higher among males. After age 1, however, and almost throughout the reproductive period female mortality is higher. For example, among children aged 1-4 females had consistently higher death rates in both 1962-65 PGE and 1968-71 PGS, the sex ratios being 67 and 85 respectively. The same pattern of high female mortality among children 1-4 was found in urban and rural areas. Furthermore, mortality among females in ages 5-14 was consistently higher in both data sources for the total country. After age 45-50, however, the trend of higher female mortality seems to reverse and they have a somewhat lower mortality than males. A major reason for higher female mortality during the childbearing ages is likely to be mortality related with childbirth. Awan (Chapter 8 in this volume) has calculated the maternal mortality rate in Pakistan to be 6-8 per 1,000 live births. Among children 1-14, the higher female mortality is probably indicative of poorer health care and nutrition provided to female children. While no survey data on the selective neglect of female children are available for Pakistan,

observation suggests that female children are at a relative disadvantage compared to male children in terms of amount and quality of food and medical care.

III.1 Infant and neonatal mortality

It was shown in Table 7 above that when an average for years 1962-65 is used male infants have a slightly higher mortality than females (137 and 135 respectively, shown in Table 7). Also, the PGS figures for 1968-1971 indicate a lower infant mortality among females (Table 7). The PFS data, on the other hand, indicate a higher infant mortality among females—152 compared to 135 for males. PFS data have been found to be of higher quality than PGS by several researchers (e.g. Boothe and Alam, 1980; Retherford and Mirza, forthcoming) and probably present a more acurate picture of the mortality differential. These discrepant findings, nevertheless, disallow a conclusive statement about the male-female differential in infant mortality. Regardless of the differential, however, all sources indicate that mortality among infants is still very high, and around 130-150 of every 1,000 girl children who are born die before they reach age 1.

Over half of these infant deaths occur during the first month of the infant's life as indicated below:

Infant Mortality Rates

Source	Total	Neo-natal	Post-natal
PGE (1962-65)	135	77	58
PGS (1968-71)	113	56	57
PFS (1965-69)	137[a]	78	60
PFS (1970-75)	143[a]	81	59

[a]Figures do not add up to the total because of rounding

One of the major causes for such high neo-natal mortality is probably the unhygienic conditions at the time of the child's birth and delivery by the poorly trained local midwives (dai). Additional discussion of these factors is given by Awan in Chapter 8.

II.2 Life expectancy

Life expectancy at any given age represents the probable number of years that a person may expect to live beyond a certain age. The two major sets of life tables for Pakistan have been based on mortality data provided by the 1962-65 PGE and the 1968 and 1971 PGS. Table 9 shows the life expectancy at various ages based on these two sources. The PGE data indicated life expectancy at birth to be 47.5 years for males and 45.1 years for females. The PGS indicates the life expectancy to have gone up to 52.9 years and 51.8 years for males and females respectively. The Planning Commission has estimated the life expectancy for males and females to be 54 years and 53 years respectively for 1978 and plan to increase it to 60 years and 59 years over the Plan Period 1978-83 (Planning Commission, 1978, p. 365). It should be noted that the male-female differential has decreased from 2.4 years in 1962-65 to 1.1 years in 1968-71 although the female life expectancy continues to be lower. Consistent with the mortality rates discussed above, females are at a relative disadvantage and have lower life expectancy up to age 34. Among persons aged 35 and over, however, females have a higher life expectancy.

Substantial differences in life expectancy exist between urban and rural areas as indicated below:

	Male	Female
Urban	56.4	54.9
Rural	52.1	51.3

Table 8. Age- and sex-specific death rates for Pakistan and its urban and rural areas, based on PGE (1962-65 CD and LR average) and PGS (1968 and 1971 average)

Age	Total 1962-65[a] (CD & LR average)			Total 1968-71[b]			Urban 1968-71[b]			Rural 1968-71[b]		
	Male	Female	Sex Ratio[c]	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	Male	Female	Sex Ratio
Under 1	195.5	192.0	102	171.2	139.8	122	148.2	108.6	136	178.5	149.9	119
1-4	22.5	33.5	67	16.1	18.9	85	9.2	16.4	56	18.2	19.6	93
5-9	3.0	3.5	85	3.1	3.2	97	2.3	2.5	92	3.3	3.2	103
10-14				1.8	2.8	64	1.3	2.1	62	2.0	3.0	67
15-19				1.9	2.4	79	1.0	0.0	0	2.2	3.4	65
20-24				2.7	3.8	71	0.3	2.1	14	3.9	4.4	89
25-29	4.5	5.5	82	1.1	4.4	25	0.8	2.0	40	1.1	5.2	21
30-34				2.4	4.3	56	1.8	3.8	47	1.3	4.5	29
35-39				2.8	3.3	85	1.6	6.0	27	3.3	2.4	137
40-44				4.7	4.3	109	4.9	6.8	72	4.6	3.5	131
45-49				4.0	7.1	6	5.8	7.8	74	3.2	6.8	47
50-54				10.4	8.6	121	7.7	2.7	285	11.2	10.2	110
55-59	25.5	24.5	104	9.8	7.2	136	8.6	11.0	78	10.2	5.8	176
60-64				25.8	11.2	230	16.7	7.8	214	28.4	12.1	235
65 and over				40.3	40.3	100	44.5	34.5	129	38.3	41.8	92

[a]Farooqui and Farooq (1971):103.

[b]Farooqui and Alam (1974):338.

[c]Calculated as male death rates ÷ female death rates X 100.

Table 9. Life expectancy for males and females, based on PGE and PGS data

Age Group	1962-65 PGE		1968 and 1971 (Based on PGS Two Years Average)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Under 1	47.49	45.06	52.9	51.8
1-4	54.40	51.37	57.3	56.9
5-9	55.51	54.43	58.5	56.7
10-14	51.48	50.53	54.4	52.8
15-19	47.07	46.18	49.8	48.6
20-24	42.71	42.08	45.2	44.4
25-29	38.38	38.03	40.6	40.1
30-34	34.05	33.96	36.0	35.7
35-39	29.75	29.97	31.4	31.4
40-44	25.50	25.93	26.8	27.0
45-49	21.31	21.79	22.2	22.6
50-54	20.35	17.58	17.7	18.1
55-59	13.07	13.32	13.3	13.7
60-64	8.97	8.95	9.0	9.3
65 & over	4.70	4.68	4.8	4.8

Source: Planning Commission (1978):786.

The expectation of life at birth is nearly 4 years higher for both males and females in urban than in rural areas, which is probably a reflection of better health facilities available in urban areas.

III. TRENDS, LEVELS AND DIFFERENTIALS IN FERTILITY

In this section we have used the following measures of fertility: (a) crude birth rate (CBR) which is the number of births per 1,000 persons over a specified time period; (b) age specific fertility (ASFR) which refers to the number of babies born to women in an age group such as 15-19, 29-24, etc. during one year; (c) age specific marital fertility rate (ASMFR) is the same as ASFR except that the women included in the denominator include only married rather than all women as in the case of ASFR; (d) duration specific marital fertility rate (DSMFR) where fertility rates are calculated according to the duration since the women first got married; (e) total fertility rate (TFR) which is the summation of total number of children born to women in each 5 year age group during one year, and indicates the total average number of births a woman is likely to bear over her reproductive span if the current fertility rates were to continue.

Analysis of the CBR during the pre-partition period based on the 1881-1941 censuses indicates that the CBR varied between 45 to 49 during this period (Davis, 1951). An estimate of 43 was provided by the PGE (LR) for 1962-65 and the PFS gave an estimate of 42 for 1970-75. While these figures suggest an apparent decline in fertility it should be emphasized that the CBR is only a crude index of fertility since it is highly dependent upon the age and sex structure of the population. The age-specific measures of fertility discussed in the remainder of this section therefore represent relatively more valid estimates of fertility.

The TFRs given in Table 10 suggest that in recent years fertility has declined by nearly 12 percent, from 7.0 births (PGE LR-CD average) during 1963-65 to 6.3 births in 1975 as found in the PFS. A comparison of the age-specific pattern obtained through various sources, shows an irregular pattern. The PFS and PGE (LR and CD average) estimtes are in fairly close agreement for age group 25-29. For ages 30 and above, however, the PGE estimates are consistently higher than PFS. The higher PFS estimate for age group 15-19 is due mainly to the rise in age at marriage but the considerably low estimates for PFS women aged 45-49 are puzzling. One possible reason for this could be that in PGE and PGS, all births reported to women 50 years and over were transferred to the 45-49 age group, an adjustment not possible in PFS as the sample was restricted to women under 50 years of age. Another reason for the low estimates for older women could be due to age exaggeration among them. Retherford and Mirza (forthcoming) analyzed data from HED survey and found that the fertility of older women (35+) fell substantially between 1962-66 and 1967-71 which was a spurious result generated by age exaggeration.

ASMFRs show similar patterns as observed for ASFRs. The PFS marital rates for both the 1960-65 and 1965-70 periods are generally higher than PGE (LR), NIS and PGS but considerably lower than PGE (CD). However, the PFS rates are generally in agreement with PGE (LR and CD average), for women aged 20-29.

In terms of fertility decline over the 1960-75 period revealed by the PFS data, ASFR showed a gradual decline over time, particularly for young women aged 15-19 (Table 10). The ASMFRs, on the other hand remained unchanged for the age group 15-19 and registered a slight rise and then a fall for the age groups 20-34; age groups 35 and over experienced a

able 10. Age-specific and age-specific marital fertility rates by source of estimates, Pakistan 1963-75

urrent ge	Age-Specific Fertility Rates							Age-Specific Marital Fertility Rates							
	PGE (1963-65 Average)[1]			PGS[2]	PFS[3]			PGE (1963-65 Average)[1]			PGS[2]	NIS[4]	PFS[3]		
	LR	CD	LR-CD Average	1968-71	1960-65	1965-70	1970-75	LR	CD	LR-CD Average	1968-71	1968-69	1960-65	1965-70	1970-75
-19	110[a]	130[a]	120[a]	58	194	180	154	367[a]	433[a]	400[a]	187	251	316	315	313
-24	226	303	264	223	308	323	285	276	370	323	275	310	339	369	344
-29	291	373	332	261	329	325	313	306	393	349	284	335	339	340	331
-34	283	353	318	252	271	280	253	295	368	331	265	294	274	285	260
-39	187	250	218	200	206+	190	179	199	266	233	213	174	209+	192	182
44	79	114	96	124		107+	64	90	130	110	138	90		108+	64
49	42[a]	67[a]	54[a]	85[a]			10+	51[a]	82[a]	66[a]	105+	5			10+
R	6.1	8.0	7.0	6.0			6.3								

ree:
[1] Farooqui and Farooq (1971)
[2] Afzal (1974)
[3] Alam (forthcoming)
[4] TREC (n.d.)

+ Based on incomplete cohorts.

[a] All births reported to women < years of age and 50+ were included in 15-19 and 50+ age groups respectively.

consistent decline in ASMFRs. This pattern is consistent with that observed in situations where age at marriage is rising, i.e. the age specific fertility for age group 20-24 registers a rise, as more and more early fertility is shifted from the youngest (15-19) to this age group.

III.1 Age at Marriage and Fertility

One of the most important factors in the transition from high to low fertility is change in nuptiality or marriage patterns.[2] The age at which women enter a marital union, the percentage of women who never marry, the duration for which marital unions remain intact, the incidence of widowhood, divorce and remarriage are all significant factors in the fertility levels of a country. Pakistan is known to be a country with almost universal marriage. Also, age at marriage in the country has been rising but is still fairly young as discussed in Chapter 6.

One way to examine the changing speed or tempo of childearing is to analyze fertility rates specific to duration since first marriage, as is done in Table 11.[3] In countries like Pakistan where age at marriage has been very low in the past, any rise in age at marriage is likely to result in an increase in fertility during the first 5 years of marriage. This change is expected on account of decrease in temporary sterility that the very young women probably suffer from. The duration-specific marital fertility rates (DSMFRs) presented in Table 11 show such a pattern until 1970. In recent years (1960-75) DSMFR's for 0-4 duration have risen slightly (3 percent). Fertility at the 5-9 duration has remained more or less unchanged. However, for duration 15 years and over, it has declined. The decline increases with the rise in duration. These changes in marital fertility are summarized in the last column of the table by cumulating the

TABLE 11. Duration-specific fertility rates and relative change since 1960-65, Pakistan 1955-75 (Pakistan 1960-65 = 100)

Duration since first marriage	Duration-specific rates 1955-60	1960-65	1965-70	1970-75	Relative change
0-4	273	294	311	303	+ 3.1
5-9	328	356	362	346	- 2.8
10-14	321	321	332	312	- 2.8
15-19	282	282	286	252	-10.6
20-24	192	203	201	174	-14.3
25-29	-	153	100	69	-54.9
30-34	-	-	83	14	-
Children born in first 20 years since marriage	6.0	6.3	6.5	6.1	- 3.2

SOURCE: Pakistan Fertility Survey

DSMFRs to duration 20. The impact on number of children in first 20 years of marriage since 1960-65 period is negligible (3 percent).

When DSMFRs were analyzed within age at marriage categories and by duration since first marriage, we did not find any systematic pattern (Table 12). One notable finding from Table 12 is that age group 18-19 seems to be the ideal age at marriage for achieving maximum fertility since fertility in the first 15 years of marriage is highest for this group. The changes in duration-specific fertility rates since 1960-65 show the greatest relative decline for those marrying at 20+ and a relative increase for those marrying at 18-19. The number of children born in the first 20 years of marriage varied between 5.3 (for those marrying 20+) and 6.5 (for those marrying at 18-19 years), which suggests that a rise in age at marriagre is related with a decline in marital fercility.

In his analysis of the impact of age at marriage on fertility based on PFS data, Karim (1980) showed that women who married at younger ages (17-18) had much higher fertility than women who married at age 21 or above. The mean number of children ever born (CEB) to the former groups of women, aged 40-49 at the time of the 1975 PFS, was 7.63 compared with only 5.67 among the latter group (Karim, 1980, Table 4.6). Also, in a multivariate analysis in which several of the relevant variables were controlled, he found that age at marriage had a signigicant negative affect on CEB to women aged 30-39 as well as those aged 40-49 (Karim, 1980, Table 4.15).

Although this analysis suggests a negative relationship between a later age at marriage (at 20 or higher) and fertility, the results need to be interpreted with caution. It should be mentioned that women marrying at such later ages (in the Pakistani context) belong to a very special, and

fairly small, socioeconomic group of the society and as such are not very representative for drawing any conclusion regarding the probable future impact of a rising age at marriage on fertility.

III.2 Regional and Rural-Urban Differentials in Fertility

Regional Differences

As pointed out earlier, Pakistan is divided into 4 provinces which serve as major administrative units and show considerable regional variation in population characteristics. The sample sizes in PFS for each region were proportionate to population size with the result that the number of women interviewed in Baluchistan is very small. We have therefore excluded Baluchistan from our analysis of provincial differences.

Data in Table 13 show that all the provinces have experienced a decline in fertility between 1960 and 1975. The decline has been more pronounced in NWFP (18 percent). Sind and Punjab show declines of 12 percent and 11 percent, respectively. The current fertility level is the highest for Sind which is consistent with the changing nuptiality pattern in the provinces. Rural Sind has a tradition of early marriage and recent changes in nuptiality patterns have been the slowest (Alam and Parveen, 1975). Since nearly 40 percent of the Sind population lives in urban areas (the majority in metropolitan areas, Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukkur), rural fertility is likely to be much higher than the regional level reported here.

The age-specific fertility pattern in 1970-75 for NWFP and Punjab is close to the national level, with peak fertility occurring at age 25-29. However, the Sind pattern is quite different, probably due to lower age at

Table 12. Duration-specific marital fertility rates and relative change since 1960-65 by age at marriage cohorts, Pakistan 1970-75 (Pakistan 1960-65 = 100)

Duration Since First Marriage	Married at <15		Married 15-17		Married 18-19		Married 20+	
	DSMFRs	Relative Change	DSMFRs	Relative Change	DSMFRs	Relative Change	DSMFRs	Relative Change
0-4	293	-0.3	288	-2.0	344	+17.0	322	+9.5
5-9	325	-8.7	359	+0.1	382	+7.3	331	-7.0
10-14	312	-2.8	330	+2.8	331	+3.1	213	-33.6
15-19	262	-7.1	253	-10.3	246	-12.8	(195)	-30.9
20-24	202	-0.5	154	-24.1	(118)	-41.9	(96)	-52.7
25-29	88	-42.5	52	-66.0	-	-	-	-
Children Born in First 20 Years since Marriage	6.0	-4.8	6.2	-1.6	6.5	+3.1	5.3	-15.9

Source: Pakistan Fertility Survey 1975

- no cases in cell

( ) Figures in parentheses refer to less than 250 women-years of exposure.

Table 13. Age-specific and total fertility rates by region of residence. Pakistan 1960-75[1]

Mother's age at birth	Sind 1960-65	Sind 1965-70	Sind 1970-75	Punjab 1960-65	Punjab 1965-70	Punjab 1970-75	NWFP 1960-65	NWFP 1965-70	NWFP 1970-75
15-19	224	206	192	181	166	135	198	190	170
20-24	297	335	302	305	325	284	288	292	243
25-29	334	313	300	324	332	321	357	299	298
30-34	265	276	247	276	277	259	291	313	209
35-39	(226)+	209	191	202+	184	173	(241)+	220	208
40-44	-	(143)+	69	-	98+	58	-	(160)+	132
45-49		-	(18)+	-	-	.7+	-	-	(16)+
Total Fertility Rate[2]	7.5	7.5	6.6	7.0	6.9	6.2	7.8	7.5	6.4

Source: Pakistan Fertility Survey 1975.

[1]Overlapping calendar years in blocks of 5 years from the date of interview.

[2]For the incomplete periods the TFRs have been obtained by assuming that the fertility for cohorts for which information is available has remained constant back in time.

+Based on incomplete cohorts.

- no cases in cell.

( ) Figures in parentheses refer to less than 250 women-years of exposure.

marriage in rural areas than in urban areas. In Sind there is very little difference between the fertility levels for age groups 20-24 and 25-29. The ASFRs show that fertility has declined for all age groups, with age group 15-19 registering the largest decline for all the provinces.

In summary, though fertility has declined in all the provinces, the level and tempo of decline varies somewhat. Sind, with a high proportion of urban population, still had the highest level of fertility (TFR = 6.6 in 1970-75), while NWFP with a small proportion of population living in urban areas had the fastest decline and its current fertility level is similar to that of the Punjab (TFR = 6.2 in 1970-75 in each province). The consistency of the decline both by age and by duration and the similarity of the changes between the provinces suggest that the changes are real.

Rural-Uran Differences

About 72 percent of the population lives in rural areas in Pakistan. The age distribution of the urban and rural women is very similar in the PFS. The absence of the proportionately higher concentration of young women in urban areas (which may have been expected on the basis of 1972 census distribution) is conspicuous, at least among ever-married women.

Due to lack of comprehensive evidence little is known about residential differentials in fertility. Davis (1951), basing his analysis on Population Census data from 1921 through 1941, found a negative association between urbanization and fertility in India and Pakistan. Duza (1967), using 1961 Population Census data found a very weak but negative relationship. Karim (1974) did not find any urban-rural fertility differentials from NIS data. More recently Sathar (1979), using PFS data, has observed a slightly higher marital fertility in urban areas. This

suggests that since 1921-41 the negative association has changed its direction and that, in present day Pakistan, urbanization has a positive effect on fertility. It should, however, be mentioned that the Davis and Duza analyses were based on child woman ratios, while Karim and Sathar looked at marital fertility levels. Whether this changing direction of the relationship between urbanization and fertility is due to the different approaches or to a real trend needs to be examined.

Table 14 shows that in the 1970-75 period the urban TFR was lower (6.2) than the rural (6.4). However, the rate of decline in urban and rural fertility was surprising. Contrary to the generally observed pattern where fertility starts declining in urban areas and then gradually spreads to rural areas, fertility in Pakistan has changed at nearly the same pace, by nearly 11 percent, both in urban and rural areas between 1960-65 and 1970-75.

The age-specific patterns of urban and rural fertility were quite different. In the 1970-75 period, for the age group 15-19, urban fertility was lower (135) than rural (168); for the 20-34 age groups the urban rate was higher and after 35, the rural rate was higher. This is consistent with urban-rural age at marriage differentials. The age at marriage is higher in urban areas than in rural areas (Chapter 6), resulting in the late onset of fertility in urban areas. In both urban and rural areas, the 15-19 age groups has registered a systematic decline in fertility since 1945-50, while the 20-29 age group fertility has shown a rise and then a decline, and the age group 30+ has registered a gradual decline. The decline at ages 15-19 is mainly due to changes in age at marriage whilst the decline at older ages is due to some form of fertility control,

Table 14. Age-specific fertility rate and total fertility rates by rural/urban residence, Pakistan 1960-75

	URBAN								RURAL							
Period[1]	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	TFR[2]	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	TFR[2]
1940-45	181+								155+							
1945-50	255	311+							226	297+						
1950-55	234	308	323+						215	278	291+					
1955-60	226	317	298	280+				6.9	187	302	313	290+				7.2
1960-65	216	326	317	278	178+			7.0	185	302	334	269	218+			7.2
1965-70	178	343	317	265	185	79+		6.9	183	316	328	285	192	119+		7.2
1970-75	135	295	328	257	167	59	6+	6.2	168	284	307	251	184	65	12	6.4

[1]Overlapping calendar years in blocks of 5 years from the date of interview.

[2]For the incomplete periods the TFRs have been obtained by assuming that the fertility for cohorts for which information is available has remained constant back in time. Includes ASFRs for age group 15-19.

+Based on incomplete cohorts.

Source: Pakistan Fertility Survey, 1975.

although the reported current contraceptive use rates in Pakistan are only around 3% in rural and 12% in urban areas (Shah, 1979).

Thus, the results show that a negative relationship between urbanization and fertility holds true, provided one looks at the age-specific fertility rates. However, the relationship reverses, once fertilty behavior within marriage is observed. Data in Table 15 show that the number of births in the first twenty years of marriage was higher in urban (6.4) than in rural (6.0) areas, although the decline in fertility over the 1960-75 period was the same for the two (3 percent). The data suggest that although the age at marriage is higher in urban areas, the intensity of fertility during the first twenty years of marriage is also higher. With regard to the change in fertility levels between 1960-75, urban fertility showed an increase of 18.4 percent while rural fertility remained unchanged, in the first 5 years of marriage. At durations 15 and above, both urban and rural fertility experienced declines.

A partial explanation for higher marital fertility in urban areas may be found in the breakdown of traditional norms. For example, post natal abstinence and length of breastfeeding are likely to be much shorter in urban areas, because of the diminished influence of parents and other members of the family. I. Shah (forthcoming) has observed that in fact urban mothers generally breastfeed for shorter durations in comparison with rural mothers.

IV. SUMMARY

The population of Pakistan has been enumerated to be 83.8 million in March 1981. About 40 million or 47% of the total population are women. Of all the females, about 45% are children below age 15, another 44% are in

Table 15. Duration-specific marital fertility rates and relative change since 1960-65 by place of residence, Pakistan 1960-75 (Pakistan 1960-65 = 100)

Duration Since First Marriage	Urban				Rural			
	1960-65	1965-70	1970-75	Relative Change	1960-65	1965-70	1970-75	Relative Change
0-4	333	346	346	+18.4	280	298	288	- 0.1
5-9	378	369	352	0.0	348	359	345	- 3.1
10-14	323	339	332	+ 5.6	321	329	305	- 4.0
15-19	283	262	252	-10.3	281	295	252	- 8.9
20-24	178	206	165	-17.2	213	200	178	-12.3
25-29	196	93	76	-51.3	133	102	69	-54.2
Children Born in First 20 Years Since Marriage	6.6	6.6	6.4	- 3.0	6.2	6.4	6.0	- 3.2

Source: Pakistan Fertility Survey, 1975.

the reproductive ages 15-49 while the rest are over age 50. A comparison of the numbers of males and females in the country shows that there are about 111 males per 100 females. This high sex ratio suggests that females in the population are either underreported or have higher mortality rates compared with males.

A higher mortality among females than males is generally indicated by the diverse data sources within the country. Females expect to live a relatively shorter life than males, at birth—51.8 years and 52.9 years respectively, even though the differential has narrowed over time. Mortality among infants continues to be high and well over a hundred girl babies born during a year die before they reach age 1.

Fertility has been traditionally high in Pakistan. The crude birth rate (CBR) has been above 40 per 1,000 according to all data sources while the total fertility rate (TFR) was reported to be 6.3 in the 1975 PFS. There is some indication of decline in fertility judging from age-specific fertility rates between 1960 and 1975, particularly among women who had been married for 20 or more years at the time of the 1975 PFS. The age at which women first got married seems to be an important factor in the decline in fertility. Women who got married at age 20 or more experienced a much higher decline in fertility between 1960-75 than women who got married at younger ages. While these findings may suggest some policy implications for a possible route to achieve a decline in Pakistani fertility, raising the age at marriage within the country may not be an easy thing to accomplish, particularly within rural areas.

The rural-urban differentials in fertility did not lead to any conclusive findings. An analysis of the age-specific fertility rate (ASFR) suggests that fertility in urban areas was lower than in rural areas. This

finding was, however, reversed when age-specific marital fertility rates (ASMFRs) were examined. The interprovincial differences in fertility showed that Sind had higher fertility than Punjab and NWFP which is consistent with the relatively lower age at marriage in Sind.

Thus, fertility continues to be high and an average married Pakistani woman still bears more than seven children during her lifetime. The Government has had a national population control program since 1965 to provide services and advice for fertility control. In the meantime, about 3 million babies are being born every year. The population is likely to double in about 23 years if the present rate of population growth (of about 3% per year) continues unchecked. Such a high rate of population growth has serious consequences for the development of a nation with limited resources, and particularly for women and female children since the latter groups are less socially valued and have lesser access to these resources.

Footnotes

1. Krotki, for example, claims that the actual population size in 1961 and 1972 was 46.9 and 72.7 million respectively. If one were to accept these figures as accurate, this implies that the population grew at a compound growth rate of 3.6 percent annually over the 11 years and 8 month period between the two censuses. Such a growth rate implies a CBR of 51, if we assume that the CDR was around 15 during the intercensal period. Such a high CBR seems improbable since this level of fertility did not exist in any country of Southwest Asia around that period. It is more likely that the CBR was around 45 per 1,000 during the 1960s.

   Furthermore, the undercount in the 1972 census is likely to have been compensated to some degree by selective overreporting of certain groups on account of socio-political reasons (Hashmi, 1977; Bean and Bhatti, 1972).

2. In recent years, the Sri Lanka transition has become the classical example of the relationship between declining fertility and rising age at marriage (Alam and Cleland, 1981). However, knowledge of the precise mechanism by which societies achieve this transition to a higher average age at marriage is still lacking.

3. Note that the data in Tables 11-15 are based on birth and marriage history analysis of the PFS. One of the problems inherent in the use of these data consists of censoring or truncation effects whereby only those women who had married by the survey date are eligible to be included in the sample; another source of censoring is the limitation of the PFS sample to those below age 50. Thus, there is only one cohort age 45-49 at the time of the survey who have completed their reproductive histories. The rest are still at different stages of their reproductive life. Another complication is introduced by within cohort selectivity, i.e. those women who experience an event, such as marriage, early in life are more likely to be represented in the sample than those who experience the same event at a later age. One way to overcome the problem of censoring is to restrict the analysis to ever married women and to look for trends within those segments of experience which are available for all the cohorts; this has been done in several of the tables in this chapter through the analysis of DSMFRs for the first 20 years of marriage. There may be other errors in these data such as digital heaping in the case of age reporting, inaccurate reporting of the month of a vital even, i.e. a birth, death or marriage, omissions of births, etc. For further discussion of such errors see Alam and Cleland (1981).

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MARRIAGE PATTERNS, MARITAL DISSOLUTION AND REMARRIAGE*

by

Mehtab S. Karim
Iqbal Alam

INTRODUCTION

Marriage, divorce and widowhood are demographic events that influence the course of population growth. They shape the marital composition of a population, which could in turn affect all aspects of population dynamics. In Pakistan, as in most of the Asian and Islamic countries, marriage provides the primary social setting in which childbearing takes place. Following the entry into marriage and consequently by exposure to childbearing, the effective duration spent in the married state is governed by the prevalence of marital dissolution and remarriages. Within marriage, the degree of exposure to childbearing is influenced by a variety of factors of differing intensities, such as temporary separation of spouses, coital frequencies, intensity and duration of breastfeeding, levels of primary and secondary sterility, taboos on sexual indulgence and the prevalence and efficacy of contraceptive use. Thus, in a country where marriage is universal and contraceptive practice is little and where most births occur within marriage, the age at which women enter into their first union is one of the important determinants of fertility.

In this chapter, we discuss the levels, trends and differentials in nuptiality of Pakistani women. The chapter is organized into three

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sections. Section 1 deals with levels and incidence of marriage, divorce, widowhood and remarriage. In the second section, we present various measures of age at first marriage and examine the changes in age at marriage over the past several decades and in the final section, differentials and determinants of age at first marriage are discussed. Data for this analysis are drawn from decennial censuses of Pakistan and the 1975 Pakistan Fertility Survey (PFS).

I. MARITAL STATUS AND TIMES MARRIED

Table 1 shows the percentage of women in different marital statuses. According to PFS data, of all ever-married women aged 15-49, 94 percent were currently married, 2 percent were separated or divorced and 3 percent were widowed (Table 1).[1] Although divorce is allowed in Islam and is relatively easy to obtain, it is probably restrained by the fact that according to the customs in Pakistan the husband must pay the wife a substantial amount of "Mehr" (dower). Moreover, it is socially looked down upon and divorced women at times become social outcasts.[2] The relatively low percentage of widowhood is a partial reflection of declining male mortality. It may be noted, however, that the incidence of widowhood is not fully revealed by the PFS (individual level) data since the PFS sample included only women up to age 49 and the median age of ever-married women in the sample was fairly low, (29.3 years). There were however, substantial differences in marital distribution of women classified by age. The percentage of divorced women remained more or less unchanged by age, while the percentage of widowed women increased with age, and about 11% of women aged 45-49 were classified as widowed.

Table 1. Percentage distribution of women by current marital status and age, 1975.

Age Group	Marital Status		
	Currently Married	Separated /Divorced	Widowed
15-19	98.0	1.8	0.2
20-24	96.8	2.8	0.4
25-29	95.8	2.7	1.6
30-34	95.6	2.5	1.9
35-39	93.5	2.2	4.4
40-44	90.0	1.6	8.4
45-49	86.4	2.9	10.6
All women	94.2	2.4	3.4

Source: Pakistan Fertility Survey, Household Data.

I.1. Remarriage and Number of Times Married

In a country where a high proportion of first marriages are still intact, the number marrying more than once is quite low. As such any meaingful investigation of remarriages is severely impaired by the small number of such events. This may be seen from Table 2 which provides a picture of the overall pattern of remarriage. The first point to note is that among the total sample, only 4 percent married twice and hardly any married thrice. Of the 10 percent women whose first marriage was dissolved, however, about half have remarried. The percentage remarried remained above 60 among women below 40 years. It however, decreases to 45 percent or less for those in older ages, which is likely due to the lower incidence of remarriage during earlier years or under-reporting of such events for older women. Although remarriage of widows is highly prescribed in Islam, there is a stigma attached to divorced and widowed women who often face problems in finding a husband and are often married to a much older man or a widower, if at all.

I.2. Time Spent in the Married State

We have already observed that marriages in Pakistan are highly stable and the proportion of women who have remained in the married state since they were first married is noticeably high. Therefore, it would be expected that the percentage of time spent in the married state since first marriage for all ever-married women is also very high. This is indeed true as shown in Table 3. For any particular current age and age at marriage combination, the percentage of time spent in the married state since first marriage consists of the sum of duration of all marriages divided by the total duration since first marriage. The average time spent in the married

Table 2. Number of times all ever-married women were married and the incidence of Remarriage by age, currently married women, 1975.

Age Groups	Times Married					Percent remarried among all women whose first marriage was dissolved
	Once	Twice	Thrice	Total	(N)	
15-19	99.8	0.2	0.0	100.0	628	-
20-24	98.4	1.6	0.0	100.0	843	63.0
25-29	97.1	4.2	0.1	100.0	913	60.4
30-34	95.7	4.2	0.1	100.0	821	63.7
35-39	92.1	7.7	0.2	100.0	624	60.6
40-44	93.5	6.1	0.4	100.0	620	42.8
45-49	91.0	8.8	0.1	100.0	503	45.0
All women	95.7	4.1	0.1	100.0	4,952	52.4

Source: Pakistan Fertility Survey, Individual level data.

Note: N weighted for rural and urban areas when national estimates are provided; otherwise unweighted, in this and subsequent tables based on the PFS data.

Table 3. Percentage of average time spent in the married state by all ever-married women, by current age and age at first marriage, 1975.

Current Age	Age at First Marriage <15	15-19	20-24	25+	Total
15-19	98.9	99.6	-	-	99.1
20-24	98.6	99.1	96.9	-	98.8
25-29	97.8	98.5	97.0	92.8	98.1
30-34	97.3	98.1	97.9	100.0	97.7
35-39	96.2	97.5	95.8	92.1	96.7
40-44	95.5	95.6	96.8	96.5	95.6
45-49	92.2	95.6	97.7	99.1	94.1
All women	95.8	97.1	97.1	96.4	96.4
N	(2,158)	(2,304)	(49)	(81)	(4,952)

Source: Pakistan Fertility Survey, Individual data.

state for all ever-married women is 96 percent, which suggests that marital dissolution is unlikely to have a significant depressing effect on the overall marital fertlity[3] in Pakistan. We further observe that the time spent in the married state is uniformly high and does not vary substantially with either current age or age at first marriage.

II. CHANGING TRENDS AND TEMPO OF AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

There has been a considerable change in age at first marriage of Pakistani women over the past half a century; it has increased considerably. Before discussing this change, however, it would be useful to explain the various measures of age at marriage used in this chapter, namely: a) singulate mean age at marriage (SMAM), b) proportion of women single by age, c) mean age at marriage (MAM) and d) median age at marriage. SMAM is calculated by adding the population currently single at successive ages—or age groups—as though they refer to a single cohort of women. The SMAM thus calculated, however, summarizes the experience of all the persons enumerated in different ages at a given point in time and does not refer to a real but to a synthetic cohort.[4] In the absence of any direct estimates of age at marriage, either from registration statistics or survey data, SMAM has been widely used in Pakistan to show trends in age at marriage over time. Using data from cross sectional surveys, where individual women are interviewed and their exact age at marriage is recorded, we have also calculated the median and the Mean Age at Marriage (MAM). To analyse trends in female age at marriage we have utilized SMAM and the proportion single overtime using the Census data and household data from the PFS. In the following section we discuss each of the measures of age at marriage indicated above.

II.1. Singulate Mean Age at Marriage

Table 4 provides the estimates of SMAM for females over time. A clear trend in SMAM is noticeable between the 1921 and 1972 censuses, with a sudden rise in 1951 and then in 1972. From 15.8 in 1921, SMAM rose to 17.9 in 1951 and 20.0 in 1972. Since Pakistan emerged as an independent country only in 1947, the SMAM calculated by Sadiq (1964) from the censuses of 1921 to 1941 are for the Muslim population of those provinces of British India which now constitute Pakistan.[5]

Partial explanation for the low and unchanging SMAM from 1921 to 1941 may be found in the relatively low development level, and the tribal and traditional characteristics of provinces which eventually became Pakistan. Furthermore, similar to the entire sub-continent, educational facilities in the region were generally lacking and industries were almost non-existent, forcing the population to depend entirely on agriculture. The latter decades, however, brought in substantial changes in the area. A mass movement had started in the late 1930s against the British colonial administration and for the creation of Pakistan as an independent nation. This was also the period when the Indian sub-continent was involved in the Second World War on behalf of the British Empire. The provinces of Punjab and NWFP which together constitute about 75 percent of Pakistan's present population also provided a large proportion of the Indian sub-continent's armed forces. Thus the male participation in the war might have led to the postponement of their marriage, consequently increasing the female age at marriage as well. Finally from 1945 to 1947 the province of Punjab experienced a large-scale Muslim-Hindu communal riots. This led to severe social and economic disruptions resulting in the displacement of Muslim families to migrate from India to Pakistan after the British withdrawal

Table 4. Singulate mean age at marriage (SMAM), Pakistan 1921-75.

Year	SMAM
1921	15.8
1931	15.7
1941	16.4
1951	17.9
1961	17.6
1972	20.0
1975	19.8

Sources: 1921-61: Sadiq (1964, Table 25, p. 72)
1972: Pakistan Census Organization (n.d., Table 5)
1975: Pakistan Fertility Survey, Household Data

from the sub-continent. A combination of these events may have affected the marriage pattern in the country as suggested by an increase of a year and a half in SMAM between 1941 and 1951. During the decade of the 1950s there was a slight reversal in the upward trend in the SMAM, which was mainly due to the decline in proportion single among women 20-24 years from 17.7 percent in 1951 to 12.0 in 1961, (Table 5). It is likely that when displaced persons[6] started to settle down and links between the families were re-established, the frequency of marriage also went up. It is worth noting that most marriages in Pakistan are arranged by the families and cousin marriage is widely practiced. Thus, the displacement of families might have had an important bearing on the forced postponement of marriages.

The decade of the 1960s brought substantial changes in Pakistan which may have had a strong bearing on the nuptiality transition. This was the period when Pakistan experienced substantial growth in agricultural productivity due to the success of the green revolution, especially in the provinces of Punjab and Sind. At the same time, rapid industrialization took place after the establishment of a stable government in late 1958. Furthermore, laws which could directly affect nuptiality were also introduced. One of the most significant pieces of legislation was the Muslim Family Law Ordinance, introduced in 1961, as discussed in Chapter 4. These changes together with the improvement in the socio-economic conditions in the country may have been responsible for the substantial increase in female age at marriage from 17.6 in 1961 to 20.0 in 1972.

II.2. Proportion of Women Single

Two important aspects of marriage frequency and its tempo among Pakistani women are the sudden increase in the proportion of women marrying

as they enter their twenties, and the practice of universal marriage, as shown in Table 5. Although the proportion of women single in ages 15-19 has substantially increased from one-half (47 percent) in 1961 to 62 percent in 1975, only about one fifth of women aged 20-24 in 1975 were single. With increasing age the proportion of single women declined substantially in all years shown in Table 5. Thus, by age 50 less than one percent of women were single — a characteristic of a highly traditional society. Even with the declining incidence of teenage marriage, most women still marry and are faced with the responsibilities of early motherhood, at relatively younger ages.

II.3. Median Age at Marriage

The changes in the age pattern of first marriage may also be studied by examining the trends in ages at which certain proportions of successive birth cohorts were married. Table 6 shows the median age at which 10, 25, 50 and 75 percent of women in successive birth cohorts were married for the first time. The last column of the table shows interquartile range; this range includes the central one-half of the marriages (i.e. between 25 percent and 75 percent), with one-fourth marrying younger and one-fourth later than the interquartile range. The median age at first marriage (i.e. the age by which half of women of any given cohort entered into a first marriage) has risen by a year, from 15.3 years for women aged 45-49 years to 16.5 years for women aged 25-29 years. A similar, though less conspicuous, trend is observed for each of the other quartiles. Information on women who were in their early twenties and late teens in 1975 suggests the tendency for first marriages to be spread over a wider age range, compared to older women. This finding is supported by the

Table 5: Proportion of women single by age, 1951-75.

Age	Year 1951[a]	1961[a]	1972[b]	1975[c]
15-19	45.7	46.6	65.6	61.8
20-24	17.7	12.0	21.3	22.1
25-29	6.4	5.1	7.2	8.5
30-34	3.9	3.0	3.6	3.3
35-39	3.4	2.7	2.1	2.6
40-44	2.3	2.0	1.5	1.2
45-49	1.6	1.9	0.9	0.8

Sources: (a) Pakistan Census Organization (n.d.) Table 13, pp. III 14-15.
(b) Pakistan Census Organization (n.d.) Table 5.
(c) Data.

Table 6. Median age by which 10, 25, 50 and 75 percent of women were married, by age, and the interquartile range, 1975.

Current Age	Per Cent Ever-Married 10	25	50	75	Interquartile Range
25-29	13.1	14.4	16.5	19.7	5.3
30-34	13.0	14.1	15.9	18.9	4.8
35-39	12.1	13.7	15.9	17.9	4.2
40-44	12.2	13.4	14.8	17.0	3.6
45-49	12.4	13.7	15.3	17.4	3.7

Source: Pakistan Fertility Survey, Household Data.

increase in interquartile range, from 3.7 years for women 45-49 years of age to 5.3 years for 25-29 years old. From the PFS individual level data, we may conclude that across cohort 45-49 and 40-44, there was no change in marriage behavior, except for a slight reduction in very young marriages. Among younger cohorts (i.e. ages 30-34 and below) however, a clear trend towards the postponement of marriage is shown, with an increase of more than 1 year in the median age at marriage between ages 30-34 and 25-29.

III. DETERMINANTS OF AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

In the preceding section we showed that female age at marriage in Pakistan has increased over time, especially during 1960s and suggested that this increase could be associated with the changes in the socio-economic conditions in the country. In the past, when joint family households were common, and most of the economic functions were performed by the family, the economic considerations had little relevance to societies like Pakistan. While the joint family is still widely prevelant and about 55% of all households in the PFS were composed of non-nuclear families, the nuclear family is gradually becoming more prominent. In the predominantly agricultural economy of the past, access to material well-being was dependent primarily on the inheritance of land or some equivalent for those not dependent on land. The rapid population growth during the past few decades has, however, brought significant changes in the outlook and expectations of the masses. The young people are compulsively being driven to urban areas in search of jobs. A society which for centuries survived on an agricultural economy is no longer able to retain the old system of supporting the additional family members. A situation has developed where, there is extreme pressure on the

availability of land and consequently, a need to adjust to changing conditions. In very many instances, independent living and earning by the prospective groom has become a pre-requisite to his marriage, which entails delayed marriage for both men and women. Beginning in 1960s, Pakistan also experienced a sustained economic growth in the non-agricultural sector which enabled the urban sector to absorb the rural migrants, which apparently has affected the marriage patterns in both the urban and rural sectors. The changes in marriage patterns and the mechanisms and factors associated with such changes are at times difficult to identify due to the paucity of a time series data and the above explanations are therefore based on our knowledge of Pakistani society.

In what follows, we have tried to identify some of the factors which are associated with the differentials in marriage patterns in Pakistan. For the purpose, we have done the analysis at both household and individual levels. The former examines differentials in proportion of women married by age and SMAM for sub-groups, namely, urban-rural place of residence, province and exposure to schooling. At the individual level, the analysis is further expanded to explain variations in age at marriage by the place of residence and origin; provincial and linguistic affiliations; women's educational attainments; and pattern of their labor force participation. The analysis at the household level is based on the PFS data pertaining to all women in the household and the individual level analysis relates to information obtained from the ever-married women interviewed in the PFS. Due to the selectivity of only ever-married women aged 15-49 in the PFS, women who remained single were excluded from the sample, therefore, the mean age at marriage of younger women is generally biased since a substantial percentage of them were still single. However, 99 percent of

ever-married women in the PFS were married by age 25, therefore we have confined our analysis to ages 25 and above. It may be noted, however, that the Mean Age at Marriage (MAM) as obtained from the individual level data is reflective of the experience of women in the specific age cohort and may not be the same as the prevailing mean age at marriage. SMAM, on the other hand, reflects the experience of a synthetic cohort as explained in footnote 4. The two measures are therefore, not comparable. The estimates of SMAM and MAM as presented in Tables 7 and 8 are meant to show the variations between the sub-categories of women's characteristics, rather than to show the trends in age at marriage.

III.1. Place of Residence and Origin

Urban women tend to delay their marriage fairly later than the rural women, especially those at ages below 30. Thus, at ages 15-19, 42 percent of rural women but only 28 percent of urban women were already married. Even at ages 20-24, eleven percent fewer women were married in urban than in rural areas. Although with increasing ages, the differentials had narrowed, SMAM of urban women was 1.5 years higher than the rural women (Table 7). Over the past five years urban women show a higher gain in the SMAM than the rural women, a finding which is further confirmed by the analysis done at the individual level. The marriage pattern of women in their forties was quite similar in both urban and rural areas; younger urban women were, however, married over half a year later than younger rural women (Table 8).

Table 7. Proportion of women ever-married by age and singulate mean age at marriage by selected background variables, 1975

Background variables	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	SMAM	Diff. over previous 5 years
Pakistan	.382	.779	.915	.967	.974	.988	.992	19.8	+1.3
Place of Residence									
Urban	.279	.701	.896	.974	.965	.983	.990	20.7	+1.5
Rural	.424	.813	.922	.964	.979	.990	.994	19.2	+1.1
Province of Residence									
NWFP	.429	.792	.920	.899	.953	.981	.982	17.9	+0.5
Punjab	.343	.770	.903	.970	.976	.989	.987	20.0	+1.3
Sind	.466	.831	.941	.983	.985	.986	1.000	18.8	+1.1
Schooling Exposure									
Schooling	.182	.550	.814	.940	.926	.939	.974	21.6	+1.3
No schooling	.448	.841	.934	.970	.980	.990	.996	18.9	+1.0

Source: Pakistan Fertility Survey, 1975, Household Data.

TABLE 8. Percent married at age 21 and above and mean age at marriage of ever-married women by their age and selected characteristics, 1975

	Current Age									
	40-49			30-39			25-29			Difference in Mean Age at Marriage between Ages 40-49 and 25-29
	N	Percent Married at age 21+	Mean Age at Marriage	N	Percent Married at age 21+	Mean Age at Marriage	N	Percent Married at age 21+	Mean Age at Marriage	
All Women	1,123	7.4	15.2	1,442	7.0	15.8	911	12.2	16.2	+ 1.0
Current Residence										
Urban	289	4.5	15.1	391	13.0	16.1	262	15.4	16.7	+ 1.6
Rural	834	8.5	15.2	1,051	9.1	15.7	649	11.0	16.1	+ 0.9
Migration Status [a]										
Lifetime urban resident	267	5.2	15.3	368	12.5	16.2	263	18.6	17.1	+ 1.8
Rural-urban migrant	154	3.2	14.7	201	12.9	15.8	116	7.8	15.6	+ 0.9
Linguistic and Provincial Affiliations										
Pushto in NWFP	57	8.4	15.3	79	10.0	15.6	44	15.0	16.0	+ 0.7
Punjabi in Punjab	782	7.4	15.2	969	10.5	16.0	611	13.9	16.7	+ 1.5
Sindhi in Sind	138	8.7	14.9	174	9.7	15.3	127	3.8	14.4	-0.5
Urdu in Sind	85	3.9	15.2	99	8.9	15.7	60	14.6	16.6	+ 1.4
Education										
None	1,056	7.3	15.1	1,295	8.8	15.6	792	10.1	15.9	0.8
1-5 years	46	12.5	16.7	91	13.3	16.8	68	13.1	17.2	+ 0.5
6+ years	21	3.3*	17.2*	56	36.8	19.0	52	44.2	19.8	+ 2.6
Pattern of Work										
Never Worked	846	7.6	15.3	1,110	10.3	15.9	724	13.1	16.4	+ 1.1
Only Before Marriage	11	19.0*	18.7	33	14.7	16.6	28	25.6	18.0	-0.7
Only After Marriage	198	6.4	14.5	188	5.3	15.0	93	4.0	14.7	+ 0.2
Always	68	7.2	15.7	110	15.5	16.3	60	8.4	16.1	+ 0.4
Work Status										
For Cash	26	7.3	16.6	41	22.2	16.7	30	23.6	17.4	+ 0.8
For Kind	11	10.5	15.8	17	6.9*	14.8*	8	0.0*	16.1	+ 0.3
Self Employed	42	9.4	15.8	84	13.9	16.6	56	9.9	16.3	+ 0.5

a. Urban Residents only, figures are unweighted

*Based on less than 25 cases.

Source: Pakistan Fertility Survey, Individual Data

Rapid urbanization and a large scale movement of persons from rural to urban areas has occurred in Pakistan over the last three decades, as mentioned above. In the PFS sample, one-third of all urban respondents had lived in rural areas during their premarital adolescent period, i.e. they were rural migrants to urban areas. Data presented in Table 8 indicate that the differences in age at marriage between lifetime urban residents and rural immigrants were even sharper than the differences between urban and rural areas in general. Furthermore, the differences were particularly striking for younger age-cohort. About one-fifth of younger women (age 25-29) were married at age 21 or later, and they were married at age 17 on average. Younger rural immigrants in the same age groups, on the other hand, were still getting married early; only 8 percent remained to be married at age 21. Thus, the influence of early socialization in urban or rural area, although evident in delaying marriage of urban women, is more pronounced among the younger women. Our findings thus suggest that somewhat similar values were maintained in both urban and rural areas as regards the timing of girls' marriage in the older generation. However, a departure from such value seems to have taken place for the younger generation of women who have lived in urban areas most of their lives.

III.2. Geographic and Linguistic Affiliations

Pakistan, as discussed in Chapter 1, is divided into four administrative provinces: Baluchistan, North West Frontier Province (NWFP), Punjab and Sind, that comprise about 4, 17, 58 and 21 percent of the total population respectively. We have excluded Baluchistan from our analysis, however, due to a fairly small number of interviews conducted in the province, in the PFS.

Women in each of the three provinces report somewhat different marriage patterns. Fairly lower percentage of women in Punjab were married at ages 15-19 than in NWFP and Sind. Women in Punjab, on the average, married about 15 months later than those living in Sind and 25 months later than those living in NWFP (Table 7). Women in the NWFP also showed a gain of half a year in SMAM over the past five years as compared to 1.3 years in Punjab and 1.1 years in Sind. The lower estimate of age at marriage in Sind needs further investigation, especially due to the fact that the province is fairly industrialized and about half of its population lives in urban areas. Sind province is also inhabited by two distinct linguistic groups; Sindhi and Urdu. Each of the two groups as well as those speaking Punjabi and Pushto and residing in Punjab and NWFP respectively, have unique marriage practices and customs. Some cultural practices such as dowry given to the bride by her parents may in some cases delay marriage among Punjabi and Urdu speaking groups. Among the Pushto and Sindhi speaking groups, on the other hand, the custom of bride price, where the husband's family offers a sum of money to the prospective bride's family, has traditionally been practiced. These customs may influence age at marriage of females as has been suggested by Karim (1980). These differences in cultural practices regarding age at marriage warrant further investigation.

Although the PFS did not collect information on the linguistic affiliations of respondents, they were however, given an option to be interviewed in the language of their choice. The results presented in Table 8 are thus, based on this 'proxy' information about the respondent's linguistic affiliation. It is evident that Sindhi speaking women in each age cohort married at a fairly younger than age Urdu and Punjabi speaking

women. Younger Sindhi speaking women in fact, have married somewhat earlier on average than their older counterparts, while younger Punjabi and Urdu speaking women on the average have married a year and a half later than their older counterparts. While at ages 40-49 all the four lingistic groups on the average were married between ages 15.7 to 16.2, Punjabi and Urdu speaking women aged 15-19, on the average, were married a year later than Pushto speaking and over two years later than Sindhi speaking women.

III.3. The Role of Formal Schooling

The positive effect of formal schooling on age at marriage has frequently been noted and marriage postponement is shown to be widely associated with the completion of formal schooling (Smith and Karim, 1980). Although only 11 percent of women report attending school and only 4 percent completed primary education or above[7] in the PFS sample, school attendance shows a strong bearing on the timing of marriage.

The SMAM for those who attended school is about 2.7 years higher than those who never attended school (Table 7). The differences between the two groups are quite striking when we observe the proportion of women married by age, especially at ages below 30. In age group 15-19 the difference is indeed quite wide, when only 18 percent of those who attended school were married as against 45 percent of those who did not attend school. The wide difference between the two groups even persists at ages 20-24 when only 55 percent of the former were married against 84 percent of the later. While marriage is almost universal in Pakistan, the only sub-group which did not show such a pattern in our analysis is those women who had attended

school. About six percent of these women were yet to be married by age 45-49 and were thus likely to remain single.

When the analysis was further expanded to include the effects of years of schooling on the Mean Age at Marriage of women, schooling above five years emerged as a strong factor in delayed marriage, especially at younger ages (Table 8). At ages 40-49, 7 percent of women without schooling reported marrying at age 21 or later, while about 13 percent of those with 1-5 years of schooling did so. Among younger women aged 25-29, only 10 percent of those with no schooling married at age 21 or later as compared to 44 percent of those with a primary or higher education. Similarly, younger women with a primary or higher education, on average, married more than two and a half years later than their older counterparts. Younger women with no schooling or below primary level schooling showed very little change in the timing of marriage as compared to older women with similar schooling level. Thus, it appears that not only school attendance, but the completion of at least the primary level, is fairly important in delaying female marriage. School attendance may not only have a direct bearing on the timing of marriage, but may also facilitate certain attitudes or activities that are conducive to higher age at marriage.

It seems plausible that the small percentage of women who enter schools are those with easy access to them. Karim (1980) has shown that the lifetime urban residents have had better opportunities to attend school; about one-third had attended school and about one-fifth completed primary or higher schooling. Women with primary or higher education had a distinctively higher mean age at marriage; however, lifetime urban residents did not behave diferently than other women. It is highly likely that the small percentage of women who attend school are from families

where delayed marriage has become a norm. In fact, education of girls is becoming an important criterion in such families, which, although may increase their demand as wives, also delays their marriage.

III.4. Pattern of Work and Work Status

Due to the traditional nature of Pakistani society, employment of women outside the home, particularly before marriage, is discouraged. However, those who pursue a working career generally do so out of economic necessity, or in some cases particularly in urban areas, as an alternative while waiting to get married. Thus, female labor-force participation before marriage may form an important, although indirect, link with the timing of marriage. We may note, however, that the estimated effect of employment on age at marriage could be upwardly biased due to the fact that some women may enter the labor force while waiting to get married. Only about one-tenth of the working women interviewed in PFS had any premarital work experience, while 53 percent joined the labor force only after marriage. At younger ages (25-29) the mean age at marriage for women who worked only before marriage was 18 years which is about a year and a half higher than those who never worked, 2 years higher than those who have always worked and more than three years higher than those who entered the labor force only after marriage (Table 8). It is possible that women who have always worked belong to lower-income families and were employed before marriage for economic reasons. On the other hand, those who discontinued work after marriage apparently faced different circumstances and, therefore, experienced a slightly higher age at marriage. Thus, by joining the labor force before marriage, women seem to experience a delay in their marriage of between one and two years.

Dixon (1971) has suggested that female employment may have a negative bearing on age at marriage, since it may facilitate earlier marriage through women contributing their earnings in the form of dowries. Her argument is not supported by the findings from Pakistan, as is evident from data presented in Table 8. Navett's (1967) argument that the parents of working girls may be less keen on early marriage for their daughters seems more plausible—particularly when girls are bringing extra income into the family. At ages 25-29, the mean age at marriage for women who had cash earnings was 17.4, over a year higher than those who worked for either income in kind or were self employed. Economic activity before marriage may thus, be an important aspect of marriage postponement among the small proportion of single women having cash earnings.

Opportunities for premarital employment may not be available to all women equally. Those who are younger and have a higher level of education and an urban background may have had better employment opportunities prior to marriage than others. Since such a small number of women interviewed in the PFS worked before marriage, a further cross tabulation was not feasible. In a multivariate analysis carried out elsewhere Karim (1980), showed that the year of marriage, years of formal schooling, and residential background, each in its own right, affects premarital employment and thus contributes to the postponement of marriage. The effects of year of marriage and formal schooling on the relationship between the pattern of work and age at marriage were found to be more pronounced for urban women. This is indicative of the fact that better employment opportunities are available to urban women, a higher proportion of whom have attended school and who have experienced greater changes in their marriage timing in the recent past. School attendance was the major

predictor in explaining the variations in age at marriage for each of the categories of work status before marriage, thus, suggesting a strong link between years of schooling and employment outside the home. The difference in the mean age at marriage, between those paid in cash and kind, was reduced from one and a half years to only half a year when the effect of formal schooling was taken into account. A greater variation in age at marriage was found, when the analysis was confined to women who have worked only before marriage but discontinued working after marriage. Premarital employment in general, and working for cash wages in particular, thus, appear to be important factors in delaying marriage.

I. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

With the help of census and survey data we have demonstrated the changing marriage patterns, and determinants of age at marriage in Pakistan. In early 1970s, women were marrying about two years later on the average than those married in 1951. In 1972, about two-third of the women in ages 15-19 were single as compared to less than half in 1951. In 1975, less than three precent of ever-married women were classified as divorced or separated and another three percent as widowed. While no variations were found in the proportions divorced and separated by age, more older women were classified as widowed. About ten percent of ever-married women reported that their marriage was dissolved—by divorce or death of husband; however, about half get remarrried. In 1975, of the 94 percent of women who were classified as currently married, only four percent were married more than once and very few had been married more than twice. Thus, although Pakistani women marry early, their marriages remain intact well after they are past their reproductive lives.

Some of the variations in female age at marriage were also analysed with regard to current place of residence, exposure to urban living, geographic and linguistic affiliations, school attendance, and work experience prior to marriage. For the purpose we utilized both household and individual level data. Our findings suggest that urban residence, especially in early adolescence; school attendance above the primary level; and employment prior to marriage, particularly for cash income, are important factors in delaying marriage. Our results also suggest that those areas that are more urbanized and are inhabited by Punjabi and Urdu-speaking women have experienced a greater upward trend in female age at marriage. Thus, it appears that the socioeconomic changes which are occuring in Pakistan and affecting family life may continue to influence the upward shift in age at marriage.

Footnotes

1. It should be recognized that the percentage of the widowed, divorced and separated women at one point of time, however, do not reflect in the 'true' sense the incidence of marital dissolution. For arriving at a 'true' rate, one needs cohort data. However, in a country where the rates are quite low the two estimates may not be much different.

2. For more detailed discussion of divorce see chapter 4.

3. Conventionally human fertility is studied in terms of female fertility and as such most of the frameworks designed to study fertility exclude the death of husband as a factor in the study of fertility.

4. Hajnal's (1953) SMAM utilizes percents single, using a single decrement procedure, the implied average number of years of single life for a hypothetical cohort. It yields mean ages which typically differ from means obtained from retrospective survey responses, which reflect the age compositions of populations at risk. In a situation when age at marriage is increasing, the SMAM will be greater than means based on direct responses. In such a situation, SMAM becomes less reliable than the direct estimates of the mean age at marriage.

5. The change in definition from the Muslim population of the provinces of British India now constituting Pakistan and the present population of Pakistan which is about 97 percent Muslim may not affect the estimates of SMAM prior to 1951.

6. About 7-8 million out of a population of 33.8 million (roughly one-fifth) were estimated to be displaced in 1951 (Burki, 1973).

7. Six or more years of schooling.

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7

INTERNAL MIGRATION: PATTERNS AND MIGRANT CHARACTERISTICS

by

Nasra M. Shah

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of female migration has not received much attention from demographers in Pakistan. One of the reasons for the lack of interest is perhaps the nature of migration, whereby females have traditionally been known to change their place of residence only on account of marriage or as a result of a move by their families. Women do not usually move autonomously for the sake of employment or education as is common in some Southeast Asian countries. Yet migration can be a potentially significant factor affecting several aspects of a woman's life. Migrant women may be pushed into the labour force particularly if they are head of the household. They may have greater freedom and opportunity for education in some cases. Power relations and decision making patterns within the migrant family might change as the old networks are replaced by new ones. The family structure itself may be altered if only selected numbers of a family move.

The stream of migration that is likely to bring about the largest amount of change in the migrant families' environment and status is the one from rural to urban areas. This is so because of the rather large differences between the two areas with regard to infrastructure development and differences in wages. Yet the rural to urban stream may not be the dominant stream in the migration process.

My objective in this chapter is to examine the following aspects of female migration in Pakistan:

1) to analyse the volume of female migration over time and compare it with male migration;
2) to study the patterns of inter district migration, particularly for recent migrants;
3) to analyze the characteristics of female migrants in relation to their non-migrant counterparts; and,
4) to outline the implications of the existing migration patterns for the status of women in Pakistan.

I. VOLUME AND PATTERNS OF INTER DISTRICT MIGRATION

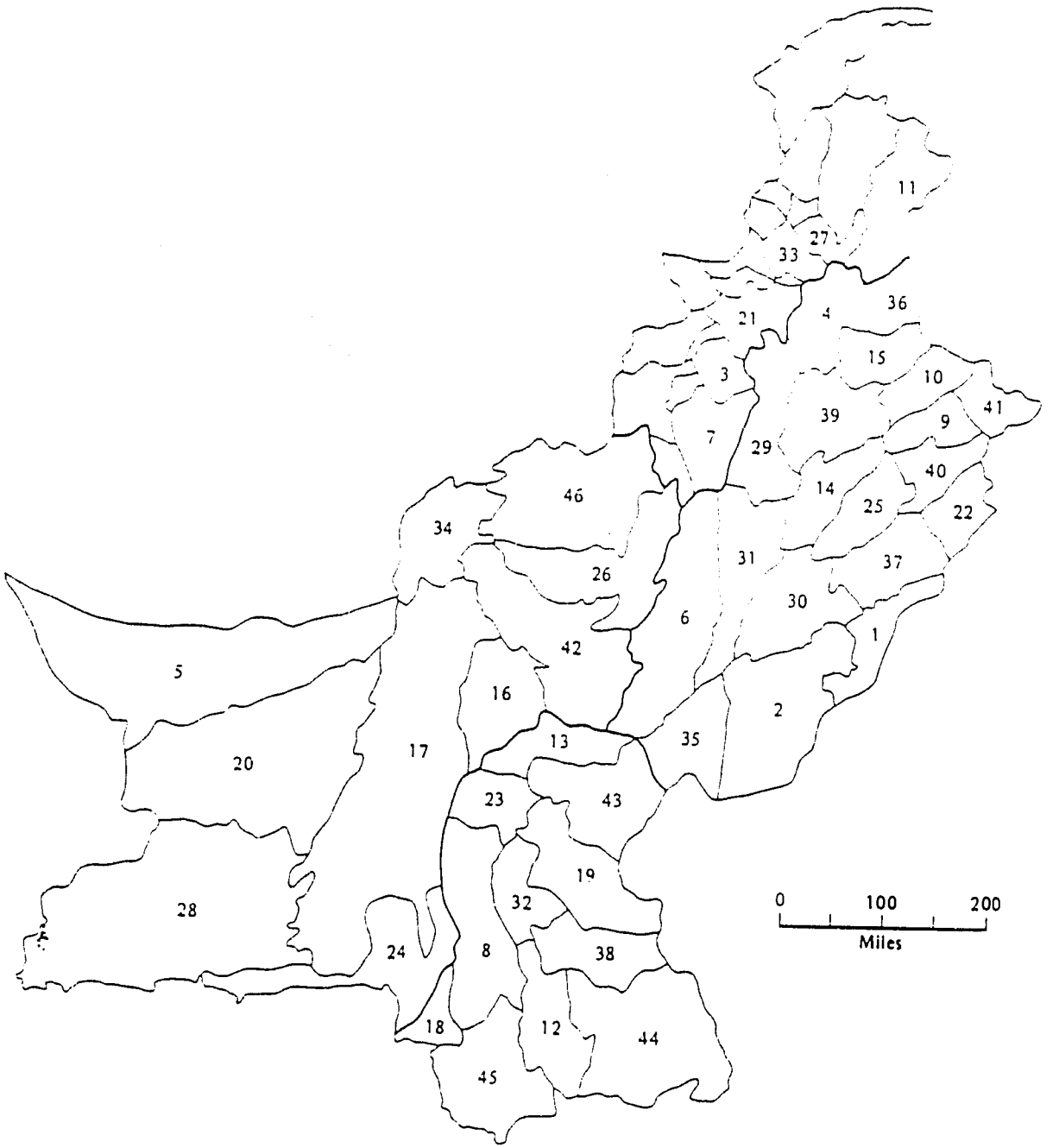
A few of the past studies that have looked at the female component in migration patterns in Pakistan indicate that migration rates have been fairly close for the two sexes. Afzal (1967) estimated migration rates between 1951 and 1961 using census survival ratio techniques. He calculated the overall migration rates per hundred 1951 population of urban areas to be 18.7 for males and 18.2 for females. He interpreted this close correspondence to be indicative of a trend towards family migration. In a more recent study, Afzal and Abbasi (1979) have shown that when the two intercensal periods 1951-61 and 1961-72 are compared, the pace of female urbanization is higher than that of male urbanization during the latter period; this represents a reversal in the trend of the earlier (1951-61) period. The authors interpret this finding as being suggestive of a growing tendency towards family migration, increased marriage migration for females or even greater female migration associated with the pursuit of

education. A decline in the sex ratio in urban areas from 126 in 1969 to 119 in 1972 also implies a probable decline in male-only migration (Afzal and Abbasi, 1979, Table 6).

Data for making direct estimates of migration are available in the 1961 Census and the 1973 HED Survey. Some data on recent (5 year and 1 year) migrants are also available in the 1974-1975 Labour Force Survey (LFS). A large part of the analysis in this section is based on the 1973 HED Survey. Comparisons have been made with other sources where appropriate. Migrants have been divided into two types for analysis, into long term and recent. Long term migrants consist of those who moved before the 1965 war between India and Pakistan and recent migrants are defined as those who moved after the war. Thus, the latter group consists of migrants who moved into the district as long as eight years before the Survey where they are enumerated in 1973.

One drawback of the analysis in this section is that migration data are available only for inter district movement. Figure 1 shows the provincial and district boundaries for Pakistan in 1972. Only those districts for which data are available in the 1973 HED Survey are identified by name. We know from previous studies that many of the moves are short distance within-district moves (Naeem and Mahbub, 1969; SSRC, 1977; Board of Economic Enquiry, 1977). This lack of data on within-district moves is perhaps compensated by other information since we do have fairly detailed data on the district of origin for recent migrants in terms of type of stream (rural or urban). Another drawback inherent in the use of HED Survey data is that even though the sample is very large (see Appendix A for details) the researcher is sometimes faced with a fairly

Figure 1 Administrative districts of Pakistan, 1972



Districts included in the 1973 HED Survey :

1 Bahawalnagar
2 Bahawalpur
3 Bannu
4 Campbellpur
5 Chagai
6 D.G. Khan
7 D.I. Khan
8 Dadu
9 Gujranwala
10 Gujrat
11 Hazara
12 Hyderabad
13 Jacobabad
14 Jhang
15 Jhelum
16 Kachhi
17 Kalat
18 Karachi
19 Khairpur
20 Kharan
21 Kohat
22 Lahore
23 Larkana
24 Lasbella
25 Lyallpur
26 Loralai
27 Mardan
28 Mekran
29 Mianwali
30 Multan
31 Muzaffargarh
32 Nawabshah
33 Peshawar
34 Quetta
35 R.Y. Khan
36 Rawalpindi
37 Sahiwal
38 Sanghar
39 Sargodha
40 Shekhupura
41 Sialkot
42 Sibi
43 Sukkur
44 Tharparkar
45 Thatta
46 Zhob

small number of cases on which the conclusions must be based. Despite these shortcomings, however, direct estimates of migration by district do indicate the patterns of female migration in Pakistan.

Table 1 presents data on percentage of migrants in the rural and urban populations of Pakistan and its four provinces. Among the urban areas, 58% of the population has never moved while 42% are in-migrants. Among the migrants, a little over three-fourths of the migration took place before the 1965 war between India and Pakistan. About ten percent of the total population of urban areas consists of recent migrants (ie. migrants between 1965 and 1973). The percentage of migrants is much smaller within rural areas--16%, four-fifths of whom are long term migrants. This general pattern of migration is true for both males and females. According to the HED Survey data rural areas had a slightly larger percentage of female than male migrants. When the figures for recent migrants are compared with data on recent migrants from the 1974-75 LFS, we see two differences. First, rural areas have notably more migrants according to the LFS than the HED Survey, the difference being particularly large for females. Second, while the figures for the urban areas are generally close for the two sources the LFS reported a larger percentage of female than male migrants in urban areas. One reason for the discrepant findings for rural areas might be an actual trend towards higher female than male migration in rural areas which has been more accurately reported in the LFS.[1] No firm conclusion about this is possible, however, and the discrepancies need further probing.

The male-female differences within each province are often small for both long-term and recent migrants, as indicated by the HED Survey. The percentage of long term migrants is, however, much larger in Punjab and Sind compared to NWFP and Baluchistan. This implies that larger

Table 1 : Number and percentage of non migrants, long term and recent migrants age 10+ by province, rural and urban areas and sex 1973[a]

HED SURVEY, 1973

Current Place of Residence/Sex	Urban				Rural				LFS Recent migrants[c]	
	Total Population[b]	Non Migrants	Long Term Migrants	Recent Migrants (1965-73)	Total Population[b]	Non Migrants	Long Term Migrants	Recent Migrants (1965-73)	U	R
Pakistan										
Both Sexes	11,855,967	57.7	32.6	9.7	30,523,312	84.0	13.1	2.9	9.8	5.2
Male	6,505,823	57.0	33.0	10.0	16,704,008	84.3	12.8	2.9	9.4	3.8
Female	5,350,144	58.6	32.1	9.3	13,819,304	83.6	13.4	3.0	10.2	6.8
NWFP										
Both Sexes	767,690	78.6	11.0	10.4	3,447,950	92.7	4.2	3.1	11.4	6.5
Male	416,504	76.9	11.7	11.4	1,826,385	91.9	4.7	3.4	12.1	7.2
Female	351,186	80.5	10.1	9.4	1,621,565	93.7	3.7	3.6	10.6	5.8
Punjab										
Both Sexes	6,480,526	59.4	31.1	9.5	19,934,160	79.3	17.4	3.3	12.2	5.8
Male	3,546,531	59.3	31.4	9.3	10,887,660	79.9	16.9	3.2	11.3	3.8
Female	2,933,995	59.5	30.8	9.7	9,046,500	78.5	18.0	3.5	13.2	8.0
Sind										
Both Sexes	4,308,866	50.1	39.9	10.0	5,513,102	92.5	5.6	1.9	6.4	3.0
Male	2,377,717	48.8	40.5	10.7	3,081,338	92.4	5.6	2.0	6.6	2.5
Female	1,931,149	51.7	39.2	9.1	2,431,764	92.6	5.5	1.9	6.3	3.7
Baluchistan										
Both Sexes	298,885	77.2	13.8	9.0	1,628,100	94.0	3.6	2.4	3.7	0.4
Male	165,071	76.8	14.0	9.2	908,625	93.4	3.9	2.7	4.2	0.5
Female	133,814	77.6	13.5	8.9	719,475	94.8	3.3	1.9	3.1	0.4

[a]Long term migrants are defined as those who came to the district of current residence before 1965. Recent migrants are defined as those who came between 1965 and 1973. Non-migrants include persons who have never moved i.e. their place of birth is the same as residence in 1965 and in 1973.

[b]Numbers are based on HED Survey weighted data.

[c]Labour Force Survey (LFS) recent migrants are for 5 years prior to survey of 1974-75.

Source: Author's tabulation from the Housing Economic and Demographic (HED) Survey, 1973; Statistics division (n.d., Table 18.2 and 19.2).

proportions of migrants from India settled in Punjab and Sind compared to the other two provinces and is consistent with other data on life time migration as discussed later. The percentage of recent migrants is very similar for urban areas of all four provinces with 9-10% migrants in each. One notable discrepancy between the HED Survey and LFS recent migrants is the much larger proportions of female migrants in the province of Punjab. There seems to be no apparent reason for the high percentage of migrant women in rural Punjab, compared to males and this finding needs further investigation. The slightly higher percentage of female migrants indicated by the HED Survey seems to be the more plausible pattern.

I.1 Districts of Major Migrant Concentration

The question of where most male and female migrants are concentrated can be asked at two levels. First, one may analyse the numerical distribution of all migrants among the various geographical or administrative regions such as districts in Pakistan. Second, migrants may be analysed in relation to the total population within each district. I have done both of these analyses. Table 2 shows the numerical concentration of all male and female recent migrants within rural and urban areas by district. Sixteen percent of all recent migrants in the country had moved to Karachi district while 29% of all migrants in urban areas were in Karachi district. Within the urban areas, over half of all migrants (51%) were concentrated in three districts, Karachi, Rawalpindi and Lahore. These three districts are very highly urbanized (Karachi = 97%, Lahore = 60% and Rawalpindi = 45% in 1973) and the high degree of migration to these places suggests the importance of metropolitan areas in the migration process. A slightly higher percentage of males than urban female migrants

Table 2: Percentage distribution of all recent migrants by district, sex and rural/urban residence, Pakistan, 1973[a]

	Total			Urban			Rural		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Total Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Total Migrants (Weighted Number)	2,051,016	1,135,067	915,949	1,148,610	647,331	501,279	902,406	487,736	414,670
PROVINCES									
Total (Percent)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Punjab	61.7	59.1	64.9	53.2	50.9	56.2	72.6	70.1	75.5
Sind	26.1	27.6	24.2	37.5	39.5	34.9	11.6	11.9	11.3
NWFP	9.0	9.7	8.1	7.0	9.4	6.6	11.6	13.0	9.9
Baluchistan	3.2	3.5	2.8	2.3	2.3	2.4	4.2	2.7	3.3
DISTRICTS									
Total (Percent)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Karachi	16.0	18.0	15.0	28.7	30.6	26.2	1.4	1.3	1.4
Rawalpindi	7.0	7.3	6.5	10.8	10.9	10.7	2.1	2.7	1.2
Lahore	7.1	7.0	7.2	11.2	11.0	11.5	1.8	1.7	1.9
Lyallpur	6.1	5.4	7.0	5.8	5.5	6.4	6.4	5.3	7.4
Multan	6.5	6.0	7.1	4.1	3.8	4.5	9.6	8.9	10.3
Gujranwala	5.4	4.7	6.3	4.0	3.7	4.6	7.1	6.1	8.4
Peshawar	3.5	3.5	3.5	2.8	3.0	2.6	4.4	4.2	4.6
Sahiwal	4.2	3.4	5.2	2.1	1.9	2.4	6.7	5.3	8.4
Sheikhupura	3.9	4.3	3.5	1.8	1.9	1.7	6.6	7.4	5.7
Bahawalpur	2.6	2.4	2.8	1.4	1.3	1.6	4.0	3.7	4.4
Muzzafargarh	2.3	2.4	2.1	0.6	0.6	0.5	4.4	4.7	4.1
Jhelum	2.1	2.8	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.1	3.4	4.9	1.5
Hazara	2.3	2.8	1.8	1.7	1.8	1.5	3.2	4.1	2.1
Bahawalnagar	1.8	1.7	2.0	0.9	0.8	1.0	3.1	2.8	3.3
In other districts	28.6	28.3	28.7	22.9	22.0	23.7	35.7	36.9	35.3

[a] Recent migrants include persons who moved between 1965 and 1973

Source: Author's tabulation from the (HED) survey, 1973

were in these three districts (52% and 48%) suggesting a trend of heavier male migration to the three largest urban centers.

Within the rural areas, migrants were much less concentrated. Multan had the largest number of migrants (10%) compared to other districts. Fifty three percent of all migrants in rural areas were located in nine districts. These nine districts (see Table 2) had a slightly smaller proportion of male than female migrants—51% and 55%. Thus, it seems that migrants in urban areas are concentrated in large metropolitan areas while migrants in rural areas are much more widely spread out. This is generally true for males as well as females with only small differences between the two.

When analysed in relation to the percent of recent migrants (i.e. those who moved between 1965 and 1973) in the total population within each district Karachi had the largest percentage (about 10%) of male as well as female migrants followed by Rawalpindi (Figures 2 and 3). Majority of the migrants in these two districts were in urban areas. Some other districts which had more than 5% recent (male) migrants in their male population were Gujranwala, Bahawalpur, and Lasbela. In the three most urbanized districts, ie. Karachi, Rawalpindi and Lahore the majority of migrants of both sexes were located in urban areas. In most other districts, except Chagai, recent migrants were either divided approximately equally in rural and urban areas or more of them were in rural areas.

I.2 Districtwise Life-time and Recent Migration

When measured in terms of migrants as a proportion of the district population, Karachi had the largest proportion of female as well as male life-time migrants in 1961 and 1973, followed by the districts of Faisalabad, Bahawalnagar and Lahore—all three in the province of Punjab

Figure 2 Percentage of recent male migrants in total male population within urban and rural areas by district: Pakistan, 1973

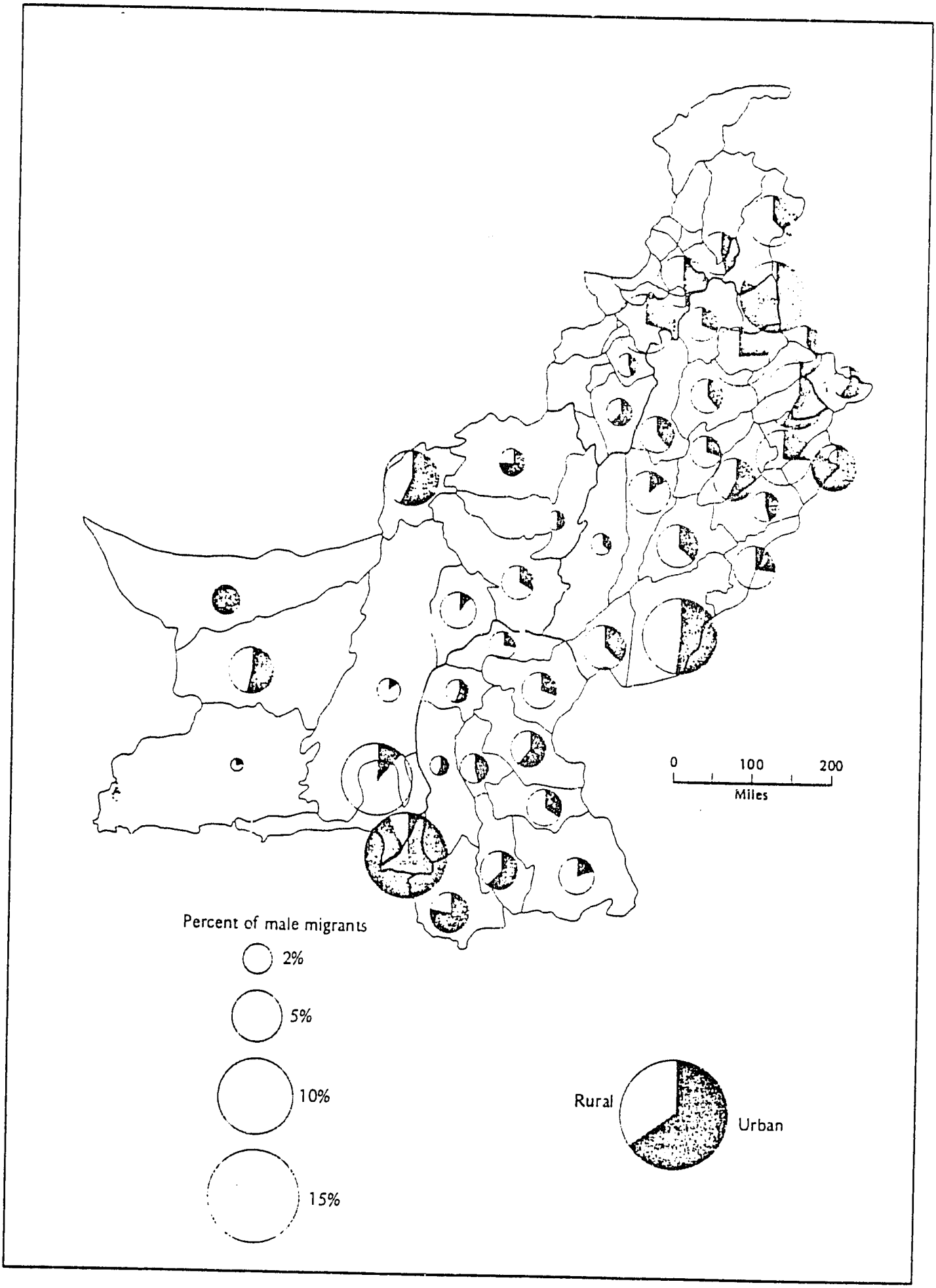
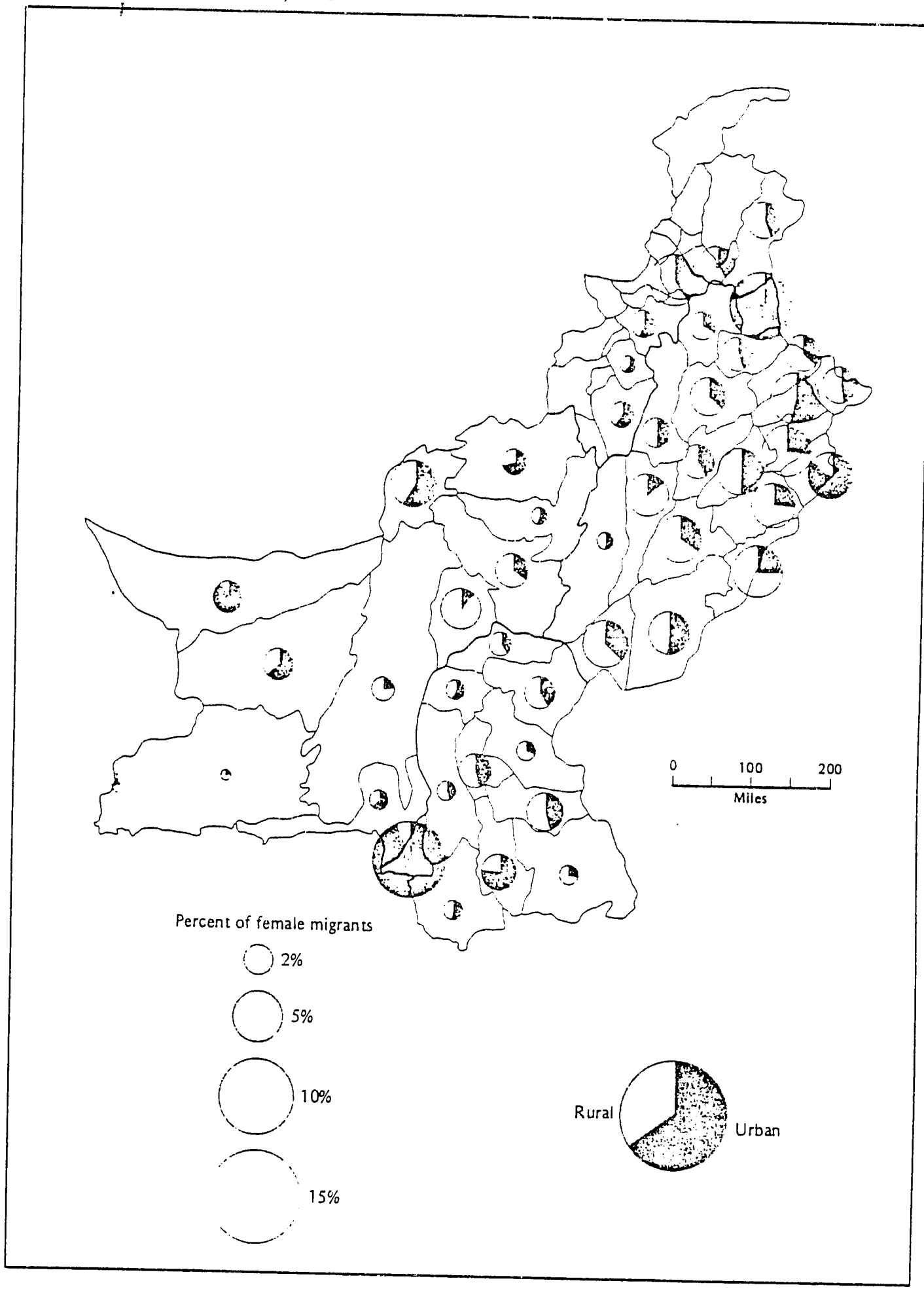


Figure 3 Percentage of recent female migrants in total female population within urban and rural areas by district: Pakistan, 1973



(Table 3). The percentage of life-time migrants in a district provides a simple estimate of the population born outside the district. The percentage of life-time migrants in most districts is substantially smaller in 1973 than in 1961. A major reason for this decline is that the initial migrants from India who were a larger proportion of the population in 1961 constituted a much smaller proportion in 1973 both because of attrition due to mortality and addition of native-born persons (within district births).[2] Thus, the populations of the districts have become generally more native in character. A few districts which have experienced some increase in life-time migration of females, but not males, consist of Chagai, Gujrat and D.G. Khan. While the increases for Gujrat was small (less than 1 percent), the percent of lifetime female migrants in Chagai was 3.5 points more in 1973 than in 1961; there was no corresponding gain for the males. Other districts where the percentage of life-time migrants had increased by at least half a percentage point for both sexes include Rawalpindi, Hazara, Kharan, Mekran and Mardan. The increase in the percentage of life-time migrants implies that the number of life-time migrants increased at a greater pace than the growth of the native population of the district during the 1961-1973.

The apparent increase in migration to Rawalpindi is related to the location of Islamabad in this district. Islamabad was designated as the federal capital area in February 1960 and most federal government offices have been shifted to Islamabad. The larger increase in percentage of female than male migrants probably suggests that many females joined their husbands or other relatives during the 1960s and early 1970s. Again, a high level of urbanization may be an important reason for migration to

Table 3: Percentage of life-time migrants in the district population by sex, 1961 and 1973, Pakistan (all ages)

	FEMALES			MALES		
	1961	1973	% change	1961	1973	% change
PAKISTAN	21.6	17.1	-4.5	23.1	17.7	-5.4
PROVINCES						
Punjab	21.0	15.3	-5.7	22.2	14.9	-7.3
Sind	23.2	17.7	-5.4	26.4	19.5	-6.9
NWFP	10.4	6.4	-4.0	12.7	7.5	-5.2
Baluchistan	5.5	5.7	+0.2	9.7	9.9	+0.2
DISTRICTS						
Karachi	54.5	39.5	-15.0	61.1	44.3	-16.8
Lyallpur	39.8	28.1	-11.7	36.8	26.5	-10.3
Bahawalnagar	37.8	27.5	-10.3	39.2	25.4	-13.8
Lahore	33.0	25.2	-7.8	36.1	26.4	-9.7
Peshawar	32.4	9.4	-21.0	35.5	11.2	-14.3
Sahiwal	31.2	23.3	-7.9	31.6	22.5	-8.1
Sheikhupura	30.0	21.5	-8.5	27.6	18.7	-8.9
Gujranwala	28.5	25.1	-3.4	26.1	21.0	-5.1
Hyderabad	25.4	16.2	-9.2	28.0	16.9	-8.1
Sanghar	24.8	14.3	-10.5	27.0	14.3	-13.7
Multan	24.6	19.2	-5.4	25.9	19.5	-6.4
Rahimyarkhan	22.8	16.9	-5.9	24.6	18.0	-6.6
Bahawalpar	22.4	18.7	-3.7	23.6	18.5	-5.1
Sialkot	20.5	14.5	-6.0	19.7	13.0	-6.7
Sarhodha	18.0	13.6	-4.4	18.5	12.8	-5.7
Nawabshah	16.3	12.0	-4.3	17.0	12.0	-5.0
Rawalpindi	15.3	18.3	+3.0	19.8	20.5	+0.7
Quetta	13.5	9.9	-3.6	24.6	11.0	-13.6
Tharparkar	13.2	11.6	-1.6	14.5	11.4	-3.1
Jhang	12.7	12.2	-0.5	12.6	11.7	-0.9
Muzzafargarh	12.0	12.3	-0.3	13.1	14.4	+1.3
Sukkur	11.7	9.0	-2.7	12.5	9.1	-3.4
Khairpur	11.5	7.3	-4.2	12.7	8.2	-4.5
Mianwali	11.2	9.5	-1.7	12.8	10.1	-2.7
Sibi	11.0	6.0	-5.0	13.3	7.9	-5.4
Gujrat	10.4	11.1	+0.7	10.9	9.2	-1.7
Lasbella	9.8	2.1	-7.7	11.3	9.3	-2.0
Loralai	8.5	2.6	-5.9	11.0	3.8	-7.2
Dadu	8.1	3.7	-4.4	9.2	4.6	-4.6
Larkana	7.6	4.2	-3.4	7.5	5.4	-2.1
Mardan	6.1	8.0	+1.9	7.6	8.1	+0.5
Jacobabad	6.1	2.9	-3.2	7.3	3.1	-4.2
Jhelum	5.6	5.3	-0.3	7.6	7.2	-0.4
D.I. Khan	4.3	4.2	-0.1	6.6	5.3	-1.3
Zhob	4.2	3.7	-0.5	8.9	4.4	-4.5
D.G. Khan	3.6	4.2	+0.6	3.8	6.4	-2.6
Kohat	3.5	3.1	-0.4	7.8	4.6	-3.2
Thatta	3.3	3.1	-0.2	4.7	5.7	+1.0
Chagai	2.9	6.4	+3.5	5.7	5.7	0
Campbellpur	2.3	2.8	+0.5	3.5	3.6	+0.1
Bannu	2.2	2.0	-0.2	4.1	2.7	-1.4
Kalat	1.9	1.2	-0.7	4.2	1.7	-2.5
Hazara	1.3	4.9	+3.6	2.7	6.0	+3.3
Kharan	1.1	4.2	+3.1	1.4	5.8	+4.4
Makran	0.8	4.5	+3.3	1.6	3.8	+2.2

Note: Ranked by percent of female migrants in 1961

Source: Home Affairs division (n.d., Vol. 3, Table 8) and Census Organization (n.d., Vol. II, pt. 1, Table 12)

Rawalpindi which was the third most urbanized district with 45% of the population living in urban areas.

Hazara and Mardan in N.W.F.P. had urbanization levels of 10% and 17% in 1973 but both districts had a positive pace of urbanization in the 1961-72 period (Afzal and Abbasi, 1979, Table 3). The high pace of urbanization in Hazara and Mardan relative to other districts within that province is likely to be related to the larger influx of male as well as female migrants to them. Similarly, the migration to the districts of Kharan and Mekran is probably related to the level and pace of urbanization in these districts. A detailed examination of the possible interrelationships between migration and urbanization is, however, beyond the scope of this study.[3] The analysis has therefore been limited to a study of the general patterns of migration with special emphasis on females. The rural or urban nature of the places of origin and destination is discussed below in the section on migration streams.

A comparison of the sex ratios of life-time migrants for 1961 and 1973 presented in Table 4 shows that sex ratios have declined in 35 out of the 45 districts (78%). This indicates that there is a higher number of female, relative to male migrants in most districts in 1973 compared to 1961. In two districts of Baluchistan, Chagai and Mekran, sex ratios in 1973 were actually below 100 i.e., there were more female than male migrants in these two districts in 1973. These findings are consistent with the relatively high percentage of life-time female migrants in these districts in 1973. Baluchistan is a relatively backward province in terms of economic development, education and health infrastructures and the higher proportion of female migrants in the districts of Chagai and Mekran needs further study.

Table 4: Sex ratios of lifetime migrants (all ages) as reported in 1961 census and 1973 HED survey

Districts	1961	1973		1961	1973
NWFP	137	129			
Hazara	217	137	Karachi	148	132
Mardan	134	107	Sanghar	133	127
Peshawar	128	135	Thatta	166	243
Kohat	226	151			
D.I. Khan	178	149	BALUCHISTAN	206	190
Bannu	199	114	Quetta	245	126
			Sibi	147	152
PUNJAB	117	118	Loralai	160	159
Campbellpur	158	142	Zhob	258	132
Rawalpindi/Islamabad	139	129	Chagai	238	95
Jhelum	138	152	Kalat	265	151
Gujrat	116	96	Mekran	218	83
Sargodha	118	109	Kharan	155	140
Mianwali	127	119	Lasbella	129	468
Lyallpur	101	110	Kacchi	-	134
Jhang	114	113			
Lahore	132	126			
Gujranwala	106	97			
Sheikhpura	105	106			
Sialkot	107	115			
D.G. Khan	125	180			
Muzzafargarh	126	140			
Multan	123	119			
Sahiwal	116	112			
Bahawalpur	125	116			
Bahawalnagar	119	109			
Rahimyarkhan	128	127			
SIND	141	129			
Jacobabad	148	126			
Sukkur	127	128			
Larkana	116	150			
Nawabshah	125	117			
Khairpur	134	133			
Hyderabad	137	121			
Dadu	138	139			
Tharparkar	131	118			

- Kacchi was designated as a district after 1961 hence the lack of data for it.

Source: Home Affairs division (n.d., Vol. 3, Table 8), and Census Organization (n.d., Vol. II, Pt. 1, Table 12).

Two districts which had much higher sex ratios in 1973 than in 1961 were Lasbela in Baluchistan and Thatta in Sind. One could expect the exceptionally high sex ratio for Lasbela (468 in 1973) to be related to the very high pace of urbanization in the 1961-71 period.[4] Lasbela had the highest pace of urbanization among all districts in Pakistan in 1961-72 and many more males than females would have probably been drawn to this district because of increasing economic opportunities (Afzal and Abbasi, 1979, Table 3). Even though one might have expected most migrants to these districts to go to urban areas, the predominant stream is one in which male migrants moved from urban to rural areas,[5] perhaps because of opening up of new frontiers of agriculture and greater availability of agricultural land.[6] The lower sex ratios for the second period, 1973, compared to 1961 suggest several possibilities. It is likely that reporting of female migrants was better at the latter time period, or that the number of female migrants (relative to male) had actually increased. It is also likely that migrants to most districts were moving as families thus giving rise to more balanced sex ratios in 1973. Also, the number of females making an inter-district move might have increased because of reasons like marriage, employment or pursuit of education. Whatever the reasons for the relatively lower sex ratios may be, the implication of this trend is that there are now a larger proportion of female migrants than before. The nature of move in terms of rural or urban origin and destination is discussed in some detail in the next section.

I.3 Type of Migration Streams

Information on whether a place (within district of origin) was urban or rural is available for residence in 1965 and for current residence in 1973 in the HED Survey. When the place of residence in 1965 and place of

current residence are cross classified four patterns are possible, rural-urban, urban-urban, rural-urban and urban-rural. These four patterns are labelled as type of streams for the present analysis. Tables 5 and 6 present provincial level and district level data on types of stream for male and female migrants between 1965 and 1973. Comparable data on the type of stream have been calculated and presented for 5 year migrants reported in the Labour Force Survey (LFS), 1974-75.

According to the HED Survey data, almost 40% of the male as well as female migrants were in the urban-urban stream for the country as a whole (Table 5). The next largest stream was from rural to rural areas with 30% of males and 36% females in this stream. The rural-urban stream was not as large as one might have expected on the basis of the general impressions that are prevalent about the high rate of rural-urban migration. Of all migrant males and females 18% and 16% were in the rural-urban stream. These figures, however, differ sharply from the data provided by the LFS which shows that 34% of all migrants in Pakistan were in the rural-urban stream.[7] The LFS data show that a larger percentage of all migrants move to urban areas (62%) compared with 57% male and 55% females who are reported to move to urban areas in the HED Survey. The samples in the HED Survey and the LFS are different as mentioned above, and it is not clear whether these discrepancies are a result simply of different samples or caused by other non-sampling differences (and errors) and in the two surveys.

Despite the differences, we can conclude that well over half of all migrants in Pakistan are moving to urban areas and only about one-tenth are moving from urban to rural areas. Helbock (1975a), in a study of migration to the twelve major cities in Pakistan found a positive association between

Table 5: Percentage of recent inter-province migrants age 10+ by type of stream, Pakistan and provinces, 1973 HED survey and 1974-75 LFS[a]

	Total %	Rural to Urban	Urban to Urban	Rural to Rural	Urban to Rural	To Urban	To Rural
PAKISTAN							
Males	100.0	18.0	39.0	30.3	12.7	57.0	43.0
Females	100.0	16.3	38.4	35.5	9.8	54.7	45.3
1974-75 LFS[b]	100.0	33.9	28.6	28.6	8.7	62.5	37.5
NWFP							
Males	100.0	15.2	27.5	31.3	26.0	42.7	57.3
Females	100.0	15.2	29.5	39.5	15.8	44.7	55.3
1974-75 LFS[b]	100.0	35.0	28.3	23.4	13.0	63.3	36.7
PUNJAB							
Males	100.0	15.9	33.2	37.9	13.0	49.1	51.9
Females	100.0	15.4	32.0	42.4	10.3	47.4	52.6
1974-75 LFS[b]	100.0	37.1	30.4	25.5	7.1	67.5	32.5
SIND							
Males	100.0	24.3	57.2	12.9	5.6	81.5	18.5
Females	100.0	19.8	59.1	15.5	5.6	78.9	21.1
1974-75 LFS[b]	100.0	29.8	27.6	35.9	6.6	57.4	42.6
BALUCHISTAN							
Males	100.0	10.7	27.4	34.4	27.6	38.1	61.9
Females	100.0	12.8	33.5	38.2	15.5	46.3	53.7
1974-75 LFS[b]	100.0	35.0	54.5	5.4	4.9	89.5	11.5

[a]HED survey data pertain to those who moved during 8 years before the survey, between 1965 and 1973. LFS data are for persons who migrated during the 5 years prior to survey.

[b]Data are for both sexes together. Data on persons who immigrated from outside Pakistan was excluded because a rural-urban breakdown on their place of origin was not available.

Source: Author's tabulation from the HED Survey; and Statistics division (n.d., Table 19.2).

the degree of urbanization in a district and the number of migrants it sent to a large city. The more highly urbanized districts contributed more than their expected share of migrants to large cities. His findings suggest a high degree of urban-urban migration which seems consistent with our findings. At the provincial level, there are again large differences between the HED Survey and the LFS, as is clear from Table 5. For example, the HED Survey data show that about 80% of male as well as female migrants in Sind were going to urban areas while the LFS reports only 57% in the two streams towards urban areas. The HED Survey figures for Sind seem to be more accurate because of the high rate of migration to Karachi district 97% of which is urban; 64% of all migrants to Sind moved to Karachi. But any conclusions based on these data must be treated as tentative.

One pattern of migration which seems typical of females is their greater preponderance in the rural-rural stream compared to males, in Pakistan and all the four provinces (Table 5). Roughly 40% of the female migrants in Punjab, N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan were in the rural-rural stream compared with only 16% of the Sindhi migrant females. The greater concentration of females in this stream compared to males is probably indicative of village exogamy whereby females from the rural areas of one district may get married into the rural areas of another district, thus changing their residence.[8] Appendix Table Migration 1 presents detailed data on migration streams at the district level. The data in this table are ranked by the percentage of recent migrants in the district population. The district of Karachi continued to be the greatest recipient of migrants during 1965-1973 and about 13% of the total population of Karachi (age 10+) were recent migrants (also see Figures 2 and 3 above). The district which received the next highest percentage of migrants during this period was

Rawalpindi/Islamabad followed by Gujranwala, with 10% and 7%, respectively. While the percentage of male and female migrants was close in these provinces, Karachi and Rawalpindi received somewhat larger percentages of male than female migrants while Gujranwala had more female migrants.

The percentage of recent migrants in the district population fall within a broad range with about 13% in Karachi and only .5% in the district of Mekran.[9] Ten of the 45 districts had five percent or more recent migrants in their population while the remaining 35 had less than five percent. With the exception of Karachi and Rawalpindi/Islamabad the level of urbanization of a district (as measured by percent of population that is urban) does not seem to be very closely related to the percentage of migrants in that district. The pattern of the migration streams, however, does seem to be related to the level of urbanization in a district, in a general way.

The rural-rural stream was the predominant one for several of the districts which had about 5% recent migrants. For example, more than half of all migrants were in the rural-rural stream in Sheikhupura, Bahawalnagar, Rahimyar Khan, Multan ad Muzzafargarh. The male-female differentials within this stream were generally small with the females usually having a slight edge over males. The rather unusual pattern of migration in Lasbela has been discussed earlier. Lasbela had a large male-female differential in migration with 11% males and only 2% females reported as migrants. Furthermore, a majority of the males were in the urban-rural stream. This stream is relatively unimportant for migrants in most other districts and the reasons for the unusually high urban-rural male migration in Lasbela need to be investigated further.

I.4 Male-Female Differences in Migration Streams

Table 6 presents sex ratios by district for long term and recent migrants and for each of the four migration streams. For the country as a whole, the sex ratio was higher for recent migrants than for long-term migrants—124 and 120. That is, the stream of recent migrants is more heavily male dominated than that of long-term migrants. When the recent migrants are broken down by whether they moved only between 1965 and 1973 or they moved both before and after 1965 the following pattern of sex ratios is observed:

	Sex Ratio	Percent of Total
Non-migrant	121	76.7
Moved Only Before 1965	120	18.5
Moved Only After 1965	107	2.5
Moved Before and After 1965	143	2.5

Persons who migrated only after 1965 had much lower sex ratios than all other groups while those who had moved more than once were heavily male selective. In the present study, the group of recent migrants was not broken down into those who have moved only since 1965 and those who have moved more than once, mainly because of the small number of cases, particularly when migration is analysed at the district level. Thus even though there is a tendency towards more female migration among those who moved (only) since 1965, the trend is not as visible in Table 6 as it might have been if the group of persons who have moved more than once had not been included in the recent migrant group. An analysis based on the two separate groups has been given in Shah, (forthcoming).

As regards the sex ratio within specific migration streams, the rural-rural stream was the least male dominated (105) while the urban-rural stream was heavily male dominated (162). These figures are consistent with the data presented in Table 4 above. The sex ratios for recent migrants were higher than long term migrants in all provinces except Punjab. When recent migrants are viewed as a group, all of the districts within N.W.F.P. had more males than females. This remains true for all the migration streams in N.W.F.P. except rural-rural , where the districts of Mardan and Peshawar had more female than male migrants.

Within the province of Punjab, 5 of the 19 districts had sex ratios less than 100 showing that there were more female than male migrants. Again the stream which was the most frequently female dominated one was the rural-rural with 8 of the 19 districts in Punjab having sex ratios less than 100. In thirteen of the 19 districts the sex ratios among recent migrants were lower than among long-term migrants, indicating a widespread tendency in Punjab towards increased female migration. Finally, it might be recalled that Punjab contains about 58% of the total population of the country and these findings are therefore quite significant.

In the province of Sind, two districts, Nawabshah and Sanghar had sex ratios less than 100. Sanghar is the only province where there were more women than men in all migration streams. The sex ratio among recent migrants in this district was much smaller (84) than the sex ratio among long-term migrants (127), indicating an increase in female migration during recent years. The district of Thatta had an unusually high sex ratio among recent migrants which is consistent with the increase in life-time male migrants in that district.

Thus, while the sex ratios for the province of Punjab provide a clear indication of a larger proportion of female migration after 1965 data for the other three provinces indicate that the number of male migrants continues to be somewhat higher than females. The presence of fairly low sex ratios in particular streams like the rural-rural again point toward cultural patterns such as village exogamy which might be related with higher female migration. Baluchistan had the highest sex ratios among recent migrants (154) followed by N.W.F.P. (149) and Sind (142); Punjab had the lowest sex ratios among all provinces—113. Certain districts which need further examination due to their somewhat unusual migration patterns of relatively high female migration include Sanghar in Sind, Chagai in Bahuchistan and Sialkot and Sahiwal in Punjab. One reservation that must be emphasized is that some of these districts are fairly small in terms of population size and since recent migration is usually a fairly small proportion in most districts, these findings must be interpreted with caution. Comparable data from the 1981 census and other sources will help us to verify these patterns in the future.

I.5 Where are the Migrants Coming From?

Data on the place of origin of migrants to districts in Pakistan need to be analysed separately for long-term migrants who came to Pakistan essentially as a result of the partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947 and more recent migrants who have changed their district of residence within Pakistan due to social and economic factors. We therefore divided the sample of migrants into those who moved (only) before 1965 and those who moved between 1965-73* to study the patterns of inter district

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*Includes persons who moved both before and after 1965.

Table 6: Sex ratios of migrant streams for persons (10+) who moved before 1965 (long term migrants) and between 1965-1973 (recent migrants)

Areas	Total Migrants	Long Term Migrants	Recent Migrants	Stream of Recent Migrants: Urban to Urban	Rural to Rural	Urban to Rural	Rural to Urban
PAKISTAN	121	120	124	126	105	162	137
1. NWFP	144	139	149	139	119	244	150
2. PUNJAB	116	116	1'3	117	101	143	117
3. SIND	130	128	142	137	118	141	174
4. BALUCHISTAN	146	140	154	126	139	275	129
1. NWFP							
Hazara	165	138	191	150	166	238	153
Mardan	113	113	113	135	87	239	107
Peshawar	140	154	124	131	100	171	174
Kohat	271	198	324	151	416	850	242
D.I. Khan	144	153	129	125	131	129	138
Bannu	187	171	214	167	271	300	179
2. PUNJAB							
Attock	147	136	158	153	143	207	140
Islamabad/Rawalpindi	136	133	140	131	168	320	129
Jhelum	208	163	271	137	235	593	179
Gujrat	98	95	102	107	96	111	106
Sargodha	109	113	93	110	79	159	89
Mianwali	125	121	141	157	145	114	148
Lyallpur	110	112	96	107	78	101	114
Jhang	113	114	107	95	115	176	75
Lahore	126	127	121	126	102	111	119
Gujranwala	96	97	93	107	74	106	99
Sheikhupura	106	95	150	115	164	116	172
Sialkot	105	110	84	107	57	80	112
D.G. Khan	198	206	159	141	186	186	60
Muzaffargarh	140	142	136	135	136	127	175
Multan	119	122	104	103	97	121	124
Sahiwal	111	116	80	103	73	79	89
Bahawalpur	113	117	103	105	94	162	119
Bahawalnagar	111	112	101	104	102	122	86
Rahimyar Khan	128	133	106	105	100	165	109

Table 6: (contd.)

Areas	Total Migrants	Long Term Migrants	All Recent Migrants	Stream of Recent Migrants: Urban to Urban	Rural to Rural	Urban to Rural	Rural to Urban
3. SIND							
Jacobabad	130	108	157	102	171	209	111
Sukkur	131	130	135	96	160	150	116
Larkana	145	144	148	150	100	287	131
Nawabshah	116	12[illegible]	95	52	85	112	105
Khairpur	136	13[illegible]	197	183	91	100	500
Hyderabad	123	123	120	118	105	150	137
Dadu	138	138	140	159	114	156	144
Tharparkar	121	121	122	113	132	97	139
Sanghar	118	127	84	70	94	83	94
Thatta	265	174	452	442	180	600	1,560
Karachi	133	128	149	142	100	146	175
4. BALUCHISTAN							
Quetta	129	128	130	122	134	147	134
Sibi	157	169	134	135	132	200	118
Loralai	156	159	149	200	500	67	108
Zhob	136	134	140	145	125	0	200
Chagai	100	112	83	80	0	0	140
Kalat	146	191	115	77	118	0	-
Kachhi	147	148	145	233	143	144	78
Karan	174	161	190	152	350	150	0
Mekran	121	118	132	0	120	-	133
Lasbella	539	194	813	131	0	1,850	160

- No Cases
Sex Ratio: (Males/Female) x 100
Source: Author's tabulation from the HED Survey, 1973.

movement. A preliminary analysis of the district of origin for persons who moved into the district before 1965 showed that in districts which had large proportions of migrants, over 60% of all migrants came from India (see Appendix Table Migration 2). For example, over 70% of the migrants to Karachi, Lahore, Faisalabad and Sahiwal came from India. In fourteen of the 45 districts, 60% or more of the migrants had migrated from India.

A summary of the district level data is given in Table 7 which shows the origin of migrants at the provincial level. Larger proportions of migrants to Punjab and Sind migrated from India compared to the other two provinces. It was shown in Table 1 that a larger proportion of the migrants to N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan were recent migrants and the presence of migrants from India is therefore much less visible in these two provinces. Among the long-term female migrants, 66% in Punjab and 68% in Sind came from India; the pattern was quite similar for males. A fairly large proportion of the migrants to N.W.F.P. came from other areas, mainly federally administered tribal areas (FATA). These areas, though outside the administrative unit are geographically contiguous to N.W.F.P., hence the high degree of migration. If we restrict the analysis only to those persons who moved within or between provinces, we find markedly different patterns for the four provinces. In Punjab, over four-fifths of the female migrants (81%) moved within the province; this compares with 65% males. In Sind, on the contrary, only 25% of the females and 20% of the males came from within the province. A very large proportion of both sexes came to Sind from Punjab province.

An analysis of the recent inter-provincial migration shows that 70% of male and 74% of female migrants to Punjab came from within the province (Table 8).[10] Figures 4 and 5 show the origin of migrants who came to

Figure 4 Places of origin of recent male and female migrants to urban areas of selected districts: 1973

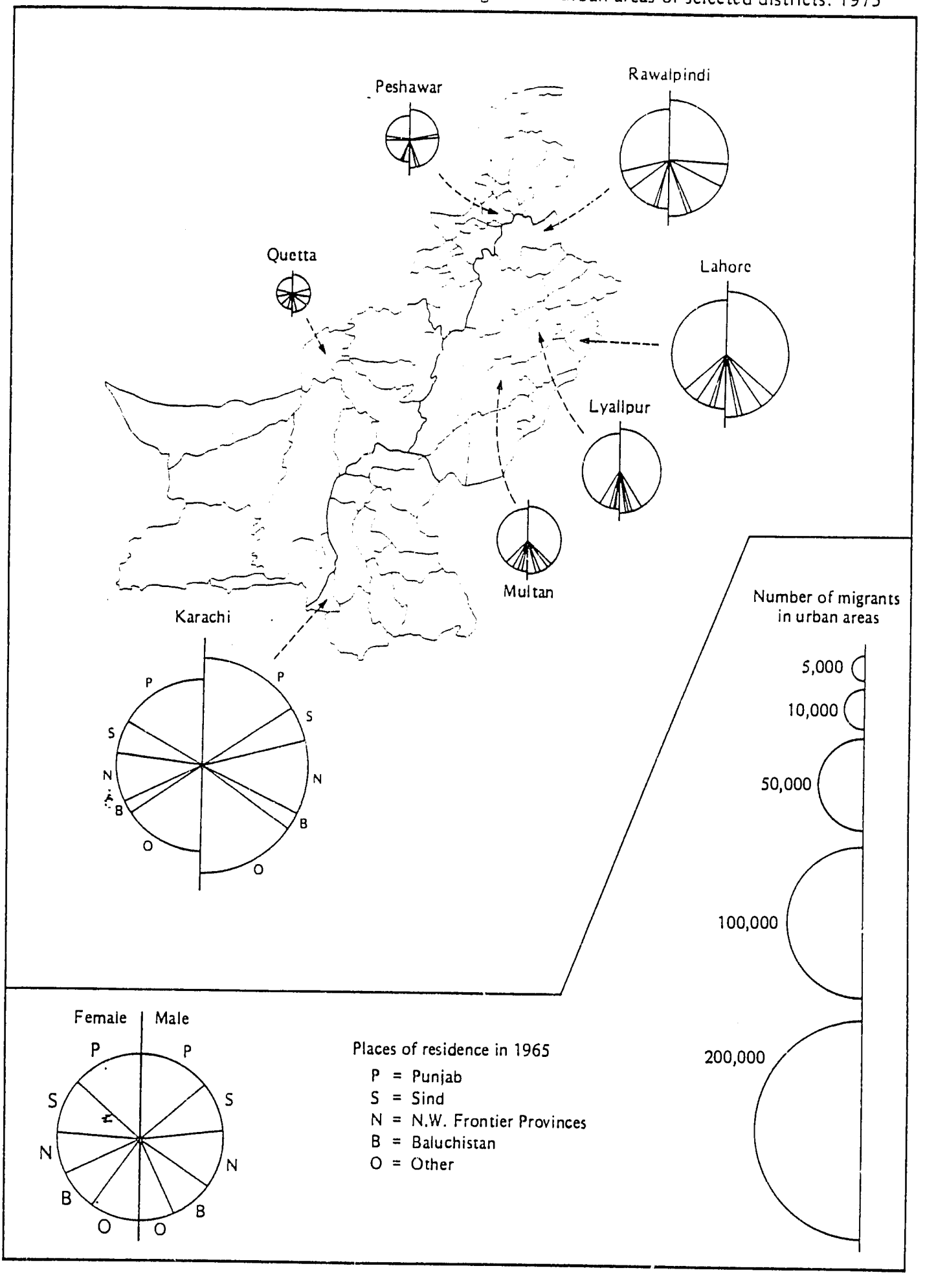


Figure 5 Places of origin of recent male and female migrants to rural areas of selected districts: 1973

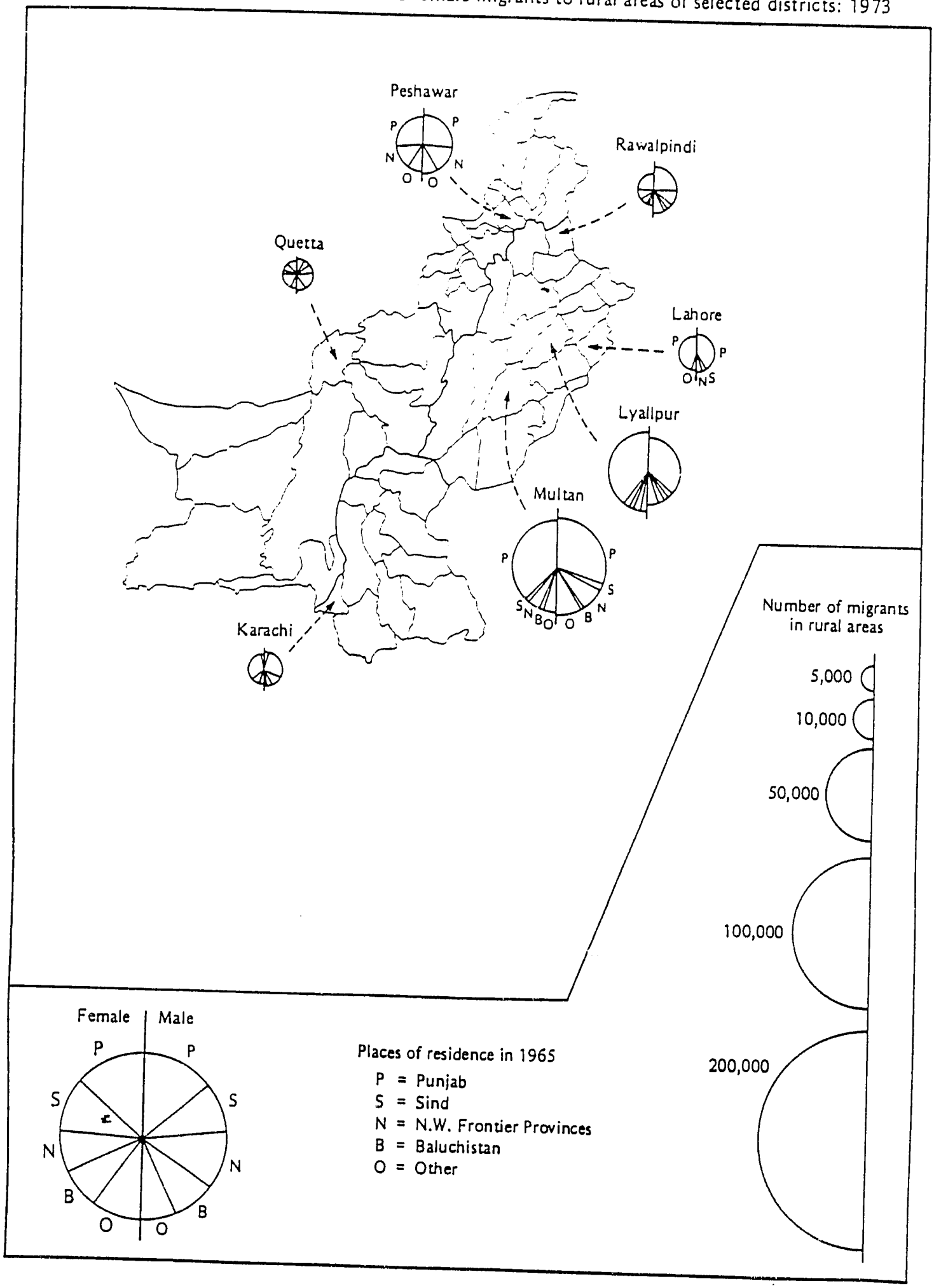


Table 7: Place of birth of long term migrants age 10+ by sex and province of residence in 1965, Pakistan

Place of Residence in 1965		Place of Birth					
		NWFP	Punjab	Sind	Baluchistan	India	Other*
Males							
All	100	4.8	17.8	3.1	7.1	62.6	4.7
NWFP	100	33.4 (47)	17.9	17.8	1.6	5.6	23.7
Punjab	100	2.0	19.1 (65)	0.9	7.6	66.4	4.0
Sind	100	8.5	14.2	6.7 (20)	4.8	61.9	4.0
Baluchistan	100	8.9	18.0	8.9	41.0 (53)	11.3	11.9
Females							
All	100	3.5	21.6	2.7	3.7	64.2	4.3
NWFP	100	37.3 (57)	18.1	9.9	0.9	5.5	28.3
Punjab	100	1.6	24.6 (81)	0.7	3.3	66.1	3.7
Sind	100	5.1	13.5	7.3 (25)	3.4	67.6	3.1
Baluchistan	100	8.4	19.0	10.2	38.4 (51)	13.0	11.1

* Others include Azad Kashmir, Occupied Kashmir, Northern Areas, FATA, Former East Pakistan, Afghanistan and all other countries.

( ) Figures in brackets represent within-province migration only. The denominator excludes persons who migrated from India or other places.

Source: Author's tabulation from the HED Survey, 1973.

Table 8: Place of origin for recent migrants age 10+ by sex and province, 1973 HED survey and 1974-75 LFS

Place of Residence in 1973		Place of Residence in 1965: NWFP U	NWFP R	Punjab U	Punjab R	Sind U	Sind R	Baluchistan U	Baluchistan R	Other U	Other R	Percent of Within Province Migrants 1974-75 (Both Sexes)[a] U	R
						M A L E S							
TOTAL													
R	100	3.6	8.2	12.9	43.5	5.1	6.7	2.4	4.1	5.5	7.9		
U	100	8.5	7.5	34.1	16.9	10.2	2.3	3.4	0.8	12.1	4.1		
NWFP													
R	100	9.5	16.0	9.9	23.2	13.4	1.6	2.0	0.8	10.5	13.1	17.0	59.6
U	100	22.1	15.1	30.7	12.2	4.4	0.6	1.2	0.1	6.0	7.6	26.2	50.0
		37.2											
PUNJAB													
R	100	2.1	8.1	14.4	53.9	3.0	2.2	1.3	3.0	4.7	7.3	19.3	76.3
U	100	6.4	3.9	44.8	25.0	7.2	0.6	2.3	0.4	5.7	2.5	37.1	50.7
				69.8									
SIND													
R	100	3.6	1.9	10.3	21.0	8.8	37.3	2.0	3.7	5.3	5.9	13.8	72.7
U	100	8.9	10.9	21.6	7.9	15.2	4.8	4.0	0.6	20.5	5.6	11.8	12.1
						20.0							
BALUCHISTAN													
R	100	8.9	4.3	6.4	3.7	4.9	9.5	19.9	30.3	4.3	7.9	34.9	53.5
U	100	7.2	3.5	21.9	7.2	12.5	1.2	25.1	12.8	5.2	3.3	42.0	23.0
								37.9					
				F E M A L E S									
TOTAL													
R	100	1.9	5.9	11.2	55.8	3.6	6.9	1.5	3.3	3.2	6.8		
U	100	7.1	5.6	38.0	18.8	11.4	2.3	3.1	0.6	10.4	2.6		
NWFP													
R	100	8.5	25.5	5.0	29.0	6.3	0.5	1.3	0.3	7.5	16.0		
U	100	22.6	15.5	33.8	11.4	4.4	0.8	1.1	-	4.0	6.3		
		38.1											
PUNJAB													
R	100	1.0	4.3	12.7	66.5	2.0	1.8	0.9	2.1	2.8	5.8		
U	100	5.4	3.3	47.6	26.8	7.6	0.6	2.0	0.2	5.0	1.5		
				74.4									
SIND													
R	100	2.5	1.3	8.5	21.7	11.5	43.0	1.1	2.9	2.9	4.5		
U	100	7.1	7.6	24.3	8.0	18.9	5.4	3.9	0.5	20.8	3.5		
						23.3							
BALUCHISTAN													
R	100	0.5	1.1	6.0	8.1	4.3	9.8	16.8	42.9	1.1	9.2		
U	100	7.2	4.4	24.8	6.9	11.8	1.7	22.6	11.2	6.0	3.3		
								34.8					

a) LFS does not provide separate data for males and females.

Source: Author's Tabulation from the HED Survey, 1973; and Statistics division (n.d., Table 18.2).

selected districts in Pakistan. The majority of migrants to the districts in Punjab came from within the Punjab province. Migrants to Karachi came from many different areas as discussed below. Again, the predominant pattern within the urban areas was the urban-urban stream. The majority of the migrants to the urban areas of the other three provinces, came from outside the province, particularly among males. It may be recalled from the section on migration streams that there was a marked difference in the provincial level data provided by the HED Survey and the 1974-75 LFS. Comparison of the place of origin from the two sources again shows marked discrepancies. The LFS shows that a very large proportion of migration in all four provinces is within-province, except for migration to urban Sind. Again, it is not possible to conclude anything definite about the relative validity of these data and our analysis therefore must remain tentative.

Within rural areas of all four provinces a larger percentage of the females migrated from within the province compared to males, according to HED Survey findings. For example, 79% of the females in rural Punjab migrated from within the province, largely from other rural areas, compared to 68% of rural males in Punjab. Comparable figures for Sindhi males and females were 46% and 55%. These sex differentials in migration patterns suggest that females generally tend to move shorter distances than males. Part of the reason for the higher within-province movement of females may again be based in patterns of village exogamy where females may marry into nearby districts located within the same province. Majority of the out-of-province female migrants to urban N.W.F.P. came from Punjab (45%). Urban Sind received 32% of its female migrants from Punjab and another 24% from other areas outside provincial limits. Many of the out-of-province

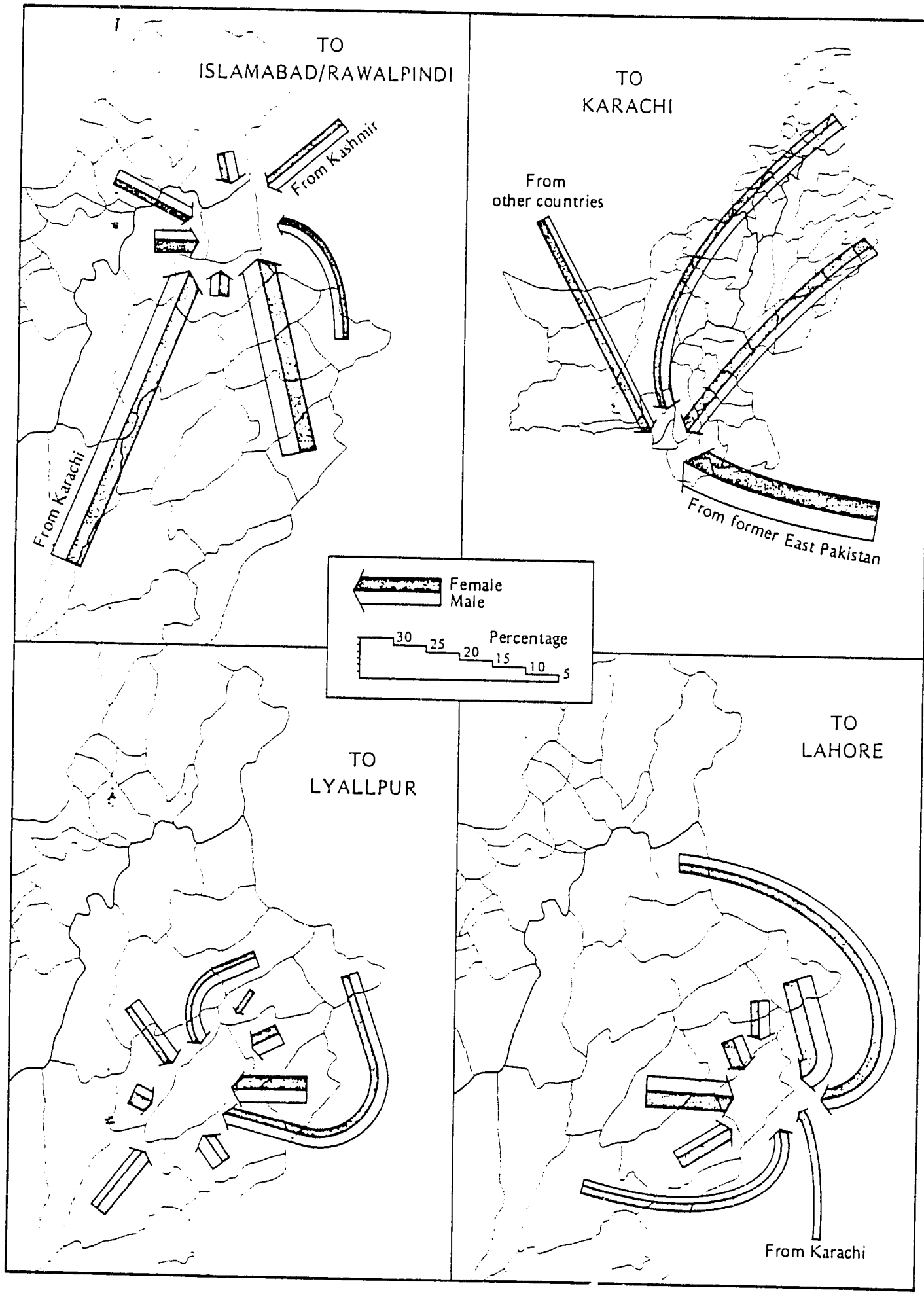
migrants to Sind came to the district of Karachi from former East-Pakistan (Bangladesh), as discussed in the next section.

Tables 9 and 10 provide a listing of the major areas of origin of recent migrants to selected districts. Of all females who came to the district of Karachi during 1965-1973, 14% came from Bangladesh (former East Pakistan).[11] Another 21% came from either Hazara, Lahore or countries outside Pakistan, including Afghanistan. Karachi received migrants from many different places; 42 of the 45 districts in Pakistan sent at least some migrants to Karachi which again provides an indication of the significance of Karachi in the migration process. Figure 6 shows the major districts and other places sending migrants to Karachi which indicates the wide range of migrants to Karachi. This pattern differs markedly from the highly within-province pattern typical of other districts like Lahore, Lyallpur, Gujranwala and Sheikhupura. Figure 6 clearly shows that the majority of migrants to Lyallpur came from adjacent districts within Punjab province.

Rawalpindi received one quarter of its female migrants from Lahore and Karachi and another 40% from the districts of Hazara, Pehawar, Jhelum, Sialkot and Azad Kashmir. Rawalpindi is an exception within Punjab in terms of receiving many out-of-province migrants. The main reason for this is the location of Islamabad in Rawalpindi which received federal employees and their families from many districts.

A comparison of the patterns of migration for male and female migrants shows that the pattern is almost identical for the district of Karachi and Rawalpindi (Tables 9 and 10). This suggests strongly that males and females are migrating together in families, a finding which is supported by other studies in Pakistan (Afzal and Abbasi, 1979; Naeem and Mahbub, 1969).

Figure 6 Major places of origin of migrants to Lahore, Lyallpur, Rawalpindi, and Karachi districts by sex: 1965–1973



Rawalpindi has, however, received male migrants from many more districts compared to females which suggests that males with more varied cultural background are coming to the Rawalpindi than females. Even though the migration patterns for males and females are often similar, there are notable differences between the sexes, in several districts. For example, Sheikhupura whose population had 7% male and 6% female recent migrants showed a fairly different pattern for the two. Twenty six percent of the female migrants to Sheikhupura were from Lahore compared with only 14% males. Similarly, Sheikhupura received a substantial proportion of its male migrants from Peshawar (17%) and Azad Kashmir (12%) but these two districts did not constitute important districts of origin in case of females. What this example shows is that we cannot make any easy generalization about the closeness of female and male patterns for any specific district.

The district of Lasbela which represents a unique case of very high male migration deserves some comment. Lasbela is numerically an insignificant district with regard to overall percentage of migrants. But over 10% of the male population of Lasbela consists of recent migrants. Very large proportions of these in-migrants came from either Chagai or Bannu in N.W.F.P., 33% and 27%. The district of Bannu is several hundred miles away from Lasbela and the reasons for this heavy migration to Lasbela needs further study. The district of Chagai which had a disproportionately low sex ratio received many of its female migrants from Quetta (24%) and Lahore (19%). The reader must be cautioned here, however, that both these districts have fairly small populations—and the data therefore pertains to a small sample size which may make the results more unstable than in the case of larger districts.

Table 9: District (or other place) of origin of recent female migrants to selected districts, Pakistan, 1973

District of Residence in 1973	Recent Female Migrants as Percent of Female Population	Districts and Places of Origin: Sending Greater than 10%	Sending 5-10%	Sending Less than 5%	Total Number of Districts and Places Sending Migrants to Respective Districts
KARACHI	11.1	Former East Pakistan - 14	Hazara, Lahore and other countries - 21	45 districts and 4 other places*-65%	53
ISLAMABAD/Rawalpindi	8.9	Lahore - 13 Karachi - 12	Hazara, Peshawar, Jhelum, Sialkot and Azad Kashmir - 40	39 districts and 5 other places - 35%	46
GUJRANWALA	8.2	Sheikhupura - 11 Lahore - 11 Sialkot - 22	Gujrat and Lyallpur 17	32 districts and 5 other places - 39%	42
BAHAWALPUR	8.0	Multan - 22 Bahawalnagar - 16 Lyallpur - 11	Chitral, Muzzafargarh, Sahiwal and Rahimyar-khan - 29	23 districts and 5 other places - 22%	35
SHEIKHUPURA	6.0	Lahore - 26 Faisalabad - 14 Gujranwala - 14	Sialkot - 10	23 districts and 5 other places - 39%	32
BAHAWALNAGAR	5.8	Lyallpur - 11 Multan - 28 Sahiwal - 15	Lahore, Bahawalpur, Jacobabad and India - 29	19 other districts and 2 other places - 17%	28
PESHAWAR	5.7	Sialkot - 30 FATA - 12	Mardan, Kohat and Multan - 24	26 districts and 5 other places - 34%	34
LAHORE	5.5	Sialkot - 12 Lyallpur - 11	Islamabad/Rawalpindi, Multan, Gujranwala, Sheikhupura, Sahiwal and Karachi - 42	31 districts and 6 other places - 35%	45
QUETTA	5.3	Zhob - 11	Campbellpur, Rawalpindi, Islamabad, Lahore, Karachi, Kacchi and other countries - 31	30 districts and 3 other places - 58%	40
MULTAN	5.1	Sahiwal - 13 Lyallpur - 12	Bannu, Lahore, Muzzafar-garh, Bahawalpur, Bahawalnagar and Azad Kashmir - 43	32 districts and 4 other places - 32%	44
LYALLPUR	5.0	-	Gujrat, Sargodha, Jhang, Gujranwala, Sheikhupura, Lahore, Sialkot, Multan and Sahiwal - 69	31 districts and 6 other places - 17%	46

Table 9 : Continued

District of Residence in 1973	Recent Female Migrants as percent of Female Population	Sending Greater than 10%	Sending 5-10%	Sending Less than 5%	Total Number of Districts and Places Sending Migrants to Respective Districts
SAHIWAL	4.7	Lyallpur - 17 Lahore - 16 Multan - 18 Bahawalnagar - 16	NIL	30 districts and 3 other places - 33 %	37
JHELUM	3.8	Islamabad/RawalPindi - 11 Gujrat - 24 Lahore - 12 Azad Kashmir - 11	Sargodha, Mianwali and Karachi - 21	27 districts and 3 other places - 21 %	37
HYDERABAD	3.5	Karachi - 16	Lahore, Sukkur, Nawabshah, Tharparkar and Sanghar - 29	31 districts and 5 other places - 45 %	42
SIALKOT	3.5	Gujranwala - 29	Gujrat, Lyallpur Sheikhupura, Lahore - 35	24 districts and 4 other places - 36 %	33
LASBELLA	1.6	Bannu - 13 Karachi - 18 Mekran - 12 Other Countries - 15	Sargodha, Quetta, Loralai and Chagai - 39	Tharparkar - 3 %	9
CHAGAI	2.8	Hazara -11 Lahore - 19 Quetta - 24	Multan, Khairpur, Loralai, Zhob, Kharan and Azad Kashmir - 40	2 districts - 6 %	11

* Other places include India, former East Pakistan, FATA, Azad Kashmir and Northern Areas, Occupied Kashmir and Other Countries (if not mentioned for that district).

SOURCE: Author's Tabulation from the HED Survey, 1973

Table 10 : District (or other place) of origin of recent male migrants to selected districts, Pakistan, 1973

District of Residence in 1973	Recent Male Migrants as Percent of Population	Districts and Places of Origin: Sending Greater than 10%	Sending 5-10%	Sending Less than 5%	Total Number of Districts and Places Sending Migrants to Respective Districts
KARACHI	13.5	Former East Pakistan - 14	Hazara, Lahore and other countries - 20	45 districts and 4 other places * - 66%	53
LASBELLA	11.2	Bannu - 27 Sargodha - 11 Chagai - 33 Other Countries - 12	- Nil -	9 districts and 2 other places - 17%	15
ISLAMABAD/RAWALPINDI	10.5	Lahore - 13 Karachi - 13	Hazara, Peshawar, Campbellpur, Jhelum, Sialkot and Azad, Kashmir - 38	36 districts and 5 other places - 36%	49
SHEIKHUPURA	7.2	Peshawar - 17 Lahore - 14 Azad Kashmir - 12	Lyallpur , Gujranwala, Sialkot and Sibi - 29	22 districts and 4 other places - 28%	32
BAHAWALPUR	6.9	Lyllapur - 14 Multan - 17 Bahawalnagar - 16	Chitral, Rahimyar Khan, and other countries - 24	26 districts and 2 other places - 29%	34
GUJRANWALA	6.5	Sialkot - 22	Gujrat, Lyallpur , Lahore, Sheikhupura, and Azad Kashmir - 39	32 districts and 4 other places - 39%	42
PESHAWAR	6.0	Sailkot - 26 Mardan - 12 Fata - 11	Kohat - 7	30 districts and 4 other places - 44 %	38
QUETTA	5.7	- Nil -	D.I. Khan, Campbellpur, Rawalpindi/Islamabad, Lahore, Karachi, Sibi, Zhob and other countries - 54	31 districts and 4 other places - 46 %	43
LAHORE	5.4	Lyallpur - 11 Sialkot - 12	Rawalpindi/Islamabad, Gujrawala, Sheikhupura, Multan and Sahiwal - 33	34 districts and 6 other places - 44 %	47
BAHAWALNAGAR	4.8	Multan - 33 Sahiwal - 13 India - 13	Swat, Lyallpur , Lahore, and Bahawalpur - 24	19 districts and 2 other places- 17%	28

Table 10 : Continued

District of Residence in 1973	Recent Male Migrants as Percent of Population	Districts and Places of Origin: Sending Greater than 10%	Sending 5-10%	Sending Less than 5%	Total Number of Districts and Places Sending Migrants to Respective Districts
MULTAN	4.4	- Nil -	Bannu, Lyallpur, Lahore, Muzzafargarh, Sahiwal, Balawalpur, Bahawalnagar and Azad Kashmir - 64	32 districts and 5 other places - 36%	45
LYALLPUR	4.0	- Nil -	Lahore, Gujrat, Sargodha, Jhang, Sheikhupura, Sialkot, Multan and Sahiwal - 60	36 districts and 5 other places - 40%	49
HYDERABAD	3.4	Karachi - 12	Lyallpur, Lahore, Sukkur, Nawabshah, Dadu and Tharparkar - 43	32 districts and 5 other places - 45%	44
SAHIWAL	3.2	Lyallpur - 17 Lahore - 15 Multan - 13	Bahawalnagar - 9	31 districts and 6 other places - 46%	41
JHELUM	3.0	Islamabad/Rawalpindi - 11 Lahore - 21 Sialkot - 11	Gujrat, Karachi and Azad Kashmir - 19	34 districts and 5 other places - 38%	45
SIALKOT	2.4	Lyallpur - 12 Gujranwala - 24 Sheikhupura - 13	Gujrat and Lahore - 13	27 districts and 4 other places - 38%	36

* Other places include India, former East Pakistan, FATA, Azad Kashmir and Northern Areas, Occupied Kashmir and Other Countries (if not mentioned for that district).

SOURCE: Author's Tabulation from the HED Survey, 1973

Summary

Inter district migration data of persons in Pakistan indicate that 23% of the males and females have changed their district of residence at least once during their lifetime. The percent of migrants in urban areas is much greater than the percent in rural areas for both sexes. About ten percent of the population of urban areas consists of persons who migrated to them during 1965-1973 (recent migrants); the corresponding figure for rural areas is 2%. About half of all urban female migrants were in the three most urbanized districts, Karachi, Lahore and Rawalpindi. Recent female migrants constituted 11% of the female population of Karachi, 5% of Lahore and 9% of Rawalpindi.

A comparison of the sex ratios of life-time migrants in 1961 and 1973 shows that sex ratios in 1973 were lower in 35 of the total 45 districts than in 1961. This suggests a relative increase in female migration compared with males and is consistent with other studies. Majority of the districts still have sex ratios above 100 indicating that most districts have more male than female migrants. The sex ratios of recent migrants to Karachi, Rawalpindi and Lahore were 149, 140, and 121.

When analysed in terms of migration streams, 40% of the males as well as females were in the urban-urban streams while less than 20% were in the rural-urban stream. These findings, however, need to be probed further since they are not consistent when different data sources are compared. Persons who moved only after 1965 had a much lower sex ratio (107) compared with non-migrants (121) or those who moved before as well as after 1965 (143). One pattern that is typical of females is their preponderance in the rural-rural stream compared with males. This pattern is probably related to village exogamy whereby brides join their grooms in the village

of another district. Sex ratio in the rural-rural stream was 105 compared with 137 in the rural-urban stream, for the country as a whole.

The provinces of Punjab and Sind had a much larger percentage of long-term migrants than the provinces of Baluchistan and N.W.F.P. The majority of the migrants to the former provinces came from India. As for the recent migrants (who moved between 1965-1973) about three-fourths of the female migrants to Punjab came from within the province. The pattern was very different for Sind where the majority of the migrants came from other provinces, predominantly Punjab. Analysis of the place of origin of migrants to specific districts showed that the male-female differences were more marked in some districts than in others. Similarity of patterns of migration to the district of Karachi suggest a tendency toward family migration. But such a trend is not observable for all districts.

II. CHARACTERISTICS OF FEMALE MIGRANTS

Very few studies in Pakistan have dealt with the characteristics of female migrants, perhaps because data on this have not been available. Krotki (1963) studied the age distributions of males and females in large and small towns in comparison with the total population of Pakistan. He found an excess of females in ages 10-24 and an excess of males in ages 10-44 in urban areas. One possible reason for this excess could be age selective migration of females into urban areas. Krotki, however, concluded that this finding might simply be a result of other factors such as a substantial underenumeration of women in ages 10-24 in the country as a whole. The pattern of higher mobility among relatively younger persons and families was also found in a small Punjabi town, Lulliani. There were more women than men in the age groups 20-34 among in-migrants than among

non-migrants, the sex ratios being 65 and 104 (Naeem and Mahbub, 1969).[12] In their recent study on migration Afzal and Abbasi (1979) have also looked at the age structure of migrants but without regard to sex.[13] No data on the characteristics of migrants are available from the 1951 and 1961 censuses. Data on the age structure and educational level of migrants have been published from the 1973 HED Survey. A considerably detailed analysis of characteristics is, however, possible from analysis of unpublished data. I have made several tabulations of the HED Survey data and most of the analysis in this section is based on these tabulations. A note of caution about data quality is again in order at this point. Comparison of the patterns of migration reported in HED Survey and 1974-75 LFS discussed in the preceding section showed marked differences between the two sources which raises a question about data reliability. Comparable data on characteristics of migrants are not available on most of the characteristics analysed from the HED Survey. Hence, the analysis in this section must be regarded as tentative until more recent data become available to enable us to check the reliability of HED Survey data.

Another qualification pertains to the cross sectional nature of data that are usually available for analysis of migration. While analyzing the characteristics of migrants by duration since migration (or date of migration) one of the problems a researcher is faced with is the obvious demographic changes that are likely to take place over a person's life cycle. For example, those who migrated a long time ago are obviously older at the time of the survey than those who migrated only recently. Similarly, earlier migrants are likely to have more widowed and divorced persons because they are older. Thus, most of the demographic characteristics are confounded with the timing of migration and the causal

connections (for example, between marital status and migration) are impossible to disentangle, particularly for the earlier migrants. In the absence of adequate migration histories, therefore, one can only make tentative conclusions about the migration process.

The analysis in this section is divided into two main parts. First, a comparison of migrants and non-migrants is made with regard to their age, marital status, education, employment and occupational structure. Second, we discuss the socioeconomic groups where migrant women are concentrated. Following the analysis in the preceeding section, migrants were again divided into two broad groups, long-term and recent, defined in terms of those who moved before and after 1965. Comparisons with males have been made wherever regarded as necessary.

II.1 Male and Female Migrants: Some Comparisons

Table 11 presents an overview of the characteristics of migrants in Pakistan, for males and females. Recent female migrants were a slightly more youthful group than non-migrants—forty nine percent of the migrants were below age 25 compared to 48 percent of the nonmigrants (Table 11). When the migrants who moved only after 1965 (i.e. excluding those who had moved both before and after 1965) were analysed as a separate group the differences were much sharper; 60% of the female migrants were less than age 25 compared with 48% of the non-migrants. Also, the sex ratio for married migrants was 63 compared to 95 for non-migrants. For details of those results see Shah (forthcoming). A substantial proportion of the recent female migration seems to be related to marriage - 64 percent of the female migrants were married compared to 57 percent of the non-migrant females. The relatively low sex ratio of 91 among the recent married migrants (compared to 95 for non-migrants) further highlights the

Table 11 - Percentage of migrant and nonmigrant males and females age 10+ by age, marital status, education and employment status, Pakistan, HED Survey, 1973

	Never Moved			All Migrants			Long Term Migrants[b]			Recent Migrants[c]		
	Males	Females	Sex[a] Ratio	Males	Females	Sex[a] Ratio	Males	Females	Sex[a] Ratio	Males	Females	Sex[a] Ratio
Age												
10-24	50	48	126	18	18	118	11	11	131	42	49	107
25-44	28	32	109	42	46	110	44	49	107	35	35	126
45+	21	20	130	40	36	137	45	40	133	23	16	171
Marital Status												
Single	52	37	168	23	13	206	17	9	218	44	29	192
Married	45	57	95	66	75	107	71	77	111	47	64	91
Widowed	3	6	72	8	11	93	9	12	90	5	6	110
Divorced	**	**	107	3	1	299	3	1	295	4	1	177
Education												
No grades	65	89	88	56	82	84	61	85	85	41	68	75
1-9 grades	28	9	372	24	11	256	21	9	239	34	21	201
10+ grades	7	2	418	20	7	334	18	6	363	25	11	275
Employment												
Currently employed	69	4	1,871	76	4	2,235	80	4	2,355	63	4	1,799
Nonworking	31	96	40	24	96	30	20	96	25	37	96	49
TOTAL (WEIGHTED)	17,787,533	14,686,920	121	5,422,453	4,482,528	121	4,285,186	3,565,445	120	1,137,267	917,083	124

** Less than one percent

[a] sex ratio - males ÷ Females x 100

[b] includes persons who moved only before 1965

[c] includes persons who moved between 1965-73

Source: Author's Tabulation form the HED Survey, 1973.

importance of marriage migration as an important aspect of overall migration in Pakistan.

A more detailed analysis of the age structure of migrants who moved less than ten years before the survey is shown in Table 12. When the total population (ie. all ages) is considered, 23% of all male and female recent migrants consists of persons less that ten years of age; this compares with 33% males and 36% females in this age group among non-migrants (data not shown).[14] This indicates that there are fewer children among recent migrants than among the non-migrants, as expected. While the presence of children under ten years of age provides an indication of a tendency towards family migrations, migrants are on the average about four to five years older than non-migrants. The mean age of female migrants was 24.3 years compared with 20.6 years among non-migrants; the corresponding mean age for males was 26.3 years and 20 years (Table 12). A greater number of adults among migrant females is probably related to the marriage migration of women.

While age has an intrinsic positive effect on widowhood and earlier migrants can be expected to have higher proportions of widowed men and women compared to recent migrants, divorce cannot be expected to be intrinsically related with age. A positive relationship between widowhood and migration seems to exist for the subgroup of long-term migrants. Twelve percent of the long-term female migrants were widowed compared with 6% of non-migrants (Table 11). Whether divorce and widowhood are in themselves a factor motivating higher mobility is an interesting question but one that cannot be adequately answered with these data.

All groups of migrants had higher literacy rates than nonmigrants. The proportion of literate persons was only slightly higher for long-term

migrants but was strikingly higher for recent migrants. Only 41 percent of the recent migrant males were illiterate compared to 65 percent of nonmigrant males; the corresponding percentages for females were 68 percent and 89 percent (Table 11). Similarly, the proportion of those with higher education (ten or more grades) was significantly higher among the recent males and females compared with their nonmigrant counterparts. One other point about the male-female differences in educational level that is worth noting from Table 11 is the relatively lower discrepancy among all the migrant groups compared with nonmigrants, particularly for the recent migrants. Sex differentials in education were smaller among recent migrants as compared to non-migrants as suggested by the sex ratios of 275 and 418 for recent migrants and non-migrants with 10 or more grades of education. Migration itself might have improved the chances for females to get an education, but this cannot be clearly demonstrated with cross-sectional data available.

Labor force participation was uniformly low for all groups with only 4% of the females in each group being currently employed. It should be noted that female employment rates reported in the HED Survey are much smaller than rates reported in the 1961 Census or other national sample surveys in Pakistan.[15] A comparison of the sex ratios of employed persons for different groups shows that while ratios for all groups were extremely high, the ratio among the recent migrants was relatively lower.

II.2 Education and its Relation to Female Migration Status

The general pattern of higher literacy rates among migrants persisted after the age and marital status of women were controlled (Table 13). Within each of the marital status categories, migrants had a higher literacy rate than nonmigrants, the differences being particularly marked

Table 12 - Age distribution of persons who moved to current place of residence less than 10 years before survey, 1973*

Age groups	ALL MIGRANTS Total	Male	Female	MIGRANTS IN URBAN AREAS Total	Male	Female
Number	2,764,277	1,454,045	1,310,282	1,551,864	854,938	696,926
0-4	9.3	9.4	9.2	8.3	8.0	8.8
5-9	13.8	13.9	13.8	13.3	12.9	13.8
10-14	10.8	12.0	9.5	11.7	12.1	10.1
15-19	9.3	8.8	9.8	10.2	10.1	10.4
20-24	12.9	10.2	15.0	12.9	11.6	14.6
25-29	10.9	8.6	13.4	11.3	10.2	12.7
30-39	14.0	14.5	13.4	14.6	15.5	13.5
40-49	8.8	10.1	7.3	8.7	9.8	7.4
50+	10.2	12.5	8.6	9.0	9.8	8.7
$\bar{x}$[a] age migrants	25.2	26.3	24.3	24.9	25.6	24.1
$\bar{x}$ age non-migrants	20.3	20.1	20.6	17.2	17.6	16.8

* This table is based on data tabulated according to the duration of residence at the current place of residence in 1973.

[a] $\bar{x}$ refers to the simple average

Source: Census Organization (n.d., Vol. II, Pt. I, Table 15).

for single and ever-married recent migrants. Fifty-three percent of the single recent migrants were literate, compared with only 24 percent of single nonmigrants; the corresponding figures for married women were 23 percent and 4 percent (Table 13).

Notably larger proportions of younger women were literate compared with older women in all categories except the single recent migrants. Higher literacy rates among younger women are consistent with expectations while the exception presents an interesting contrast to the general picture. Literacy rates of 62 percent among single and 80 percent among divorced recent migrants aged 45 and above are indeed extremely high compared to 11 percent among single and 5 percent among divorced nonmigrants in this age group. The unusually high literacy rates among the older migrant single and divorced women are probably indicative of the exceptional circumstance with which these women are faced. The older (45 and above) single and divorced women who do not have adequate means of economic support are likely to be under pressure to find employment which in some cases might involve migration, and their literacy may facilitate their ability to obtain employment. It should also be mentioned that restrictions on the movement of, as well as work participation by the older women, are far less severe than in the case of younger women.

Although the overall higher literacy rate of migrants was true for women of all marital categories, there were notable differences in magnitude between various groups. Single nonmigrant women had notably higher literacy rates than their married, widowed and divorced counterparts. Among each of the migrant groups, however, a larger proportion of single women was literate compared with married and widowed women but not when compared with divorced women. The latter group of

Table 13 - Percent literate by age, and marital status annd migration status, Pakistan, females, HED Survey, 1973

	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Total
Nonmigrant	24	4	2	7	11
10-24	24	7	8	11	20
25-44	17	4	4	6	4
45+	11	2	1	5	2
All Migrants	48	14	11	54	18
10-24	49	22	58	57	38
25-44	47	15	19	40	17
45+	39	8	8	60	10
Long Term Migrants	44	12	9	48	15
10-24	46	21	43	40	37
25-44	44	14	17	35	15
45+	33	7	3	57	9
Recent Migrants	53	23	24	74	32
10-24	52	23	76	81	39
25-44	56	26	37	58	28
45+	62	16	16	80	22

Note: For definition of migration status, see Table 1.

Source: Author's tabulation from the HED Survey, 1973.

migrant women had an unusually high literacy rate. The phenomenon of relatively higher literacy among single migrant women is interesting, since the majority of these women are very young. Most of the young single women are expected to have moved with their families, given the Pakistani values regarding the physical protection of young daughters. Thus, the high mobility of the young, well-educated women is highly likely to be related to the general socioeconomic level of the family. The family (father) must have been affluent (and educated) to be able and willing to educate the daughter. In some cases the high mobility of such families might be related to the father's job which might involve a transfer.

The pattern of higher literacy among migrant groups remained unchanged when the sample was divided by the rural or urban nature of current place of residence as shown in Appendix Table Migration 4. These findings strongly suggest that there is a positive relationship between migration and education for divorced women, but it is not possible to assess from the available data the dynamics of this relationship. We do not know whether divorced women migrated in order to obtain further eudcation, whether education was a factor in divorce itself, or whether educated divorced women migrated for some other reason such as employment. One cultural factor that has to be kept in mind while discussing this process is that at least part of the movement of divorced women results from migration back to the parental home. Employment also could be a possible reason for women with certain educational levels, as discussed in the following section.

II.3 Employment and its Relation to Female Migration Status

Table 14 presents data on percentages employed among female migrants and nonmigrants. Several subgroups of women were found to have distinctly higher employment rates than the average of 4 percent shown in Table 11.

Literate women usually had higher employment rates than illiterate women for migrants as well as nonmigrants in all age and marital status categories, although the participation rates varied by education level. Single women aged 25-44 and with 10 or more grades of education had relatively much higher participation rates than uneducated women; the employment rates among this subgroup were similar for migrants and nonmigrants except for the recent migrants. Unmarried recent migrants aged 25-44 who were educated up to matriculation or more had a higher employment rate (45 percent) compared with illiterate unmarried recent migrants (13 percent). Thus, both migration and a relatively higher education seem to have been important factors in the employment of this particular subgroup. What is interesting to note is that the employment rates of single women aged 25 and over are much higher than the employment rates for married women in the same age groups for both migrants and nonmigrants. Married women also had consistently lower employment rates compared with widowed and divorced women, although slightly more of the educated married women were in the labor force compared with the uneducated. The employment patterns of the oldest single women (45 and above) were somewhat different - those with less than 10 grades of education had consistently higher employment rates than the illiterate women, while the employment rate of those with ten or more grades were relatively lower than the less educated group.

The widowed and divorced women constitute two groups who would theoretically be in greatest need of employment, particularly if the family structure which is expected to provide shelter and sustenance for such women is weak or absent. The last two panels of Table 14 show that employment rates were unusually high among widowed and divorced women who

Table 14 - Percent employed by age, marital status, education, and migration status, females, Pakistan, HED Survey, 1973

Age and Migration Status	Single			Married			Widowed			Divorced		
	Illiterate[a]	< Matric	Matric +	Illiterate[a]	< Matric	Matric +	Illiterate[a]	< Matric	Matric +	Illiterate[a]	< Matric	Matric +
Total	4	2	12	4	5	10	5	22	9	7	38	4
Non migrants	4	1	10	5	5	11	5	18	11	7	13	25
Long term migrants	7	7	18	2	5	10	6	22	9	8	45	4
Recent migrants	4	6	12	2	6	6	4	32	6	11	50	1
10-24	3	1	9	4	3	6	4	29	7	7	29	4
Non migrants	3	1	8	4	3	8	3	17	9	8	14	61
Long term migrants	4	3	10	3	6	5	5	44	8	2	37	0
Recent migrants	3	3	8	2	2	4	5*	43	6	18	44	3*
25-44	8	22	38	5	5	12	12	23	16	2	28	10
Non migrants	8	17	38	5	5	14	12	15	18	6	7	31
Moved before 1965	7	24	37	2	4	12	14	27	21	10	37	11
Recent migrants	13	34	45	3	7	8	11	34	7	12	57	2*
45+	15	40	18	4	9	8	4	22	6	7	52	2
Non migrants	8	37	29	5	9	10	4	20	8	6	39	7
Moved before 1965	20	38	17	3	8	8	5	20	6	8	52	2
Recent migrants	20	43	20	3	11	7	3	29	5	5*	52	0

* Less than 100 weighted cases.

[a] no grades completed

Source: Author's tabulation from the HED Survey, 1973.

had less than 10 grades of education and who were migrants, considering all ages together. The higher employment rates for widowed and divorced long term as well as recent migrants who had less than ten grades of education persist after age is controlled.

I showed in an earlier section that unusually large proportions of divorced recent migrants were literate and had education up to ten or more grades. I also suggested that the higher mobility of this group is likely to be related to a need for employment. While this seems to be supported for the subgroup of divorced migrant women with medium levels (less than 10 grades) of education, it does not hold true for the relatively higher educated divorced women. Assuming there were no reporting biases which influenced the results for the less and more educated women, it is possible that divorced women with medium levels of education belong to families which cannot support these women financially and therefore endorse (or tolerate) work participation. The more educated women, on the contrary, might belong to more affluent families, and they do not need to work since their parental families can support them. These findings must, however, be considered as tentative keeping in view the generally small number of educated widowed and divorced women.

II.4 Occupations of Employed Migrants and Non-Migrants

Table 15 presents data on the occupational structure of migrant and non-migrant females. According to the data in the HED Survey, a very large percentage of migrant women were in professional occupations compared with non-migrants (Table 15). While the concentration of migrant women in professional occupations seems consistent with their relatively higher educational levels, there is reason to be cautious about these findings as discussed in Chapter 10. When compared with other data sources from

Table 15: Occupational distribution of employed persons by sex and migration status, Pakistan 1973

Occupations*	Male: Total Population	Male: Non Migrants	Male: Long Term Migrants	Male: Recent Migrants	Female: Total Population	Female: Non Migrants	Female: Long Term Migrants	Female: Recent Migrants
TOTAL (Number in 000's)	16,227	12,152	3,377	698	795	635	129	31
Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL	5	3	10	16	10	6	25	34
Medical Related Professions	0*	0*	1	1	2	1	4	6
Teaching Related Professions	1	1	1	2	5	4	13	14
Others	4	1	8	12	4	1	8	14
ADMINISTRATIVE AND MANAGERIAL	1	0*	1	2	1	0*	2	2
CLERICAL AND RELATED	4	2	6	9	1	1	3	5
SALES	9	7	15	10	2	2	6	3
Resident Managers & Proprietors	8	6	13	9	2	2	5	3
SERVICES	4	3	6	9	9	7	20	17
Cooks, Chefs, Waiters	1	0*	1	2	1	1	1	1
Maids, Housekeepers, etc.	0*	0*	1	2	5	4	10	9
AGRICULTURE	57	65	34	24	67	77	32	27
General Farmers	47	53	30	19	45	52	19	17
PRODUCTION, CONSTRUCTION AND RELATED	22	19	28	30	9	8	14	12
Textile Workers	3	1	5	7	2	1	3	1
Tailors/Upholsters, etc.	1	2	1	1	2	2	4	3
Machinery, Electricity, TV & Radio Workers	2	1	3	3	0*	0*	0*	0*
Construction Workers	6	6	7	7	2	2	2	3
Others	10	9	13	13	3	3	4	6

* Less than .5 percent

Note 1: 1362 males and 205 females are not included as their migration status was not known

2: Persons with Unclassified Occupations are not included.

Source: Author's tabulation from the HED Survey, 1973.

Pakistan, the HED Survey seem to have overestimated the percentages of women in professional occupations (also see Shah and Shah, 1980). Thus, while the pattern of differentials between migrants and non-migrants may be true in general, it is difficult to be confident about the levels.

Keeping these qualifications in mind, it may be noted that higher proportions of the female recent migrants were in professional occupations compared with male recent migrants—34% and 16%. Migrants were concentrated in non-agricultural occupations among both males and females. This is consistent with the concentration of migrants in urban areas. More of the migrants than non-migrants were in clerical occupations among both males and females. The services sector seems to be particularly important for female migrants since 17% of recent female migrants were in this sector compared with 7% of non-migrants. This differential, however, disappears when occupational structures of recent migrants and non-migrants are examined within rural and urban areas (see Appendix Table Migration 5).

III. MIGRANT CONCENTRATION IN SOCIOECONOMIC GROUPS

In the preceding section, I have described the differences between migrants and non-migrants on some basic socioeconomic characteristics. The objective of this section is to identify the major groups where migrant women are concentrated. Such identification is important from the perspective of any policy that may be aimed at migrant women as a group. Table 16 shows the percentage of migrant women in specific age and marital status groups.

Among the relatively younger females (<45), there is a slightly larger proportion of recent migrants than in older age groups. One subgroup in which there is an unusually large percentage of migrants consists of

Table 16: Percent of all migrants and recent migrants among females age 10+ by age, marital status and rural urban residence, Pakistan, 1973

Age Migration Status	<25 All Migrants	<25 Recent Migrants	25-44 All Migrants	25-44 Recent Migrants	45+ All Migrants	45+ Recent Migrants	Total All Migrants	Total Recent Migrants
Total	10	6	31	5	35	3	23	5
Urban	19	10	59	10	62	7	41	9
Rural	7	4	20	3	27	2	16	3
Single	8	4	30	6	64	13	10	4
Urban	15	8	47	10	71	28	17	8
Rural	5	2	20	4	62	7	6	2
Married	16	9	31	5	34	3	29	5
Urban	32	18	59	10	62	6	55	10
Rural	10	6	20	3	26	2	20	3
Widowed	38	17	34	5	36	4	36	4
Urban	46	18	58	7	62	7	61	7
Rural	34	16	24	3	26	2	26	3
Divorced	48	20	41	8	73	11	55	11
Urban	58	28	61	10	82	18	69	17
Rural	44	17	34	7	70	9	51	10

Source: Author's tabulation from the HED Survey, 1973.

divorced women—17% of the divorced women in urban and 10% in rural areas were recent migrants compared with 10% and 3% of married women. Younger (<25) divorced woemn seem to have a particularly high propensity to migrate probably because of cultural reasons including return to the parents home in case of divorce as discussed earlier. One other subgroup which has an unusually high percentage, 28%, of recent migrants is that of single older (45+) women in urban areas. It is likely that many of the older single women move in order to find employment to support themselves.

When the concentration of recent migrants is examined in relation to their educational level, a clear positive relationship between level of education and migration is observed (Table 17). The group of women with 10 or more grades of education had 16% recent migrants compared with 4% among illiterate women, for the country as a whole. The subgroup of divorced women again had a higher percentage of migrants but the difference was present only among educated women. There were twice as many migrants (30%) among divorced women with 1-9 grades of education compared with 15% among married or widowed women. Among the widowed and divorced women with relatively higher education (i.e. 10 or more grades) there were more migrants in rural than in urban areas, which is contrary to the overall pattern of higher migrants in urban areas. Even though the subgroups of widowed and divorced women are numerically fairly small, there seem to be certain cultural or socioeconomic forces which influence their migration behavior and this requires further sutdy.

One way of examining the migration behavior of the widowed, divorced and single women further is to analyse female household heads who are in the labour force and compare their migration behavior with their non-head counterparts. Results of this analysis are presented in Tables 18 and

Table 17: Percent of all migrants and recent migrants among females age 10+ by marital status education, and place of residence; Pakistan, 1973.

Marital Status and Place of Residence	Educational Level: Illiterate		Less than 10 grades		10 or more grades		Total	
	All Migrants[a]	Recent Migrants[b]	All Migrants[a]	Recent Migrants[b]	All Migrants[a]	Recent Migrants[b]	All Migrants[a]	Recent Migrants[b]
TOTAL	22	4	27	10	51	16	23	5
Urban	44	8	32	12	48	16	41	9
Rural	16	3	18	8	58	18	16	3
SINGLE	7	3	15	8	31	11	10	4
Urban	13	6	17	10	30	11	17	8
Rural	5	2	10	5	36	11	6	2
MARRIED	27	4	55	15	65	21	29	5
Urban	53	9	62	16	68	22	55	10
Rural	19	3	37	14	58	19	20	3
WIDOWED	34	3	68	15	88	23	36	3
Urban	60	6	72	14	83	20	61	7
Rural	24	2	57	18	90	26	26	3
DIVORCED	38	4	73	30	97	24	55	11
Urban	54	9	79	30	95	23	69	17
Rural	34	3	66	29	97	25	49	10

[a] Includes long term as well as recent migrants, i.e. those who came to the place of current residence before or after 1965

[b] Includes those who moved to place of current residence between 1965-1973

Source: Author's tabulation from the HED Survey, 1973.

19.[16] Less than one percent of all household heads were women; more women in urban than in rural areas were household heads, particularly among those age 45 or more.[17] Among all employed women, 45% were migrant among household heads compared with only 20% among non-heads. Furthermore, the percentage of migrants was notably higher among female than among male heads—45% and 31%. These findings indicate that the situation of females who are household heads (and are employed) is likely to encourage migration. A similar pattern of higher migration among household heads was present for various age groups (Table 18). Also, there was a marked differential among heads and non-heads among the youngest women, aged 10-24. Although the number of such women was small, those who were household heads were much more likely to have migrated—56% and 10%.

Education was positively related with the propensity to migrate among both female heads and non-heads, but within each educational category heads had a larger percentage of migrants (Table 19). For example, 75% of the employed female heads with 10 or more grades of education in urban areas were migrant compared with 52% of the non-heads in the corresponding category. Furthermore, a larger proportion of the female heads were migrants compared with male heads among all education categories. All these findings clearly emphasize the importance of headship as a variable in female migration of employed Pakistani women.

In the Pakistani society, males are reported to be the heads of household except under special circumstances. A widowed or divorced woman who is living alone or with her children may be reported as household head. Very few women, however, live in a household all by themselves. Some women may be reported as household heads as a sign of respect for their age or their position in the family. For example, the grandmothers or great

Table 18: Percent lifetime migrants among currently employed males and females by age, urban/rural residence and whether head of household, Pakistan 1973

Age Group/ Urbanity	Total Number of Household Heads (000's) (weighted)	% Heads Who Are Female	% of Migrants Among Head of Households		% Migrants Among Non Heads of Households	
			Male	Female	Male	Female
All Levels	9,187	1	31	45	18	20
Urban	2,310	1	62	69	38	49
Rural	6,876	1	21	32	0*	1
10-24	397	1	15	56	9	10
Urban	97	1	37	73	22	26
Rural	299	1	7	49	1	1
25-44	4,412	1	31	39	28	23
Urban	1,227	1	64	68	54	60
Rural	3,184	0*	19	22	1	1
45 and Avove	4,379	1	33	48	50	31
Urban	986	1	64	70	71	64
Rural	3,393	1	24	37	11	7

*Less than .5 percent

SOURCE: Author's tabulation form the HED Survey, 1973.

Table 19: Percent of lifetime migrants among employed heads and non heads of households (age 10+) by sex, education level and urban/rural residence, 1973

Education/ Area	Total Number of Household Heads (000's)	% Heads Who Are Female	% of Migrants Among Head of Households		% Migrants Among Non Heads of Households	
			Male	Female	Male	Female
All Levels	9,187	1	31	45	18	20
Urban	2,310	1	62	69	38	49
Rural	6,876	1	21	32	0*	1
Illiterate	6,980	1	27	40	12	14
Urban	1,252	1	59	67	33	46
Rural	5,728	1	20	29	8	10
Below Grade 10	1,486	0*	39	72	19	52
Urban	569	1	63	78	35	52
Rural	916	0*	24	66	11	52
Grade 10 & Above	720	1	61	70	46	50
Urban	488	1	71	71	50	52
Rural	231	1	38	52	42	43

* Less than .5 percent.

Source: Author's tabulation from the HED Survey, 1973.

grandmother may be reported as the head under certain circumstances. Majority of the employed women who were reported as household heads were widowed women and probably did not have male adults in the household who could be reported as head.

Thus, the major groups where migrant women are concentrated consist of (1) divorced women, particularly young divorced women in urban areas; (2) single women age 45 or more in urban areas; (3) educated women in both urban and rural areas, particularly those with ten or more grades of education; also widowed and divorced women with 10 or more grades of education in rural areas; and, (4) employed women who are household heads, particularly in the urban areas.

IV. SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

A summary of the volume and patterns of migration was given on pages 21-23 above. With regard to characteristics, three patterns of migration seem to typify the inter district movement of adult Pakistani women age 10 and above. Numerically, the predominant pattern is that of a married woman moving to another district with her family. Twenty-nine percent of all married women in the country had migrated at least once during their lifetime and 5% were recent migrants. Considerable migration took place on account of marriage itself, as shown by a relatively high proportion of married women among all migrants compared to non-migrants—75% and 57 percent respectively.

The second pattern is that of a higher propensity to move among older single women, particularly those age 45 and above. Thirteen percent of single women age 45 and above were recent migrants compared to only 4 percent of single women in all age groups. The higher propensity toward

migration among single women is related positively with their labor force behavior, particularly in the case of educated women. The disproportionately large employment rate among older single women perhaps points to certain changes in the societal structure which necessitate employment for such women and induce many of them to migrate in order to find work.

The third pattern of migration relates to divorced women, particularly the ones who have received some education. The proportion of recent migrants was higher among the divorced women compared to married as well as widowed women—11 percent of divorced women were migrants compared to 5 percent of married and 4 percent of single and widowed women. While some of the mobility of divorced women might be related to the incidence of divorce itself, education seemed to exert an exceptionally strong positive influence on the migration of divorced women. Among the divorced women with 1-9 grades of education 30 percent were recent migrations; the corresponding figure for illiterate divorced women was 4 percent. Thus, both marital status and education seem to be important factors in the migration of Pakistani women.

The positive relationship between literacy and migration was observed for all marital status categories in both urban and rural areas. This relationship was particularly strong for single and divorced women among both long term and recent migrants. The greater mobility of the educated women might be partly associated with job-related transfers of fathers or husbands. In addition, there might be some other factors related to educational attainment such as intention to look for a job. The Pakistani female migrant's level of education in many cases can serve as a proxy for the socioeconomic status of her family. I believe that most female migration is taking place in the form of family migration, and that women

are accompanying the family as daughters, wives, sisters or mothers of the household head (who is a male in 99 percent of the cases). Some exceptions to this pattern are represented by the migration of older single women and educated divorced women.

Migrants as a whole were not more likely to be employed than nonmigrants. However, specific subgroups of migrant women were employed in much larger proportions than nonmigrants. Examples of such subgroups were: single women aged 25-44 in all migrant groups who had some education; single women age 45 and over; divorced women in general and those divorced women with medium levels of education (less than 10 grades); and widowed women with medium levels of education in the rural areas. The generally positive relationship between level of education and employment rate among both migrant and nonmigrant women probably indicates both the greater likelihood of women with some education finding (and actually taking up) jobs and the greater likelihood of such employment being reported more accurately.

What implications does the foregoing analysis of migration patterns have for the status of women in Pakistan? The high rates of migration among the relatively more educated persons indicates that women in such families perhaps get a greater access to education as a result of the move. Also, certain subgroups of women, such as the divorced, among whom migration is very high also have unusually high employment rates suggesting that the processing of migration somehow facilitates employment for these women. Such a phenomenon seems to be particularly important in the case of employed female household heads, large proportions of whom were migrant. While the proportion of women who are divorced or are household heads in the country is very small, the data do support some interesting aspects of

the migration process. In the absence of longitudinal data, however, we do not know whether divorce and widowhood precedes migration or whether certain subgroups of divorced women and household heads were already in the labour force before migration. But it is clear that certain characteristics such as a woman's marital status and her headship status are related with migration and employment.

This chapter has dealt only with internal migration since data on international migration have not been available until recently. Another phenomenon which is likely to have a significant impact on several aspects of life in Pakistan is the high rate of male migration to the oil-rich Middle Eastern countries during the 1970s. It has been estimated that about 1.8 million Pakistani are currently employed in the Middle East (Gilani, et al., 1981). Remittances sent by these workers form one of the major sources of foreign exchange earnings of the country. Expenditures on consumption items and on real estate assets is highly visible among migrant families. The impacts of this high level of male migration on the future educational levels and employment status of the women as well as on relevant demographic characteristics need to be studied.

Footnotes

1. The question used to measure the persons' migration status were slightly different for the two surveys. The HED Survey used a specific event namely the 1965 India-Pakistan war to gather information on recent migrants while the LFS asked the migration question in terms of the legth of time since the person migrated and place from which he/she came. Furthermore, the HED and LFS samples are different although they are both intended to be national in scope. One reason for the difference in percentage of female migrants could be because of the nature of samples in the two surveys.

2. Very large movements of population took place between India and Pakistan when the Indian subcontinent was partitioned and Pakistan was created, in 1947. An examination of the place of origin for long-term female migrants (i.e. migrants before 1965) to the four districts with the largest percentage of life-time migrants shows that very substantial proportions came to these districts from India. The percentage of long-term migrants from India was as follows: 73% for Karachi, 75% for Bahanwalnagar, 79% for Faisalabad and 76% for Lahore (data not shown).

3. For relatively detailed discussions on urbanization in Pakistan see Helbock, 1975a and 1975b; Burki, 1973a, 1973b and 1974; Belokvenitsky, 1974; Mujahid, 1975. Afzal and Abbasi (1979) also provides detailed district-level analysis of urbanization in Pakistan.

4. Only 9% of Lasbela's population was, however, urban in 1973.

5. Data shown in Table 5.

6. One other problem which needs to be considered is the definition of areas as urban or rural. Part of the reasons for the high urban to rural migration might be because of the definition of suburbs of Karachi district (administratively in Lasbela) as rural.

7. A sex breakdown of migrants by type of stream is not available from the LFS.

8. It might be repeated here that residence after marriage is patrilocal in nature and the bride leaves her parental abode to live with the husband, and his family in many cases.

9. The extremely low figure for Mekran is discrepant with the data on life-time migrants in 1973 presented in Table 3. Mekran had over 4 percent life-time migrants in 1973 but only 0.5% of the migrants to Mekran are recent migrants age 10 or more. Mekran had gained a considerable percentage of migrants between 1961 and 1973. A comparison of figures of various time periods implies that most migration to Mekran took place somewhere between 1961 and 1965, a finding which is a little hard to understand without a closer examination of the Mekran situation. It should be pointed out here,

however, that Mekran is a very small district and the unexpected pattern might be to some extent a function of a small number of cases.

10. For the detailed district level data on recent migrants see Table Migration 3 in the Appendix.

11. East Pakistan which had been a province of Pakistan was created as an independent country in 1971 and was named Bangladesh.

12. Lulliani was an experimental project where continuous registration of vital events (births, deaths, and migration) was conducted for several years during the 1960s.

13. Migration studies in four cities, Gujranwala, Peshawer, Hyderabad and Quetta have been conducted during 1970s. Some discussion of migrant characteristics is available in each of the reports.

14. A comparison of the age distributions provided by the HED Survey and the 1972 Census shows that the children under age 1 were grossly underestimated by the former survey. The data shown in Table 12 do not take such underenumeration into account.

15. Discussion of this is given in the chapter 10 on labour force participation.

16. Female household heads consisted largely of widowed and single women. Of all female heads, 57% were widowed and 19% were single. Females are likely to be reported as household heads only under exceptional circumstances in cases where father or husband is not present.

17. Female household heads were not divided according to marital status because of the relatively small number of cases.

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8

HEALTH SERVICES, HEALTH STATUS AND NUTRITIONAL LEVELS

by

Asghari K. Awan

Health status of women is one of the three major areas which had been emphasized by United Nation's mid-decade conference on the status of women in 1975; employment and education being the other two. In Pakistan, the health status of women and children, particularly mothers and children, are explicit concerns of the government. Maternal and child health services have been in existence for many years. During the last decade, there has been an increase in the percentage of GNP spent on health services from .47 in 1970-71 to .76 in 1977-78. While the crude mortality rates have declined considerably over the last three decades, female mortality continues to be fairly high in specific age groups such as the reproductive ages. Unlike developed countries where females usually have higher life expectancy than males, Pakistani females have somewhat lower life expectancy than males, estimated at 52.9 for males and 51.8 for females around 1970 (Planning Commission, 1978b, p. 786).

Given this overall situation, our objective in this chapter is to discuss in some detail the following aspects regarding female health in Pakistan.

I. Availability of health services

II. Current health status of women at different stages of their life cycle i.e. infant and child health and maternal health. The practice of abortion is an important aspect of maternal health

and is therefore discussed. An attempt is also made to examine the morbidity status.

III. Nutrition as one aspect of female health

IV. Disability at various ages

I. AVAILABILITY OF HEALTH SERVICES

In Pakistan, health is a provincial (state) function hence the responsibility for organizing health services lies with the Provincial Governments. The Federal Ministry of Health is concerned with national health planning, coordination of the provincial authorities, health manpower training standards, and with international relations. In federally controlled areas, health services are directly provided by the federal government.

The provincial health services are organized on a district basis. The district health officers (one in each of the districts) administer district health services, under the direction of a director health services, one in each of the four provinces. The large hospitals at the headquarter towns of various districts are managed by the medical superintendents, working directly under the Director Health Services. The director of health services in each province is responsible to the secretary of health of that province. The teaching hospitals and special institutions (e.g., medical colleges, postgraduate teaching institutions etc.) are directly under the control of secretaries of health (Mahmood, 1977). Besides the general hospitals and teaching hospitals, there are three other major units, dispensaries, maternal and child health (MCH) centers and rural health

centers which work under the overall supervision of the district health officer. The district health organization performs two distinct functions, as follows:

a) Curative services through hospitals, dispensaries, rural health centers and MCH Centres,

b) Preventive services through sanitation staff, vaccination staff, rural health centres and MCH centres.

A considerable proportion of sickness is taken care of by private clinics which service people on a direct compensation basis. Besides qualified doctors and paramedical staff, a number of hakims, homeopaths and ayurveds (all healers of indigenous systems) offer health care through their clinics. A very large number of quacks, magicians, and faith healers are also in practice (Awan, 1969a).

The Government of Pakistan accepts responsibility for providing free medical treatment and health protection to all persons in need. The public medical care units offer services to implement government policy. But resources are lamentably limited, and personnel are not fully oriented or devoted to governmental philosophy. It has therefore not been possible to meet all the multiple obligations under the above mentioned policy.

Types of Facilities and Rural-Urban Differences[1]

The available data indicate (Table 1) that 86 percent of the total population is within a 5 mile radius of some form of health facility. In urban areas almost 100 percent of the population is within a 2 mile radius, whereas 32 percent of the rural population is within a 2 mile radius of a health unit (Mahmood, 1978b). In the country as a whole, there are about fifteen thousand persons per health facility according to the Government of Pakistan (1980b, p.49). The breakdown by province is:

Province	Population per health facility
Pakistan	15,280
Punjab	18,400
Sind	14,800
NWFP	13,241
Baluchistan	5,050

Table 2 provides a rough indication of the growth of health facilities and personnel since 1951 and also shows the ratio of facilities to population. It should be noted that while the absolute number of hospitals has increased considerably between 1951 and 1978 the availability of these facilities has decreased in relative terms. That is, each hospital in 1978 has to serve the needs of a larger population than was true in 1951. Thus, in relative terms, the population seems to have increased faster than these facilities. On the other hand, there has been a real increase in

TABLE 1. Percentage of population within two miles and five miles of a public or semi-public health institution, Pakistan, 1978

Province	Within 2 miles radius			Within 5 miles radius		
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
Punjab	99.6	32.1	49.2	99.7	82.4	86.7
Sind	100.0	24.2	55.5	100.0	69.5	82.1
NWFP	100.0	41.2	49.4	100.0	88.4	90.0
Baluchistan	100.0	28.7	40.5	100.0	28.7	40.5
PAKISTAN	99.8	32.1	50.3	99.9	78.6	84.3

Source: Planning Commission (1978b, p. 359).

TABLE 2. Number of selected health facilities and population per health facility available in Pakistan, various years

	Population per facility				
	1951	1961	1972	1975	1978
Population (000's)[a]	33,740	42,880	64,892	70,182 *	75,620
Population per:					
Hospitals	110,261	124,290	124,553	133,679	—
(Number of facilities)	(306)	(345)	(521)	(525)	
Dispensaries	40,996	34,277	25,289	22,928	15,521
(Number)	(823)	(1,251)	(2,566)	(3,061)	(4,872)
MCH Centers	306,727	101,611	95,852	98,156	88,135
(Number)	(110)	(422)	(677)	(715)	(858)
Beds in Hospitals	2,289	1,915	1,836	1,858	1,641
(Number)	(14,741)	(22,394)	(35,337)	(37,776)	(46,096)
Registered Doctors	12,873	5,910	4,110	3,899	5,412
(Number)	(2,621)	(7,255)	(15,789)	(18,000)	(13,971)
Nurses	58,780	20,745	11,790	11,423	17,586
(Number)	(574)	(2,067)	(5,504)	(6,144)	(4,300)
Registered LHVs	337,400	155,362	44,507	42,898	—
(Number)	(100)	(276)	(1,458)	(1,636)	

[a]Unadjusted reported census data.

*Estimated.

-Not available.

SOURCES: Ministry of Finance (1976: 118); and Finance Division (1979: 204).

facilities with regard to dispensaries, MCH centers, registered doctors, nurses, and lady health visitors (LHV's) over the 1951-1978 period.

The scale on which health services are available for the population of the rural areas is comparatively poorer than urban areas, even if allowance is made for the fact that many hospitals and other health institutions,

located in urban sites serve people living in rural areas as well. Table 3 shows the health facilities that are available in the country. Note that 81% of all hospital beds are in urban areas. Also, there is about .2 million population per rural health center which indicates the acute shortage of such centers. The disparity in availability of services in rural and urban areas has obvious implications for the health of rural females. I have estimated that there is a need for more than 16,000 MCH centers each covering about 5,000 population in order to adequately meet the needs of mothers and children (Awan, 1979a). Thus, there is a tremendous gap between available facilities and adequate health services.

Availability of Health Personnel

It was shown in Table 2 that there are about 14 thousand medical doctors and 4,300 trained nurses in the country. Thus, there are about five and a half thousand persons per medical doctor and about seventeen and a half thousand persons per trained nurse.[2] These patient-doctor ratios are very high compared to a country like the U.S. where there were 600 persons per doctor and 200 persons per nurse in 1975 (Nortman and Hoffstatter, 1979 p. 47). The availability of female doctors is particularly important in a country like Pakistan since most females prefer to consult a female doctor, particularly for gynecological problems. Data in Table 4 show that about one-fourth of all registered doctors were female in 1977 and the percentage has changed little since the early 1950s.

Immunization Services

In Pakistan, infectious diseases constitute a major health problem. The synergistic effect of malnutrition and infections leads to severe deterioration in the health status of children. Fortunately, most of the infectious diseases such as diphtheria, tetanus, whooping cough, measles,

TABLE 3. Health institutions and health personnel in Pakistan, 1978

Category	Total Facilities (No.)	Population per facility (No.)	Urban Percent	Rural Percent
(a) Health Institutions				
1. Sub-centres/basic health units, dispensaries, MCH Centres	5,850	13,128	48.2	52.8
2. Rural health Centres	289	191,335	0	100.0
3. Hospital beds	46,092	1,666	81.0	19.0
(b) Personnel				
1. Doctors	12,924	5,940	-	-
2. Dental surgeons	1,047	73,352	-	-
3. Nurses	4,300	17,860	-	-
4. Paramedicals and health auxiliaries	24,428	3,144	-	-

-Not available.

SOURCE: Planning Commission (1978b: 361).

poliomyelitis, typhoid and cholera with high prevalence are easily preventable through proper immunization. The last two diseases listed above need more than just inoculations for prevention since the efficacy of their vaccines is doubtful. As yet all these diseases are common in Pakistan, specially among the lower socioeconomic status groups who constitute the majority.

TABLE 4. Proportion of female doctors in Pakistan amongst the total doctors registered with Pakistan Medical and Dental Council, 1952-77

Year	Total registered doctors		Registered female doctors each year	Percentage of female doctors registered each year
	reg. each year	cumulative total		
1952	36	36	8	22.2
1957	165	692	38	23.0
1962	399	1,606	87	21.8
1967	1,194	5,772	270	22.6
1972	927	10,102	240	25.9
1977	1,003	14,095	239	23.8

SOURCE: Medical and Dental Council, Islamabad.

It is not easy to find data on the percentage of children (or adults) who are currently protected by immunization in Pakistan. The Planning Commission (1978b, p. 372) has estimated in the Fifth Plan that 2.5% of the target population for B.C.G. (tuberculosis), 100% for small pox and only negligible proportions for polio and triple vaccine (diptheria, pertussis, and tetanus) were covered by immunization in 1978. An indirect estimate of the lack of coverage among children aged less than 15 is provided by the incidence of infectious (preventable) diseases among them. Table 5 shows such data based on an epidemiological study conducted by the Government of Pakistan in June-July 1978 (Planning Commission, 1978a). The incidence of measles and tuberculosis was found to be very high. Almost one million children a year were sick with measles and about 20,000 deaths occurred on

TABLE 5. Incidence of infectious diseases amongst children below 15 years of age, Pakistan, 1978

Disease	Annual incidence rate per 100,000 children	No. of sick children per year	Annual mortality rate per 100,000	No. of children dead per year
Measles	2,888	987,552	59	20,004
Poliomyelitis	65	22,207	18	6,638
Tetanus	140	47,735	138	47,167
Whooping Cough	757	262,246	18	4,958
Diphtheria	42	14,211	34	12,181
Tuberculosis	2,100	71,809	87	-

[a]calculated on the basis of a total population less than age of 34,195,104.
-data not available.
SOURCE: Adapted from Khan and Baker (1979: 84).

account of measles alone. While these numbers have been calculated on the basis of all children less than fifteen years of age, the incidence of these diseases is usually much higher among younger children age 0-4. Thus, it seems that many of the infants and young children, male and female, are currently not protected from diseases like tetanus, measles and tuberculosis.

A study, Child Need Survey, conducted in 1979 in nine urban slum areas in the four provinces of Pakistan showed that of all children aged less than five, 50% of the male and 49% of the female children had been immunized against at least one disease. The male-female differential was larger among infants among whom 22% of the male and only 14% of the female children had been vaccinated (Shah and Shah, 1979, p. 52). When analysed

by birth order, first born children (age < 5) seemed to be more likely to have been vaccinated than later born children. Of all the first born children who were immunized, about half (48%) were immunized only against small pox (Shah and Shah, 1979, p. 53). Thus, it appears that a lot remains to be achieved in terms of providing adequate immunization care for Pakistani male as well as female children. It is suggested by pediatricians that most of the inoculations against the six diseases listed in Table 5 should be completed during the first year of life (Khan and Baker, 1979) but less than one-fourth (18%) of the children in the study were inoculated at this age (Shah and Shah, 1979, p. 52).

Considering the magnitude of the problem and its health and economic consequences, the Government of Pakistan, with the help and consultation of W.H.O. and UNICEF, has just launched an Expanded Programme of Immunization. The target of the Fifth Five Year Plan is to increase the immunization coverage drastically during the 1978-83 plan period. It is planned that by the end of the Plan period (1978-83), 100% of the target population in need of B.C.G., small pox, polio and triple vaccine would be covered by the expanded programme (Planning Commission, 1978b, p. 372). The programme is yet in its infancy. Administrative constraints, financial bottlenecks, poor training of personnel, lack of motivation on the part of manpower deployed, and poor supervisory mechanism may prove to be major difficulties in the success of this programme.

II. CURRENT HEALTH STATUS

In this section the health status of women is organized on the basis of their stage in the life cycle, starting with infancy. Mortality levels, incidence of various diseases, causes of death and life expectancy are

among the major indicators of the health of a population. Data on these indicators are not always available in a reliable and consistent fashion.. An attempt has been made below to present evidence based on the data available in various published sources.

Health of the Female Child (Ages 0-14)

The average female child in Pakistan is born in a poor household, under the medical supervision of a dai (indigenous midwife) or some female relative, is usually breastfed for at least one year and only a few are provided the required immunizations during the first year of life. The expectancy of life at birth is believed to be 51.8 years for females and 52.9 years for males based on an average of 1968 and 1971 from the Population Growth Survey (PGS). The sex ratio at birth is about 104 as indicated by the 1975 Pakistan Fertility Survey (PFS) data. The overall sex ratio of the population was about 115 as reported in the 1972 census.[3]

Estimates of infant mortality vary according to various sources. The 1971 PGS data showed the infant mortality rate (IMR) to be 105 which most demographers feel is too low. Data from the 1975 PFS show that the IMR is about 129 (Kabir, 1978) while the U.S. Bureau of Census has estimated the IMR to be 142 in 1971, 140 for males and 144 for females (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1980). The Population Growth Experiment (PGE) data for 1962-65 had reported infant mortality rates of 137 for males and 135 for females, (Farooqui and Farooq, 1971). Thus, while there is some disagreement about the absolute level of current infant mortality, it seems that well over 100 of every one thousand babies who are born alive during a year die before they reach age 1. It is not possible to clearly identify whether the IMR is higher among females than males, in the presence of conflicting findings.

During the preschool years (1-4), however, the crude death rate is higher among females than males—38 and 25 per 1000 as indicated by the 1962-65 PGE. The 1971 PGS data[4] show a similar pattern of higher female mortality even though the levels are lower than the PGE (about 29 and 15 for females and males). According to the 1971 PGS estimates female mortality continues to be higher than male mortality during later childhood years. The age-specific mortality rates were 3.5 and 2.4 for females and males aged 5-9; and were 2.8 and 1.8 for those aged 10-14 (Statistics Division, 1971, p. xii). The relatively higher mortality among female children is probably the result of differential patterns of child care, nutrition, immunizations and other factors.

Another type of pediatric loss, the magnitude of which is neither fully known, nor its importance recognized consists of perinatal mortality. The perinatal period covers gestation from 28 weeks to the end of pregnancy and early neonatal period, i.e., 7 days after birth. The beginnings of a new life are laid when conception takes place, but reproductive effort can be wasted at any time during the foetal life periods, or during the early neonatal period. Pregnancy wastage thus resulting, from foetal and early neonatal loss, has been reported to be 200.81 per 1,000 conceptions at risk (at six weeks of gestation) in a study conducted in Saddar area of Lahore Cantonment (Awan, 1974). Thus loss of reproductive effort during foetal life period, and early neonatal period, has been found to be much higher than the estimated infant mortality rate.

An estimate of perinatal mortality was made among the married pregnant women residing in Saddar Area of Lahore Cantonment. Life table method was utilized for the computation of perinatal loss rates (Awan, 1968). The perinatal loss rate was 60.98 per 1,000 foetuses at risk (Awan, 1979b). In

comparison with Pakistan, a perinatal loss ratio of 26.1 per 1,000 live-births has been reported from Kauai, Hawaii, (Bierman, et al., 1965) and a perinatal mortality rate of 78 per 1,000 has been reported for India (Ghosh, 1966). These high mortality rates reflect poor health status of Pakistani mothers and ineffective facilities for their care. The Saddar study showed that:

1) Perinatal mortality was high during the first gravidity, lower during 2nd to 5th gravidity, became higher during 6-9 gravidity and became very high during 10th or higher gravidity.
2) Perinatal mortality was higher when mother was a teen-ager or was 35 years or older.
3) Perinatal loss rate increased when there was history of previous foetal death. The greater the number of previous foetal deaths, the greater was the risk of perinatal mortality, during the current pregnancy.
4) Perinatal mortality was the highest among couples where spouses were first cousins and the lowest when there was no blood relationship.
5) Table 6 shows that among those mothers in whom antenatal care was started before the 20th week of gestation, the chances of occurrence of perinatal mortality were lower as compared to perinatal loss in women who did not get any antenatal care, or got it late during the pregnancy.
6) There was higher perinatal loss among twin preganancies as compared to single births. Twin pregnancies, therefore, require specialized intensive antenatal and natal care.
7) In the Lahore Cantonement study, education, occupation, income and caste were utilized for computing and determining composite socio-economic status of the family (Awan, 1975). Table 7 which shows

TABLE 6. Perinatal mortality rate as related to antenatal care, Saddar area of Lahore Cantonment, 1963-65

Type of perinatal mortality rate	Rate per 1,000 conceptions	
	Antenatal care started before 20th week of gestation	Antenatal care not given/or started after 20th week of gestation
Late foetal loss	23.4	37.6
Early neonatal loss	23.9	35.4
Perinatal loss	46.7	71.7

SOURCE: Awan (1968)

TABLE 7. Perinatal mortality rate as related to social status, Saddar area of Lahore Cantonment, 1963-65

Type of loss	Rate per 1,000 conceptions at risk	
	Higher socio-economic status	Lower socio-economic status
Late foetal loss	31.1	33.3
Early neonatal loss	18.6	38.5
Perinatal loss	49.1	70.5

SOURCE: Awan (1968)

the relationship between perinatal mortality and composite socio-economic status indicates that perinatal loss rate was markedly higher among mothers belonging to lower socioeconomic categories as compared to women belonging to a higher socio-economic level.

Causes of Death

Reference has been made in Table 5 above, about the incidence of disease and death among children aged less that 15 due to six infectious diseases. Additional data on cause of death from the 1971 PGS indicate that for the country as a whole, infective and parasitic diseases account for about 60% of all male as well as female infant deaths (Table 8). The limited data available on the incidence of disease, which are largely hospital based, show that diseases of the gastro-intestinal system are most commonly observed. The high incidence of infective and parasitic diseases is also pointed out by findings from the Child Need Survey, 1979 (Shah and Shah, 1979). Data in Table 8 show that the causes of infant death are in general quite similar for males and females, except in urban areas where the infective and parasitic diseases seem to be unusually high as a cause for female deaths. Of all infant deaths, about 50 percent occur during the first month of life. The causes of death during the first 4 weeks (neonatal deaths) are prematurity, asphyxia, birth injuries, tetanus and other infections, congenital deformities, and diseases which are inherited from parents, or acquired from mother during pregnancy e.g., erythro-blastosis, etc. All these conditions are intimately related to the health of the mother during pregnancy, efficiency of antenatal care, type of lying-in care and the care of the neonate (newborn). The neonatal deaths which occur during the first week after birth are mostly due to endogamous causes. Cousin marriages are believed to lead to a greater prevalence of

TABLE 8. Estimated infant deaths by cause of death by sex, Pakistan, urban and rural areas, 1971 PGS

Name of Diseases	Pakistan			Urban Areas			Rural Areas		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
1. Infective and parasitic diseases	59.7	58.7	60.9	67.1	57.2	80.7	58.0	59.1	56.8
2. Congenital anomalies, birth injuries, etc.	20.1	20.5	19.7	15.5	22.0	4.2	21.4	20.1	22.9
3. Malaria	8.7	7.8	9.8	7.4	9.6	4.2	9.0	7.4	11.0
4. Tuberculosis of all sorts	3.1	3.8	2.1	-	-	-	3.7	4.7	2.5
5. Bacillary dysentary and amoebiasis	2.0	2.3	1.8	2.6	6.5	2.1	1.5	1.3	1.7
6. Diseases of heart, peptic ulcer, accidents and other unknown causes	6.4	6.9	5.7	7.4	4.6	8.9	6.1	7.4	5.1
Number of deaths	173,294	97,383	75,911	30,994	17,969	13,025	142,300	79,414	62,886

1. Infective and parasitic diseases include Cholera, Small Pox, Typhoid Fever, and all other parasitic and infective diseases.
2. Congenital anomalies, birth injuries, difficult labor and other ranoxic and hypoxic conditions and other causes of perinatal mortality.
3. Malaria.
4. Tuberculosis of all forms.
5. Bacillary dysentary and amoebiasis.
6. Heart diseases, Hypertensive diseases, Peptic Ulcers, Appendicitis, Intestinal obstruction, Hernia, deaths by accidents and all other unknown causes of death.

SOURCE: Statistics Division (1971: 19)

such disorders. The principle causes of infant deaths after the first month are respiratory, gastro-intestinal and communicable diseases and malnutrition.

At ages beyond infancy the most common causes of out-patient hospital attendance of children have been reported to be diarrhoea, malnutrition, pneumonia, upper respiratory tract infection, tuberculosis of the lungs, meningitis, encephalitis, measles, chicken pox and poliomyelitis (Siddiqui, 1979). These diseases have their roots mostly in the general environmental conditions. Similarly, for school age (5-14) children the common health problems include communicable diseases, intestinal infestations, diarrhoea, and dysenteries, "ear-nose-throat" and eye diseases, skin diseases, accidents and dental caries (Awan, 1969b).

The health status judged in terms of deviation from the 'standard' or average height and weight of a given group are assessed in the Micro-Nutrient Survey conducted in 1977 (Nutrition Cell, 1978b). It was found with the help of clinical examination of children selected through a national random sample that 7% Pakistani children are suffering from serious malnutrition, about 9% from moderate and 43% from mild malnutrition (Table 9). Separate data for male and female children are not available from this study.

Thus, the foregoing review indicates that infant and child health in Pakistan needs a great deal of improvement, for both males and females. The latter however, seem to be at a greater disadvantage as indicated by their consistently higher mortaliaty rates.

Health of the Pakistani Women (Ages 15 and Over)

Many of the Pakistani women get married quite young (age 15-19) and start bearing children soon after that. Maternal health is therefore a

TABLE 9. Percentage prevalence of "Need for nutrition intervention" in children under 5 years using Waterlow's classification of weight and height

Growth failure	Pakistan	Rural	Urban
1. Severe	7.18	7.16	7.22
2. Moderately severe	9.52	9.82	8.65
3. Mild	43.36	43.73	42.29
4. Satisfactory	39.95	39.28	41.84

1. Severe (Priority)	Weight less than 80% standard wt. for ht. for age and height less than 90% standard ht. for age.
2. Moderately severe (Action needed)	Weight less than 80% standard wt. for ht. for age and height greater than 90% standard ht. for age.
3. Mild (Action possibly needed)	Weight greater than 80% standard wt. for ht. for age and height less than 90%.
4. Satisfactory (No action needed)	Weight greater than 80% standard wt. for ht. for age and height greater than 90% standard height for age.

SOURCE: Nutrition Cell (1978b: 54)

very large component of the overall health of women in the reproductive age groups. An examination of the crude death rate shows that females have consistently higher death rates than males at ages 15-39, according to the 1971 PGS (de facto) estimates. After age 40 the trend reverses and females have consistently lower death rates than males. The maternal mortality

rate has been estimated to be 6-8 per 1,000 live births (Awan, 1979a; Mahmood et al., 1975) which is very high, for example, in comparison with 0.15 in the U.S. (Taylor, 1976).

Thus, the maternal mortality rates are by comparison very high and reflect the hazardous reproductive process through which Pakistani women pass. Furthermore, for every maternal death nearly 20 women suffer from chronic ill health. Therefore the magnitude of loss and suffering associated with child birth is great.

The main causes of death previously used to be puerperal sepsis, anaemia, toxaemias and haemorrhages. Due to reduction in the incidence of puerperal sepsis because of the use of antibiotics, and increasing practice of aseptic midwifery, it no longer is the most common cause of maternal death, specially in urban areas. However, toxaemia, anaemia, haemorrhages, accidents of child-birth and puerperal sepsis still remain the most important causes of death (Ghosh, 1966).

In Pakistan most of the confinements, of necessity, take place in the homes. A very large proportion of confinements that are attended at home are conducted by dais (indigenous midwives or traditional birth attendants). Table 10 presents the results of a study, conducted in a suburb of Lahore City, for assessing the type of attendant at home delivery (Awan, 1979a). Only about 11 percent of total confinements in the suburb were attended by professionally qualified and registered persons, while 89 percent deliveries at home were conducted by dais, of whom only 19 percent were trained fully.

Dais learn midwifery by percept, or often by instinct. It is therefore not surprising that they practice the profession in all its ancient

TABLE 10. Type of birth attendant at 336 home confinements in Model Town, Lahore, 1957

Type of attendent	Percentage distribution
Doctor	0.3
Untrained Dai	20.5
Untrained Dai but getting supervised training	50.0
Trained Dai	18.8
Qualified Nurse Midwife	10.4

SOURCE: Awan (1979a)

impurity. The methods adopted to deliver women, or to hasten delivery—some of them shocking to the trained mind—are well known. But some of the dais have certainly acquired good experience and knowledge and conduct their work satisfactorily, though in their own style. But dais have great influence over our people, and some times their word is more respected than that of a doctor. A dai's criticism of a doctor in the locality may be very harmful, as some people like to be guided by her rather than by the qualified doctor. In spite of the dais being relatively undesirable, it is impossible to eliminate them, firstly because we do not have trained replacements (nor can we afford them at present), and secondly, because people might be reluctant to be treated by a doctor.

Dais are all that most rural mothers are able to get, or afford, for service during pregnancy, labour and puerperium and people respect them and consider them as satisfactory attendants for pregnant women and pay willingly for their services.

Abortion

In addition to the hazards that women face as a result of deliveries by untrained persons under unhygienic conditions, induced abortion constitutes another significant health hazard for Pakistani women. Abortion is illegal in Pakistan. The Law of Crime, 1930 (Section 312) in Pakistan states that " who ever voluntarily causes a woman - with - child to miscarry, shall, if such miscarriage be not caused in good faith for the purpose of saving the life of the woman, be punished with imprisonment..." The law therefore, forbids qualified doctors to induce abortions except for saving the life of the woman. The law is more literally followed in general wards, and when dealing with poor classes. But in private wards, and while dealing with private patients, the law is probably interpreted more liberally, because more induced abortions are performed therapuetically for patients who can afford the doctor's fees.

While there is general agreement that induced abortions do occur in Pakistan, no reliable statistics are available on this. Social and cultural attitudes do not encourage discussion of the topic. It is generally assumed that in Pakistan illegal abortions constitute a minor problem. During professional meetings, physicians narrate their personal experiences and invariably mention that the practice of illegal abortion exists. Such statements are more frequently made by obstetricians and gynaecologists who work in big teaching hospitals where women are admitted with complicated medical situations, following induced abortions.

Only a few studies have looked into the problem of induced abortions in Pakistan. In one study, general ward hospital admissions were studied in the gynaecology wing of a Lahore hospital. A total of 3,772 women were admitted to the gynaecology ward during 1971 and 1972, 1,208 of which were admitted on account of abortion. That is, abortions alone contributed 32.0 percent of the hospital admissions. Sixteen percent of the abortions were diagnosed as septic, and 33.4 percent were diagnosed as incomplete and inevitable abortions. About 72 percent of these abortions were among women aged 20-34 years (Awan, 1973). These figures are of limited value. Since women usually seek hospital admission only in case of complications associated with abortion. Women who experience abortions without a mishap do not go to hospitals. Those who die during the process of abortion are of course not accounted for anywhere.

A longitudinal study was conducted in order to estimate the incidence of abortion in a suburban area of Lahore City (Awan, 1973) in which 29,499 residents were surveyed. All ever-married women aged 14-49 years were registered for the survey (4,582). Those who were widowed, divorced or permanently separated from husbands, for a period lasting one year or more, were not included in the follow-up (151). The rest (4,431) were surveyed repeatedly, once every month for detection of occurrence of amenorrhoea. Those women who missed a menstrual period became "pregnancy suspects". They were kept under medical observation, and were subjected to clinical and laboratory examinations, for the diagnosis of pregnancy. Respondents diagnosed as pregnant (1,447) were kept under observation, and were visited every month in their homes, for detection of pregnancy termination, induced or spontaneous.

Provoked abortion wherein illegal induction had been attempted occurred in forty instances. In 12 cases, though physical evidence was detected, the act was denied by the respondent. All the inductions occurred during first 24 weeks of pregnancy, but 35 occurred during 12-20 weeks of gestation. Abortion ratio, per 1,000 live births, with attempts at illegal induction of pregnancy, was found to be 70.6/1,000. A positive relationship was found between induced abortions and:

1) increasing age,

2) gravidity status,

3) increasing size of the family,

4) lower socio-economic status, and

5) among respondents who had matriculation or lower education level.

Table 11 shows the methods used for causing abortions and the type of abortionist. The abortionist utilized most often was a non-qualified person. No nurse or health visitor could be identified as the abortionist in this study. It appears from the Saddar study that in the community studied, among married women, illegal abortions were being conducted, and that they pose a major community health problem worth consideration.

An analysis of the cause of death for the total female deaths (including infants) from the 1971 PGS reveals patterns that are quite similar to the cause of death for infant females shown in Table 8 above. That is, infective and parasitic diseases account for about 65% of all female deaths while congenital anomalies and birth injuries account for about 7% of all female deaths (Table 12). Complications of child birth account for 2.5% of all female deaths. A more refined analysis of cause of death is not possible because the PGS does not provide cause of death by age and marital status of the deceased. Complications of pregnancy can be

TABLE 11. Methods used for inducing abortion and the type of abortionist—Saddar Pregnancy Study, 1963-65

Type of abortionist	Total	No. of respondents according to method used for causing abortion			
		Mechanical methods	Ingestion of medicine		Introduction of medicine in vagina
			followed by bleeding P.V. and D.& C.	followed by foetal loss	
Doctors	4	4	0	0	0
Nurses and health visitors	0	0	0	0	0
Non-qualified healers	18	2	8	6	2
Self	6	0	4	2	0
Total	28	6	12	8	2

Note: Only 28, out of 40, respondents admitted causing abortions and informed about the method used.

SOURCE: Awan (1968)

expected to be a more important cause of death for married woman in reproductive ages.

Morbidity

Some data on morbidity patterns of children age less than 15 were shown in Table 5. Unfortunately, only meagre data on morbidity are available and that too are hospital based, and pertain to "groups of diseases."

TABLE 12. Percentage distribution of causes of death for males and females, Pakistan, urban and rural areas, 1971

Causes of death	Pakistan			Urban Areas			Rural Areas		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
1. Infective and parasitic diseases	63.8	62.2	65.8	67.6	62.5	74.4	63.1	62.1	64.2
2. Malaria	10.4	10.0	11.0	7.4	8.8	6.6	10.9	10.2	11.8
3. Congenital anomalies	7.4	7.7	7.0	5.6	8.7	1.6	7.7	7.5	8.0
4. Tuberculosis	5.5	6.8	4.0	2.9	3.8	1.7	6.1	7.5	4.4
5. Bacillary dysentary and amoebiasis	2.5	2.3	2.8	2.9	3.8	1.7	2.4	2.0	3.0
6. Accidents, poisonings and violence	1.9	2.7	0.9	1.0	1.2	0.8	2.0	3.0	0.9
7. Diseases of heart and circulatory system	1.8	2.4	1.0	3.9	4.3	3.4	1.3	2.0	0.6
8. Peptic ulcer, appendicitis, etc.	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.1	0.7	1.7	1.2	1.3	1.2
9. Complications of pregnancy and childbirth, abortions, etc.	1.1	-	2.5	1.4	-	3.3	1.1	-	2.4
10. Diabetes, tumorous and other unknown diseases	4.3	4.8	3.8	5.7	6.2	5.0	4.1	4.5	3.6
Number	473,755	259,402	214,353	79,901	45,685	34,216	393,854	213,717	180,137

Groups: 1. Infective and parasitic diseases include Cholera, Small Pox, Typhoid fever, plague and all other parasitic and infective diseases.
2. Malaria.
3. Congenital anomalies also include birth injuries, difficult labor, and other ranoxic and hypoxic conditions and other causes of perinatal mortality.
4. All sorts of Tuberculosis.
5. Bacillary dysentery and amoebiasis.
6. Different death causes including accidents, poisoning and violent acts.
7. Diseases of heart and circulatory system.
8. Peptic ulcers, appendicitis, intestinal obstruction, hernia, etc.
9. Complications of pregnancy, childbirth, and abortions, etc.
10. Diabetes, tumorous and all other unknown causes of death.

SOURCE: Statistics Division (1971: 21)

Hospital-based morbidity data are not truly representative of the health status of the community. Since such data are biased by the selection of patients which occurs when they choose to seek treatment in the out-patient or in-patient departments. It excludes people who choose to go to private physicians or to the local indigenous healers such as hakims rather than to the hospital. Also, such data are not usually tabulated by sex of the patient. We can therefore make only guarded inferences about female health from data that are based on the total population.

The "patient record" of public hospitals and dispensaries, as reported in Table 13 (Planning Commission, 1978a) indicate that gastro-intestinal and parasitic diseases top the list of illnesses for which treatment is sought by the people of Pakistan (25-30%). These diseases are mostly due to environmental problems, particularly defective water supply, unsatisfactory excreta disposal, insects, defective food and hygiene and lack of cleanliness, ignorance due to the absence of health information, and health education (Awan, 1969b). The next most common sickness necessitating hospital intervention is of the respiratory system which constitute 15-20 percent. In the absence of sex specific data, it may be reasonable to assume that about half of the hospital patients are women. All types of fevers rank third (10-15%) while 5-10% suffer from diseases of skin.

Little effort has yet been made to collect epidemiological information by conducting special surveys or field studies. An attempt was made in the recent past to establish morbidity patterns by conducting recall history studies in the Northern Areas of Pakistan and in two villages in the Punjab. The diseases reported on recall history, in their descending order of prevalence in the Northern Areas, were ascariasis, goitre, entrobiasis,

TABLE 13. Health institution based data of sickness, Pakistan, 1973

Diseases	Percentage of total
Gastro-intestinal including parasitic diseases	25-30
Respiratory diseases	15-20
Fevers	10-15
Diseases of skin and areolar tissue	5-10
Malaria	5-8
Diseases of the eye	5-6
Injuries	4-6
Diseases of ear and nose	4-6
Diseases of genito-urinary tract	3-5
Dental diseases	3-5
Diseases of the heart and circulatory system	3-4
Diseases of bones, joints, muscles, etc.	2-3
Diseases of nervous system	2-3
Tuberculosis (80% cases of lungs)	1.5-3
Infectious/Communicable diseases	1.5-2.5
Deficiency diseases	1-2
Diseases of lymphatic system	0.75-1
Tumors	9.5-1
Other diseases	1.5-2

SOURCE: Patients' records of reporting public hospitals and dispensaries, Pakistan, 1973.

chronic bronchitis, pneumonia, anaemia, rheumatoid arthritis, fever of uncertain origin, vitamin B deficiency, measles, poliomyelitis, whooping cough and vitamin A deficiency (Planning Commission, 1974). In the Punjabi villages, Gajjumatta and Ferozwala, the morbidity pattern of the population was also recorded on the basis of recall history (Mahmood et al., 1975). The diseases in their descending order of prevalence were: measles (24.2%), malaria (23.7%), diarrhoea and dysentery (10%), anaemias (5.6%), smallpox (1.34%), enterobiasis (1.06%), vitamin lack (0.52%), tuberculosis (0.43%), ascariasis (0.23%), and poliomyelitis (0.09%).

III. NUTRITIONAL STATUS OF FEMALES

Adequate nutrition is one of the essential components of the health of a population. In Pakistan, one of the major nutritional deficiencies is that of protein-caloric malnutrition. In this section, the nutritional status of two major groups, children less than 5 and pregnant and lactating women, is discussed.

Young Children

Results from the Micro-Nutrient Survey (MNS) shown in Table 9 in this chapter indicated that only about 40% of the children less than 5 were adequately nourished in Pakistan. The same survey looked into some of the reasons for malnutrition in children although they did not publish any data on sex differentials in these patterns. The MNS found that about 95% of all children in the sample had been breastfed, a form of nourishment which is highly recommended by pediatricians. Majority of the children had been breastfed for one year or longer. The Child Need Survey, 1979 also found that over 95% of all children in the sample had been breastfed and the average length of breastfeeding was about 16-19 months for children of

different birth order (Shah and Shah, 1979, p. 42). Similar findings have been reported from the 1975 PFS (I. Shah, 1980). Thus, a large majority of the women do seem to breastfeed their babies.

One of the problems with nutritional patterns of infants is that solid foods are introduced much later than they should be, resulting in malnutrition. Data from the Micro-Nutrient Survey showed that less than half the children get solid food during the first year of life, and about 10% are not given any solid food before their second birth-day, although "other milk" (i.e., non-breast milk) had been introduced by mothers in 30% of households. Withholding solid food and keeping the child on "breast milk" or "other milk" interferes with the nutritional status of the child. It is frequently observed that rate of weight gain slows down during the latter half of infancy.

The age period 1-5 though less risky than infancy, covers a large proportion of the child population (Government of Pakistan, 1980a). Preschool age children and pre-adolescents need proteins and energy foods in greater amounts to meet the accelerated metabolic needs of this rapidly growing component of our population. But a majority of children in Pakistan do not take the "Recommended Dietary Allowance (RDA)." In the case of preschool children protein-calorie malnutrition is a major health problem. The averge daily intake of calories in this group is less than 80% of Recommended Dietary Allowance, and 7% of children under 5 suffer from severe malnutrition (Nutrition Cell, 1978b, p. 2 and p. 54).

Lactating and Pregnant Women

Iron deficiency anaemias are common in the female population in Pakistan. Thirty one percent of non-pregnant and non-lactating females, 54% of expectant mothers, and 40% of lactating mothers were found to be

anaemic (Government of Pakistan, 1980b p. 67). About 36% of rural and 56% of urban population suffer from anaemia, and 76% of rural and 100% of urban pregnant and lactating women are anaemic (Health Division, 1970 p. 3). Anaemia can have serious health consequences. Some maternal mortality may be attributed to anaemia, and many minor complaints of pregnancy are characteristically those of anaemia. Among British females, for example, perinatal mortality was found to be doubled among those who had haemoglobin levels of less than 60% compared to women who had haemoglobin levels of 70% or more (Butler and Bonham, 1963).

Diet of Pakistani females is deficient in caloric intake also. Findings of Micro-Nutrient Survey show that 35% of expectant mothers took less than 80% of Recommended Dietary Allowances, while 41% lactating mothers fall into this category. The same survey showed that 19% of lactating mothers and 17% of pregnant women took less than 80% of the recommended intake of iron daily. (Nutrition Cell, 1978b p. 40, 41).

Maternal and child nutrition assumes great importance because mother and child population covers a large segment of the total population, and health problems of this population indirectly influence the health-status of the entire nation. Moreover the child and his mother live in a family environment, and are therefore subjected to the family budget, priority and needs. On a limited budget, in low income groups where food is scarce, the wage-earner (adult male) may get nutritional priority. Food is unevenly distributed in the family. It is very often that the nutritionally vulnerable person gets the lowest priority and therefore the last choice of what food is available at any meal. In many households males who are the bread-earners are given preference to the tasty portion of the meal which

usually happens to be rich in protein also. The less nutritive food is taken by women and children (Khan, 1979 p. 72).

IV. DISABILITY

Disability constitutes a health problem which can create especially difficult problems for the family of the disabled person particularly if the disabled person happens to be the major bread earner. Table 14 shows data from the 1961 Census and 1973 HED Survey on percentage of disabled males and females in the population. From less than half a percent in 1961, the percentage of disabled persons in the population seems to have increased to 2.6% for males and 1.5% for females. It is, however, difficult to ascertain whether the apparent increase in disability is a real increase or a result of reporting differentials between the two sources. Fewer women than men were reported as disabled in both 1961 and 1973. One possibility is that fewer of the disabled females survive than disabled males because of selective neglect. There are therefore fewer disabled females in the population. Also, the disability status of females is likely to be underreported even more than the disability status of males.

The percentage of disabled persons is relatively higher among the older (40+) age groups in both 1961 and 1973. In 1973, 6% males and 4% females aged 40 or more were reported as disabled. About one-fourth of the disabled females (40+) were blind, 35% were deaf and dumb and 15% were crippled. Numerically, there were about a quarter of a million disabled females age 40+ in the population in 1973. While the families in Pakistan usually take care of disabled persons, these figures provide some idea of the amount of social services programs that are necessary for this particular subgroup.

TABLE 14. Percent of disabled males and females in Pakistan, 1961 and 1973

Total	Population N	Percent Disabled	1961 Census Type of Disability (% of total disabled) Blind	Deaf and Dumb	Crippled	Others
Males						
Total (All ages)	21,168,047	0.4	39.6	27.3	33.1	-
0-9	6,756,106	0.2	24.3	35.3	40.4	-
10-19	4,014,011	0.3	25.5	35.9	38.7	-
20-39	5,677,437	0.3	30.0	33.3	36.7	-
40+	4,720,493	0.8	54.5	18.6	26.9	-
Females						
Total (All ages)	18,274,392	0.3	50.4	24.4	25.1	-
0-9	6,173,394	0.1	25.4	37.6	37.0	-
10-19	3,327,908	0.3	29.0	37.1	33.9	-
29-39	5,064,890	0.2	36.0	33.5	30.5	-
40+	3,708,200	0.8	67.7	14.4	17.9	-
Males						
Total (All ages)	32,511,190	2.6	20.4	37.4	21.7	20.5
0-9	9,298,200	0.5	13.0	29.2	30.8	26.9
10-19	7,605,646	1.6	19.3	38.6	23.8	18.3
20-39	8,057,261	2.3	18.3	39.0	25.5	17.2
40+	7,546,924	6.5	22.1	37.4	18.9	21.6
Females						
Total (All ages)	27,998,345	1.5	23.0	36.8	18.1	22.0
0-9	8,828,897	0.4	17.3	33.8	28.6	20.2
10-19	5,944,330	0.7	26.3	26.9	24.7	22.1
20-39	7,371,620	1.2	16.2	45.9	21.3	16.5
40+	5,853,498	4.2	25.8	35.4	14.5	24.3

SOURCES: Home Affairs Division (n.d., Vol. 3: III.128) and Census organization (n.d., Vol. II, pt. 1: 33).

SUMMARY

An analysis of the health status of Pakistani females shows that females age 1-39 have higher mortality rates than males in the same ages. The life expectancy for females is lower than that of males, a pattern which is contrary to that of developed countries. While both male and female children suffer because of malnutrition and lack of proper immunization there is some evidence which indicates that female infants have an even lower rate of immunization than male children. Less than one fourth (22%) of male infants and 14% female infants were found to have been immunized against at least one disease (usually small pox) in a study of nine slum areas in the four provincial capital cities of Pakistan. Most babies are provided breast milk for adequate lengths of time but solid foods are usually introduced much later than is necessary. Observations have also been made about better nutritional status of males rather than females in the family.

Maternal health is a very significant component of the general health of adult Pakistani women. The maternal mortality rate has been calculated to be about 6-8 per 1000 live births. Most women do not get any prenatal care and deliver at home with the help of dais (indigenous midwife) who are usually untrained. Abortion is illegal and hard data on the prevalence of abortion are not available. It is, however, practiced and constitutes a serious health hazard for those who attempt it. Iron deficiency anemia is very common among women, and particularly acute among pregnant women. Also, about 35% of the pregnant women took less than 80% of the required dietary allowance.

The Government has a philosophy of providing free medical care to those who need it. The existing facilities are, however, extremely overburdened.

Almost all the urban population lives within a 2 mile radius of a health facility and 82% of the rural population lives within a five mile radius of such a facility. There is one doctor for every 5.4 thousand persons, one nurse for every 17.5 thousand persons and one hospital for every .13 million persons. Of all hospital beds, only 19% are in rural areas. There is only one MCH Center for every 88 thousand women. Thus, Pakistan has a long way to go in adequately meeting the health needs of its population in general and its female population in particular.

Footnotes

1. The availability of services and personnel for family planning services is discussed in Chapter 11 on family planning.

2. These estimates are based on a total population figure of 75.6 million shown in Table 2. The doctor patient and nurse patient ratio is higher (6084 and 19767) if an adjusted population figure of roughly 85 million for 1978 is used.

3. Reporting problems related with the calculation of sex ratio are discussed in Chapter 5.

4. De facto estimates for each age group.

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EDUCATION: LEVEL, ENROLLMENT, FACILITIES AND ATTITUDES

by

Nasra M. Shah

INTRODUCTION

Education of the population is one variable which has consistently received a high attention in studies of modernization and development all over the world. Achievement of universal literacy is an objective of most less developed countries. At the micro level the literacy and educational level of a household is often used as a proxy (or a component) describing the socioeconomic level. The underlying hypothesis of development planners is that education is a necessary prerequisite or condition for bringing about desired behavioral and attitudinal changes within a given population. The planners believe that as people get educated they are more open (less resistant) to new or different ideas. While these hypotheses are true in a broad sense there are many different patterns that the relationship between education and modernization may follow depending on the cultural and religious situation within a country. Also, the general patterns may not be borne out for all classes and subgroups within a country.

Development planners in Pakistan also conform to the thinking outlined above. Education for every human being is regarded, not only as a basic human right, but as a prerequisite for the national development. Female education has been emphasized as a significant component of the overall educational planning. There is a specific policy to reduce the disparity between the male and female literacy levels which were about 30% for males and 11.6% for females in 1972.

This chapter focuses on the following themes related to female education:

1) The trends in level of literacy and educational attainment as well as student enrollment at various levels. Some estimates of dropout rates are also presented in this section.
2) Facilities in terms of schools and teachers. The quality of teachers is also discussed here.
3) Societal and parental attitudes towards female education.
4) Issues in the content of education.
5) The future of female education in Pakistan.

I. TRENDS IN LITERACY, EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND ENROLLMENT

Definition of a literate person has been a constant problem for researchers who have tried to calculate literacy rates in the past. The 1951, 1961 and 1972 Censuses defined literacy in somewhat different terms. The 1951 Census collected information on whether a person "could read a clear print in any language", the 1961 census asked whether a person could "read a simple letter, in any language, with understanding"; the 1972 Census and 1973 Housing, Economic and Demographic (HED) Survey treated as literate those persons "who were able to read and write in some language, with understanding." Thus, comparisons of literacy over time must take definitional differences into account before making any conclusions. Note that the definition has become consistently more conservative. N. Mahmood (1978) while making an attempt to control for the definitional differences concludes that adjusting the 1951 and 1961 figures to be comparable with the 1972 Census definition make the most sense (See Table 1, last panel). According to this adjustment, 13% of the population (age 10+) was literate in 1951 compared with 18% in 1961 and 22% in 1972; the corresponding rates

Table 1. Literacy rates adjusted for different definitions of literacy used in censuses of Pakistan, 1951, 1961 and 1972 by sex

Definitions of Literacy	Sex	Population			Literates					
		1951	1961	1972	1951		1961		1972	
					Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1951	BS	26,793,631	32,984,654	53,048,396	5,084,559	18.9	9,307,554[f]	28.2	-	-
Definition[a]	M	14,552,660	17,867,526	28,668,321	3,289,760	22.6	5,412,094	30.3	-	-
(for ages 5+)	F	12,240,971	15,117,128	24,380,075	1,794,799	14.7	3,895,460	25.8	-	-
1961	BS	26,793,631	32,984,654	53,048,396	3,507,924[d]	13.1	5,380,308	16.3	-	-
Definition[b]	M	14,552,660	17,867,526	28,668,321	2,463,937	16.9	4,260,586	23.8	-	-
(for ages 5+)	F	12,240,971	15,117,128	24,380,075	1,043,987	8.5	1,119,722	7.4	-	-
1972	BS	22,712,391	26,129,939	42,916,910	3,001,976[e]	13.2	4,878,866	18.4	9,318,772	21.7
Definition[c]	M	12,396,206	14,411,941	23,351,460	2,110,678	17.0	3,883,656	26.9	7,044,595	30.2
(for ages 10+)	F	10,316,185	12,100,998	19,565,450	891,298	8.6	665,210	8.2	224,177	11.6

[a]The 1951 definition of literacy included those as literates "who could read a clear print in any language".

[b]The 1961 definition of literacy categorized those persons as literate "who were able to read a simple letter, in any language, with understanding". (The information was obtained for population aged 5 and over).

[c]The 1972 definition for literacy included those as literates "who were able to read and write in some language with understanding". The information was obtained for population aged 10 and above.

[d]The number of total educated persons in 1951 (those who have passed at least Grade I at schools) are taken as total literates according to the 1961 criterion of literacy because the 1951 census does not provide separate information for those who are able to read with understanding and write.

[e]The number of total educated persons in 1951 (for ages 10 and above) are compared with the literates of 1972 census and are assumed to be able to read and write.

[f]Adjusted upward by including Quran readers.

SOURCE: Mahmood (1978: 271).

for females were about 9%, 8% and 12%. Thus according to N. Mahmood's definition female literacy declined slightly between 1951 and 1961 but increased by 50% during the 1961-1972 period.

Jillani (1964) made a somewhat different adjustment while comparing the literacy rates for females in 1951 and 1961.[1] He estimated the number of literate females to be .52 million in 1951 and 1.12 million in 1961 (Jillani, 1964, p. 76). These numbers imply a literacy rate of 4.2% in 1951 and 7.4% in 1961. Jillani's calculations show that the percentage of literate females increased considerably (by 76%) between 1951 and 1961.

Another way of comparing the proportion of literate females over various years is to restrict the analysis to those who have completed a given level of education, say grade 1 or 5. Table I.2 shows that when defined according to this criterion, the percentage of literate women declined from 8.5% in 1951 to 5.9% in 1961 and increased to 12.2% in 1973. The number of persons with a given grade level, however, seems highly unreliable since there were fewer women with 1+ grades of education in 1961 than in 1951 (.89 million compared with 1.0 million). This is not possible since most of the persons who were enumerated to have passed grade 1 or more in 1951 should have theoretically been present at the time of the 1961 Census, making an allowance for mortality and some selective out-migration. Thus, there are methodological as well as other differences between data sets which makes it extremely difficult to make any conclusive statement about the trend in female literacy. When defined in the sense of functional literacy (i.e. persons with five or more years of schooling) the percentage of literate women declined between 1951 and 1961 - from 4.6 to 4.1 but increased by two and a half times in 1973 to 10.3% (Table 2).

Table 2 Percent of persons with 1 or more and 5 or more grades of education, 1951, 1961 and 1973.

	Population Age 5+ (000's)	Persons Age 5+ with 1 or more Grades of Education (%)	Population Age 10+ (000's)	Persons Age 10+ with 5 or more Grades of Education (%)
1951 Census				
Both Sexes	26,794	13.1	22,712	9.2
Male	14,553	16.9	12,396	13.0
Female	12,241	8.5	10,316	4.6
1961 Census				
Both Sexes	32,985	14.6	26,513	11.2
Male	17,868	21.9	14,412	17.2
Female	15,117	5.9	12,101	4.1
1973 HED Survey				
Both Sexes	52,149	24.0	42,379	21.3
Male	28,363	34.0	23,210	30.5
Female	23,786	12.2	19,169	10.3

SOURCES: Manager of publications (n.d., Vol. 1: 9-21);
Home affairs division (n.d., Vol. 1: IV-89 and IV-108-109);
Census organization (n.d., Vol. II, prt. 1, Tables 3 and 5).

In the face of all the discrepancies between data sources we can only conclude that while female literacy has increased over the 1951-1973 period, the trend in literacy during the period is not clear. The percentage of literate[2] women was about 12-13% around 1972-73. There was a wide discrepancy between rural and urban areas with only 6% of the rural and 32% of the urban women as literate. The male-female differential in literacy levels has been striking throughout the period. Unlike females, the percentage of literate males increased substantially between 1951-1961 and 1961-1973 from 17% to 22% and to 34%. The current situation is discussed below in more detail.

Sex Differences, Rural-Urban and Provincial Differences in Literacy Rates, 1973

Figure 1 shows that there were large differences in the education of males and females particularly in the rural areas. Fifty-seven percent of the urban males were literate compared with 32% of urban females; corresponding figures for rural areas were 30% and 6%. This pattern of much higher male literacy was consistently true for the rural and urban areas of all four provinces. Punjabi and Sindhi males in urban areas had the same literacy rate (58%) while more of the urban Sindhi women were literate compared with Punjabi women - 35% and 33%. Urban Baluchi males and females had the lowest literacy among all provinces - 47% and 21% respectively.

Rural persons and particularly rural females had literacy rates many times smaller than their urban counterparts. For example, urban Sindhi women had a literacy rate thirteen times as high as the rural women; the corresponding figures for Baluchistan, N.W.F.P. and Punjab were 10 times, 5 times and 4 times. The large disparity between the rural and urban areas

in Sind is particularly interesting and is related to the severe shortage of female teachers in rural areas as discussed in Section II below. The discrepancy between the literacy of rural and urban males was much less marked and was the largest in the province of Baluchistan.

On the average, the country had 390 literate males (age 10+) per 100 females in 1961 (Table 3). This ratio declined to 342 by 1973. The decline suggests a narrowing of the male-female differential in literacy rates. The sex ratio of literate was about three times higher in rural compared to urban areas - 611 and 215 respectively for the country as a whole (Table 4). An examination of the sex ratio of literates at the provincial level again demonstrates the large discrepancy between urban and rural areas. Punjab had the smallest and Sind had the largest differential in male-female literacy in rural and urban areas. Urban Sind had only 204 literate males per 100 females while rural Sind had 1239 males per 100 females (Table 4).

Decline in Sex Ratios of Literates by Age

The gap between literate males and females has decreased over time as judged from the declining sex ratios from older to younger persons, particularly in urban areas. The sex ratios of literates declined from 309 among those aged 25+ to 157 in age 10-14 in the urban areas, the corresponding figures for rural areas being 814 and 469 (Table 4). Within the rural areas of each of the four provinces, however, the decline was not always consistent and linear as in urban areas. For example in rural Baluchistan, the sex ratio of literates in age group 15-19 was about five times higher (2,845) than the sex ratio of those age 25+ (566). This differential is perhaps the result of a uniformly low access of the older persons to educational institutions combined with a greater access of

Table 3: Sex ratios of literate persons by educational level and age groups, Pakistan, 1961 and 1973

Age Groups	Total M/F[a] x 100	Informal and Below Primary	Primary and Middle	Matric and Intermediate	Degree Including Oriental Education
			1961		
All Ages (10+)	390	280	462	703	704
10 - 14	313	282	364	301	-
15 - 19	345	222	417	422	250
20 - 24	383	216	458	672	335
25 and Over	473	321	574	928	1025
			1973		
All Ages (10+)	342	237	351	367	432
10-14	266	265	267	222	*
15-19	288	265	307	265	124
20-24	330	282	359	339	222
25 and Over	466	365	486	451	649

- No cases

a male ÷ Female

* The figure has not been reported due to small number of cases

SOURCES: Home affairs division (n.d., Vol. 1, Table 35: Iv-108-109); Census organization (n.d., Vol. II, prt. 1, Table 3)

Table 4. Sex ratios of literate persons by age and rural-urban residence, Pakistan and Provinces, 1973

	All ages 10+	10-14	15-19	20-24	25+
Pakistan					
Urban	342	266	288	330	466
Rural	215	157	169	203	309
	611	469	559	642	814
N.W.F.P.					
Urban	290	209	220	284	432
Rural	863	770	862	697	1073
Punjab					
Urban	214	159	169	204	305
Rural	524	388	464	579	725
Sind					
Urban	204	146	160	191	297
Rural	1239	970	1508	1188	1369
Baluchistan					
Urban	277	210	217	274	404
Rural	795	1086	2845	406	566

SOURCE: Census organization (n.d., Vol. II, prts. 1-5, Table 3).

(younger) males, rather than females, to education in recent years, within the province of Baluchistan.

I.1 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

While the information on literacy provides a very rough indicator of the potential of a population to read and write, information on educational attainment is essential for an estimate of the actual skill levels. In terms of levels of education, both males and females seem to have attained higher levels of education in 1973 compared to 1961 (Tables 6 and 5, respectively). For example, 20% of all Pakistani males and 7% of females (age 10+) had completed up to primary or middle levels of education in 1973 compared to 13% and 3% in 1961. Similarly, the percentage of those with matriculation or intermediate and B.A.+ was notably higher in 1973 than in 1961.

When analyzed by age of the educated persons, it is clear than the percent of educated persons has increased over time. In 1961, only 5% of the females age 25 or more had some education compared with 10%, 13% and 15% among those aged 20-24, 15-19 and 10-14 (Table 5). The same pattern was true for 1973 when 7% of women aged 25+ had some education compared with 24% of those aged 10-14 (Table 6). Thus, the percentage of educated women is higher among younger women and more women have attained relatively higher levels of education during the last decade compared to the one before. While the general trend seems favourable, it must be remembered that a large majority of Pakistani women are still illiterate, no matter what definition of literacy is used.

Of all literate women age 10+ a large proportion (51%) in 1961 were either informal literates or had less than primary level of education. The picture seems to have changed rather dramatically in 1973 when only 23% of

Table 5: Percentage distribution of literate population by sex, age and level of education, Pakistan, 1961

Sex/Age	Total Population (10+)	Total Literate	Percent of population	Informal & below Primary[a]		Primary and Middle[b]		Matric and Intermediate[c]		Degree[d]	
				Percent of population	Percent of Literate	Percent of population	Percent of Literate	Percent of population	Percent of Literate	Percent of population	Percent of Literate
	All Ages										
Both Sexes	26,512,939	4,878,886	18.4	7.3	39.5	8.7	47.2	2.2	12.0	0.3	1.7
Male	14,411,941	3,883,656	27.0	9.8	36.5	13.2	48.9	3.6	13.2	0.5	1.8
Female	12,100,998	995,210	8.2	4.2	51.4	3.4	41.2	0.6	7.3	0.1	1.0
	10-14 Years										
Both Sexes	3,808,462	1,071,901	28.1	16.0	56.7	12.0	42.8	0.1[e]	0.5[e]	-	-
Male	2,097,595	812,420	38.7	21.4	55.3	17.2	44.3	0.2	0.5	-	-
Female	1,710,867	259,481	15.2	9.3	61.4	5.8	38.1	0.1	0.5	-	-
	15-19 Years										
Both Sexes	3,533,457	948,164	26.8	7.2	26.9	16.5	61.5	3.1	11.4	0.1	0.3
Male	1,916,416	735,809	38.4	9.2	23.9	24.6	63.9	4.6	11.9	0.1	0.3
Female	1,617,041	213,355	13.2	4.9	37.1	7.0	52.8	1.3	9.7	0.1	0.4
	20-24 Years										
Both Sexes	3,083,245	719,865	23.4	6.4	27.3	11.4	48.9	5.1	21.6	0.5	2.2
Male	1,634,777	570,876	34.9	8.2	23.5	17.6	50.6	8.3	23.8	0.8	2.2
Female	1,448,468	148,989	10.3	4.3	41.7	4.4	42.3	1.4	13.5	0.3	2.5
	25+										
Both Sexes	16,087,775	2,137,937	13.3	5.3	39.8	5.7	42.6	2.0	14.7	0.4	2.9
Male	8,763,153	1,764,551	20.1	7.4	36.8	8.9	44.0	3.2	16.1	0.6	3.2
Female	7,324,622	373,385	5.1	2.8	54.1	1.9	36.2	0.4	8.2	0.1	1.5

[a] up to grade four

[b] Grades 5-9

[c] Grades 10-13

[d] Includes B.A. or 14 grades of education, post graduate degree, certificate, diploma and oriental education

[e] Matriculates only

- No cases

SOURCE: Home affairs division (n.d., Vol. 1: IV - 108-109).

Table 6: Percentage distribution of literate population by age, sex and level of education, Pakistan 1973*

Age/Sex	Total Population 10 years & Over	Total Literate	Percent of Population	Informal & Below Primary		Primary & Middle		Matric & Intermediate		Degree	
				Percent of Population	Percent of Literate	Percent of Population	Percent of Literate	Percent of Population	Percent of Literate	Percent of Population	Percent of Literate
Total-All Ages (10+)											
Both Sexes	42,379,279	11,326,556	26.7	5.4	20.2	14.3	53.3	6.0	22.6	1.1	3.9
Male	23,209,831	8,766,119	37.8	7.3	19.3	20.3	53.6	8.7	22.9	1.6	4.1
Female	19,169,448	2,560,437	13.4	3.1	23.0	7.0	52.3	2.9	21.4	0.4	3.3
10-14 Years											
Both Sexes	8,044,794	3,161,961	39.3	17.0	43.2	21.7	55.3	0.6	1.5	0.0	0.1
Male	4,490,914	2,297,560	51.2	12.3	43.2	15.8	55.3	0.4	1.4	0.0	0.1
Female	3,553,880	864,401	24.3	10.5	43.2	13.4	55.1	0.4	1.7	0.0	0.1
15-19 Years											
Both Sexes	5,505,182	2,144,921	39.0	4.1	10.5	24.2	62.0	10.4	26.7	0.3	0.7
Male	3,114,732	1,592,848	51.1	5.3	10.3	32.2	63.0	13.4	26.1	0.3	0.5
Female	2,390,450	552,073	23.1	2.6	11.2	13.7	59.2	6.6	28.4	0.3	1.2
20-24 Years											
Both Sexes	4,337,641	1,434,098	33.1	2.9	8.9	15.0	45.4	12.7	38.3	2.5	7.6
Male	2,326,976	1,100,884	47.3	4.0	8.5	21.9	46.2	18.2	38.5	3.2	6.8
Female	2,010,665	333,214	16.7	1.7	10.0	7.1	42.5	6.2	37.4	1.7	10.1
25 Years & Over											
Both Sexes	24,491,662	4,585,576	18.7	2.3	12.3	9.4	50.4	5.7	30.3	1.3	7.0
Male	13,277,209	3,774,827	28.4	3.3	11.7	14.4	50.8	8.6	30.1	2.1	7.3
Female	11,214,453	810,749	7.2	1.1	15.0	3.5	48.7	2.3	31.1	0.4	5.3

* Description of the level of education given in Table 5.
SOURCE: Census organization (n.d., Vol. 11, prt. 1, Table 3).

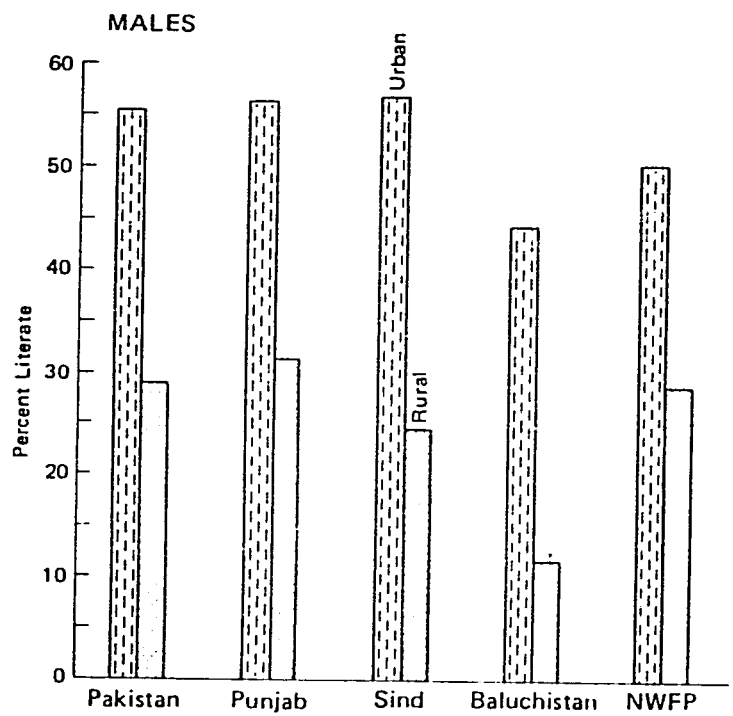
all literate women had this level of education. Part of the reason for the marked decline in this group is the inclusion of those with informal education. After the exclusion of women who had informal education the difference is reduced substantially - the percentage of women with less than primary level education being 37% in 1961 and 21% in 1973. In 1973, 52% of all educated women had completed primary or middle level education which is very close to the percentage of males who had attained this level - 54% (Table 6).

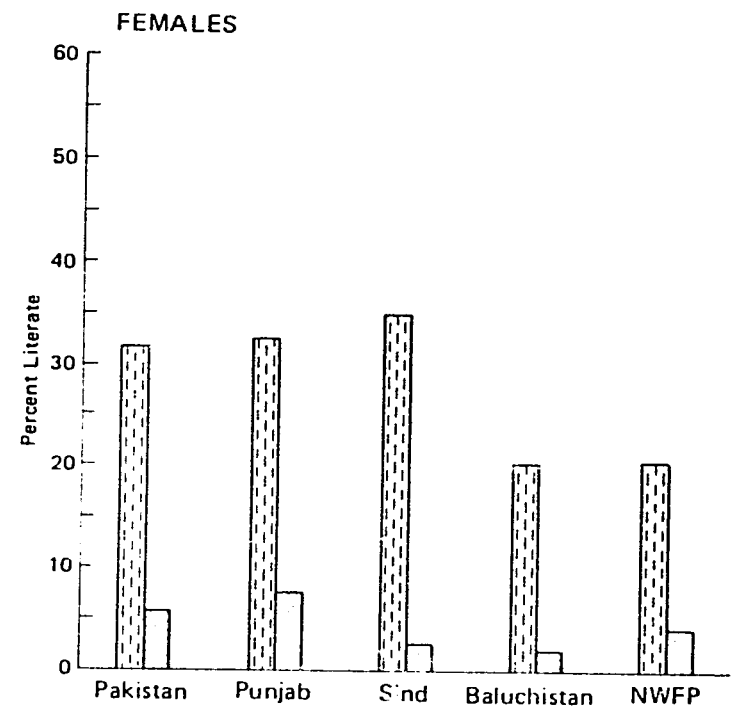
Within all persons with some education, the male-female differences were rather small in 1973 - at both the higher and lower educational levels. For example, 23% of the women had received informal education or completed less than 5 grades compared with 19% of men. At the highest level, 4% of educated men and 3% of educated women had received a degree or post-degree level of education (Table 6). The differences between male and female educational attainment were somewhat larger when rural or urban residence was controlled, as shown in Figure 1 and Appendix Tables Ed. 1 and Ed. 2. Within urban areas, 4% of educated females had completed the graduate or post graduate level compared with about 7% males. A general conclusion from these data is that within the subgroups of literate males and females the level of educational attainment does not seem very remarkably different for the two sexes. The proportion of educated males, however, is much higher than the proportion of educated females, as discussed below.

Educational Level by Province

Substantially larger proportions of urban persons had attained degree of higher levels of education than the rural persons in all four provinces (Figure 2). Of the educated males, Sind had the largest percentage of those with a degree or higher level of education - 9% compared to about

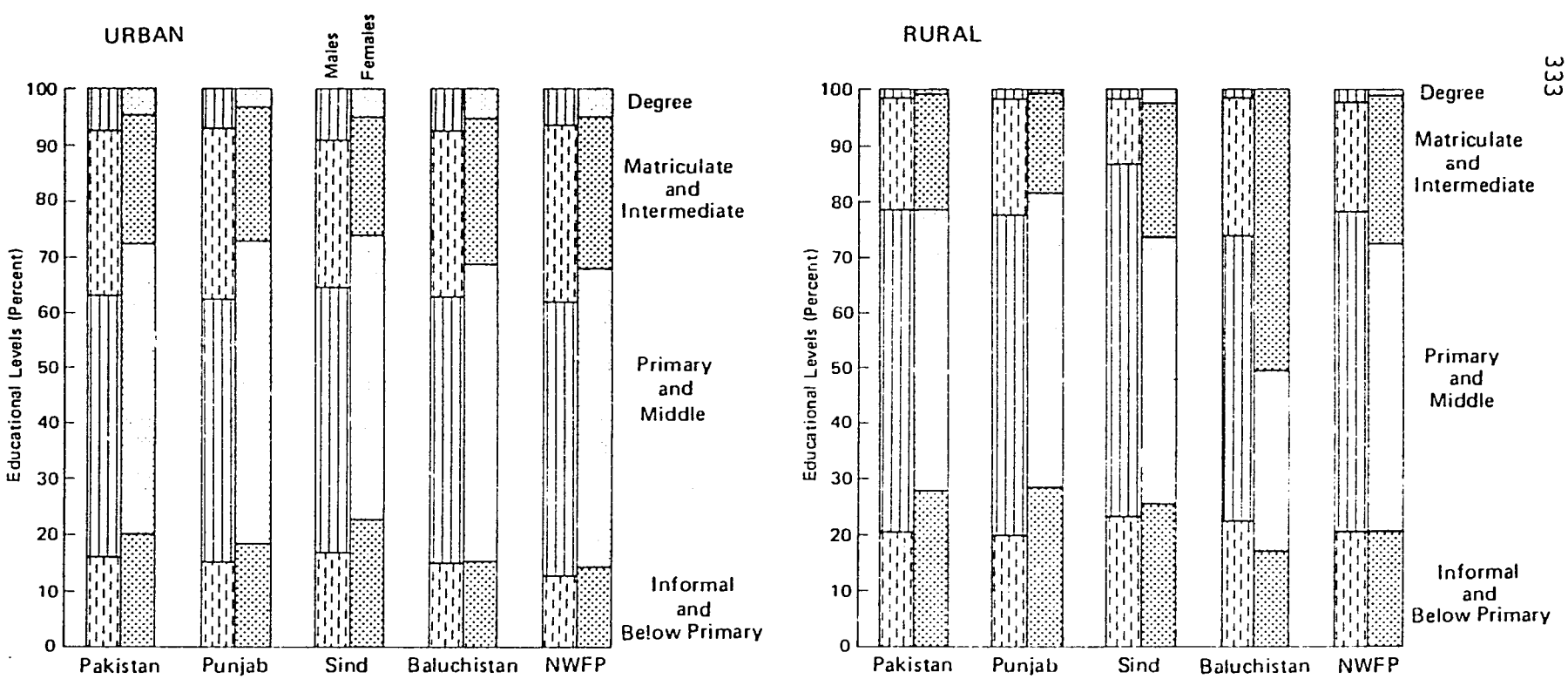
Figure 1. Literacy Rates, Pakistan and Provinces, HED Survey, 1973 by Sex and Rural/Urban Residence.





Source: HED 1973, Pakistan

Figure 2. Level of Education Attained by Literate Males and Females, Urban and Rural Pakistan and Provinces, 1973.



Source: HED 1973, Pakistan

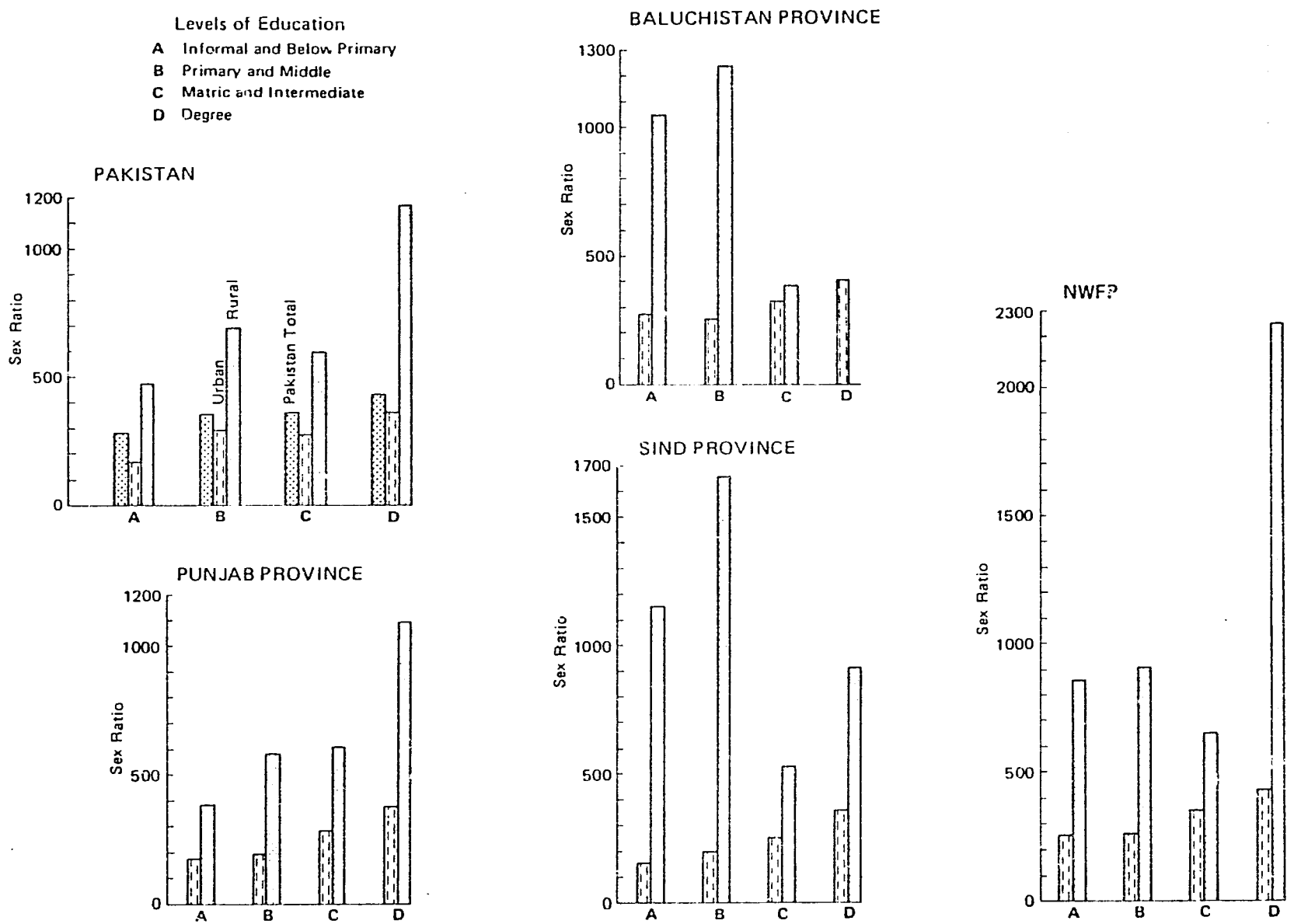
6-7% for the other provinces; the corresponding figures for rural males were about 1-2%. Among the educated females, roughly 4-5% of women in urban and 1-2% in rural areas had a degree or higher level of education. The pattern for rural Sind seems somewhat unexpected since the few rural Sindhi women who do have education have attained unusually high levels of education - 26% of the literate females had attained matriculation or more compared with 12% of the literate rural Sindhi males. Also, roughly the same proportions of educated urban and rural Sindhi women completed matriculation or more which is somewhat unexpected, though not impossible. A comparison of the provincial level enrollment data provided by the HED Survey with the data provided by the Bureau of Education, Planning and Management (BEPM) reveals several discrepancies, as discussed in the section on enrollment; furthermore, the percentages for rural Sindhi literate women are based on a fairly small number of cases and should be interpreted with caution.

Sex Ratios by Educational Level

Another way of looking at the male-female differences in educational attainment is to examine the sex ratios at various educational levels. This is done in Figure 3. For the country as a whole, sex ratios were much higher in rural than in urban areas, particularly at the degree or higher level. This is also true for all the provinces at almost all levels of education. Baluchistan is one exception where there were no women at the degree level in rural areas and a sex ratio could therefore not be calculated for rural areas.

One other finding that was consistently true for urban areas within all the provinces was that sex ratios were higher at the relatively higher levels of education. To take the example of urban Punjab, the sex ratio

Figure 3. Sex ratios (Males ÷ Females x 100) by level of education for Rural and Urban Pakistan and Provinces, 1973.



was 373 at the degree or higher level compared with 173 at the informal and primary level. Within rural areas, however, the pattern was not consistent for all provinces. The provinces of Sind, N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan all had higher sex ratios at levels up to primary and middle compared with the sex ratios at the matric and intermediate level. This finding indicates that in rural areas the male-female discrepancies were greater at the lower levels of education than at relatively higher levels. The differences were particularly marked for Sind and Baluchistan. The large differences probably point out the need for a greater emphasis on female education at the primary and middle level education in rural areas of these provinces.

At the degree or higher level, Sind had the lowest sex ratios compared to all other provinces in both rural and urban areas. Rural N.W.F.P. had the highest sex ratio at the degree or higher level of education, 2,244 compared with 1088 in rural Punjab and 912 in rural Sind. These figures imply that rural women in Sind and Punjab had a relatively greater opportunity to receive higher education (relative to men) than rural women in N.W.F.P. and the finding is consistent with the relatively more conservative traditions of this province. In the urban areas, however, the inter-provincial differences were relatively small.[3]

Age Patterns by Educational Attainment

It has been mentioned above that for the country as a whole, the percentage of literate women was much higher among the younger than the older women, both in 1961 and 1973. When sex ratios of persons at various levels of education are examined for different age groups, there is a fairly clear pattern of decline in sex ratios by age for most levels of education, within urban areas, for all four provinces (see Appendix Table Ed. 3). For example, the sex ratio of those aged 25+ who had informal and

below primary education in urban Punjab was 243 compared wtih 154 for those aged 10-14; the corresponding sex ratios at the primary and middle level education were 237 and 161. Sex ratios at the primary and middle level for urban Sind were 267 among those aged 25+ and 148 among those aged 10-14. These figures indicate that in recent years, an increasing larger number of women in urban areas have entered the school system than before. The pattern in rural areas is again not so clear and consistent for all provinces.

I.3 ENROLLMENT AND DROPOUT SITUATION

Quality of Enrollment Data

The population was enumerated to have 6.3 million students in the 1973 HED Survey which compares quite closely with the 6.2 million students estimated by the BEPM in 1972-73 (Table 7). The number of students has increased from about 2.2 million in 1961 to more than 6 million around 1973. The percentage of females among total enrollees was 25% in 1961 and increased to about 27% in 1972-73 according to both the sources providing data. While there seems to be a fairly close correspondence between the two data sets which provide enrollment information for early 1970s, it is important to note that there were rather large differences in the provincial level data and in the distribution of students by grade level. A comparison of the provincial level differences is provided in Appendix Table Ed. 4.[4] Table 7 shows that the percentage of students enrolled at the primary level has declined in favour of higher grade levels between 1961 and 1973. This finding is consistent with the general improvement in educational attainment levels discussed earlier.

For the 1972-73 period the HED data seems to slightly underestimate the percentage of students at the primary level, particularly for females. The

Table 7. Distribution of enrolled persons age 5+ by grade level, various sources

Sources	Total Enrolled	Primary	Middle	Matric	Intermediate and Degree	Higher Degree
1961 Census						
T	2,225,081	76.3	15.8	5.9*	1.9	0.1
M	1,658,446	74.0	17.3	6.6	2.0	0.1
F	566,635	82.9	11.5	4.1	1.4	0.1
1972-73 BEPM						
T	6,191,400	72.0	16.8	7.3	3.0	0.9
M	4,538,296	70.3	17.8	7.7	3.1	1.1
F	1,653,104	76.8	14.0	5.9	2.8	0.6
1973 HED						
T	6,314,893	70.1	11.3	8.2	9.4	1.0
M	4,617,987	69.3	11.9	8.8	8.8	1.2
F	1,696,906	72.1	9.8	6.5	11.0	0.7

* For 1961 Matric includes Grade 9 also

SOURCES: Home affairs division (n.d., Vol. 3, Table 23: IV-206 and Table 24:228);
BEPM (1976: 17, 19, 23, 37, 43, 77, 91);
Census organization (n.d., Vol. II, part 1, Table 5:29).

BEPM data showed 77% of all female students to be at the primary level compared with 72% shown by the HED data. The most striking difference between the two data sets consists of the unusually high proportions of students reported to be at the intermediate and degree level, by the HED survey. The differences are largest for females with the HED data showing 11% of all students to be at the intermediate and degree level compared with only 3% shown by the BEPM. The trends in enrollment and the general socioeconomic conditions in the country lead us to believe that the BEPM data are closer to the actual situation than the HED Survey data. There seems to have been an exaggeration of the levels at which students actually were in the latter survey. The BEPM, however, does not provide any data for rural and urban areas separately.

Thus, one needs to be cautious while analyzing HED Survey data on enrollment, particularly when dealing with grade level data and provincial data. The HED survey data for overall enrollment, however, does seem reasonably accurate, and I believe that the data on enrollment rates presented in this section are fairly reliable.

Trends in Enrollment

The number of students at all levels has increased manifold during the last thirty years, among both males and females. It has been estimated by the Planning Commission that in 1977-78 there were 5.9 million children enrolled at the primary level of which about 29% were girls (Table 8). The percentage of girls at this level has doubled over the last thirty years. Similarly, at the middle and high school levels the percentage of girl students has increased notably as a percent of total enrollment. In 1977-78, girls constituted 22% of the middle stage and 20% of the secondary school enrollment. The increase in female enrollment has also been quite

Table 8. Number of enrollees and percent female by level of education, Pakistan, 1947-1978

YEAR	ALL GRADES		PRIMARY STAGE (I-V)		MIDDLE STAGE (VI-VIII)		HIGH STAGE (IX-X)	
	Total	Female%	Total	Female%	Total	Female%	Total	Female%
	Million		Million		Million		Million	
1947-48	1.07	13.4	.77	14.3	.22	9.5	.06	12.1
1948-49	1.14	13.5	.83	14.5	.23	10.7	.05	14.0
1949-50	1.27	12.9	.92	13.0	.25	11.6	.07	13.4
1954-55	3.15	10.2	1.6	15.5	.33	13.6	.11	13.8
1959-60	2.58	18.6	1.9	19.6	.42	14.9	.15	15.4
1960-61	2.81	19.6	2.1	20.9	.45	14.9	.16	16.9
1961-62	3.03	20.0	2.3	21.2	.46	16.3	.16	14.3
1962-63	3.34	20.4	2.5	21.3	.49	16.7	.21	18.2
1963-64	3.77	20.5	2.8	20.7	.58	20.7	.22	24.9
1964-65	4.12	22.2	3.1	22.9	.62	20.5	.22	20.7
1965-66	4.32	23.4	3.2	23.7	.69	21.6	.24	20.1
1966-67	4.63	23.0	3.4	23.4	.76	22.2	.27	20.2
1967-68	5.17	24.2	3.8	26.4	.79	20.7	.28	18.2
1968-69	5.17	25.0	3.8	26.4	.85	20.1	.30	18.9
1969-70	5.38	24.7	3.9	26.3	.89	19.5	.34	18.4
1970-71	5.56	24.4	4.0	26.3	.93	19.1	.34	19.9
1971-72	5.81	25.0	4.2	26.4	.96	20.4	.37	19.4
1972-73	6.19	26.7	4.5	28.5	1.0	22.3	.39	20.8
1973-74	6.62	27.0	4.8	28.5	1.1	22.5	.42	21.1
1974-75	7.16	26.5	5.0	28.6	1.2	23.3	.46	21.7
1975-76	7.60	27.4	5.5	28.8	1.3	23.1	.48	25.0
1976-77	7.7	27.4	5.5	28.8	1.3	23.8	.5	22.8
1977-78*	8.3	26.6	6.1	27.4	1.3	24.0	.5	22.6
1978-79*	8.9	25.8	6.6	25.3	1.4	24.1	.5	22.4
1979-80*	9.5	25.1	7.1	25.4	1.4	24.2	.5	22.3

YEAR	SEC. & VOC. INST.		ART AND SCIENCE COLLEGE		PROFESSIONAL COLLEGE		UNIVERSITIES	
	Total (000's)	Female%	Total (000's)	Female%	Total	Female%	Total	Female%
1947-48	3.9	41.0	13.5	8.2	4368	7.5	644	8.7
1948-49	4.2	40.5	16.5	8.5	4517	7.7	690	9.3
1949-50	5.4	40.7	21.4	10.3	4925	8.0	737	9.6
1950-55	10.6	31.1	43.3	13.6	8082	10.3	1998	2.5
1959-60	13.1	25.9	76.3	15.2	12434	14.9	4092	19.0
1960-61	14.5	40.0	71.0	17.3	12921	14.9	5084	21.6
1961-62	18.9	40.2	71.9	19.3	13950	16.2	7214	18.5
1962-63	20.0	41.0	94.1	19.2	14906	16.6	9464	17.7
1963-64	22.6	31.4	118.7	17.4	17677	15.1	9094	21.5
1964-65	21.2	28.3	127.2	18.6	17372	17.2	13221	20.7
1965-66	20.7	25.1	139.3	20.2	19061	15.3	13420	22.2
1966-67	22.4	29.9	147.9	21.6	19840	15.7	12807	19.7
1967-68	24.4	34.4	153.3	22.4	25000	14.0	15903	18.8
1968-69	24.0	33.3	159.0	25.2	30081	12.9	13087	20.4
1969-70	28.5	31.6	175.0	25.7	33633	12.5	15475	21.3
1970-71	34.5	28.9	199.2	25.2	37245	12.4	17057	22.0
1971-72	39.9	30.1	186.2	26.3	36182	13.7	17507	19.3
1972-73	58.7	28.1	186.4	25.1	37596	14.5	18678	22.6
1973-74	40.3	33.5	194.8	27.1	42483	15.9	19091	21.9
1974-75	42.1	33.3	208.2	27.6	44734	18.1	21395	21.0
1975-76	35.0	25.7	211.6	27.5	47726	19.6	22772	22.5
1976-77	32.8	25.6	222.7	29.8	56932	16.8	24149	23.8
1977-78*	33.1	24.8	229.0	30.5	62113	20.7	25526	24.9
1978-79*	34.2	26.3	235.3	31.2	67296	17.8	26903	26.0
1979-80	35.3	27.8	248.5	31.3	72479	18.2	28280	26.9

Note: Figures for the year 1947-48 through 1969-70 are the same as provided in the Educational Statistics published by the Ministry of Education. After 1970, however, the figures given by the Education Ministry and the Finance Ministry (our source) are slightly different. After consultation with both the ministries, we have used the Finance Ministries' Estimates. The difference between two source are, however, not large and would not cause any problem for the present analysis.

* Estimated

SOURCE: Finance Division (1980:100)

impressive at the arts and science college level and 27% of all enrollees at this level were female in 1977-78. The percentage of female students has increased relatively slowly at the professional and university level. In 1975-76, women constituted about 20% of the enrollees at the professional level and 23% at the university level. The pattern of enrollment at the secondary and vocational level has been somewhat irregular over time but women constituted a relatively large percentage (26%) of all enrollees at this level in 1975-76.[5]

Age Specific Enrollment Rates

When examined in relation to the appropriate target groups to which most students belong, 15% of the children aged 5-9 and 23% of those aged 10-14 were enrolled in school in 1961; the corresponding figures for 1973 were 18% and 35% (Table 9). The percentage of enrolled females aged 5-9 and 10-14 was 10% and 13% in 1961 and went up to 12% and 20% in 1973. The pattern of a higher percentage of enrollees among the 10-14 group compared to the 5-9 group is consistently true for both 1961 and 1973 data sets. Part of the reason for the relatively higher percentage enrolled at age 10-14 is that many children of primary school age enter the school system considerably later than age 5 (when they would be theoretically expected to enter school).[6] Misreporting of ages is, of course, another factor which would effect both the numerator and denominator used in calculating the percentage of enrollees.

The Planning Commission assumes that all of the 5.9 million primary school enrollees were actually in age group 5-9 and thus conclude that 54% of the primary school age children were enrolled in school in 1977-78 (Planning Commission, 1978, p. 297). Table I.11 and I.12 clearly show that when age is controlled the percentgae of enrollees is much smaller than the

Table 9. Enrollment rates by age-group and sex in urban and rural areas for Pakistan, 1961 and 1973

Age	1961			1973		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
			All Areas			
5-9	15.2	20.0	9.7	17.9	23.3	11.8
10-14	23.2	32.2	12.5	34.6	45.8	20.4
15-19	9.2	14.0	3.5	18.0	24.6	9.3
20-24	0.6	1.0	0.2	6.2	8.7	3.3
25+	0.1	0.1	-	2.2	2.9	1.2
			Urban			
5-9	26.6	31.2	21.4	32.8	36.8	28.3
10-14	41.4	50.0	31.2	55.1	63.2	45.5
15-19	19.4	25.4	11.8	32.2	39.1	23.7
20-24	1.9	2.6	0.9	12.2	16.0	7.6
25+	0.2	0.3	0.1	3.1	4.3	1.6
			Rural			
5-9	11.9	16.8	6.2	12.5	18.6	5.8
10-14	16.8	25.8	5.5	26.1	38.8	9.5
15-19	5.4	9.6	0.5	11.7	18.4	2.6
20-24	0.1	2.5	0.1	3.6	5.3	1.6
25+	0.1	-	-	1.8	2.4	1.1

SOURCE: Mahmood (1978:286)

54% assumed by the Planning Commission. According to the Census of 1961 and HED Survey of 1973, only 15% of those aged 5-9 were in school in 1961 and 18% were in school in 1973.

In both 1961 and 1973 there were large rural-urban differences in enrollment rates at all ages, for males as well as females. More than thrice as many urban than rural females aged 5-9 (21% and 6%) were enrolled in school in 1961; the corresponding figures for 1973 were 28% and 6%. Note that the proportion of female enrollees aged 5-9 in rural areas has remained unchanged between 1961 and 1973. In the next age group 10-14, however, the percentage of enrolled females did increase from 6% in 1961 to 10% in 1973 (Table 9). Also note that a fairly large proportion (45%) of urban females aged 10-14 were in school in 1973 compared to only 10% of rural females in the same year. The percentage of enrolled urban females aged 10-14 and 15-19 increased substantially over the 1961-73 period which indicates the growing educational opportunities for femlaes in urban areas.

In a BEPM study, enrollment rates were found to be 45% for school aged boys and 25% for school aged girls in a sample of about 400 Pakistani villages in 1976 (BEPM, 1977). These enrollment rates are, however, limited to villages which had a boys as well as a girls school and therefore overestimated the actual rate. The author concludes that on the basis of his experience he believes that less than 40% of primary school age boys and less than 15% of school aged girls attend school in rural areas of Pakistan.

Data on sex differences in enrollment rates clearly points out that considerably more male children were in school at all ages than female children (Table 9). For example, there were about two and a half times as many male children aged 10-14.in school than girls in 1973—46% and 20%.

Sex differences were even sharper within rural areas where the enrollment rate for males aged 10-14 was about four times higher than that of females—39% and 10% respectively—in 1973.

Provincial Differences

Since a large bulk of all students in Pakistan belong to the age group 5-14, enrollment rates for age groups 5-9 and 10-14 were calculated for the four provinces and are shown in Table 10. Among females in urban areas, Sind had the highest enrollment rate with almost half (49%) of the girls aged 10-14 in school, followed by Punjab with 46% in school. N.W.F.P. had the lowest enrollment rate of 31% for urban girls. Within the rural areas, Baluchistan and Sind had the lowest enrollment rates for girls aged 10-14, with about 3% in school compared to 6% in N.W.F.P. and 12% in Punjab.

Male-female differences were again very large in all provinces, particularly in rural areas. For example, the enrollment rates among rural males aged 10-14 were seven to eight times higher than among females in the provinces of Baluchistan, Sind and N.W.F.P. Punjab had a somewhat smaller discrepancy with about four times as many enrolled males than females. The male-female discrepancy in enrollment was relatively smaller within the urban areas, with the male enrollment rates being one to two times higher than the females. Urban Sind had the highest enrollment rates—65% of the males and 49% of the females aged 10-14 were in school; the corresponding figures for urban Punjab were 63% and 46% (Table 10).

Thus, it seems that our earlier findings about large sex differences and rural-urban differences in the availability of female education are supported by the enrollment data. The discrepancies between rural and urban areas and between males and females within each area are often large

Table 10. Enrollment rates among persons aged 5-9 and 10-14 by sex and rural/urban residence Pakistan and Provinces, 1973

	Both Sexes		Male		Female	
	5-9	10-14	5-9	10-14	5-9	10-14
Total	17.8	34.6	23.3	45.8	11.8	20.5
Urban	32.8	55.1	36.8	63.2	28.4	45.5
Rural	12.5	26.1	18.6	38.8	5.6	9.5
Punjab	18.2	36.8	23.5	48.0	12.2	20.9
Urban	31.8	54.9	35.2	62.8	27.8	45.6
Rural	14.1	29.4	19.9	43.1	7.5	12.1
Sind	20.7	36.3	25.6	43.6	15.1	26.6
Urban	36.3	57.4	40.4	65.0	31.9	48.5
Rural	9.6	16.9	15.5	26.0	2.7	3.4
N.W.F.P.	14.4	29.5	22.2	44.7	5.8	10.7
Urban	25.5	45.6	32.0	58.6	18.4	30.7
Rural	12.2	26.1	20.3	41.9	3.2	6.1
Baluchistan	7.5	18.9	11.6	27.6	3.8	7.7
Urban	23.8	47.5	29.9	59.0	17.7	33.5
Rural	4.5	13.3	7.9	21.6	1.5	2.5

SOURCE: Census Organization (n.d., Vol. II, prt. 1-5, Table 5).

as judged from recent data. It was pointed out in an earlier section (see Figure 1) that among the females, the rural-urban discrepancy in literacy rates was the highest in the province of Sind with 33% literate women in urban and 7% in rural areas. The data on enrollment shows that this situation is continuing to persist, with the enrollment rates for females aged 10-14 being 49% in urban and 3% in rural areas.

A word of caution about provincial level estimates must again be reiterated. The discrepancies between the Education Bureau data and the HED Survey data have been pointed out clearly in this section. It seems from a comparison of the two that the data on females for Punjab is quite consistent while the HED Survey could have seriously overestimted the number of enrolled females for Sind and Baluchistan compared with the BEPM data. The provincial and rural-urban comparisons presented in this section must therefore be considered tentative.

Dropout Rates

It is generally believed by educational planners in Pakistan that at the primary level, at least half of those admitted to Class I leave school before reaching Class 5 (Planning Commission, 1978, p. 299). UNESCO estimates also show that of every 100 children who enter school only 43% are retained in the system up to grade six and only 24% up to grade ten. Corresponding retention rates for females are 48% and 23% up to the sixth and tenth grade levels (Mahmood, 1978, p. 289).

Dropout rates as inferred from school attendance (cross-sectional) data were calculated by the BEPM in its study of rural areas of Pakistan (Table 11). It was calculated that 78% of the boys and 51% of the girls entered the school system (joined Grade I) in 1976. The percentages of boys and girls who were attending school at Grade II in the same year was

Table 11. Percent attending schools in Pakistani villages by sex and class level, Pakistan and Provinces, 1976

	NWFP	Baluchistan	Punjab	Sind	Islamabad	All Pakistan
			BOYS			
Class I	89	60	71	81	87	78
II	45	25	57	52	49	46
III	48	18	53	45	44	42
IV	22	15	46	40	39	32
V	23	14	41	33	34	29
All Total Classes	45	26	64	50	51	45
			GIRLS			
Class I	34	37	70	40	75	51
II	16	10	43	24	42	27
III	12	8	38	21	28	21
IV	11	4	25	15	16	14
V	6	4	20	10	13	10
All Total Classes	16	13	39	22	35	25
			BOYS AND GIRLS			
Class I	61	48	70	60	81	64
II	30	17	50	38	45	36
III	30	13	45	33	36	31
IV	16	9	35	27	27	23
V	14	9	30	21	23	20
All Total Classes	31	19	46	36	43	35

SOURCE: Adapted from BEPM (1977:6)

only 46% and 27%. That is, it appears that a large proportion of those who joined Grade I the year prior to the BEPM Survey had dropped out by Grade II.[7] Only 10% of school age girls were in Grade V which implies that about 80% of the (51%) girls who entered the school system in rural areas dropped out before they reached Grade V assuming that the rate of entry into the school system has remained constant in the sampled villages. Given the cross-sectional nature of data the BEPM figures can only be treated as illustrative of the approximate levels of dropout rates in rural areas of Pakistan. It seems that dropout rates are extremely high for girls as well as boys. Some of the reasons which the BEPM Study provides for high dropout rates are discussed in Section III of this chapter.

II. FACILITIES FOR FEMALE EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN

Growth of Institutions

At the time of her independence in 1947, Pakistan had 8413 primary schools of which only 18% were for girls. The number of primary schools had increased to 53,162 by 1976-77 and are estimated to have increased to 55,173 by 1978-79 (Table 12). The proportion of girls schools (as a percent of all schools) went up from about 18% to 25% in the mid-sixties, to 30% by 1973-74 and has stayed around that level up to now. Thus, during the last twenty years the number of female primary schools has increased more than five times from about 3.2 thousand in 1959-60 to 16.5 thousand in 1978-79. The overall growth of middle schools has been relatively slower, although the percentage of female schools among all middle schools has almost doubled since 1959-60 from 14% to 27% in 1978-79. At the high school level there has been a steady increase in percentage of female schools from 19% in 1959-60 to about 27% in 1978-79.

At the college level, the percentage of female colleges seem to have declined slightly. Female colleges comprised 25% of all colleges in 1959-60 and the proportion has declined to 23% in 1978-79. This proportional reduction does not seem to have effected the proportion of female enrollment adversely (see Table 8 under enrollment). The most noticeable decline in percent of female institutions has occurred in the secondary and vocational institutions. From 47% in 1969-70 the percent has declined to 35% in 1978-79. The decline in female enrollment in such institutions is consistent with decline in the number of institutions but more specific reasons for the decline of female institutions offering this type of education need to be explored further.

The number of universities has increased from 2 in 1947 to 15 in 1978-79. Female enrollment at this level has fluctuated between 19-22% for the last two decades. University (or M.A.) level education has always been co-educational in Pakistan and continues to remain so. There are a few programs in Women's Colleges which grant Master level degrees but bulk of the post graduate students study in a co-educational setting. A rather heated debate over a separate university for women has been in existence for several years. In September 1977 the Chief Martial Laws Administrator (CMLA) proposed the establishment of a separate Women's University. Consequently, the National Educational Policy for 1978 has recommended the establishment of two Women's Universities at the cities of Lahore and Karachi. Prior to the policy recommendation, the Government had directed the University Grants Commission (UGC) to prepare a feasibility report on the establishment of Women's Universities. The UGC appointed a committee consisting of prominent educationalists to study the issue. This committee, after interviews and discussions with about 500 college and

university teachers and students concluded that of all the persons they met, more than two-third were in favor of establishment of separate Women's universities.[8] The UGC Committee recommended that initially one women's university may be started as a 'Pilot Project' at Lahore which is centrally located for the whole country. There was a strong feeling among committee members that after this pilot project, additional Women's Universities may be set up at Karachi and Peshawar (UGC, 1979, p. 9). The Committee also found that a large majority of all the persons they contacted felt that even when the Women's Universities and post-graduate colleges are set up, the present arrangements for the admission of girl students to the co-educational universities should not be disturbed or discontinued at all. The Committee therefore recommended that the existing arrangements for Women in the universities may be allowed to continue (UGC, 1979, p. 28).

Increase in Female Teachers

A female school must also have a female teacher in order to be functionally available to girls. The number of female teachers at the primary level has grown substantially over the last thirty years from 2,403 in 1947 to 38,100 in 1975-76. The proportion of female teachers (as a percent of all teachers) more than doubled over the same time period - from 14% to 30% (Table 13). The number of middle school and high school teachers increased both proportionately to males and in absolute terms. For example, over the period 1970-76 the number of female middle and high school teachers increased by more than one and a half times. In proportionate terms the percentage of middle school teachers who are female has been increasing steadily - from 15% in 1960-61 to 25% in 1970-71 and 30% in 1975-76. The number of high school teachers has also increased more or less steadily and 31% of all high school teachers were female in 1975-76.

A comparison in the development of female educational institutions and increase in female teachers shows that there has been a fairly close correspondence between the two (Tables 12 and 13). This is not surprising because of the sex segregated nature of the school system at the primary, middle and high school levels.

The correspondence between proportion of female teachers and proportion of female institutions is not so clearly discernible in the case of secondary and vocational institutes or the arts and science colleges. In the first case, the proportion of female secondary and vocational schools declined only after 1974-75 while the proportion of teachers (relative to male) declined steadily after 1968-69. In the second case, the proportion of female colleges has remained fairly constant since 1972-73 while the number of female teachers has been fluctuating. In general, it is reasonable to conclude that the proportion of female teachers at any level of education was fairly close to the proportion of female institutions but this is more true for primary, middle and high schools than for higher levels. Furthermore, the correspondence between the two is not exact. For example, the proportion of female teachers in art and science colleges in 1975-76 (30.5%) was substantially higher than the proportion of female colleges (23.1%) in the same year (Tables 13 and 12 respectively). This suggests a lower teacher-pupil ratio in women's colleges compared to men's colleges assuming that all female teachers taught in female colleges.

The proportionate increase in female teachers at the university level has been the least encouraging. During the mid-1970's only about 10% of all university teachers were women compared with 9% in 1969-70. The lack of a segregated setting at the university is perhaps one reason for this slow increase. If this is the case, the installations of Women's

Table 12. Female educational institutions as a percent of total educational institutions by kind - 1947-48 to 1978-79

Years	Primary Schools		Middle School		High Schools		Secondary & Vocational Institutes		Arts & Science Colleges		Universities [a]
	Total	% Females	Total	% Females	Total	% Females	Total	% Females	Total	% Female	Total (Both Sexes)
1947-48	8,413	18.4	2,190	7.0	408	15.7	46	39.1	40	12.5	2
1949-50	9,411	16.9	2,134	8.1	469	19.0	59	42.4	65	20.4	2
1954-55	14,162	17.5	1,517	12.9	747	19.8	90	44.4	111	18.9	4
1959-60	17,901	18.2	1,974	14.2	1,069	19.0	100	35.0	146	25.3	4
1964-65	32,589	24.6	2,701	21.8	1,622	22.6	145	40.0	270	24.8	6
1969-70	41,290	27.1	3,560	24.2	1,995	26.1	190	47.4	349	25.8	7
1970-71	43,710	27.7	3,822	24.3	2,063	25.6	206	47.1	387	24.0	7
1971-72	45,854	29.0	4,110	25.3	2,247	25.4	284	47.2	411	24.1	8
1972-73	49,580	29.1	4,406	26.4	2,498	24.9	291	38.9	410	23.4	8
1973-74	50,574	29.8	4,586	26.7	2,742	26.2	314	47.8	435	23.7	8
1974-75	51,744	30.3	4,713	26.9	2,898	26.6	301	46.8	444	23.4	10
1975-76	52,800	30.0	4,783	27.3	3,047	26.5	290	40.0	498	23.1	12
1976-77	53,162	30.0	4,990	27.1	3,214	26.8	239	33.9	528	23.5	12
1977-78*	53,964	30.1	5,026	27.0	3,258	26.9	205	35.1	539	23.0	14
1978-79*	55,173	30.0	5,076	27.4	3,300	27.3	205	35.1	540	23.0	15

*Estimated

[a] A recommendation has recently been made by an advisory committee to University Grants Commission that atleast two Women's Universities be established, in Lahore and Karachi, immediately (UGC, 1979).

SOURCE: Finance division (1979 : 203).

Table 13: Number of teachers and percent of female teachers in educational institutions in Pakistan by kind, 1947-48 to 1975-76

Year	Total All	Female %	PRIMARY SCHOOLS Total (000's)	PRIMARY SCHOOLS Female %	MIDDLE SCHOOLS Total (000's)	MIDDLE SCHOOLS Female %	HIGH SCHOOLS Total (000's)	HIGH SCHOOLS Female %	SEC. & VOCATIONAL Total	SEC. & VOCATIONAL Female %	ARTS & SCIENCES COLLEGES Total	ARTS & SCIENCES COLLEGES Female %	PROFESSIONAL COLLEGES Total	PROFESSIONAL COLLEGES Female %	UNIVERSITIES Total	UNIVERSITIES Female %
1947-48	36.6	10.9	17.8	13.5	12.0	6.7	6.8	11.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1948-49	36.8	10.6	17.8	12.9	12.0	6.7	7.0	11.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1949-50	40.0	11.5	19.9	12.6	12.1	8.3	8.0	13.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1954-55	58.9	16.3	35.5	16.3	10.7	14.0	12.7	18.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1959-60	76.5	18.6	44.8	18.8	13.0	14.6	18.3	21.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	382	8.1
1960-61	84.9	18.7	50.0	20.0	14.4	14.6	20.0	18.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	452	8.9
1961-62	93.5	19.2	54.8	20.3	16.7	15.6	21.5	19.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	692	5.9
1962-63	106.2	20.2	63.6	20.9	18.7	17.1	23.0	20.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	929	5.5
1963-64	123.1	20.7	69.8	20.9	19.6	19.4	25.0	21.2	1499	22.5	4938	25.6	1137	13.2	1128	5.5
1964-65	135.1	22.0	75.9	22.0	22.1	21.3	27.7	22.7	1493	25.1	5432	26.3	1239	14.1	1265	5.7
1965-66	136.2	23.0	74.9	23.2	23.1	22.9	28.4	22.9	1436	26.4	5711	26.7	1370	13.1	1264	6.7
1966-67	147.3	23.4	80.0	22.9	25.2	23.8	31.6	24.7	1580	26.2	6049	26.9	1405	13.5	1366	5.5
1967-68	154.2	24.2	83.8	24.2	26.1	24.1	33.4	24.9	1770	26.6	6208	27.7	1435	13.6	1484	6.2
1968-69	163.3	25.3	88.0	25.6	28.8	24.3	34.5	26.1	1900	26.3	7080	28.9	1684	13.3	1241	7.3
1969-70	172.2	26.4	92.0	27.2	31.5	24.4	35.5	27.0	2050	25.4	7950	29.8	1737	13.1	1373	8.7
1970-71	181.4	27.3	96.3	28.2	34.2	25.2	36.4	28.0	2208	24.1	8823	30.6	1868	12.6	1568	8.7
1971-72	193.8	27.2	105.7	28.0	36.0	25.6	37.9	27.9	2326	23.9	8313	27.9	1879	11.9	1649	9.1
1972-73	205.2	29.1	108.8	29.9	41.4	27.3	40.7	29.4	2204	23.5	8346	31.1	2060	11.2	1644	10.4
1973-74	221.6	28.6	115.7	30.3	41.9	27.7	48.3	27.5	2582	22.4	8990	27.1	2315	16.7	1839	10.1
1974-75	233.1	29.4	121.2	30.3	45.3	28.9	49.7	29.9	2915	22.7	9490	26.3	2462	16.3	2000	10.0
1975-76*	249.1	29.8	127.0	30.0	49.0	30.2	54.6	30.8	3333	22.4	10,500	30.5	2559	16.3	2100	10.7

Note: Figures for the years 1947-48 through 1969-70 are the same as provided in the Educational Statistics published by the Ministry of Education. After 1970, however, the figures given by the Education Ministry and the Finance Ministry (our source) are slightly different. After consultation with both the ministries, we have used the Finance Ministry Estimates. These estimates are the ones used by the Planning Commission of Pakistan. The difference between the two sources are, however, not large and would not cause any problem for the present analysis.

* Estimated figures.

SOURCE: Ministry of Finance (1976:104-105)

Universities might be expected to bring about a proportionate increase in the number of female university teachers.

Rural-Urban Distribution of Institutions and Teachers

Data on the trend of rural-urban distribution of schools are not available over time. Estimates of the number of urban and rural schools are, however, available for 1977-78, as shown below. Of all schools for

Percent of rural schools at various levels, by sex, 1977-78

	Primary		Middle		High	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total	38036	16452	3642	1389	2333	869
Estimated % rural	84	87	90	78	46	26

SOURCE: Planning Commission, 1978, p. 725.

girls 87% of the primary and 78% of the middle schools are estimated to be located in rural areas. This concentration of institutions in rural areas seems very reasonable and should help to encourage more young girls to enter the school system. Opportunities for education above middle school seem rather limited since only about one-fourth of all high schools for females are located in rural areas. Availability of schools in the area of residence is still a very important factor in female education.

While no separate tabulations for rural and urban teachers are available, the Planning Commission has estimated that there is a serious shortage of female teachers in rural areas of N.W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan. While calculating the supply of female teachers required to

meet the enrollment targets at the primary and middle levels for the 1978-83 period, the Commission has calculated that the percentage of requirement that will be met by the current output of teachers varies from 88% in Punjab, 84% in Sind and only 35% in N.W.F.P. and 30% in Baluchistan (Planning Commission, 1978, p. 316, Table 9). While the overall situation seems adequate in the case of Sind, there is a severe shortage of female teachers in rural Sind, combined with a surplus in urban areas.

Provincial Differences in Female Institutions and Female Teachers

Data on the growth of educational institutions and teachers broken down by provinces are available only for the early 1970s (BEPM, 1976). Table 14 presents data on number of institutions and number of teachers for the four provinces for 1973-74. Corresponding data for enrollment levels has also been included to provide a more comprehensive idea of the situation. At the primary level, Punjab had the largest number of female (as percent of all) schools - 37% compared to 18% in Baluchistan and 16% in Sind. In federally administered tribal areas (FATA) and northern areas, the percentage of all primary schools which were female was exceptionally low - 9% and 4% respectively. The number of teachers and enrollment was similarly low. The low percentage for Sind is somewhat surprising and is inconsistent with the percentage of female primary school teachers in that province. About one-fourth of the enrollees as well as the primary school teachers were female despite the fact that only 16% of all primary schools were for females. It is likely that the institutions in Sind are unusually large and can house more students than other provinces or more of the girls are studying in co-educational schools in Sind than in other provinces. These possibilities cannot be probed further with existing data.

Punjab again had the highest percentage of female schools at the middle level; it had a consistently high proportion of teachers but a relatively smaller proportion of enrollees. In the province of Sind there were again many more female teachers and female enrollees than there were female schools - 43% of the middle school teachers and 36% of enrollees were female while only 23% of the schools were for females. N.W.F.P. had a pattern similar to Punjab while Baluchistan showed a remarkable consistency between percentage of female institutions, enrollees and teachers. It is likely that at the primary and middle levels there is more intermixing of the sexes in the province of Sind i.e. more co-educational schools or more female teachers working in co-educational or boys schools. The pattern of Baluchistan perhaps implies a greater segregation at middle as well as high schoo levels. One implication that is clear from these findings is that the percentage of female institutions (within the total institutions) cannot in many cases be used as a predictor of the percentage of enrolled female students.

It may be noted that N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan had lower percentages of female enrollees compared to Punjab and Sind at all levels up to the intermediate and degree. For example, at the high school level, Sind had more than thrice the percentage of female students than N.W.F.P. - 33% and 10% respectively. At the intermediate and degree level, Sind and Punjab seem to be fairly close in terms of percentages of female institutions and female teachers - 29% of all institutions were female in both the provinces. Thirty-one percent of all the enrollees in Sind and 26% in Punjab were female. In Baluchistan, only 7% of the intermediate and degree colleges were female but 22% of the enrollees were female.

Table 14. Percent of institutions, enrollees and teaching staff that are female at various levels of education, Pakistan and Provinces for 1973-74.

Level of Education	Pakistan % female	N.W.F.P. % female	Punjab % female	Sind	Baluchistan	Islamabad[a]	F.A.T.A[b]	Northern Areas
Primary								
Institutions	28	27	37	16	18	*	9	4
Enrollment	28	15	34	25	20	47	1	9
Teaching staff	30	26	35	25	15	100	6	9
Middle								
Institutions	27	19	30	23	18	-	9	9
Enrollment	23	11	21	36	18	44	2	5
Teaching staff	28	16	28	43	18	-	9	12
High School								
Institutions	26	16	28	30	23	44	11	11
Enrollment	21	10	19	33	23	40	5	7
Teaching staff	29	15	28	41	22	53	10	15
Intermediate & Degree								
Institutions	27	23	29	29	7	33	-	25
Enrollment	27	16	26	31	22	40	-	33
Teaching staff	27	20	28	30	6	46	52	52
Professional colleges								
Institutions	10	13	13	9	0[d]	0[d]	0[d]	0[d]
Enrollment	16	12	16	17	8	0[d]	0[d]	0[d]
Teaching staff	17	13	22	14	12	0[d]	0[d]	0[d]
Universities[c]								
Enrollment	22	25	26	31	8	29	0[d]	0[d]
Teaching staff	10	8	14	15	7	9	0[d]	0[d]
								0[d]
Professional Universities[c]								
Agriculture								
Enrollment	1	-	-	-	-	0[d]	0[d]	0[d]
Teaching staff	1	-	-	-	-	0[d]	0[d]	0[d]
								0[d]
Engineering								
Enrollment	1	-	-	-	-	0[d]	0[d]	0[d]
Teaching staff	0[d]	-	-	-	-	0[d]	0[d]	0[d]

a, Data for Islamabad are also included in Punjab except for that of universities
b, FATA stands for federally administered tribal areas
c, Universities and Professional universities are co-educational
d, None
- data not available
* coeducational schools

SOURCE: BEPM (1976, Tables 11, 14, 17, 30, 42, 50).

At the professional and university levels, Sind again had the highest enrollment. Many of the professional colleges and all universities to date are co-educational. The enrollment of females in such institutions is therefore quite independent of the percentage of female teachers or institutions. It should be noted that Baluchistan had the lowest percentage of female enrollees at the professional and university level - only 8%. The imbalance in N.W.F.P. seems to be less acute at the university level - 25% of all university enrollees were female which compares very favorably with Punjab (26%) and Sind (31%).

Thus, the province of Sind had the highest enrollment of females (as a percent of total enrollment) at all levels except primary. On the other hand, N.W.F.P. had the lowest levels of female enrollment compared to other provinces at all levels except professional and university. Sind, however, did not have the highest proportion of female institutions compared to other provinces, particularly at the primary and middle school levels. I have argued that it is difficult to make conclusive statements about the exact relationship between female institutions, teachers and enrollment in the absence of information on the size of institutions and the number of co-educational institutions (if any). In some provinces, there seems to be a fairly close correspondence between the three factors in female education. For example, Baluchistan had almost the same proportion of institutions, teachers and enrollees at the middle and high school levels. Finally, the percentage of girl students is the lowest at almost all levels in the FATA and northern areas; the percentage of female institutions is also the lowest and generally around 10% for most levels of education.

Quality of Female Teachers

In addition to the availability of female institutions and teachers, the training and quality of female teachers (in terms of work committment) are bound to be important factors in school attendance and dropout rates. Some researchers in Pakistan believe that school teachers are in that occupation because they had no other choice rather than because they are committed to the job. S. Mahmood (1978) feels that "most of our teachers have no love for teaching or for children. As a result students have no love for education." If this perception is actually true then the education planners would need to mobilize more resources and work more actively toward changing deeprooted attitudes about the teaching profession in order to make the process of teaching as well as learning more efficient.

Some data have been published on the quality of teachers in terms of their education and training. Table 15 shows that since 1965 more than 80% of all female teachers had some training which qualified them to be teachers at the primary, middle or high school levels.[9] This was true for all years except 1970-71 when 72% of primary school teachers were reported to be trained. These high percentages of trained teachers might, however, be somewhat misleading unless the actual field situation and the functioning of schools, particularly in the rural areas, is not analyzed more closely.

The Planning Commission (1978) states that female teachers are in short supply in rural areas, and teacher absenteeism is reported to be rampant. In many cases, particularly women, remain on the payroll of rural schools without ever going there. Many female teachers do not stay in rural areas because of the feeling of insecurity caused by the lack of covered

Table 15. Trend in percent of trained teachers among all teachers at various levels of education by sex, various years.

Year	Primary		Middle		High	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1965-66[a]						
Total	57,403	17,435	17,806	5,287	21,903	6,463
% Trained	90.9	84.3	87.7	90.7	81.2	87.0
1966-67[a]						
Total	61,486	18,248	19,250	5,981	23,710	7,377
% Trained	92.6	84.6	87.3	85.9	83.6	83.9
1972-73[b]						
Total	75,144	32,891	30,034	11,328	28,670	12,049
% Trained	89.9	81.1	88.6	84.5	90.2	85.3
1973-74[b]						
Total	80,689	35,009	30,315	11,561	32,019	13,276
% Trained	89.6	85.1	94.6	88.6	89.4	88.2

Note: The criteria for trained teacher at various stages is as follows:

Primary School teacher: Middle + Senior Vernacular (SV)/Oriental Teacher (OT)/Junior Vernacular (JV)

Middle School teacher: F.A./F.Sc. + Certified Teacher (C.T.)/ Special Diploma Course
Matric + S.V./Junior Diploma in Physical Education (J.D.P.)/J.V. Diploma or Certificate in specialising subject.

High School teacher: B.A./B.Sc. + Bachelor's degree in Education (B.Ed.)
or Master degree in Education (M.Ed.) or (M.A.Ed.)
or Bachelor's in Teaching (B.T.)

SOURCES: a Institute of Education and Research (1970:153);

b BEPM (1976, Tables 21-26).

accomodation for the school. Thus, there are many schools which remain without teachers and exist only in the official records. The administrative machinery, though fully aware of the situation in each area, does not adopt any corrective measures mainly because of political considerations (Planning Commission, 1978, p. 299). Shortage of female teachers is particularly acute in the rural areas of N.W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan. An additional weakness in the area of teacher training pointed out by the Planning Commission consists of the content of such training. The content and techniques of training have remained uninfluenced by the advances which have been made in the field of teacher education. The general level of facilities of various kinds like laboratories, scientific equipment and library books are poor in training institutions of all levels. Furthermore, the staffing position of training institutes is generally unsatisfactory and a number of faculty members do not possess any specialized knowledge of the subject of teacher training (Planning Commission, 1978, p. 314). The Fifth Five Year Plan includes several measures related to pre-service as well as in-service traininig designed to improve the quality of teacher training in Pakistan.

III. SOCIETAL AND PARENTAL ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMALE EDUCATION

While shortage of schools and female teachers remains an important hindrance in the spread of female education, parent's attitudes towards female education and levels of schooling are a significant element in school attendance. When asked in a general way about whether they think education is necessary for children, an overwhelming majority say yes, it is. Differences begin to emerge, however, when the sex of children is controlled. Data from the 1968-69 National Impact Survey (NIS) show that more than 95% of the sampled wives said that they believe education to be

necessary for children. When asked more specifically in relation to the sex of the child and level of education for each, many more women expressed a need for formal (school) education for boys than for girls (Tables 16 and 17). Twenty-seven percent wives in urban and 46% in rural areas said that only religious education or about one grade of education was enough for girls compared with only 0.6% and 2% wives who gave this response for boys. The need for higher education was expressed by more urban than rural respondents for both boys and girls but the differential between the two sexes was large within each type of area. For example, almost ten times as many women within rural areas said that education up to B.A. or more was necessary for boys compared to girls (22% and 2%); the corresponding figures for urban areas were 44% and 12%.

When the perceived level of education was classified by various measures of socioeconomic status, I found that higher status is very visibly and positively associated with desire for higher education for both boys and girls. Variables such as ownership of land and durable goods were positively related with the perceived need for education up to B.A. or more as were the couple's own educational levels. The wife's educational level was a particularly strong variable. Among urban wives who had 6 or more grades of education, a larger majority expressed the need for education up to B.A. or more, for boys as well as girls (83% and 64% respectively). A noticeable proportion (17%) of rural wives with 6 or more grades of education wanted B.A. level (or more) education for girls but a majority (58%) of them felt that between 10-13 grades would be sufficient.

The point that is perhaps most striking about Tables 16 and 17 is the rather large proportions of women who seem to have very low educational aspirations for girls (and by implication their own daughters). This is

particularly true for the illiterate women, women with illiterate husbands and those who are relatively poor in terms of ownership of durable items or land, and who perceive their living standard to be inadequate. For example, among the women who did not own any durable items, 51% in urban and 58% in rural areas said that religious education or education up to first grade is sufficient for girls. The relatively poor women (families) form a rather large segment of the rural population and the question of low aspiration levels is thus very crucial from the policy viewpoint.

The data in Tables 16 and 17 were collected in 1968-69 and the situation might have changed nationally since then. At least a partial indication of this is provided in a study by Hassan (n.d.) conducted among a national sample of about 1700 adults and 375 girls aged 6-12 in a sample of Pakistani villages in 1977 (Table 18). About twenty percent of the men and women in Hassan's study stated that girls should be given religious schooling only or they should be just given the ability to read and write but no formal schooling. The remaining 80% wanted some kind of formal education. It is possible that aspiration may have changed over the 8-9 years when Hassan's study was conducted in 1977 and more rural women now have concrete ideas about formal education. This argument is, however, difficult to prove conclusively since a fairly large number (26%) in Hassan's study did not provide a quantifiable answer. Furthermore, the other educational level categories in the two studies are different and make comparisons difficult. Despite the difficulties in comparison of the two studies it is important to note that a large proportion (28%) of the respondents in the latter study aspired for up to only primary level education for girls and less than 10% wanted college or higher education for girls. Thus, it seems that at least one-fifth of the rural adults had

Table 16. Percentages of wives who considered various levels of education as necessary for male and female children, controlling for selected socioeconomic variables, urban areas, National Impact Survey 1968-69.

	Male children						Female children					
Level of Education	Total	None or one or could read Quran	Primary	6-9	10-13	≥14	Total	None or one or could read Quran	Primary	6-9	10-13	≥14
Family Type												
Nuclear	471	0.8	6.6	6.6	45.6	40.3	474	25.6	21.1	9.9	28.9	13.5
Joint	657	0.5	5.6	3.7	43.5	46.7	671	11.3	31.7	9.4	31.7	11.3
Own Agricultural Land												
Own Land	171	0	1.8	1.2	35.7	61.4	170	20.6	15.3	12.4	27.6	24.1
Dont' Own Land	956	0.7	6.8	5.5	45.9	41.0	974	27.7	22.0	9.0	31.1	10.2
Adequacy of Living												
Not Adequate	498	1.2	6.8	4.8	46.6	40.6	509	28.1	20.8	8.8	33.8	8.4
Adequate	586	0.2	5.8	5.1	43.5	45.4	592	26.4	20.9	10.5	28.0	14.2
More than Adequate	43	0	0	2.3	30.2	67.4	43	14.0	23.3	7.0	25.6	30.2
Wife's Education												
Illiterate	817	0.9	7.8	6.6	51.6	32.8	835	34.7	24.7	10.8	26.5	3.4
< 6 Grade	199	0	1.5	0.5	29.6	68.3	198	7.6	15.7	8.6	48.0	20.2
≥ 6 Grade	112	0	0.9	0	16.1	83.0	112	0	2.7	2.7	30.4	64.3
Husband's Education												
Illiterate	412	1.2	[illegible]	8.5	50.8	22.8	420	42.1	24.8	7.6	22.1	3.4
< 6 Grade	266	0.4	5.4	6.0	46.2	41.0	274	28.1	27.0	12.4	27.7	4.7
≥ 6 Grade	450	0.2	1.6	0.9	32.0	65.3	451	11.3	13.7	9.8	40.1	25.1
Ownership of durable goods[a]												
None	242	1.7	13.6	10.7	51.2	22.7	251	50.6	24.7	6.8	17.1	0.8
1 or 2 items	302	1.0	8.9	6.6	51.7	31.8	303	31.7	25.1	9.9	29.4	4.0
More than 3 items	584	0	1.4	1.5	37.8	59.2	591	13.9	17.3	10.7	36.9	21.8
All Wives	1,128	0.6	6.0	4.9	44.4	44.1	1,144	26.7	21.0	9.5	30.6	12.2

[a] Includes bicycle, radio/transistor, clock, sewing machine, kerosene/gas or electric stove, iron, water or teaset, torch, patromax, motor/scooter, and/or dressing table with mirror.

Table 17. Percentage of wives who considered various levels of education as necessary for male and female children, controlling for selected socioeconomic variables, rural areas, National Impact Survey, 1968-69.

	Male children						Female children					
Level of Education	Total	None or one or could read Quran	Primary	6-9	10-13	≥14	Total	None or one or could read Quran	Primary	6-9	10-13	≥14
Family Type												
Nuclear	740	1.5	21.9	9.2	50.1	36.1	749	49.8	30.4	8.0	10.7	1.1
Joint	915	2.6	22.2	8.6	41.6	63.9	927	42.7	31.1	7.8	15.1	3.3
Own Agricultural Land												
Own Land	801	2.2	16.9	7.6	46.9	26.3	813	43.3	29.9	9.7	13.8	3.3
Don't Own Land	854	2.0	26.9	10.1	43.9	17.1	863	48.4	31.5	6.1	12.5	1.4
Adequacy of Living												
Not Adequate	604	2.0	22.4	7.3	45.5	22.8	608	47.7	29.1	6.3	14.5	2.5
Adequate	976	2.3	22.6	9.8	45.6	19.7	991	46.4	30.4	8.6	12.2	2.1
More than Adequate	69	1.4	11.6	8.7	43.5	34.3	71	26.8	47.9	11.3	9.9	4.2
Wife's Education												
Illiterate	1,561	2.2	22.6	9.2	45.7	20.2	1,602	47.8	30.3	7.9	12.2	1.9
< 6 Grade	62	0	11.3	1.6	45.2	41.9	62	8.1	46.8	8.1	25.8	11.3
≥ 6 Grade	12	0	0	0	16.7	83.3	12	0	16.7	8.3	58.3	16.7
Husband's Education												
Illiterate	1,119	2.9	27.6	9.7	44.7	15.1	1,133	52.7	28.4	7.4	10.2	1.3
< 6 Grade	235	0.4	18.3	11.5	46.0	23.8	242	44.6	34.7	7.0	10.3	3.3
≥ 6 Grade	302	0.3	4.3	4.0	47.7	43.7	302	21.5	36.4	10.3	26.5	5.3
Ownership of Durable Goods[a]												
None	938	3.6	30.2	10.8	44.0	11.4	945	57.6	27.3	5.8	8.4	1.0
1 or 2 items	436	0.2	14.0	8.1	50.4	27.2	463	36.1	35.0	9.9	16.4	2.6
More than 3 items	262	0	5.9	3.4	41.6	48.1	269	21.9	35.7	11.5	24.2	6.7
All Wives	1,656	2.1	22.0	8.9	45.5	21.5	1,676	45.9	30.7	7.9	13.1	2.3

[a]Includes bicycle, radio/transistor, clock, sewing machine, kerosene/gas or electric stove, iron, water or teaset, torch, patromax, motor/scooter, and/or dressing table with mirror.

no aspirations for formal schooling for girls while over one-fourth desired up to primary education and about one-fourth had no concrete idea about the grade level up to which girls should be educated.

The lack of concrete goals was again pointed out very clearly in Hassan's study when she intereviewed girls aged 6-12 in her sample villages. Seventy percent could not answer the question about the amount of education they planned to receive in any concrete fashion. They said they did not know. Twelve percent of the 375 girls interviewed planned to receive an education up to matriculation and about 5% had plans for a college or higher education (Hassan, n.d., p. 151). The concrete responses were in most cases provided by the 27% girls who were in school or had been in school. An obvious conclusion from these findings is that educational goals are not formed until girls have some exposure to the school. That is, the girl must enter school to develop aspirations about any concrete levels of education.

In a more recent study on a sample of Punjabi villages, 32% of the parents said that they desired either no education or only religious education for girls (Anwar and Naeem, 1980, p. 61). Among those who did aspire for formal education for girls, close to half (46%) said that up to primary level of education was sufficient in case of girls. In the case of boys, however, only 2% parents said that either no education or religious education was sufficient. One-fourth of the respondents said that boys should be educated at least up to matric or 10 grades; another 31% said that boys should have an education up to college while 22% said that boys should be given maximum possible education. In the case of girls, one-fourth of the respondents said that there is no advantage of educating

girls (Anwar and Naeem, 1980, p. 64). These findings reaffirm that aspirations of rural parents for their daughter's education are still very low.

Reasons for Why Girls Are Not Sent to School

When asked about why they were not in school at the time of interview one-third of the non-school going girls said that there was no school for girls while another 5% said there was no teacher in school (Table 19). Thus, at least 38% of the girls were not in school because of non-availability of the facility. Attitudinal constraints such as relatives being against her education were expressed by 22% of the girls while another 18% perceived poverty to be the reason for their lack of school attendance. It is important to note that 10% of the girls had a negative self image and felt that they were not good enough to be sent to school. Only 8% of the girls said that they were not sent to school because of work at home. The work argument has been very frequently used in the literature as a reason for non-attendance but according to the empirical data in Hassan's study this seems to pose a constraint for only a small number. Lack of school facilities, relative's attitudes and poverty were the most important reasons.

The adults in Hassan's study provided slightly different responses when asked about why sons are educated and daughters are not. Unlike the minor girls' own responses about lack of schools being a major reason, a large proportion of the adults (45%) said that girls are not sent to school because there are no financial gains that accrue to parents by sending girls to school (Table 20). Since women do not take up jobs like men and since they leave parents home after marriage, the parents do not gain financially by educating daughters (Hassan, n.d., p. 137). About 13%

adults, however, did mention the lack of schools as the reason. One noteworthy point about the data in Table 20 is that 8% adults stated that girls and boys are not equal and the question is therefore irrelevant. In a male-oriented society like Pakistan, we would probably find the percentage who do not believe boys and girls to be equal to be much larger if we actually had adequate measurement of that. A bias towards male rather than female education is also evident form another question which asked about whether sons or daughters would be sent to school in case of parents who are poor. Half of the respondents said that only sons would be sent to school in that case (Hassan, n.d., p. 141).

Reasons for Dropping Out from School

Entry into the school system is only an essential first step in the process of education of children. Pakistan continues to be faced with high dropout rates as discussed in Section I of this chapter. There are only a few studies which have looked at the problem of dropouts in an empirical way. The study by the Bureau of Planning and Management (BEPM) probed the reasons for school dropout and non-attendance in 416 Pakistani villages. In this study, poverty was found to be the single most important reason for pupil dropout and non attendance given by various respondents, particularly in the case of boy's education. In the case of girls' education, negative attitudes of the parents were mentioned as the most serious problem by the students, their parents and their teachers. Furthermore, several of the teachers, parents and students perceived purdah, religious reasons and distance to school as reasons for pupil droput and non-attendance in case of female students (BEPM, 1977, p. 14). Thus, the parent's negative attitudes towards female edcuation in the BEPM study is consistent with the findings from the 1968-69 NIS and Hasan's study discussed above.

Table 18. Percentage distribution of responses to the question, "In your estimation how much education should be imparted to a girl?" (All respondents), 1977.

		N	%
1)	No education or religious education only.	245	14.9
2)	Ability to read and write only.	77	4.7
3)	Up to primary only.	453	27.6
4)	Up to matric only.	318	19.4
5)	Up to college.	73	4.5
6)	Vocational/Professional.	51	3.1
7)	Maximum education.	234	14.3
8)	As much as she could receive.	190	11.5
		1641	100.0

SOURCE: Recalculated from Hassan (n.d.: 139).

Table 19. Reasons why the girls think they were not in school (For girls not in school only), 1977.

		N	%
1)	There is no school for girls.	85	33.0
2)	The relatives are against my education.	57	22.1
3)	Poverty is the reason for not educating me.	47	18.2
4)	I am not good enough for study	26	10.1
5)	They do not send me to school because of work at home.	22	8.4
6)	There is no teacher in school	12	4.7
7)	The teacher does not treat me well	9	3.5
		258	100.0

SOURCE: Recalculated from Hassan (n.d.: 152).

Table 20. Distribution of responses to the question, "Boys and Girls are Equal in the Eyes of Parents, Then Why Most of the Parents Educate Their Sons and Not the Daughters," (All Respondents), 1977.

	N	%
1) No financial gains to the parents.	716	45.2
2) It is not customary to educate the girls.	256	16.2
3) There is no proper arrangement for girls education.	209	13.2
4) The boys and girls are not equal, therefore no question of educating both.	133	8.4
5) Parents do not educate daughters due to poverty.	74	4.7
6) Girls become too independent after getting education.	58	3.7
7) Ignorant parents do not value education of their children.	49	3.1
8) Purdah is the reason for not educating the girls.	44	2.8
9) The girls have to do household work.	18	1.1
10) The girls are not capable, intellectually of getting education.	16	1.0
11) Education does not help them in their future life.	12	0.8
	1585	100.0

SOURCE: Recalculated from Hassan (n.d.: 136).

In order to explore the reasons for pupil dropout in more depth, the BEPM conducted a study of matched pairs of stay-ins and drop-outs from schools in their sampled villages. While warning the reader about the suspect quality of data, the author makes the following conclusions. The drop-outs were found to rate consistently lower on (a) personality and temperament factors such as health, intelligence, peer relations (b) on family factors such as parents' attitudes towards education (c) on school success factors such as attendance, achievement and aspirations and (d) on knowledge and skills such as reading and writing etc. (BEPM, 1977, pp. 18-19). Mirza (1977) using the BEPM data on matched pairs of drop-outs and stay-ins further analyzed the data on school factors. She analyzed ten school factors and compared the stay-ins and drop-outs on those factors.[10] By scoring the feelings or performance of children on the ten items, she showed that the drop-outs were much lower on all the items than the stay-ins and all the differences were statistically significant. For example, the mean score on feelings about school for stay-in boys was 8.0 compared to 3.4 for drop-out boys; the corresponding figures for girls being 8.2 and 4.3 (Mirza, 1977, p. 13 and Table 2). While these findings seem interesting on the face of it, neither Mirza nor the BEPM report deals with the difficult issue of proving (or even demonstrating) causality from their data. It is likely that those children who had negative feelings about school dropped out but it is equally likely that they reported such feelings because they had already dropped out. Despite these methodological problems, it may be noted that drop-outs had significantly lower scores on educational aspirations, feelings about school and class performance (attendance, achievement, failure); distance did not seem to be a very

important variable while both drop-outs and stay-ins ranked generally low on the knowledge of political issues and political views questions.

The BEPM also found that nationwide, the quality of the school buildings and facilities had no significant relationship with school attendance; a similar insignificant relationship was found with the quality of school curriculum and school personnel. The only measure that was found to be consistently positively associated with school attendance was a composite measure called "total village development" (BEPM, 1977, p. 16-17). The authors of the study conclude that "a thrust at improving adult attitudes and education, school facilities, personnel, curriculum, public health and motivation appears to offer the most promising approach" (BEPM, 1977, p. 17).

IV. OPINIONS ABOUT CONTENT OF EDUCATION

At least two questions are significant with regard to the content of female education in Pakistan. First, how does the current content of education define and project the role, status and images of Pakistani women and girls? Second, what are the planners' and educators' emphasis in terms of content and do these vary from the common man's perceptions about the desirable content of education for women? The first question has been touched upon in Chapter 3 by Hafeez and will therefore not be discussed here. The second question is vital in terms of the overall concern with the redefinition of the status and roles of women in Pakistan, and will determine some of the policies for the future.

A well-known Professor of Engineering said at a recent seminar on the Prospects of Women's Education: "In order to plan for women's education in Pakistan, one must have a clear vision of women's role in society." (Ahmad, 1978, p. 39). Based on this general premise, he argued that since

the woman's basic role is that of the manager of the family, female education should be such that it prepares her for this role. This viewpoint about the basic role of women in the Pakistani society is representative of the general view about the different (but complementary) roles of the two sexes defined by Islam. (The sexual division of labour and the specific roles of women in Islam have been discussed in detail in Chapter 2 and need not be repeated here). In contrast to this rather conservative viewpoint, some more radical viewpoints were also presented at the same seminar. Alys Faiz argued that "radical reform alone can bring about radical changes in attitudes and values towards women's education.... There can be no more trailing behind men, women should ask for no special considerations... but demand their full rights" (Faiz, 1978, p . 71). She seems to be more concerned with the equal right to education, regardless of the content of education itself.

Another participant at the seminar who is a very experienced educationalist argues that questions of content and changes in content need to be scrutinized very carefully by education planners. One consideration which should guide female education should be suitability in terms of the job market (S. Mahmood, 1978, pp. 73-75). S. Mahmood's last point about suitability for the job market would perhaps be too radical for persons who believe that work outside the home is not a part of the Pakistani woman's basic, permissible role. All the writers agree, however, that the content of education has been based on relatively haphazard and vague objectives, to date.

Not much empirical data is available on the question of what the parents of a child or adults in general regard as the desirable content of education for girls. In the study of rural adults by Hassan (n.d.) a

larger proportion (40%) felt that the content of education should be such that it makes girls religious and morally good. Another 24% felt that children should receive religious as well as public education. A considerable proportion (14%) said education must teach some saleable skills or have some economic benefit for girls (Hassan, n.d., p. 143). This last response is significant from the policy perspective and indicates that at least one-sixth of the parents did express a demand for education which would teach skills to their daughters. This suggests that female education might be more acceptable to some parents if it includes vocational training than if it only teaches girls to read and write. One disadvantage of female education expressed by the rural adults was that the educated women stop working in the fields. Since female labour is an important part of the rural economic structure, at least during certain seasons, such behavior changes on the part of educated women is regarded unfavourably by many rural adults.

Thus, it seems that any redefinition in the content of education must be based on clear notions about women's role in society. The Western notion of equality of opportunity in all fields would not be easily acceptable to the education planners or the general public in Pakistan. Instead, the content of female education has to be guided by the constraints placed on female roles by the culture and religion. Also, femlae education might have greater appeal to many people if it included some element of vocational training.

V. THE FUTURE OF FEMALE EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN

One of the stated policies of the Government is to reduce the existing level of disparity in available facilities by boys' and girls' education by providing an accelerated expansion of girls' education compared to boys

(Planning Commission, 1978, p. 335). It is planned that female enrollment at the primary level would be increased from 1.7 in 1977-78 to 2.7 million in 1982-83 representing an increase of 58%. Similarly, a 65% increase in enrollment at the middle (VI-VIII grade level) and 73% at the high school level (IX-X grade) is planned. The Government also plans to supplement the formal education system by introducing especially designed programs of non-formal education to cater the needs of specially selected age groups. Such programs would be delivered through radio broadcasts. An emphasis is also being placed on programs of functional literacy that would be particularly suited to the needs of girls and women. The Commission expects that with all these inputs the literacy rate for females aged 5+ would increase from 11% to 16% over the Fifth Plan Period (1977-78 to 1982-83); the corresponding rates for males being 36% and 43%.[11]

Whether the Government would be able to succeed in achieving its stated goals would depend on the availability of female educational institutions and teachers as well as the parents' demand for female education. I have discussed in Section III above that many of the parents had very modest goals about their daughters' education. One of the negative attitudes that rural adults expressed with regard to female education was that once femlaes get educated they stop doing farm work. Poverty, which continues to be a factor in the lives of most Pakistani families, was reported to be a major reason for school non-attendance and dropping out of school for all children. In the case of girls' education, additional factors such as negative attitudes of parents and relatives, purdah restrictions and distance to school were considered important by rural adults. Viewed within the overall perspective of urban and rural communities, I tend to agree with the BEPM conclusion that female educational levels in rural

areas will continue to be low in the absence of total village development. Greater progress is likely to be made in urban areas both because of more adequate facilities and greater demand for female education.

VI. SUMMARY

About 13% of all females age 10+ were defined as literate in 1973 compared with 38% literate males. There was a large discrepancy in the literacy of females in rural and urban areas—32% and 6%, respectively. Provincial differences suggest that female literacy was highest in urban Sind (35%) with Punjab following closely (33%). N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan had only about 21% literate females (age 10+) in urban areas. It is difficult to analyse the trends in literacy rates over the various census periods because of definitional and methodological differences. One can, however, conclude that female literacy rates have gone up from about 8% in 1951 to about 12 or 13% around 1972-73. The Government has estimated the 1977-78 rate for females to be about 11% (among those aged 5+) and expect the rate go up to 16% by 1983.

Twelve percent of the girls aged 5-9 and 20% of those aged 10-14 were enrolled in school in 1973; the corresponding percentages for male children were 23% and 46%. There are large rural-urban differences with 45% of urban and only 10% girls aged 10-14 in school. The percentage of females as a component of the total enrolled population has increased steadily since Pakistan's independence in 1947. Women comprise 29% of all primary school students, about one-fifth of all middle and high school students and about 27% of all college level students. While less than one percent of all students are receiving university and professional level education, women comprise 24% of university enrollees and about 23% of professional college enrollees. Thus, the sex ratio continues to be highly biased

towards males at all levels but considerable gains in female education have been made over time. Female enrollment at the primary level has increased in close correspondence with female primary schools and female primary school teachers. This is not surprising in a sex segregated society like Pakistan. An obvious implication of this finding is that female educational institutions and teachers are necessary for the increase in female enrollment levels. The percentage of female teachers at the university level has increased more modestly than at the primary and secondary levels and about 10% of all university teachers are female. This small percentage is probably related to the co-educational nature of the universities in Pakistan. Two women's universities have been proposed by the Government and are likely to be set up soon.

The educational level of the nation as a whole has increased slightly between 1961 and 1973. That is, more of the educated persons have attained relatively higher levels of education in the latter time period—23% of the enrolled females were at the post primary level in 1972-73 compared with 13% in 1961. The percentage of females at the higher levels of education is, however, still very low with less than one percent of enrolled females at the post graduate level.

The number of educational institutions has increased substantially over the last thirty years. Eighty-seven percent of all primary and 78% of all middle schools for girls are located in rural areas. Availability of adequate school facilities is, however, only one of the components in enhancing female education. The parents' demand for education of their daughters and the general climate of opinion with regard to female education are very significant elements which might help or hinder the spread of education. In Pakistan, the demand for education seems to be

rather low and modest, particularly in the rural areas. About 46% rural wives said in a 1968-69 survey that it was fine if girls received no education or only up to one grade of education and learned to read the Quaran. In a more recent survey, it was found that about 31% rural adults who were interviewed could not express any concrete goals (in terms of grade level) with regard to girls education. Parents' and relatives' negative attitudes have been pointed out as a very important factor in school non-attendance of girls.

Both because of shortage of facilities and relatively modest aspirations for girls' education, only one-fifth of all girls age 10-14 were in school in 1973. The rural-urban differentials in enrollment levels were marked. The male-female differentials were large particularly in rural areas where the proportions of enrolled boys was almost four times as high as girls—39% and 10%. Thus, more than 90% of the school-age population of rural females are not in school. The Government has an explicit commitment to a rapid increase in female education, both in absolute terms and relative to the male population. The problem of low literacy rates has to be tackled from both the supply side and the demand for female education. Given the existing resource allocations to education, the low income levels of the population and the attitudinal constraints, one should not expect a dramatic increase in enrollment or literacy levels over the next five years.

Footnotes

1. Jillani estimated the number of Quran readers in 1951 and excluded them from the total literates in 1951. He estimated Quran readers by applying the percent of Quran readers in 1961 to the Muslim population of 1951.

2. Defined as those who could read with understanding and write in any language.

3. We have not been able to analyze women at the post graduate level separately because of their very small number.

4. While rural-urban breakdown is not available from BEPM data, it is evident from a comparison of data for the province totals that the HED Survey has overestimated the number of students in Punjab and Sind and underestimated it in N.W.F.P (as shown in Appendix Table Ed. 4). For the females in particular, the HED Survey underestimated female students by 33 thousand in Punjab and 16 thousand in N.W.F.P. while it overestimated the number of female students by 83 thousand in Sind and 12 thousand in Baluchistan. These numbers represent under or overestimates of 3% for Punjab, 21% for Sind, 14% for N.W.F.P. and 49% for Baluchistan compared with BEPM figures. Given the large differences for some provinces, the provincial level figures must be treated only as tentative.

5. It is likely that the definition of secondary and vocational institutions has changed over the period, to include or exclude specific types of institutions. This type of education is considered as 'special' education apart from the regular school and college levels.

6. In the 1973 HED Survey there were 4.4 million children enrolled at the primary and below primary levels. Over half (55%) of the 4.4 million children at these levels were in age groups 10-14. Similarly, 52% of all girls at the below primary and primary levels were aged 10-14.

7. This change in attendance level implies a dropout rate of about 47% for girls and about 41% for boys between grades I and II. This calculation however, assumes that the enrollment rate was the same as in the year prior to the one in which BEPM conducted its survey (in 1976).

8. Some of the arguments in favor of a separate university were that in a conservative society, higher and specialized education can best be given at a women's university; the principle of equalization of opportunities demands that there should be a separate university for those who do not believe in co-education on religious, social, traditional or cultural grounds; more qualified women will be available for employment in higher jobs. Some of the arguments against the proposal were: Total segregation of women at the highest educational level is not desirable as it would deprive women of the opportunities of playing an effective role in society; in big cities purdah is fast disappearing. Self-sufficient and self-reliance spirit may be

inculcated among the female folk; if women are educated at separate universities, it might follow that they cannot work in male institutions which will restrict job opportunities and will be against human rights. This trend will result into further exploitation of women (UGC, 1979, pp. 4-7).

9. A breakdown by level of teacher education is given in Appendix Table Ed. 5.

10. The ten school factors were: feelings about school, educational aspirations, treatment by teachers, knowledge of political issues and political views (asked from the child), distance to school (as assessed by interviewer), class failure/retardation, attendance record, achievement record (estimated from school records), relationships with teachers (as reported by teacher).

11. The literacy rate for females aged 5+ was 12.6% in the 1973 HED Survey.

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10

FEMALE EMPLOYMENT: TRENDS, STRUCTURE, UTILIZATION AND CONSTRAINTS

by

Nasra M. Shah

Female employment has been regarded as a central variable related to the improvement in status of women in various countries. Some arguments in favor of female employment use the following lines of reasoning. First, female employment and the income it generates has been reported to be a significant component of the overall family income, in many countries (Tinker, 1976; Griffith et al., 1979; Safilios-Rothschild, 1980). Second, female employment is assumed to exert a negative influence on the fertility of women and is thus considered to be important for population control. It is believed that work participation provides an alternative identity to the motherhood role thus reducing the saliency of this role. While a negative association between female work and fertility has been found in several developed countries, the relationship has not always been clear and inverse in the case of developing countries (e.g., Stycos and Weller, 1967; Goldstein, 1972; Studies in Kupinsky, 1977). This argument has also been used by family planning agencies in several countries as a 'beyond family planning' measure, including Pakistan (e.g. Population Division, 1981). In Pakistan, however, the validity of this assumption is doubtful considering that female work has not been found to have a consistent negative influence on fertility (e.g. Shah, 1975a; Shah and Smith, 1981; Syed, 1978).

Whatever the fertility implications of an increase in female work participation, it nevertheless remains an important avenue of potential

planned social change, particularly in the more organized and institutionalized settings. One possible consequence of greater work participation by certain subgroups such as young, unmarried girls may be an impact on their age at marriage. Work participation by young, unmarried girls has traditionally been low in Pakistan but there are some indications of change as a result of greater participation of such girls in the cottage industry in rural areas. The social-psychological and of course economic worth of a girl who is earning cash income is likely to be greater than the worth of one who is not so engaged. It is likely that the parents may postpone the marriage of a working girl, in some cases so that they may collect a better dowry for her. Furthermore, work participation may eventually provide women with a confidence in their own abilities and may lead to a real expansion of roles.

In this chapter, the analysis of trends and structure of the female labor force in Pakistan is organized as follows. First, the trends in labor force participation rates and unemployment rates are analysed for several years. Second, variation in female work participation by certain demographic and socioeconomic characteristics is examined. Third, the structure of the labor force is analyzed in terms of the occupational distribution. Fourth, an assessment of the adequacy of utilization of the labor force is presented. Finally, an overview of the correlates and constraints of female work participation is given. Data for males are presented in many of the tabulations but are discussed only as deemed necessary.

I. TREND IN PARTICIPATION RATES

Between 1951 and 1961 the number of females in the labor force increased from about .3 million to 1.1 million (Table 1). This implies an

increase in the participation rates for females from 3% to 9% (Table 2).[1] Between 1961 and 1973, however, the number of women in the labor force fell by about .14 million; the corresponding participation rate for females in 1973 was 5% compared with 9% in 1961. The apparent decline in female participation rate found in the 1973 Housing, Economic and Demographic (HED) Survey is, however, not supported by data from other sources, as discussed below.

I have argued elsewhere that there are serious problems in collecting labor force data for women in census type operations in which the household head, who is usually a male, reports on the female's (i.e. his wife's, daughter's or sister's) economic activity. In a society like Pakistan where female work is generally viewed negatively, census data based on male reporting are liable to seriously underreport female economic activity (Shah and Shah, 1980; Shah, Shah and Ahmed, 1977). At least partial support for this argument is available from other data from Pakistan in which the woman herself responded to the labor force questions. Table 2 (last two columns) shows that the two national surveys in which the women themselves were asked whether they were currently working reveal activity rates as high as 19% in 1968-69 NIS and 17% in 1975 PFS. The rates in these two household surveys are roughly double that of the 1961 census rates.[2] Measurement of female work participation leaves a lot to be desired in Pakistan and census data provides a rather inaccurate picture of the actual situation.

The inadequacy of measurement may be illustrated by the data for rural areas. Census data show that only about 6-11% of the rural women are in the labor force (Table 2, last panel). In the household surveys 22% rural women in National Impact Survey (NIS) and 18% in Pakistan Fertility Survey (PFS) reported that they were in the labor force. Data from village

Table 1: Civilian labour force by employed and unemployed status and percent of employed persons in agricultural or non-agricultural occupations, by sex, 1951, 1961 and 1973

	Civilian Labour Force (000's)	Percent	Employed	Agriculture	Non-agriculture[b]	Unemployed
1951 Census[a]						
Both sexes	9,812	100.0	96.9	63.3	33.6	3.1[c]
Males	9,495	100.0	97.0	63.0	34.0	3.0[c]
Females	317	100.0	92.4	63.2	29.2	7.6[c]
1961 Census						
Both sexes	12,763	100.0	98.3	59.1	39.2	1.7
Males	11,641	100.0	98.2	58.1	40.1	1.8
Females	1,122	100.0	99.4	70.3	29.1	0.6
1973 HED Survey						
Both sexes	17,866	100.0	96.2	54.0	42.1	3.8
Males	16,882	100.0	96.8	54.1	42.8	3.2
Females	984	100.0	85.1	54.2	30.9	14.9

[a]Figures for 1951 include all persons of age 12 and above while those of 1961 and 1973 are for age 10+.

[b]Non-agricultural labour force includes persons working in forestry and fishery occupations.

[c]Unemployment figures for 1951 were obtained by deducting percent employed from 100 (Civilian Labour Force), since no direct estimate of unemployment were available.

Sources: Manager of publications (n.d., Vol. 7, Table 1 and Table 6); Home Affairs Division (1964, Vol. 4, Table 1:176-177); author's tabulations from the HED Survey, 1973.

studies in Pakistan indicate that if adequately measured, a much larger percentage of rural women would be counted in the labor force than has been traditionally done in the censuses. In a study of women's farm activities in four villages in Punjab, Saeed (1966) found that about 80% of all the women who were interviewed did participate in some kind of farm activity. Such activity was more intense during the harvesting seasons. For example, 43% of the women participated in wheat cutting, 78% participated in the binding of sheaves and 67% participated in the threshing of wheat. More than four-fifths (84%) of the village women participated in cleaning of grains and about half of them spent more than four hours a day in cleaning of grains during the harvesting season. Cleaning of grains may, however, be regarded as an extension of the woman's household tasks and would therefore not be reported as an economic activity even when the produce may be sold for profit.[3] The level of participation in the activities listed above decreased slightly with education and size of landholding but still remained very high. Participation rates also varied by caste, being relatively lower among the Rajputs than among other women.

While we do not have an accurate idea of how many women in Pakistan should be classified as active members of the labor force, it is reasonable to conclude that the participation rate is certainly higher than the 5-10% indicated by census data. It is probably close to 20% and may actually be significantly higher in rural areas. Most of the census data sources and the NIS suggest that female work participation has been significantly higher in rural compared with urban areas. Data from the 1975 PFS, however, show a considerable narrowing of the gap between rural and urban rates (Table 2, last column). It is possible that more urban women are taking part in the labor force because of greater pressure on limited

Table 2: Trend in labour force participation rate (LFPR) for persons age 10+ by sex, Pakistan, rural and urban areas, for various years[a]

	Census 1951	Census 1961	LFS[b] 1968-69	NIS[c] 1968-69	HED 1973	LFS[b] 1974-75	PFS[d] 1975
PAKISTAN							
Both Sexes	44.9	48.1	44.7	--	42.2	43.8	--
Males	79.4	80.8	79.1	--	72.7	76.7	--
Females	3.1	9.3	6.6	18.7	5.1	6.4	17.2
URBAN							
Both Sexes	--	43.0	39.6	--	37.7	38.8	--
Males	--	72.2	70.1	--	65.3	69.6	--
Females	--	4.1	4.1	9.0	4.2	3.6	15.6
RURAL							
Both Sexes	--	49.9	46.4	--	43.9	45.9	--
Males	--	83.9	82.1	--	75.6	79.8	--
Females	--	10.9	7.5	22.3	5.5	7.6	17.8

-- data not available.

[a]Civilian labour force only.

[b]LFS stands for Labor Force Survey in this and subsequent tables.

[c]Rate for currently married women who were currently working at the time of Survey.

[d]Rates for ever married women who were currently working at the time of Survey. These rates are based on the analysis file.

Sources: Farooq (1975, Table II-6); Home Affairs Division (n.d., Vol. 3, Statement 8-B, Table 41: V-28 and Table 43: 43-44); Statistics Division (n.d.(a): 8, and n.d.(b): 51); and author's tabulations for the NIS 1968-69, PFS 1975 and HED Survey, 1973.

family resources or a changing demand structure which has made more jobs available. More recent data from the 1981 Census will help us in estimating the reliability and possible reasons for this apparent change in rural-urban differentials.

I.1 Participation Rates in Provinces

Provincial estimates of participation rates can be made from the 1961 Census and the 1973 HED Survey as done in Table 3. While the levels of participation differ substantially in the two data sources, both do show participation to be highest in the province of Sind, followed by N.W.F.P. and Punjab. Baluchistan had the lowest participation rate, about 3% in both sources. Twelve percent of the females in Sind were in the labor force in 1961 compared with 7% in 1973; the corresponding rates for rural Sindhi women being 16% and 9%. It is not clear whether these interprovincial differences represent real differences in participation rates or are a reflection of different reporting patterns; it is likely that both of these factors contribute to the differentials.

I.2 Unemployment Rates

Unemployment rates for both males and females have traditionally been very low, around 1-2% (Table 4). Almost all the persons in the labor force are reported to be currently employed. It has been suggested that such unusually low unemployment rates are very likely a result of 'disguised unemployment' whereby people may not be employed full time but report themselves to be so (Farooq, 1975, p. 56). This is particularly true in the agricultural sector and in the informal non-agricultural sectors in which labor is not so rigidly organized around a specific time schedule.

Data from the 1973 HED Survey suggest that unemployment rates are higher than those shown by other data sources, particularly for females.[4]

Table 3: Changes in labor force participation rate for persons age 10+ by sex and provinces, 1961 and 1973

Provinces	1961			1973		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Baluchistan						
Both Sexes	47.1	48.0	43.7	42.9	44.2	35.9
Males	81.0	84.9	67.7	74.8	77.0	62.4
Females	3.0	2.7	4.1	2.9	2.8	3.2
N.W.F.P.						
Both Sexes	46.8	48.5	39.7	39.3	39.7	37.7
Males	80.6	84.8	65.1	69.4	70.3	65.4
Females	9.3	10.2	4.6	5.1	5.1	4.9
Punjab						
Both Sexes	47.5	49.1	42.0	41.9	42.8	36.0
Males	80.7	83.5	71.5	71.9	74.4	64.4
Females	8.7	10.0	3.7	4.6	4.8	3.9
Sind						
Both Sexes	50.8	54.1	42.1	45.3	50.3	38.9
Males	81.0	84.6	71.6	75.8	83.8	66.8
Females	11.8	16.0	4.5	7.1	9.2	4.5

Notes: Figures for 1951 are not shown because of definitional differences.

Sources: Home Affairs Division (n.d., Vol. 3, Table 41 and Table 43); author's tabulations from the HED Survey, 1973.

Table 4: Unemployment rates for total, rural and urban Pakistan by sex, various years

Percent of unemployed in CLF	Census 1961	LFS 1968-69	HED 1973[a]	LFS 1974-75
Total	1.7	2.1	3.8	1.7
Male	1.9	2.0	3.2	1.8
Female	0.6	3.5	14.9	0.7
Rural	1.4	1.8	2.8	1.3
Male	1.5	1.6	2.2	1.4
Female	0.5	3.1	12.8	0.6
Urban	2.8	3.4	6.9	2.7
Male	2.9	3.3	6.1	2.8
Female	1.4	5.8	22.0	1.2

[a]The data for HED Survey have been adjusted by excluding persons who were not in the labour force but may have been included in the published figures. The revised unemployed rates reported here are therefore considerably lower than the published figures, particularly for women.

Sources: Home Affairs Division (n.d., Census Bulletin No. 5: v; Statistics Division (n.d.(a): 8 and n.d.(b): 51); and author's tabulations from the HED Survey, 1973.

The differences are particularly large in urban areas where 22% of the females were reported as unemployed in the 1973 HED Survey compared with only 1% in the 1974-75 Labour Force Survey (LFS). The unemployment rates for urban males are also roughly twice as high according to the HED Survey compared with other sources. Whether the HED Survey figures are more accurate than the other sources or the higher rates are simply a result of data problems within the HED Survey is not clear. Given the consistency of unemployment data in other sources it is probably wise to treat the HED Survey data with reservation. Province-wise data on unemployment rates shows similar discrepancies between the 1961 Census and 1973 HED Survey (see Appendix Table LF 1).

II. VARIATIONS IN PARTICIPATION RATES BY SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

Age. When participation rates are analyzed by age of employed persons the curve is fairly flat for female rates for both 1961 and 1973 (Table 5). Somewhat fewer of the youngest (10-14) and oldest (60+) women seem to work compared to those aged 15-59. A similar pattern is indicated by data in the 1975 PFS (Shah and Smith, 1981, p. 10). The male rates also follow the same general pattern. A fairly flat curve for the female participation rates probably implies that women who have a need to work continue working throughout most of their lives. Data from the 1975 PFS provide some evidence to support the contention that women who need to work and who do enter the labor force continue working a good part of their lives. For example, among the employed married women who had been married for 10-14 years, 52% had worked for almost 6 or more years. Also, among those married for 25-29 years, about half had worked for almost 16 years or more. All employed ever-married women report to have worked for an average of 9

Table 5: Age specific labour force participation rates by sex, 1961 Census and 1973 HED Survey

	Both Sexes		Males		Females	
Age Groups	1961	1973	1961	1973	1961	1973
Total 10+	48.1	42.2	80.8	72.7	9.3	5.1
10-14	10.4	18.6	38.4	31.2	4.7	2.8
15-19	42.7	37.5	72.3	63.1	7.6	4.2
20-24	51.1	45.7	87.9	79.9	9.6	6.1
25-29	54.1	49.8	93.7	90.4	10.6	6.3
30-34		51.0		92.4		6.3
35-39	56.6	51.2	94.5	94.1	11.7	5.9
40-44		53.7		93.9		6.2
45-49	58.0	52.5	94.3	94.5	11.7	5.7
50-54		56.0		91.5		6.7
55-59	55.2	47.3	91.0	89.1	10.2	5.1
60+	49.2	44.0	80.1	69.6	7.9	4.9

Source: Home Affairs Division (n.d., Census Bulletin No. 5, Table 3:80-81) and author's tabulations from the HED Survey.

years since marriage, and those who had worked before marriage had worked for an average of 5 years.[5]

Marital Status. Participation rates were higher among widowed and divorced women compared with married women in both 1961 and 1973, by roughly the same order of magnitude, as judged from participation in non-agricultural activities.[6] About 7% of divorced women in 1961 Census and the 1973 HED Survey were employed compared with about 3% and 1% of married women respectively, as shown below:

	Percent of Females in Non-Agricultural Labor Force	
Marital Status	1961 Census	1973 HED Survey
Single	2.0	1.8
Married	2.7	1.2
Widowed	4.6	3.9
Divorced	7.1	6.6

Divorced women usually return to their parental home and their fathers or brothers are expected to provide economic support for them. Widowed women may continue to live with their husband's family or may return to their parental home depending on several factors such as number of children of the widowed woman or her property etc. Higher participation rates of widowed and divorced women suggest that these women have a greater need for economic support than the married women. It is also likely that activity rates for such women are reported more accurately since they themselves may have reported on their own economic activity. This is likely to be more true in the case of female household heads.

Age, Marital Status and Education. Activity rates are examined in greater detail in Table 6 where such rates are presented after controlling for age, marital status and education. The subgroups (of females) among whom the activity rates are particularly high consist of those widowed and divorced women who have a 'medium' level of education (1-9 grades), and

relatively older (25+) women who have either 'medium' education or relatively higher education (10 or more grades). For example, 22% of all widowed and 38% of all divorced women who had 'medium' levels of education were in the labor force. Also, 40% of the single women aged 45+ who had a medium level of education were economically active. Such rates are indeed very high considering that the HED Survey may have in fact underestimated female participation rates in general. It should be emphasized, however, that despite their relatively higher participation rates widowed and divorced women constitute only a small proportion of the female labor force as discussed later. It seems that the economic need to participate in the labor force is perhaps unusually high among these subgroups. Furthermore, many of the women with some education are likely to be in occupations that are regarded as respectable (e.g. school teachers) and are likely to be relatively more accurately reported. These patterns need to be studied in greater detail and with more recent data. Contrary to the female pattern, divorced and widowed males have consistently lower participation rates compared with married men among each of the age groups (Table 6). For a description of these patterns by rural and urban areas see Appendix Table LF 2.

II.1 Characteristics of Working vs. Non-working Women

A somewhat more detailed description of the characteristics of working women is made possible by an analysis of data on currently married employed women in the 1975 PFS. A comparison of some of the socioeconomic characteristics of (currently) working and non-working women shows that on the average, working women are slightly younger and at lower levels of parity than the non-working women (Table 7). A somewhat larger percentage of the former are illiterate or have illiterate husbands; and slightly

Table 6: Labour force participation rates by sex, age groups, marital status and education, Pakistan HED Survey 1973 (Percentages)

	Males					Females				
	Total	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Total	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
All Ages 10+	70	50	89	66	63	4	4	4	6	9
Illiterate	81	69	91	65	54	4	4	4	5	7
< Matric	49	27	87	69	64	4	2	5	22	38
Matric +	63	42	82	71	73	10	12	10	9	3
10-24 (All)	49	46	84	57	45	3	3	4	6	9
Illiterate	68	66	89	52	31	4	3	4	4	7
< Matric	27	24	83	65	62	2	1	3	29	29
Matric +	38	34	66	65	61	8	8	6	7	4
25-44 (All)	91	83	93	84	69	5	14	5	13	9
Illiterate	94	88	95	86	66	5	8	5	12	8
< Matric	88	78	90	84	69	7	22	5	23	28
Matric +	83	71	87	75	73	16	38	12	16	10
45+ (All)	81	61	85	61	63	4	19	4	5	8
Illiterate	82	62	86	60	51	4	15	4	4	7
< Matric	80	51	84	62	59	16	40	9	22	52
Matric +	76	65	78	70	75	8	18	8	6	2

Source: Author's tabulations from the HED Survey, 1973.

Table 7: Socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of working and nonworking currently married women, ages 15-44, by specified characteristics, Pakistan, 1975 PFS

Characteristic	Worked Since Marriage[a]			Never Worked Since Marriage			
	Urban	Rural	All Working Women	Urban	Rural	Total Non-Working Women	Total Population
$\bar{x}$ Age	28.9	28.0	28.2	29.0	29.0	29.0	28.9
$\bar{x}$ Age at Marriage	16.6	16.5	16.2	16.8	16.5	16.5	16.4
% Wives Literate[2]	24.8	5.0	9.9	28.3	5.8	11.7	11.3
Wife's Education ($\bar{x}$ Number of grades passed)	1.5	0.2	0.6	1.9	0.4	0.7	0.7
% Husbands Literate[b]	54.8	35.8	40.5	63.7	36.2	43.4	42.8
Husband's Education ($\bar{x}$ Number of grades passed)	4.2	2.2	2.7	5.4	2.3	3.1	3.0
$\bar{x}$ Number of Children ever Born	4.2	3.7	3.8	4.1	3.9	4.0	4.0
$\bar{x}$ Number of Living Children	3.3	2.9	3.0	3.3	3.0	3.1	3.1
$\bar{x}$ Number of Children Born during past 5 Years	1.2	1.1	[illegible]	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2
$\bar{x}$ Number of Children Desired (Ideal)	3.9	4.5	4.3	3.9	4.2	4.1	4.2
% Knowing of a Family Planning Clinic[3]	50.3	22.6	29.4	56.0	26.9	34.5	33.6
% Knowing Family Planning Personnel	34.7	23.4	26.2	40.3	25.8	29.6	28.9
% Knowing of Family Planning Method	84.0	70.7	74.0	82.8	73.9	76.3	75.8
% Who ever Used Contraception	19.1	5.7	9.1	23.1	6.2	10.6	10.3
% Currently Using Contraception	9.2	2.8	4.4	13.0	2.6	5.3	5.1
% Wanting more Children	50.4	64.7	61.1	49.9	57.2	55.3	56.4
$\bar{x}$ Number of additional Children wanted	1.1	1.6	1.4	1.0	1.3	1.3	1.3
Number in Sample	200	605	804	887	2509	3396	4201

[a]Of all the women who had worked since marriage, 90% were currently working.

[b]Had any schooling.

Source: Shah and Smith (1981:18).

fewer of them have knowledge of family planning clinics or have used contraceptive methods. Thus, the comparison suggests that the working women on the average belong to a slightly lower socioeconomic level although the differences are generally small; the differences between the two groups are relatively larger within urban areas. These data pertain only to the currently married women aged 10-49 but a similar analysis of differences between the working and non-working women would be highly desirable for the widowed and divorced women.[7]

A comparison of some of the basic characteristics of all women who are in the labor force with those who are not in the labor force suggests the following broad patterns, according to the 1973 HED Survey. The labor force is comprised of relatively older women compared with the rest of the population (Table 8). Ninety percent of the working women are aged 25 or more compared with 81% of the non-working women. Two-thirds of the labor force consists of married women while single women constitute a little over one-fourth of the female labor force. Widowed and divorced women comprise only 11% of the labor force. What is noteworthy, however, is that there are considerably more widowed and divorced women among those who are working compared with those who are not; e.g., the labor force has 10% widowed women compared with 7% in the remaining population. Women in the labor force have a somewhat higher literacy rate than the rest of the population—16% of the former are literate compared with 13% of the latter. Finally, the labor force has slightly fewer recent migrants[8] than the rest of the population (Table 8). The overall percentage of migrants in the population is very small and females are not an exception to that. Specific subgroups within the migrant females, however, have unusually high participation rates as discussed in Chapter 7 on migration.

Table 8: Social and demographic characteristics of working and nonworking women, age 10+ Pakistan, 1973 HED Survey

	In the Labour Force[a] %	Not in the Labour Force[a] %
Number	983,981	18,184,817
Age		
10-25	10.1	19.0
25-44	64.7	57.6
45+	25.2	23.4
Marital Status		
Single	26.3	31.9
Married	62.5	60.7
Widowed	9.8	6.9
Divorced	1.4	0.4
Education		
Illiterate	84.1	87.2
<Matric	8.0	9.7
≥Matric	7.9	3.1
Migrant Status		
Recent migrant[b]	1.7*	2.6
Non-migrant	98.3	97.4

[a]Currently working and those who are looking for work.

[b]Includes those who moved to current place of residence between 1965 and 1973.

*Includes currently employed women only.

Source: Author's tabulations from the HED Survey, 1973.

III. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

More than 70% of the females in Pakistan are engaged in agricultural occupations as reported in the 1951 and 1961 Censuses and the 1973 HED Survey (Table 9). About 27% of the total female labor force was engaged in non-agricultural activities in 1961 and 1973. Note that the structure of the male labor force has changed considerably—the percentage of males in non-agricultural activities seems to have increased from 34% in 1951 to 42% in 1973. There is no corresponding increase for the females. Such a high level of concentration in agricultural activities does not, however, seem to be supported by data from the 1975 PFS as shown in Table 10. According to the PFS, about 38% of the rural working women were employed in agricultural activities and another 5% were employed as unskilled laborers, probably on the farm; the remaining 57% women were engaged in non-agricultural activities. It is likely that the concentration of females in agricultural activities has been reduced in recent years but such a conclusion must remain tentative until more recent data from the 1981 Census become available. Furthermore, the compositional differences between the various sources may seriously effect the occupational structure thus reducing the comparability between sources.

Within the non-agricultural labor force, women are concentrated in three major occupations: professional and technical occupations, service occupations and production occupations. The proportions in each of these occupations are, however, strikingly different between the various data sources, particularly so in the 1973 HED Survey. From about 10% in 1961, the proportion of women in professional and technical occupations seems to have increased to 31% in 1973. While such an increase would indeed be a welcome change in the occupational structure, I believe that this finding

cannot be accepted at face value. A majority of all professional women in Pakistan are teachers at various levels or nurses and midwives (including dais i.e. traditional midwives). Given the rather slow change in the health infrastructure and the schooling levels discussed in Chapters 8 and 9 it seems unlikely that the proportion of women in professional occupations could have changed so dramatically. Further support for this argument is provided by data from the 1968 NIS the 1975 PFS which also show the proportion of (married, urban) women in professional occupations to be around 8-10% (Table 10). The various data sources have used similar coding schemes and these differences, therefore, need further probing.

The proportion of service workers was roughly the same between the 1951 and 1961 Census and the 1973 HED Survey—around 30% (Table 9). The percentage of married women who reported themselves to be employed as domestic servants (or housekeepers and caretakers) was, however, considerably lower in the NIS and PFS than in the 1961 Census and 1973 HED Survey (Table 10). It is not clear what the reasons for these differences between data sources are. But despite the differences, the services sector seems to be one of the three most important sectors which employs women.

With regard to the production sector, over half of all women in the non-agricultural sector were in this sector as reported in the 1951 and 1961 Censuses (Table 9).[9] The percentage of women in similar activities was equally large among the urban, married women in the NIS and PFS—49% and 70% (Table 10).[10] Within the production sector the predominance of women in the tailoring and spinning or weaving occupations is noteworthy. Recent observations of the industrial growth in Pakistan shows that enterprises such as the production of ready-made garments and rugs and carpets have received a considerable boost. Both these industries have

Table 9: Trends in occupational structure of the non agricultural labour force by sex, Pakistan, 1961 and 1973

Occupations	1951 Census (Age 12+)			1961 Census (Age 10+)			1973 HED Survey (Age 10+)		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Total Civilian Labor Force (000's)	9,812	9,495	317	12,763	11,691	1,122	17,866	16,882	984
Percent Non Agricultural Labor Force	33.6	33.8	29.1	38.5	39.6	26.7	41.3	42.1	26.6
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional, Technical & Related	3.1	3.0	5.7	4.6	4.2	10.5	11.9	11.2	30.7
Medical Professional, Surgeons, Assistants etc.	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.3	1.0
Nurses, Midwives etc.	0.2	0.1	2.0	0.8	0.7	3.6	0.8	0.7	[illegible].8
Professors and all sorts of teachers	1.0	0.9	2.3	2.9	2.7	6.5	3.7	3.3	17.4
Others	1.6	1.6	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.1	7.0	6.9	8.5
Administrative and Managerial	1.6	1.6	0.1	2.0	2.1	0.2	1.4	1.4	1.6
Clerical and Related	7.6	7.7	2.2	7.6	8.0	1.4	7.7	7.9	3.5
Sales and Related	15.8	16.1	5.2	15.8	16.6	3.4	19.7	20.2	7.4
Agriculture	0.6	0.6	0.3	1.8	1.8	1.5	0.9	0.9	0.8
Services	15.7	15.3	30.1	14.6	13.6	30.4	10.0	9.3	28.1
Cooks, Chefs, Waiters etc.	--	--	--	0.9	0.7	3.6	1.2	1.2	2.7
Maids, Housekeepers etc.	6.8	6.4	21.4	5.5	2.8	9.6	1.5	1.0	15.8
Others	8.8	8.9	8.7	8.2	10.1	17.2	7.3	7.1	9.6
Production, Transport, Minning, Construction	55.6	55.6	56.4	53.6	53.7	52.6	48.3	49.1	27.7
Textile Workers	4.3	8.1	9.7	9.4	9.0	16.5	6.0	6.1	5.0
Tailors, Upholsters	--	--	--	3.2	2.4	15.1	2.3	2.1	7.1
Construction Workers	27.8	27.5	21.4	14.9	15.5	6.5	14.1	14.4	6.1
Leather Workers	4.1	4.1	2.1	4.1	4.2	1.3	2.9	3.0	1.1
Other workers	19.5	15.8	23.3	22.0	22.6	13.2	23.0	23.5	8.4

-- Data not available.

Sources: Manager of publications (n.d., Vol. 7, Table 3, WP 3-1, 3-2 & Table 6); Home Affairs Division (1964, Vol. 4, Tables 1, 2, 3 and 5: 176-212); and author's tabulations from the HED Survey 1973.

Table 10: Changes in the occupational structure of selected subgroups of rural and urban females, Pakistan, Various Years (Percentages)

Occupational Structure	1961 Census[a,b] Non-agricultural labour force	NIS, 1968 Currently married women, age 10-49		HED, 1973[c] Currently married women, age 10-44		PFS, 1975 Currently married women, age 15-49	
		R	U	R	U	R	U
Nurses, teachers	10.1	0.6	10.2	1.4	28.9	1.2	8.2
Technical, sales, admin., clerical	2.5	1.0	2.6	2.3	12.9	2.1	2.1
Farm workers-agric. labourers, fishermen	1.5	49.1	7.7	89.4	9.5	37.7	1.8
Housekeepers, domestic servants, caretakers	28.8[4]	3.2	13.5	2.6	29.6	6.7	14.8
Spinners, weavers	} 32.0[1]	3.4	14.7	0.9	3.4	14.7	18.4
Tailors		7.0	26.3	0.8	5.3	25.5	40.0
Other skilled	16.0	5.7	7.7	1.6	6.8	7.3	11.5
Unskilled, labourers	9.0[3]	12.1	16.7	1.1	3.5	4.8	3.0
Unpaid family help	--	17.9	0.6	--	--	--	--
N	299,550	470	156	316,789	54,550	565	330

[1]Textiles, textile goods and weaving apparel.

[2]Housekeepers and other service workers.

[3]Labourers and street vendors, stall holders.

[4]Domestic service workers and caretakers.

[a]Excludes workers not classified by occupation and those who were not employed but were looking for work.

[b]A breakdown by occupations for rural and urban areas is not available from the 1961 Census. These data are restricted to all women (10+) who were in non-agricultural occupations.

[c]Excludes workers not classified by occupation.

Sources: Author's tabulation from the PFS, NIS, HED Survey and Home Affairs Division (1964, Vol. 6, Part 1, Table 2: 24-29).

traditionally employed many females and continue to do so. More women than before seem to be taking up weaving and tailoring occupations as indicated by data in the 1975 PFS--40% of the rural working (married) women and 58% of the urban women were employed as tailors or weavers. One of the reasons for the possible increase in participation in such occupations is related with the flexibility that such work probably provides in terms of the place of work.

Further analysis of the women engaged in weaving and tailoring occupations shows that almost all of the women in these occupations work at home in both rural and urban areas (Table 11). Furthermore, many of them are self-employed. Ninety-six % of the spinners and weavers and 98% of the tailors in urban areas reported that they worked at home; the corresponding figures for rural areas were 99% and 93%. Unlike the tailors and weavers, most of the professional women were employed by someone else and worked outside the home, as did the housekeepers and domestic servants. Among the unskilled workers and laborers, 57% in urban and 84% in rural areas worked outside the home. Movement outside the house is one of the constraints in female work participation, as discussed later, and the ability of the women to work at home seems to be one of the reasons for their high concentration in cottage industries such as weaving and tailoring.

Sex ratios in major occupations are shown in Appendix Table LF 3. The number of males per 100 females is many times higher, for each of the occupation groups. This is particularly true for administrative and managerial, clerical and sales occupations. The sex ratios are relatively lower among cooks and maids, nurses and midwives and among tailors. These latter occupations have a relatively higher concentration of females, even

Table 11: Current occupation by place of work and working status, urban and rural currently married women, PFS 1975, Pakistan (percent)

Occupation	URBAN						RURAL					
	Work at Home		Work Outside Home				Work at Home		Work Outside Home			
	Employee	Self-employed	Employee	Self-employed	%	(N)	Employee	Self-employed	Employee	Self-employed	%	(N)
Professionals (nurses, teachers, others)	0[a]	13	79	8	100	(24)	0	0	67	33	100	(6)
Clerical, Administrative, Sales	0	80	20	0	100	(7)	0	40	0	60	100	(10)
Farm Workers	0	17	83	0	100	(6)	0	0*	75	25	100	(203)
Service (Housekeepers, domestics)	0	2	94	4	100	(53)	3	0	83	13	100	(30)
Spinners, Weavers	28	68	4	0	100	(50)	8	91	0	1	100	(79)
Tailors	7	91	2	0	100	(102)	11	82	2	5	100	(131)
Other Craftsmen	3	60	34	3	100	(25)	5	73	2	20	100	(37)
Unskilled workers and labourers	29	14	43	14	100	(7)	0	16	36	48	100	(25)
All occupations	9	58	30	2	100	(274)	5	42	37	16	100	(521)

*Less than 1 percent.

[a]No cases in the specified category.

though they are still dominated by males. Note that none of the occupations has a sex ratio less than 100, i.e., the ratio of males to females is consistently higher.

III.1 Occupational Structure Among Socio-demographic Groups

An analysis of the variations in the three major groups of female occupations (i.e., professional and technical, services and production) in the non-agricultural sector after controlling for selected demographic and social variables is presented in Table 12. The concentration of women in the three most important occupation groups seems to have been reduced, judging from an increase in the percentage of women in 'other' occupations—from about 7% in 1961 to about 14% in 1973. When age is controlled, older (45+) women seem to be somewhat more highly concentrated in service occupations, particularly so in the 1973 HED Survey. Also, more of the younger women were in professional occupations in 1973—33% of those less than 45 compared with 24% of those aged 45+. While the overall level of professional women in the HED Survey seems too high, as discussed above, the general pattern of a larger proportion of younger women being in professional occupations is plausible.

Among the single employed women, a significantly larger proportion were in professional occupations compared with women in other marital status categories—in both 1961 and 1973. Twenty-two percent of the single women were in professional occupations compared with 8% of the married women in 1961; corresponding figures for 1973 were 45% and 26%. Many of the single working women belong to the younger and more well educated groups and it is reasonable to find more of them in professional occupations. Education has a strong positive relationship with participation in professional occupations, as expected (Table 12, third panel). Eighty-eight percent of

Table 12: Major non-agricultural occupations in which employed females are concentrated, by selected background variables, 1961 Census and 1973 HED Survey

Social and Demographic Characteristics	Occupational Distribution									
	1961 Census					1973 HED Survey				
	Total	Professional Technical and Related	Services	Production, Transport, Construction, etc.	All Others	Total	Professional Technical and Related	Services	Production, Transport, Construction etc.	All Others
Total	100.0	10.6	30.3	52.5	6.6	100.0	30.7	28.2	27.6	13.5
Age										
10-24	100.0	10.6	29.4	54.9	5.1	100.0	32.7	20.5	33.9	12.9
25-44	100.0	10.6	29.3	53.6	6.5	100.0	33.5	27.6	25.2	13.7
45+	100.0	9.7	32.9	48.4	9.0	100.0	23.8	37.1	24.3	14.8
Marital Status										
Single	100.0	22.1	30.3	42.1	5.5	100.0	44.7	16.6	27.0	11.7
Married	100.0	7.9	29.1	57.2	5.8	100.0	26.1	31.9	29.6	12.4
Widowed	100.0	10.3	35.1	43.6	11.0	100.0	14.7	44.8	24.7	15.8
Divorced	100.0	10.2	32.9	48.7	8.2	100.0	30.1	24.2	29.1	16.6
Education										
None or <5 grades	100.0	4.1	33.1	56.8	6.0	100.0	11.4	40.3	33.9	14.4
5 - 7 grades	100.0	28.6	16.4	45.1	9.9	100.0	22.6	12.2	42.3	22.9
8 - 9 grades	100.0	83.0	3.1	7.2	6.7	100.0	46.4	3.2	41.6	8.8
10 - 13 grades	100.0	80.5	1.2	2.5	15.8	100.0	81.4	2.8	4.9	10.9
14+ grades	100.0	97.8	0.7	1.1	10.4	100.0	86.5	0.1	3.0	10.4
Employment Status										
Employers	100.0	23.3	4.8	20.3	51.6	100.0	45.7	17.6	15.3	21.4
Employees	100.0	24.9	59.9	9.7	5.5	100.0	42.9	38.2	11.1	7.8
Self-Employed	100.0	5.1	19.4	68.8	6.7	100.0	12.7	17.0	50.5	19.2
Unpaid Family Helpers	100.0	1.2	11.7	79.8	7.3	100.0	20.1	22.1	41.5	16.3

Source: Home Affairs Division (1964, Vol. 4, Table 4:109-203); and author's tabulations from the HED Survey, 1973.

the employed women with 14 or more grades of education were engaged in professional occupations compared 29% of those with 5-7 grades of education in 1961; figures for 1973 are very similar. A majority of the illiterate women belong to the services or the production sector in both the surveys. Illiterate women constitute more than eight-tenths of the labor force and are therefore a very significant element in determining the overall structure of female occupations.

Among the few[11] women who work as employers, there seems to be a wider range of occupations in which they are engaged. Among the employees, most women are concentrated in either the professional or the services category. A majority of the self-employed women are in production related activities, particularly in the 1961 Census. These findings are consistent with the data from the 1975 PFS presented in Table 8 above.

III.2 Provincial Occupational Structures

Census data show that over two-thirds of the Pakistani female labor force is engaged in agricultural activities as discussed above. According to the HED Survey data, the preponderence of Sindhi females in agricultural activities is particularly large—73% of whom were involved in agricultural pursuits compared with 64% of the Punjabi, 68% of the N.W.F.P. and 50% of the Baluchi women (Table 13). In the non-agricultural sector, professional, services and production occupations are again the three most significant groups of occupations for each of the provinces although the relative concentration within each of these varies considerably among provinces. For example, Baluchistan seems to have many more women in the production sector and relatively fewer women in the services sector compared with other provinces. An evaluation of these apparent differentials requires a comparison with similar data from other sources

Table 13: Province-wise occupational distribution of employed persons by sex, 1973 HED Survey[a]

Occupations of employed persons	Pakistan		Punjab		Sind		NWFP		Baluchistan	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total (Number)	16,228,239	795,533	9,923,250	422,304	4,028,568	279,789	1,501,599	81,103	774,822	12,337
Percents	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional, Technical & Related	4.9	10.1	5.2	11.4	4.3	8.4	4.9	9.2	4.8	13.3
Medical Doctor, Surgeon's Assistants, etc.	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.2*
Nurses, Midwives etc.	0.3	1.3	0.4	1.5	0.3	0.9	0.1	1.2	0.1	2.2*
Professors and all sorts of teachers	1.4	4.7	1.4	6.5	1.4	5.0	1.6	4.1	1.8	6.2
Others	3.0	3.8	3.3	3.0	2.4	2.2	3.0	3.6	2.8	4.7
Administrative & Related Managerial	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.4	0.6	0.9	0.8	2.4*
Clerical & Related	3.5	1.2	3.0	1.1	4.7	1.3	3.8	1.1	2.1	1.5*
Sales & Related	8.8	2.4	8.4	2.4	10.0	2.0	8.4	3.9	9.4	2.9*
Agriculture	56.6	67.4	55.4	64.1	56.2	72.8	60.9	68.4	65.6	50.2
General Farmers	46.9	45.0	49.6	40.0	42.7	56.8	54.5	36.3	46.3	40.7
Services	4.0	9.3	4.0	9.2	4.8	8.9	3.9	11.4	2.5	6.2
Cooks, Chefs, Waiters etc.	0.5	0.9	0.4	1.5	0.8	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.3	--
Maid, Housekeepers etc.	0.4	5.2	0.4	5.4	0.6	3.7	0.5	9.6	0.2	4.9
Others	3.1	3.2	3.2	2.3	3.4	5.0	2.9	1.6	2.0	1.3*
Production, Transport Mining. Construction etc.	21.5	9.1	23.5	11.4	19.3	6.1	17.6	5.2	14.8	23.3
Textile Workers	2.7	1.6	3.1	2.6	3.0	0.8	0.3	0.1	0.1*	--
Tailors, Upholsters etc.	0.9	2.3	0.9	2.6	1.3	2.2	0.7	1.7	0.5	1.4*
Construction Workers	6.3	2.0	6.7	2.5	5.1	1.0	5.5	1.1	8.2	12.9
Other Workers etc.	11.6	3.2	12.8	3.7	9.9	2.1	11.1	2.3	6.0	9.0

[a]All persons with unclassified occupations were excluded.

*Less than 500 weighted cases in the cell.

Source: Author's tabulations from the HED Survey, 1973.

and some judgment about the relative accuracy of reporting, and is considered to be beyond the scope of the analysis done here.

IV. UTILIZATION OF THE LABOR FORCE

An attempt has been made to measure the adequacy of utilization of male and female labor force through a partial application of Hauser's framework (Hauser, 1974). Hauser assesses labor utilization in terms of level of unemployment, number of hours a person works during the week in relation to desire for more work, the income he/she earns and the consistency of the occupation a person is in with the education that he/she may have received. In the absence of income data, labor force utilization has been analyzed only in terms of the other three indicators. The percentage of unemployed persons was calculated within the total labor force. Then, within the employed persons, the percentage of those who were adequately utilized by time, i.e., were employed for at least 35 hours a week was calculated. Next, among those who were adequately utilized by time a check was made for whether the person was adequately utilized in terms of a 'match' between his/her occupation and education. The mean education score of persons within each occupational category was calculated and then the educational level of each individual in a given occupation was compared with the mean score of that occupation; those whose education was above the mean level were regarded to be inadequately utilized by education or "mismatched."

Results from this analysis are shown in Table 14. As discussed in section I.2 above, unemployment rates for females are considerably higher than the rate for males according to the 1973 HED Survey. In addition to being unemployed in greater numbers, many more of the females are underutilized by time compared with males—40% and 12% respectively. Contrary to this pattern, fewer of the females are underutilized by

mismatch (of education and occupation) than 6% females and 21% males. The net result of these calculations is that the percentage of women whose services are adequately utilized is roughly half that of men—39% and 64%. This analysis suggests that about four-tenths of the female labor force is inadequately utilized in Pakistan[12] if we accept that the HED Survey data on this are valid and reliable.

Similar analysis is not possible from the other sources which provide labor force data. Some analysis of underemployment patterns has been done from labor force surveys by Robinson and Abbasi (1979). By using a criterion of hours of work during the survey week they calculated the amount of underemployment in Pakistan. Their analysis indicated that between 1968 and 1975 from 4-13% of the employed persons (males plus females) were underemployed, in terms of being employed less than 35 hours a week. Corresponding figures from the HED Survey show 13% of the persons to be underemployed by this criterion. Unfortunately, the various labor force surveys do not provide a sex classification for the underemployment data, and the male-female difference cannot be examined. Hence, we can only partially check the reliability of the HED data from other sources, and must therefore treat the results in Table 14 as tentative.

One similarity between the Robinson and Abbasi analysis and the present analysis is the higher degree of underutilization in rural compared with urban areas, with regard to hours of work. In the HED Survey, fifteen percent of the rural employed persons were working less than 35 hours compared with 11% of urban persons; the corresponding figures for females were 43% and 28%. More persons were, however, underutilized by mismatch in urban than in rural areas—e.g., 18% of the urban and 2% of the rural females were underutilized by this criterion.

Table 14: Utilization of the labour force by sex, Pakistan, rural and urban areas, 1973 HED Survey

		CIVILIAN LABOUR FORCE	INADEQUATELY UTILIZED: Unemployed	INADEQUATELY UTILIZED: Underutilized by Time (< 35 Hrs.)	INADEQUATELY UTILIZED: Underutilized by Mismatch	ADEQUATELY UTILIZED
PAKISTAN						
Both Sexes		17,865,526				
	%	(100)	3.8	13.5	20.1	62.6
Males		16,881,545				
	%	(100)	3.2	12.0	20.9	63.9
Females		983,981				
	%	(100)	14.9	39.5	6.3	39.3
RURAL						
Both Sexes		13,394,061				
	%	(100)	2.8	14.5	14.6	68.1
Males		12,633,432				
	%	(100)	2.2	12.7	15.4	69.7
Females		760,629				
	%	(100)	12.8	43.0	2.3	41.9
URBAN						
Both Sexes		4,471,465				
	%	(100)	6.9	10.5	26.1	56.5
Males		4,248,113				
	%	(100)	6.1	9.6	26.5	57.8
Females		223,352				
	%	(100)	22.0	27.6	17.8	32.6

Source: Author's tabulations from the HED Survey 1973.

The overall adequacy of utilization according to all three criteria was somewhat higher in rural than in urban areas. This differential is an artifact of lower unemployment and lower mismatch in rural areas. Since more rural persons may be only marginally employed than the urban persons, a higher percentage of adequately utilized labor force in rural areas cannot be assumed to imply a greater productivity of the labor force. Furthermore, under-utilization of labor is likely to have been higher in rural than in urban areas, if data on income had been available.

The fact that fewer females than males are underutilized by mismatch is interesting. One of the implications of this finding is that both female literacy and female occupations are fairly homogeneous, particlarly in the rural areas. In a situation where a majority of the women are illiterate and are in one occupation (agriculture), the chances for a mismatch are greatly reduced. Urban women experience a higher degree of mismatch between their education and occupation, probably because of the relatively greater amount of diversity in both these factors.

IV.1 Hours of Work Per Week

Separate data on the amount of work that employed females perform during a week are not available in the Labor Force Surveys. The total labor force (males plus females) has been reported to work for 49.9 hours a week, on the average (Robinson and Abbasi, 1979, Table 4). Data on males in the HED Survey shows a remarkably similar pattern of work—49 hours per week (Table 15). The average hours of work for females is, however, much lower—35.5. It should be recalled that female activity has been reported by the male household head and may suffer from serious underreporting of the time that females actually spend on their work. Measurement of time spent on economic activity by females is particularly difficult considering that the majority of jobs are located in the informal sector.

Small scale studies of villages in Pakistan suggest that women do spend a considerable amount of time in contributing to farm activities which in many cases probably does contribute to family income, as discussed earlier (Saeed, 1966). We do not have much survey data on the time that women spend on remunerative activities during the week. A village study based on the observation of every day activities of rural women in a Punjabi village showed that in an average day, women spent about fourteen and a half hours in household activities such as collecting, carrying and preparing fodder, cooking, carrying water, animal care and other domestic chores (Khan and Bilquees, 1976). Based on their observation of the village life, these authors concluded that the life of a village woman is a continuous struggle the intensity of which increases as one observes women at relatively lower levels of socioeconomic status.

According to the 1973 HED Survey, the number of hours that a woman is reported to work during the week did not vary notably by age or rural-urban residence (Table 15). Divorced women were reported to work fewer hours on the average than women in other marital status categories—27.5 hours compared to 38.2 hours for widowed women. Also, women who had received 1-9 grades of education were reported to work fewer hours (23.1) compared with illiterate women and those with ten or more grades of education (36.5 hours). The reasons for these apparent differences need to be probed further.

Thus, we do not know accurately the amount of time women spend in income generating activities during a work day or work week. It seems reasonable to argue that employed women probably spend a similar amount of time in their jobs as men. This is likely to be so in view of the lack of mechanization of most work in the agricultural as well as non-agricultural

Table 15: Mean number of hours (per week) worked by males and females by selected socioeconomic and demographic variables, Pakistan 1973

	Males		Females	
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
Age (All)	49.0	14.7	35.5	16.9
10-24	46.1	15.0	34.8	16.7
25-44	51.0	14.1	36.2	16.7
45+	49.1	14.7	35.1	17.5
Marital Status				
Single	46.4	15.0	34.7	18.1
Married	50.6	14.1	35.5	16.1
Widowed	46.8	15.7	38.2	17.0
Divorced	38.5	18.1	27.5	21.8
Education				
Illiterate	49.7	14.7	36.5	15.7
< Matric	48.1	14.8	23.1	23.9
Matric & Above	44.6	13.5	36.5	15.8
Rural/Urban Area				
Rural	49.1	15.0	34.9	16.6
Urban	48.5	13.8	37.8	18.0

Source: Author's tabulations from the HED Survey 1973.

sectors. The three major female groups of occupations (i.e. professional, services and production-related) are likely to be fairly time consuming in most cases, particularly handicrafts. But many of the jobs in these occupations can be performed on a part-time basis, hence the need for more specific and accurate measurement.

V. CONSTRAINTS IN FEMALE WORK PARTICIPATION

Studies on the subject have indicated that female work participation generally carries a low value in Pakistan. Papanek (1971) observed that only a few jobs such as being a school (or college) teacher and doctor are considered prestigious and one of the basic reasons for the classification of certain occupations into the relatively less prestigious category is the sex segregated nature of Pakistani society. Korson (1970) also found that occupations which require contact between the sexes are often regarded as less desirable. Analysis of data from the 1961 Census showed that non-muslim women aged ten and over had participation rates twice as high as muslim women—18% and 9% (Helbock, 1975, p. 40).

Two specific constraints which I have discussed in earlier work (Shah and Bulatao, 1981; Shah and Shah, 1980; Shah 1975b) consist of "purdah"[13] norms and the socioeconomic aspects related with work participation. Observance of purdah is positively associated with a woman's socioeconomic status, measured in terms of the husband's education and ownership of certain durable goods. But purdah observance has a strong negative association with work participation. When the purdah observance behavior of working and nonworking women was compared, 29% of the former were found to be purdah observers compared with 54% of the latter in rural areas; the corresponding figures in urban areas were 62% and 85%. These findings are based on a multivariate analysis which takes into account the relevant

background and demographic factors (Shah and Bulatao, 198[illegible] p. 35). While the causal direction of the relationship between purdah observance and work participation is not clear, the two are highly correlated. Empirical data thus provides support for the findings from earlier studies mentioned above. Purdah observance does seem to constitute a serious constraint in female work participation in Pakistan.

The second major constraint consists of socioeconomic factors which may discourage work participation. One variable which appears to be particularly strong is the husband's education. The higher his education, the lower the wife's work participation is, as indicated by analysis of the 1968 NIS and the 1975 PFS (Shah, 1975b; Shah and Shah, 1980). For example in urban areas, 22% of the wives of illiterate husbands were in the labor force compared with 13% of the wives of those husbands who had ten or more grades of education; corresponding figures for rural areas were 19% and 16% (Shah and Shah, 1980, p. 117).[14]

Another indicator of socioeconomic status which is negatively associated with work participation is ownership of durable items (such as bicycle, radio, sewing machine etc.), as indicated by the 1968 NIS data. In rural areas, 32% of the women who did not own any durable goods were in the labor force compared with only 6% among those who owned four of more such goods; corresponding figures for urban areas were 19% and 9% respectively (Shan, 1975b, p. 481). Similar evidence to show a negative correlation between socioeconomic status and work participation has been pointed out by Saeed (1966) and Khan and Bilquees (1976).

Analysis of the 1975 PFS data shows that the wife's own education does not have a statistically significant association with work participation, in urban or rural areas after controlling for age and several other relevant factors (Shah and Shah, 1980, p. 117). While highly educated

women are visible to an observer in many different occupations within the urban areas, cross sectional data does not indicate that the participation rates of such women are any higher than the illiterate or less educated women.

V.1 Indications of Change

Attitudes towards female work participation are changing slowly (see Hafeez, Chapter 3). The participation of young girls in weaving occupations seems to have increased in recent years in response to an increased demand for handwoven rugs. In one Lyallpur village that was studied by M. Shah (1982) about 28% of the unmarried girls age 7-15 were observed to be engaged in carpet weaving. When the household head was asked about the work participation of these girls in a formal interview, however, only about 13% of the girls were reported to be in the labor force. Whether this relatively new phenomenon will become an integral part of the rural occupational structure remains to be seen. There is a need to estimate the prevalence of female participation in such activities since handicraft occupations are an acceptable occupation and may offer additional opportunities for organizing the female labor force around such activities.

Among the female college students, about 80 of the arts students and all the science students indicated that they planned to work after completing their Master's level degree in a college in Lahore (Kazi, 1977, p. 143-44).[15] In a study of university graduates in Lahore and Karachi, Korson (1970) found that 80% of the Karachi graduates and 65% of the Lahore graduates were either employed or were looking for work. Among the total female graduates of 1966, 16% in Karachi and 32% in Lahore were not currently employed but were looking for work while 64% in Karachi and 33% in Lahore were actually employed at the time of the survey in 1968. Korson

found that purdah values of the parents are a constraint in the type of occupations that their daughters are allowed to take up.

Despite such constraints, women are now entering non-traditional fields like that of the television where male-female contact is usually always present. In an attempt to study female participation in the organized sector in 1977, I found that 12% of all the regular employees of the Pakistan Television Corporation were females (Shah, 1977, Table 6). Also, 24% of all registered doctors, 3% of all government servants in grade level 16 or above, about one-third of all primary school teachers and about 20% of all university teachers were female. The relative proportion of female doctors and female university teachers had, however, remained almost unchanged over the years studied. In the population planning department, 27% of the office staff in grade level 15 or above were female.

Some government and voluntary agencies are making an attempt to increase and facilitate female work participation. For example, the Pakistan Women's Institute at Kinnaird College, Lahore, has a specific objective of providing career counselling to young educated women. As part of this objective the Institute has published a guide to job opportunities for qualified women in the city (Kazi, 1977). The All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) has also made numerous efforts at providing employment to needy women. Finally, one of the major efforts of the Women's Division is in the area of expanded services through industrial homes where women are provided the opportunity for remunerative employment, as discussed in Chapter 12.

If such opportunities are attractive enough, it is likely that more women will join the labor force despite the relatively negative societal attitudes towards female work. For the opportunities to be attractive

enough, it is essential that they must exist within the culturally permissible limits of physical space and normative structures. Greater participation may eventually lead to large scale changes in attitudes towards female work. But, in my opinion, such changes can be accomplished best by incorporating programs which the people themselves want, accept and regard as desirable.

SUMMARY

Measurement of the level of female labor force participation in Pakistan has been confounded by several problems including underreporting of economic activity and misreporting of occupations. Census data show that about 5-10% of women age ten and over are in the labor force. Household surveys have, however, shown the participation rate to be about twice as high as that reported in censuses. I have argued that one possible reason for this difference is related to the respondent who provides information on economic activity. A male household head or other male adult is usually the respondent in a typical census situation while the woman herself was the respondent in the household surveys analysed. I believe that male respondents tend to underreport (female) economic activity relatively more than female respondents. I therefore believe that in reality about one-fifth of the adult (10+) Pakistani women are in the labor force.

Data on the occupational structure of females are also not consistent among different sources. The three censuses have shown that about 70% of the total female labor force is in agricultural activity but a household survey (1975 PFS) indicated that concentration in agricultural activity is not so intense. In fact, 57% of the rural women in the PFS were engaged in non-agricultural activities. About 10% of the urban employed women are in

the professional and technical category, predominantly as teachers, doctors, and dais (indigenous midwives). Domestic service and production related activities such as tailoring, weaving and handicrafts are some of the major occupations for women employed in the non-agricultural sector. Majority of the working women carry out their jobs at home, particularly if they are working as tailors, weavers or in other handicrafts.

Data from the 1973 HED Survey suggest that only about two-fifths of the female labor force is adequately utilized compared to about two-thirds of the male labor force. More female compared to male workers seem to be underutilized on account of unemployment (15% and 3% respectively). Similarly, over thrice as many female workers, than male workers were underutilized according to the hours they worked—40% and 12% respectively. The average number of hours that males and females worked per week were 49 and 35.5. Thus, there seem to be large differences between the amount of time devoted to remunerative activities by the two sexes. In the absence of data to check the reliability of the HED Survey findings, however, it is wise to treat these figures cautiously.

Female work is not a highly valued activity in Pakistan in general. While participation in the professional category may be on the increase and while more women are entering non-traditional types of occupations, there are still many constraints in female work participation. Two of the strong correlates of work participation are the family's socioeconomic status and observance of purdah. Participation is significantly lower among women whose families have a relatively high socioeconomic status and among women who observe purdah. It may be concluded that for an average Pakistani woman, work participation is a status-reducing rather than a status-enhancing activity and women who can afford to stay out of the labor

force do so. The educated, professional woman may of course represent an exception to this general characteristic.

There are some indications of change symbolized by an increased participation by young village girls in activities such as carpet weaving. Several government and voluntary agencies are taking steps to facilitate and promote female employment. If the new opportunities are attractive enough, it is likely that more women will join the labor force despite the relatively negative societal attitudes towards female work. In order for the opportunities to be attractive enough, it is essential that they must exist within the culturally permissible limits of physical space and normative structures. Greater participation may eventually lead to large scale changes in attitudes towards female work. But, in my opinion, such changes can be accomplished best by incorporating programs which the people themselves want, accept and regard as desirable.

Footnotes

1. Labor force participation rates are defined as the percentage of all persons age 10+ who were working or looking for work during the week prior to the census.

2. The comparison between various sources has been presented in greater detail in Shah and Shah, 1980.

3. Saeed (1966) did not inquire about the amount of produce that was sold for profit.

4. Unemployment rates based on HED Survey in this paper differ significantly from the published HED Survey figures. The published data render an unemployment rate of about 52% for females. We arrived at the lower estimate of about 15% after adjusting for some apparent inconsistencies. We excluded from the labor force all persons who were not working during the week prior to the survey and who were not looking for work. Some of these persons have been included in the labor force in the published data.

5. The average age at marriage for females in PFS was 16.4 years. Thus, these findings imply that those who worked before marriage worked through almost all of their teenage years. Note that we excluded seasonal workers were excluded before calculating the duration of work for employed women.

6. A similar pattern is present for the total labor force as shown in Table 7, discussed later.

7. It is not possible to do a similar analysis for the widowed and divorced women from the 1975 PFS because of a very small number of such women.

8. Defined as those who migrated to their current place of residence ≤ 8 years prior to the survey.

9. The percentage of females in this sector is only 28% according to the 1973 HED Survey. I believe that the validity of this estimate is doubtful given the other problems with the HED Survey occupational structure.

10. These figures for NIS and PFS are based on a summation of the spinners, weavers, tailors and other skilled categories in Table 10.

11. The percentage of women who were working as employers (in the non-agricultural labor force) was 0.13% in 1961 and 6.6% in 1973. For a description of the employment status of the females by rural and urban areas see Appendix Table LF 4.

12. This proportion might have been even higher if we had data on income of respondents.

13. For the Islamic prescription regarding purdah (veiling) and current practices in various socioeconomic groups see Chapters 1 and 2.

14. These percentages are adjusted for the effects of age of wife, number of living children, age at marriage, marital status, wife's education and live births during the five years prior to the survey.

15. In an interview with me in December 1979, Ms. Kazi indicated that very few of the B.A. students actually had serious career orientations among the Arts students.

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CONTRACEPTIVE KNOWLEDGE, ATTITUDES, PRACTICE AND FERTILITY DESIRES

by
Nasra M. Shah

Knowledge about methods to prevent or delay pregnancy is essential in order for a woman (or couple) to even consider the possibility of any action aimed at controlling the number of children she is likely to have. Historically, most populations have had some traditional means of controlling fertility, abstinence being one of them. Knowledge and availability of contraceptive methods is, however, not sufficient by itself in initiating the use of contraception. The individual couple's desired family size, their attitudes towards contraception, the family's as well as general community's attitudes toward and support of contraception are all among the significant factors which determine the level of contraceptive use in a society.

Pakistan is a country where children are valued highly for many different reasons. Bearing children, and particularly sons, is considered a very important function for the adult married female. Sterility is considered extremely undesirable and unfortunate and has been the cause of divorce or second marriage for the husband in many cases. Yet there does seem to be a numerical 'ideal' family size which in national surveys has been reported to be around 4 children. The actual fertility is much higher than the expressed ideal. The apparent gap between the ideal and actual fertility suggests perhaps that couples on the average are actually

producing more children than they desire; that those couples would accept contraception if they had easy access to it, considered it safe, had favourable attitudes towards it, etc. However, the bridging of this gap between the ideal family size and actual (high fertility) behaviour has in fact proven to be a very big challenge for population planners in Pakistan. Availability of a national Family Planning Program for the last 15 years has not resulted in any massive behavioural change with regard to contraceptive use designed to control fertility.

In this chapter, I discuss the contraceptive knowledge, attitudes and practice (KAP) of Pakistani couples. The empirical data for this analyasis is based on two national level surveys, the 1968-69 National Impact Survey (NIS) and the 1975 Pakistan Fertility Survey (PFS). The first section provides a brief description of the Family Planning Program which through its historical growth has come to be known as the Population Planning Program, and more recently as the Population Welfare Planning Program (Population Division, 1981). The second section focusses on the contraceptive KAP of married women and couples. The third section examines the desired family size and its effect on contraceptive use.

I. THE FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAMME

The fact of a very high rate of population growth has been a cause of concern for the Government of Pakistan for the last two decades. It was realized in the early 1960s that a national Family Planning Program was essential for a reduction in the birth rate. A national Program was therefore launched in 1965. Married women in reproductive ages have been the prime target group since then. The initial Program was based on an essentially supply oriented philosophy. It was assumed that several married couples in the reproductive ages had a demand for family planning

services and would use them if and when they were made available. The Program was based on field distribution of contraceptives as well as clinics which provided a range of methods. Intrauterine contraceptive devices (IUCDS) for women and vasectomies for men were instituted as the main clinical methods. In addition, several other methods such as condoms, foams, jellies and diaphragms were also made available. Dais (local midwives) were an essential feature of the Program.

A Knowledge, Attitude and Practice (KAP) Survey conducted in 1968-69, the National Impact Survey (NIS), showed that the Program had met with only limited success, as discussed later. The strategy of the program was therefore replaced by another system which emphasized the motivational and demand aspects of the problem in addition to the supply aspects. The new system instituted in 1970 was known as the Continuation Motivation System (CMS). It involved regular home visits by a team of male and female motivators who attempted to provide continuous motivation as well as supplies to all eligible couples.

The latest KAP Survey, the 1975 PFS, showed that levels of contraceptive use had not improved much since the earlier survey despite the operation of the CMS for several years. Field activities of the Program were suspended in September 1977 because of political disturbances and were restarted in late 1978. The most recent development in the restructuring process is that the Population Program has been placed within the Ministry of Planning and Development with a very dynamic woman, Dr. Attiya Inayutullah as its head, beginning in early 1980. A basic feature of the new Program is its emphasis on the integration of population policies within a comprehensive developmental strategy. Furthermore, the planners believe that in order "To be effective, population planning must

aim at a behavioural change involving a shift in attitudes and social norms before it can lead to any permanent improvement in the use and continuation of contraception" (Population Division, 1981., p. 8).

Any detailed discussion of the various administrative or other changes that the Program has gone through is beyond the scope of this chapter. For comprehensive discussions of the program history, structure and strategies the reader is referred to Ministry of Health, n.d.; Ahmad, 1971;Population Planning Council, 1976; Robinson, 1978; Population Division, 1981; Robinson, Shah and Shah 1981. The foregoing brief review is intended to provide a perspective within which the family planning behaviour of Pakistani women may be analysed.

II.1 KNOWLEDGE OF FAMILY PLANNING

Knowledge of family planning has several dimensions, ranging from a fairly general knowledge about the concept of family planning to highly specific knowledge about how a given method works, who provides services and where. The two national KAP surveys in Pakistan, the 1968-69 NIS and the 1975 PFS made an attempt to collect data on the respondents' knowledge about specific methods, places (clinics) that provide services, and personnel who provide services. The 1968-69 NIS showed that in the Survey,the level of knowledge about methods improved with adequate probing. That is, only 37% of the rural respondents said that they had heard of some method to delay or prevent pregnancy. The knowledge level increased to 83% when the names of specific modern (or program) methods was read to the women and they were asked to report whether they had heard of each. In the 1975 PFS, which did not use in-depth probing, 75% of the women said that they knew of some program method (Table 1). Thus, it seems fair to conclude that at least three-fourths of Pakistani women know about a

program method.[1] According to the PFS, the pill seems to be the most widely known method (64%) followed by the IUD and condom (49% and 14% - Table 1).

Program planners have argued that the mere knowledge of a method is not sufficient for the adoption of family planning. It was concluded from the results of the 1968-69 NIS that couples must know about family planning methods, must feel that practicing family planning is both sufficiently safe and acceptable and must know what to do, where to get supplies and services, and whom to contact when they want to avail themselves of such services. Thus, 'necessary knowledge' was defined as the combined knowledge about a family planning method and knowledge of persons who give help or advice on family planning or about place(s) where a person may get such advice or help (TREC, n.d.). Table 2 shows that only about 15 percent of the Pakistani women had the necessary or effective knowledge for family planning use in 1968-69; the levels for rural and urban areas being 24% and 12% respectively. Such knowledge had increased considerably in urban areas from 18% in 1968-69 to 24% in 1975, but the situation in rural areas was essentially the same as before. Half of the urban and 39% of the rural respondents had met some family planning personnel during the six months prior to survey in 1975.

Sources of Knowledge

It was found in the 1968-69 NIS that the most common source of information about family planning consisted of friends or relatives; 93% of the respondents (who knew about family planning) in both urban and rural areas had heard of it from friends or relatives. Family planning personnel was the next most important source followed by husbands and radio or television (Shah and Kazi, 1977). A comparison between the mass media sources on which data are available in both NIS and PFS shows that the

Table 1: Percent of currently married women who had knowledge of contraception, by method and rural/urban residence, Pakistan, NIS and PFS, 1968 and 1975.

Method	Total[a]			Urban[a]			Rural[a]		
	NIS		PFS	NIS		PFS	NIS		PFS
	Before[b]	After[c]		Before[b]	After[c]		Before[b]	After[c]	
Any method		97.4	75.6		98.1	82.7		97.2	73.1
Program method		83.1	75.1		91.1	81.9		79.9	72.8
Pill	20.8	16.9	63.8	37.1	20.6	74.3	14.5	15.5	60.1
IUD	50.5	21.6	48.6	58.6	22.6	46.6	47.1	21.2	49.3
Foam	9.9	11.7		14.2	15.3		8.3	10.4	
Diaphragm	1.5	9.4	6.6	3.9	13.8	11.9	0.7	7.7	4.7
Jelly, cream	1.7	4.6		2.9	6.8		1.5	3.6	
Condom	11.5	30.8	14.4	22.5	38.2	27.0	7.3	27.0	10.0
Rhythm	0.2	13.5	0.3	0.8	18.1	0.8	0.2	11.7	0.1
Withdrawal	0.3	16.2	0.5	0.6	20.3	1.2	0.2	14.6	0.0
Abstinence	0.7	80.4	2.3	0.9	81.8	4.9	0.5	81.2	1.4
Female sterilization	6.2	41.7	7.0	13.8	50.2	14.6	3.0	38.4	4.3
Male sterilization	9.3	27.4	1.9	14.2	36.4	4.1	7.4	24.0	1.1

[a] Percentages for the total country in this and subsequent tables are based on weighted data. Those for rural and urban areas are based in unweighted data for both surveys.

[b] Knowledge before interviewer read list of methods.

[c] Knowledge after interviewer read list of methods.

Table 2: Knowledge about the family planning delivery system, currently married women, NIS and PFS (percentages).

	Total		Urban		Rural	
	NIS	PFS	NIS	PFS	NIS	PFS
Know a facility	32	33	40	55	29	26
Visited a facility[a]	5	-	5	-	7	-
Met a person	22	29	21	39	24	26
Know a facility as well as a person[a]	22	-	25	-	21	-
Know a facility and met a person (effective knowledge)	14	15	18	24	12	12
Duration since met a person ($\bar{x}$ months)	-	18	-	14	-	21
Met f.p. person during preceding 6 months	-	44	-	50	-	39

a, From Sirageldin et. al., 1976.

- data not available in survey.

radio has increased in importance as a source of family planning communication (Table 3). About half of the rural women and almost 70% of the urban women in the PFS said that they have heard about family planning from the radio. Over one-fifth (21%) of the urban women in the PFS said that they have heard about family planning from the television. Magazines and newspapers and particularly movies have been relatively unimportant as sources of family planning information. The ineffectiveness of movies as a source is noteworthy in view of the rather large budget outlays for this media (for further discussion of this, see Robinson, Shah and Shah, 1981).

Husband-Wife Communication

Husband-wife communication about family planning has been theorized to be a significant factor in the adoption of family planning in many developing countries. In Pakistan, it was found from data in the NIS that interspousal communication was indeed a significant variable in family planning use after the relevant socioeconomic and demographic variables had been taken into account (Shah, 1974). Table 4 indicates that when matched responses of husbands and wives were used, both spouses said that they had talked about family planning with each other among 10% of the rural couples; the percentage rose to 32% for couples living in large urban areas. In cities of .2 million or more, at least one of the spouses reported that they had talked about family planning among three-fourths of the couples. It was found in the same study that literacy was the most significant variable in explaining the variance in interspousal communication. That is, couples among whom both spouses were literate or had schooling had much higher communication levels than illiterate couples. Also, couples who were educated and also had relatively higher incomes had the highest communication levels (Shah, 1974). The impact of interspousal

Table 3: Source of family planning knowledge for currently married women, by rural/urban residence, Pakistan, NIS and PFS, 1968 and 1975 (percentages)

Source	Total		Urban		Rural	
	NIS	PFS	NIS	PFS	NIS	PFS
Radio	28.7[a]	53.6	48.1[a]	69.3	21.3[a]	48.1
Movies	3.8	2.5	9.5	7.0	1.6	0.9
Television	-	7.8	-	21.0	-	3.2
Magazine, newspaper	9.4	3.4	23.1	10.5	4.1	1.0
Total	7,979	4,663	1,180	1,778	1,730	2,885

[a] Includes both radio and television.

-data on television not available separately.

Table 4: Percentage distribution of interspousal communication by rural/urban status and size of locality (within urban) Pakistan couples, NIS, 1968.

Urban/Rural Size of Locality	Both Spouses Report Talking	Only Wife Reports Talking	Only Husband Reports Talking	Neither Reports Talking	Total
Rural	10.3	18.5	13.5	57.7	573
Urban:					
< 50,000	15.0	38.9	7.1	38.9	113
50,000-199,999	22.2	16.8	15.0	46.0	167
200,000+	31.5	26.2	17.3	25.0	168
					1,021

communication on contraceptive use is discussed further in Section II.3.

II.2 ATTITUDES TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING

Knowledge of family planning methods, personnel or clinics is unlikely to be translated into family planning adoption unless wives and husbands have favourable attitudes towards family planning. Data from the NIS showed that 27% of the wives and 15% of the husbands said that they were against family planning (TREC, n.d., p. 81). Among the subsample of matched couples in the NIS, 15% of couples (i.e. one or both spouses) in rural and 18% in urban areas expressed negative attitudes towards family planning (Table 5). Among 60% of the rural and almost 80% of the urban couples, however, at least one (or both) spouses expressed favourable opinions towards family planning. Table 5 also shows that there is a strong positive (bivariate) association between favorable attitudes and interspousal communication about family planning. Furthermore, Interspousal communication about family planning was significantly higher among couples among whom both spouses expressed favourable attitudes-among one-fourth of rural and about 41% of urban couples, where both spouses had favourable attitudes, both spouses also said that they had talked about family planning.

Among the small subgroup of couples in which both spouses recognized mutual approval by the other, interspousal communication was indeed very high (Table 6). About three-fourth of rural and four-fifths of urban couples said that they had talked to each other about family planning when both knew that the other one approved. Much fewer reported communication when both recognized that the other one disapproved. Multivariate analysis of these responses showed that knowledge of the spouses' opinions was an extremely important factor in interspousal communication after the relevant

Table 5: Percentage distribution of interspousal communication by couple's attitudes toward family planning, Pakistan Couples, NIS 1968.

Attitude Towards F.P.		Both Spouses Report Talking	Only Wife Reports Talking	Only Husband Reports Talking	Neither Reports Talking	Total
Neither heard of f.p.	Rural	2.0	12.8	4.7	80.4	148
	Urban	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	13*
One or both spouses give negative responses	Rural	3.6	21.2	17.6	57.6	85
	Urban	13.2	34.2	15.8	36.8	76
Either spouse gives positive responses	Rural	13.5	18.7	16.0	51.8	282
	Urban	19.2	25.0	15.9	39.9	208
Both spouses give positive responses	Rural	25.5	30.9	16.4	27.3	55
	Urban	41.5	26.7	11.1	20.7	135
Total	Rural	10.2	18.8	13.3	57.7	570
	Urban	24.5	26.4	13.9	35.2	432

X^2 rural = 87.218 significant at $p < .01$

X^2 urban = 68.285 significant at $p < .01$

* Refers to N less than 25

Table 6: Percentage distribution of interspousal communication by knowledge of spouse's opinion about family planning, Pakistan Couples, NIS 1968.**

Knowledge of Opinion		Both Spouses Report Talking	Only Wife Reports Talking	Only Husband Reports Talking	Neither Reports Talking	Total
Both spouses report approval of spouse	Rural	74.5	10.6	10.6	4.3	47
	Urban	79.7	4.3	10.1	5.8	69
Both spouses report disapproval of spouse	Rural	28.6	19.0	28.6	23.8	21*
	Urban	43.3	26.7	13.3	16.7	30
Only husband knows opinion of spouse	Rural	1.2	0.0	56.0	42.9	84
	Urban	4.8	1.6	62.9	30.6	62
Only wife knows opinion of spouse	Rural	1.3	53.5	1.3	43.9	155
	Urban	3.2	73.4	0.8	22.6	124
Total	Rural	14.4	29.8	19.3	36.4	307
	Urban	26.1	36.2	18.1	19.5	285

** Excluding cases where neither of the spouses knew other's opinion.

X^2 rural = 290.578 significant at $p < .01$

X^2 urban = 305.95 significant at $p < .01$

* Refers to N less than 25

background and socioeconomic factors were controlled (Shah, 1974). It should be noted that the causal connection between communication and knowledge of spouses' opinion is hard to specify since the two variables are likely to be highly correlated. What is important to emphasize here is that mutually recognized approval is very highly associated with communication between spouses. The two probably reinforce each other and are related to subsequent use of contraception. The foregoing discussion is important for the family planning behavior of couples in Pakistan since the spouse's attitude can be a very significant positive or negative force in actual adoption of family planning.

More recent national level data on attitudes towards family planning are not available since the PFS did not include any questions on attitudes. The only attitudinal data in the PFS pertains to future intentions about family planning use. Women who had never used any family planning method were asked whether they would use it in the future. Forty seven percent of the urban and 41% of the rural never-user women said that they will not use any method in the future. These women were asked to provide a reason why they would not use a method. Table 7 shows that almost half of urban and rural women reported religious reasons as their reason for future non-intention to use. Also, husbands' or familys' objection was reported to be the reason for 18% of urban and 9% of rural women. These findings are very important since this subgroup of apparent future non-users represents a substantial proportion of all eligible women. If these findings indicate that there is a general resistance to the idea of family planning by a substantial proportion of the population, this must be taken into account by program planners. The latest plan for 1980-83 does seem to take attitudinal constraints into account when it states that the specific

Table 7: Reasons for non-use intentions given by women who never used, and do not intend to use contraception in future, currently married urban and rural women, PFS, 1975

Reasons given	Urban No.		Rural No.	
Religious reasons	204	46.1	395	51.7
Fear of side effects	70	15.8	127	16.6
Husband objects	70	15.8	61	8.0
Husband too old	29	6.6	39	5.0
Secondary sterility	13	2.9	25	3.3
Ineffective method	11	2.5	20	2.6
Family objects	10	2.3	9	1.2
Want children/sons	5	1.0	44	5.8
Other reasons	31	7.0	44	5.8
	443	100.0	764	100.0

aim of the Program would be firstly to change attitudes and secondly to provide information, supplies and clinical facilities (Population Division, 1981.). Also, if those who stated in 1975 that they will not use any method in the future actually conform to their intentions this has serious (and negative) implications for the success of the Program, and calls for intensive educational campaigns for this subgroup.

II.3 CONTRACEPTIVE USE

The 1968-69 NIS had found that only about 5% of all eligible women were currently using any contraceptive at the time of survey. This percentage had not changed by 1975 (Table 8). The situation seems particularly difficult in rural areas where the percentage of current users seems to be actually lower in 1975 than it was in 1968. In the urban areas, however, the percentage of those who had ever used a method rose from about 20% in 1968 to 22% in 1975 while the percentage of current users rose from 10% to 12%.

Larger proportions of never user women said that they intended to use contraception in the future in the PFS than in the NIS (Table 8). Fifty three percent of the never users in urban and 59% in rural areas said that they would use contraception in the future. The respondents were not asked to specify the time by which they would use contraception. While these findings seem quite encouraging at a first glance, closer examination of the data on intentions leads us to raise serious questions about the validity of such a measure. Women who state that they intend to use contraception in the future are typically younger women at lower parities about 63% of whom want additional children. They are somewhat more educated than the never users who do not intend future use (Table 9). A multivariate analysis of future intentions shows that the intention to use

Table 8: Past and current contraceptive use of currently married women, by rural/urban residence, Pakistan NIS and PFS, 1968 and 1975 (in percents)

Item	Total		Urban		Rural	
	1968 (NIS)	1975 (PFS)	1968 (NIS)	1975 (PFS)	1968 (NIS)	1975 (PFS)
Ever used						
Any method	12.1	10.5	19.5	21.9	9.2	6.3
Program method[a]	8.5	8.7	13.9	18.7	6.6	5.2
Currently using						
Any method (including sterilization)	5.5	5.2	9.8	12.4	3.9	2.7
Efficient method (including sterilization)	3.8	3.8	7.0	9.0	2.6	2.0
Never used, intends future use	31.5	57.4	38.0	53.1	29.2	58.7
Weighted N[b]	7,979	4,663				
Unweighted N	2,910		1,180	1,778	1,730	2,885

[a]Methods include condom, diaphragm, foam, jelly or cream, IUD, pill, and male or female sterilization.

[b]Percentages for the total country are based on weighted data. Those for rural and urban areas are based on unweighted data for both surveys.

Table 9: Characteristics of Users and Non-users by type of use and intentions for future use, currently married urban and rural women, PFS, 1975

Respondent Characteristics[a]	Continuous User[b]	New Acceptor[c]	Dropout[d]	Never used, will use	Never used, will not use	All women
URBAN						
(N)	(80)	(95)	(95)	(736)	(653)	(1659)
Wife's age	33.8	32.3	31.5	26.2	33.7	30.2
Children ever born	6.0	5.9	5.7	3.2	4.8	4.2
Children still living	5.3	5.0	4.8	2.5	3.7	3.4
Living sons	2.9	2.6	2.4	1.3	1.9	1.8
Ideal family size	3.4	3.3	3.8	3.9	4.2	3.9
% husbands literate	81.3	67.4	66.3	63.4	50.4	59.6
% wives literate	52.5	31.6	40.0	27.9	16.4	25.4
% want future births	20.2	14.7	17.3	64.2	41.3	47.8
% heard f.p. radio*	86.1	85.1	79.8	73.8	59.6	69.9
% heard f.p. movie*	31.6	25.0	27.1	17.3	9.2	17.9
% seen f.p. TV*	64.8	52.9	52.2	36.0	30.0	39.1
% read f.p. newspaper	60.0	62.1	62.2	43.4	31.5	45.8
% Met f.p. person	70.5	50.6	62.7	30.2	29.7	34.0
Months since met f.p. person*	15.7	10.1	21.4	11.6	14.4	13.6
RURAL						
(N)	(19)	(47)	(45)	(1589)	(1114)	(2814)
Wife's age	33.5	35.9	34.5	27.6	33.4	30.2
Children ever born	6.0	6.1	6.0	3.7	4.5	4.1
Children still living	4.5	4.8	4.6	2.8	3.3	3.1
Living sons	2.7	2.5	2.5	1.5	1.7	1.6
Ideal family size	3.8	3.9	4.3	4.3	4.4	4.3
% husbands literate	42.1	38.3	35.6	37.7	30.0	34.7
% wives literate	0.0	2.1	13.3	5.7	4.0	5.0
% want future births	10.5	8.5	24.4	63.3	46.7	51.8
% heard f.p. radio*	73.7	47.8	56.8	56.7	39.1	49.8
% heard f.p. movie*	25.0	25.0	14.3	14.7	6.4	12.3
% seen f.p. TV*	50.0	25.0	35.7	23.3	19.1	22.8
% read f.p. newspaper*	--	--	16.7	33.3	25.0	29.3
% Met f.p. person	64.3	63.9	68.8	22.8	20.7	23.3
Months since met f.p. person*	24.6	23.6	42.9	18.7	20.0	20.2

*Only for persons who were exposed to this media or person; f.p. means family planning

[a]Unless otherwise indicated, number shown is the mean.

[b]Used in last closed interval and are currently using

[c]Defined as those who are currently using a method but did not use one in the last closed interval

[d]Defined as those who were using a method in the last closed interval but are not currently using one.

in the future is not systematically related to desires about additional children after controlling for the relevant background varibles (for details of this multivariate analysis, see Shah and Shah, 1980). We conclude from our analysis of PFS data on future intentions to use that program planners should be very cautious in interpreting the high percentage of those intending (to use) as actual potential users. It seems that at least some of the younger women may be avoiding further discussion of the subject by providing a positive response to the question about future use. The positive response may therefore be misleading.

Table 9 also shows data on the basic socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of continuous users, new acceptors and dropouts. It may be noted that the average age of new acceptors is about four years older in rural than in urban areas (35.9 and 32.3). This means that women in rural areas accept family planning at even higher ages (and parities) than urban women. The average parity of new acceptors is 6.1 in rural and 5.9 in urban areas. Never user women who do not intend to use have distinctly lower average parities in both urban and rural areas and perhaps therefore do not feel they need to use family planning. Additional analysis of the NIS and PFS has shown that the average age of current users remained the same in the urban areas (33 years in NIS and PFS) but current users in rural areas were 4 years older in the PFS than they were in the NIS (35.2 vs. 31.2). These findings indicate that considerable progress has been made with regard to contraceptive adoption in the urban areas but a very small percentage of the rural couples have initiated the use of any contraception. For additional discussion of these points see Shah (1979).

Correlates of Contraceptive Use

When we analyse the conditions under which contraceptive use seems to be encouraged, wife's education in urban areas and contact with a family planning person in both urban and rural areas seem to be very important (Table 10). A multiple classification analysis (MCA)[2] of contraceptive use from the PFS data showed that urban women who had five or more grades of education were almost twice as likely to have ever used contraception than illiterate women (27% and 15%, respectively). The importance of the contact with a channel of family planning information/supplies is illustrated by the differential in use among those who had met a family planning person in rural areas and those who had not - 12% and 2%. One other variable which is very significant in family planning use consists of whether respondents have exceeded their ideal family size and want more children. Among those women who have exceeded their ideal family size and don't want more children almost one-third in urban and 10% in rural areas had used contraception; the corresponding percentages for those who have not yet exceeded their ideal and want more children are 6% and 2% for urban and rural areas (Table 10). Variation in contraceptive use by ideal family size is discussed further in Section III below.

Multivariate analysis from the NIS matched couples' data also shows that literacy and schooling exerts the most significant impact on contraceptive use among several socioeconomic variables. In analysis using the Automatic Interaction Detection (AID)[3] model, I found that the couple's literacy independently explained the largest amount of variance (8.6%) in ever use compared with number of living sons (5.6%) monthly income, (5.4%) rural/urban residence (4.1%) age of wife (2.3%) and family type (0.1%). Figure 1 shows the summary results from the AID analysis. Couples among

Table 10: Unadjusted and adjusted percentages of ever-use of contraceptive methods, currently married urban and rural women, PFS, 1975

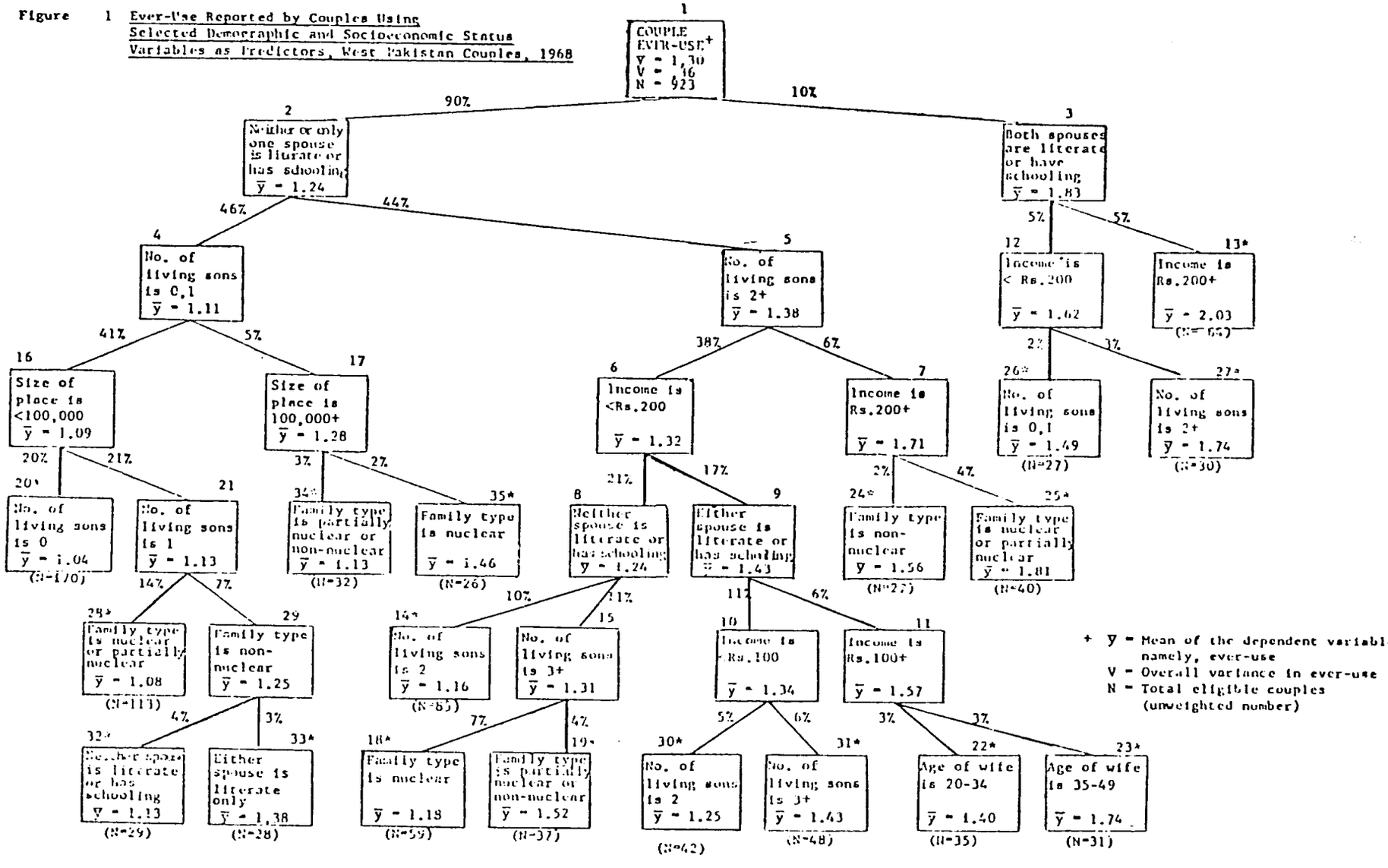
	URBAN			RURAL		
	Unadjusted %	Adjusted %	N	Unadjusted %	Adjusted %	N
Wife's Age						
<25	6.4	16.1	482	0.7	3.1	871
25-34	22.4	20.6	588	4.6	5.0	927
35+	22.3	15.3	510	8.1	5.3	881
No. of Living Children						
≤3	8.8	15.6	863	2.1	4.2	1613
4-5	25.4	20.9	347	5.0	3.4	595
6+	30.5	18.8	370	11.9	6.7	471
Wife's Education						
Illiterate	13.9	14.9	1163	4.4	4.5	2541
1-4 grades	18.1	18.6	105	6.3	6.2	63
5+ grades	30.8	26.9	312	4.0	1.9	75
Husband's Education						
Illiterate	11.1	13.1	620	4.1	4.0	1735
1-4 grades	16.9	17.8	118	3.6	3.4	252
5-9 grades	18.7	18.7	427	5.8	5.9	519
10+ grades	26.0	22.8	415	5.8	6.3	173
Met F.P. Person						
Yes	29.7	25.9	566	13.3	12.4	649
No	10.7	12.9	1014	1.7	1.9	2030
Ideal vs. Living Children						
Ideal < Living, don't want more	34.8	32.5	457	12.5	9.7	511
Ideal ≥ Living, don't want more	18.1	17.1	381	5.2	4.9	697
Ideal < Living, want more	16.0	13.8	50	3.2	2.5	62
Ideal ≥ Living, want more	5.9	8.1	692	1.3	2.4	1409
$R^2 \times 100$	17.3			9.0		
Grand mean	17.5			4.5		
N			1580			2679

whom both spouses were literate or had schooling and the monthly income was Rs. 200 ($20) or more, had a mean score[4] on ever use of 2.03 compared with the overall average score of 1.30. On the other hand, couples who had no literacy (or lower literacy), were living in a relatively more rural environment (locality less than 100,000 population) and had no living sons had the lowest mean score on ever use of only 1.04 (Figure 1).

In addition to the socioeconomic variables, I have found that interspousal communication respresents an especially significant dimension in the contraception process, as does the knowledge of spouse's approval of family planning. Among couples where both spouses reported having talked to the other, in 57% of rural and 70% of urban cases at least one spouse (or both) reported the use of a family planning method (Shah, 1974, p. 111). On the other hand, use was reported by less than ten percent rural and 13% of urban couples among respondents where neither spouse reported as having talked to the other.

It was discussed in the preceeding section, II.2, that couples in which both spouses recognized each other's positive attitude had a very high communication level. Table 11 shows that ever use of contraception is highly associated with mutual recognition of each other's approval. In 34% of the rural and 44% of the urban couples among whom both spouses agreed that the other one approved, both spouses reported the use of family planning. Also, at least one (or both) of the spouses reported use in 55% of rural and as high as 80% of the urban couples where both spouses knew about the other's approval. In a similar analysis from NIS data Sirageldin et al. (1976) showed that contraceptive use was significantly higher among couples among whom the wives had knowledge of husband's approval compared with couples among whom the husband disapproved.

Figure 1 Ever-Use Reported by Couples Using Selected Demographic and Socioeconomic Status Variables as Predictors, West Pakistan Couples, 1968



\+ ȳ = Mean of the dependent variable namely, ever-use
V = Overall variance in ever-use
N = Total eligible couples (unweighted number)

Table 11: Percentage Distribution of Ever Use Reported by Couples by Knowledge of Spouse's Opinion About Family Planning, West Pakistan Couples, NIS 1968**

Knowledge of spouse's opinion about f.p.		Both Spouses Report Use	Only Wife Reports Use	Only Husband Reports Use	Neither Reports Use	Total
Only wife knows husband's opinion	Rural	2.6	6.5	5.2	85.7	154
	Urban	12.6	10.2	7.1	70.1	127
Only husband knows wife's opinion	Rural	3.6	6.0	9.6	80.7	83
	Urban	3.2	4.8	14.3	77.8	63
Both know opinion, only one spouse reports approval by the other	Rural	14.0	11.6	14.0	60.5	43
	Urban	12.6	10.2	7.1	70.1	49
Both report each other's disapproval	Rural	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	21
	Urban	3.3	6.7	13.3	76.7	30
Both report each other's approval	Rural	34.0	12.8	8.5	44.7	47
	Urban	44.0	2.9	32.4	20.6	69
Total	Rural	3.3	7.5	7.5	76.7	348
	Urban	16.3	8.3	16.3	59.1	337

** Excluding cases where neither spouse reported knowledge of the other's opinion.

X^2 rural = 147.1 significant at $p < .01$

X^2 urban = 149.9 significant at $p < .01$

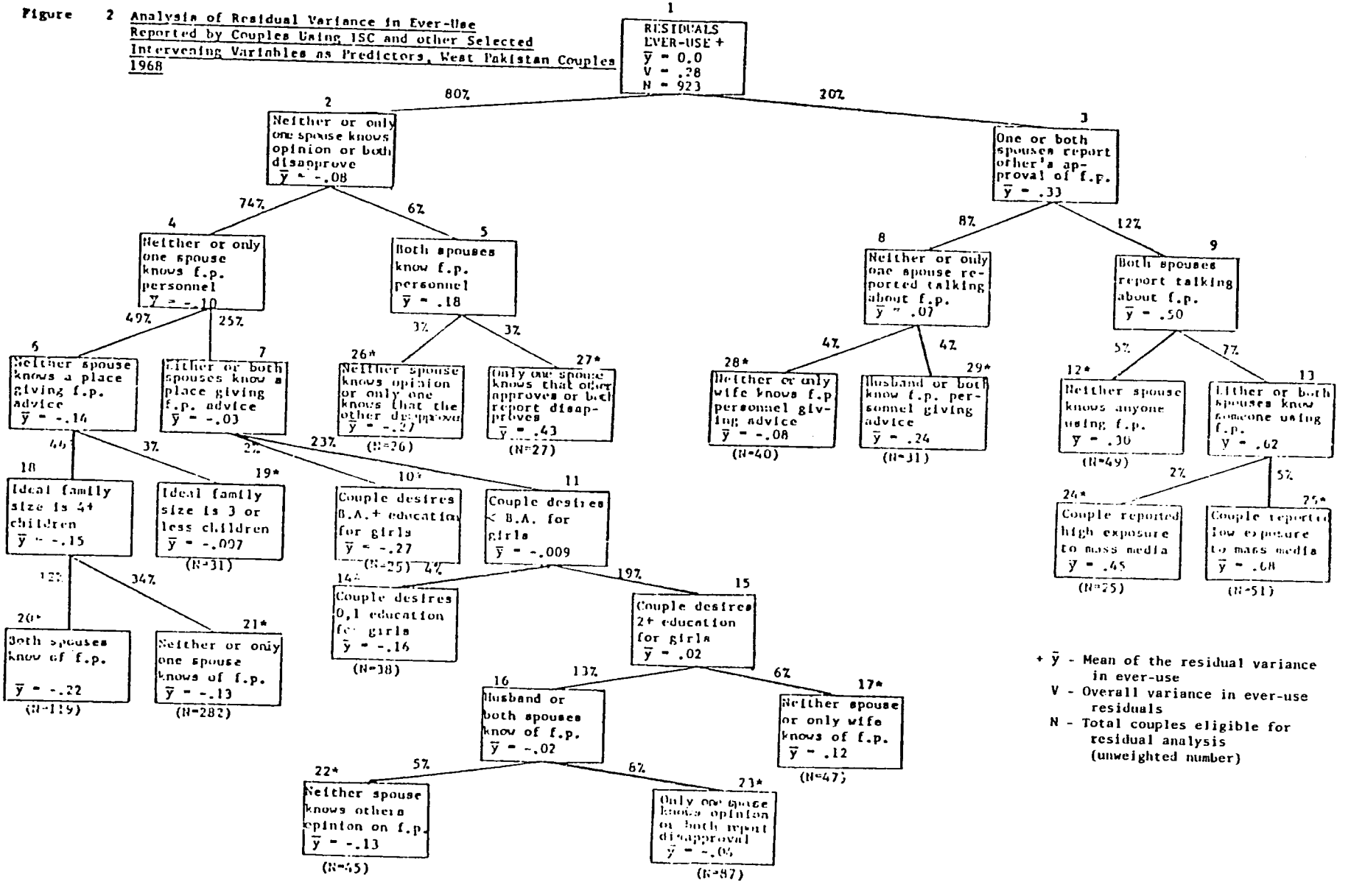
* Refers to N less than 25

An analysis of the residual variance in ever use of NIS couples (after taking the socioeconomic variables into account) showed that when knowledge of spouse's approval and mutual family planning communication between spouses were taken into account, a substantial amount of additional variance in ever use was explained. Taken independently, each of these variables explained close to 10% of the variance in ever-use. The AID analysis of residuals in ever-use showed that the knowledge of approval (of family planning) by the spouse is the most important variable in explaining additional variance in ever use among all the variables shown in Figure 2. Among couples where one or both spouses recognized the approval of the other, the mean score on ever use was much higher (.33) than among couples where neither or only one of the spouses knew the other's opinion or disapproved of family planning (-.08). One of the highest ever use groups, with a mean score of .62, consisted of couples who approved of, had communicated about and knew other people using family planning (group 13, figure 2). This represents a group which has highly 'effective' knowledge available to it. In general, mutual recognition of spouse's approval and mutual interspousal communication seem to be highly significant variables worth considering in communication strategies for Pakistan, even though the causal direction between these variables and ever use is not easy to specify from available data. For additional details of this analysis see Shah, 1974.

Communication Channels and Contraceptive Use

Research studies aimed at evaluating the relative effectiveness of various communication media have been conducted from the data available in NIS, as well as PFS. Shah and Kazi (1977) analysed the relative effects of interpersonal and mass media channels on contraceptive use and fertility

Figure 2 Analysis of Residual Variance in Ever-Use Reported by Couples Using ISC and other Selected Intervening Variables as Predictors, West Pakistan Couples 1968



\+ ȳ - Mean of the residual variance in ever-use
V - Overall variance in ever-use residuals
N - Total couples eligible for residual analysis (unweighted number)

from NIS data. They found a significant positive association between the intensity of exposure (as measured by the number of media the person had heard from) and favourable attitudes towards family planning as well as contraceptive use. The causal direction inherent in this relationship was, however, not clear. It was also found that exposure to mass media channels as the initial source of information had a negative effect on recent fertility in urban areas. This negative effect, however, did not work through contraception (Shah and Kazi, 1977).

Syed (1979) analysed the effect of exposure to different types of mass media channels and contraceptive use from the PFS. The PFS did not ask any question about information from interpersonal sources like friends and relatives. She found that for young (20-29) urban women exposure to family planning messages via television was positively associated with ever use of contraception. Among the relatively older (35+) urban women, and among younger as well as older rural women, however, contact with a family planning person was a very important factor in ever use. My analysis from the PFS shown in Table 10 above also points out the significance of contact with a family planning person.

III. DESIRED FAMILY SIZE AND CONTRACEPTIVE USE

Questions on 'desired' or 'ideal' family size were asked with respect to a personal ideal in the NIS and a more generalized ideal in PFS.[5] Analysis of these responses show remarkable similarity in the two surveys (Table 12). The average ideal family size of respondents in NIS was 4.4 which declined slightly to 4.2 among PFS respondents. Rural women in PFS had a higher ideal family size than urban women—4.3 and 3.9, respectively. In many developing countries it has been found that as the actual family

Table 12 - Mean and standard deviation of ideal number of children by living number of children for all currently married women, NIS, 1968 and PFS, 1975.

	NIS[a]			PFS[b]		
Living Children	$\bar{x}$ Ideal Children	Standard Deviation	N*	$\bar{x}$ Ideal Children	Standard Deviation	N*
0	4.1	1.6	1091	3.9	1.45	571
1	4.2	1.8	1086	3.9	1.27	673
2	4.1	1.6	1087	4.0	1.38	632
3	4.4	1.7	1057	4.1	1.36	632
4	4.6	1.4	965	4.3	1.35	544
5	4.9	1.7	736	4.5	1.33	509
6	4.9	1.5	596	4.4	1.45	427
7+	4.7	1.9	537	4.8	1.77	536
Total	4.4	1.7	7154	4.2	1.45	4524

a, Personal ideal

b, Generalized ideal

*Excluding women who did not provide numerical responses to the question on ideal family size.

Source: Population Planning Council (1976, Table 3.4.3 (a) p. A-II-47); and NIS data.

size increases, women shift or revise their ideal upward to conform to their actual fertility. This does not seem to be true in Pakistan. Table 12 shows that the mean ideal family size falls within a narrow range of roughly 4-5 children regardless of the actual family size. Perhaps this finding suggests that respondents have recognized the government ideal of a smaller family size (the government ideal is now 2, 3 children as expressed on family planning posters and jingles) and express an ideal in accordance with that but have not yet internalized it enough to effect their own family planning behaviour.

Not all respondents, however, provide a numerical answer once they are presented with such questions. In the NIS, 10% women provided non-numerical responses such as "It is up to God," as shown below:

	NIS	PFS
Ideal > Living Children	56	56
Ideal = Living Children	18	17
Ideal < Living Children	16	24
No numerical response	10	3

A substantial proportion (56%) of the women in both surveys had not yet achieved their ideal family size.

A large majority of the women who have not yet achieved their ideal family size want more children, 81% among all currently married women and 88% among exposed fecund women according to PFS data (Shah and Palmore, 1979, p.145). A comparison of the actual with ideal number of children and desire for additional children are both measures of the demand for children. Among women who do not want additional children and who have exceeded their ideal family size it is reasonable to assume that there would be more positive behaviour with regard to family planning use. In a multivariate analysis of PFS, various measures of desired fertility were

used as predictors of contraceptive use. The results are shown in Table 13. The three measures of desired fertility were: whether respondents wanted more children, a comparison of ideal with actual family size and a combination of these two.

All three measures of desired fertility were found to have a significant effect on contraceptive use. That is, women who did not want more children, had exceeded their ideal and those who had exceeded their ideal as well as did not want more children had relatively very high contraceptive use. For example, women who had exceeded their ideal family size and did not want more children were four times more likely to have used contraception than those who had not exceeded their ideal and wanted more children (20% and 5%). It should be noted that these differences take into account the effects of demographic and socioeconomic variables listed in Table 13. It was shown in Table 10 above that when similar analysis is done for urban areas, as many as one-third of all currently married women who have exceeded their ideal family size and do not want additional children report they have used contraception. Thus, despite the tenuous nature of the desired fertility measures they seem to have a relatively high predictive ability with regard to contraceptive use.

SUMMARY

Knowledge of family planning methods is fairly high in Pakistan and over three-fourths of currently married women know about some Program (modern) method. Knowledge about clinics and family planning personnel is, however, not equally high. Only 12% of women in rural and 24% in urban areas knew of a family planning place and had met a person giving advice/supplies. Almost half of the currently married women do not want

another child but only about 5-6% are currently using any contraceptive method. Substantial proportions (about 40%) of the never users say that they do not intend to use any family planning method in the future. Their major reasons for the non-use intentions are religious reasons, disapproval by husband or family and fear of side effects.

Multivariate analysis of data from two national surveys, 1968-69 NIS and 1975 PFS shows that literacy and education are the strongest correlates of contraceptive use. Couples among whom both spouses are literate or have schooling have a significantly higher use rate than couples among whom neither or only one of the spouses is literate or has schooling, according to the NIS data. Data from the PFS also showed that the wife's education is very highly associated with contraceptive use. Furthermore, interspousal communication and mutual recognition of the spouse's approval (of family planning) were found to be highly significant in explaining additional variance in ever use after the socioeconomic variables had been controlled, based on the NIS data. Attitudes towards future childbearing were also found to be significant in the PFS where women who had exceeded their ideal family size and did not want additional children had a contraceptive use about four times higher than women who had not exceeded their ideal family size and wanted more children.

While population planners and demographers are concerned about the high population growth rate and the Government has had an official Family Planning Program since 1965, the percentage of users is still alarmingly small. The latest population strategy calls for an integration of the family planning effort with the general development program of the country. It is recognized that individual and community attitudes need to be changed and that favourable attitudes need to be cultivated before the provision of supplies can make a significant difference in use rates.

Table 13 Unadjusted and Adjusted Percentages of Contraceptive Use by Various Measures of Desired Fertility, All Currently Married Women. Pakistan Fertility Survey, 1975

Predictors	Unadjusted %	Adjusted %	N	Unadjusted %	Adjusted %	N	Unadjusted %	Adjusted %	N
Want More Children									
No	17	13	2,098						
Yes	3	6	2,251						
Ideal < = > Living									
Ideal < Living				23	18	1,082			
Ideal = Living				15	11	773			
Ideal > Living				4	6	2,494			
Ideal/Living/Wanted									
Ideal < Living, Don't Want More							24	20	972
Ideal ≥ Living, Don't Want More							11	10	1,126
Ideal < Living, Want More							9	7	110
Ideal ≥ Living, Want More							3	5	2,140
Wife's Age									
15-24	3	8	1,349	3	9	1,349	3	9	1,349
25-34	12	11	1,555	12	11	1,555	12	11	1,555
35+	14	10	1,444	14	10	1,444	14	9	1,444
Wife's Education									
Illiterate	8	9	3,882	8	9	3,882	8	9	3,882
1-4 Grades	15	12	150	15	12	150	15	12	150
5-9 Grades	25	16	247	25	16	247	25	16	247
10+ Grades	34	24	70	34	23	70	34	23	70
Wife's Age at Marriage									
10-14	9	10	1,188	9	9	1,188	9	9	1,188
15-16	9	10	1,423	9	10	1,423	9	10	1,423
17-19	10	10	1,093	10	10	1,093	10	10	1,093
20+	12	10	645	12	11	645	12	10	645
Husband's Education									
Illiterate	7	9	2,537	7	9	2,537	7	9	2,537
1-4 Grades	7	8	384	7	8	384	7	8	384
5-9 Grades	12	11	920	12	11	920	12	11	920
10+ Grades	21	14	508	21	14	508	21	14	508
No. Living Sons									
0	2	7	1,210	2	7	1,210	2	7	1,210
1	7	9	1,092	7	10	1,092	7	10	1,092
2	11	9	898	11	10	898	11	9	898
3+	19	15	1,149	19	13	1,149	19	13	1,149
Met F.P. Person									
Yes	25	22	1,254	25	22	1,254	25	22	1,254
No	4	5	3,095	4	5	3,095	4	5	3,095
R/U Residence									
Urban	21	16	1,110	21	16	1,110	21	16	1,110
Rural	6	8	3,239	6	8	3,239	6	8	3,239
R^2		19			19			20	
Grand Mean		10			10			10	
N			4,349			4,349			4,349

Source: Shah and Palmore, 1979, p. 147.

Footnotes

1. For a comprehensive discussion of the differences between the NIS and PFS see Shah, 1979.

2. Multiple Classification Analysis is a form of multiple regression analysis in which the predictor (independent) variables may be discontinuous rather than of the interval type. (That is, instead of varying along a continuum, as, say, income does, they may be logically discrete categories, such as whether one is a Catholic or whether one has more children than one wants.) Multiple Classification Analysis also presents the reader with the actual mean of a predictor class as well as the adjusted mean, and thus is useful descriptively. Like all forms of multiple regression analysis, Multiple Classification Analysis controls for other variables by assuming, while it looks at one class of a predictor variable, that the distribution of all other predictor variables will be the same in that class as in the total population; thus "holding constant" their effects.

3. Automatic Interaction Detector (AID) is a multivariate technique which consists of defining a set of population subgroups such that each differs from the rest as much as possible in terms of mean value on the dependent variable, is homogeneous within itself, and is large enough to matter. The technique operates in a sequential manner and by working with each potential explanatory classification of each predictor it examines the explanatory power (reduction in error variance) achievable by using that classification. It examines the mean of the dependent variable aginst each explanatory classification in turn. In each case it finds the "best way" to use that explanatory classification to divide the sample into two parts - best in terms of variance explained ("between sum-of-squares"). After examining each predictor, the program divides the total sample on the basis of the one which explained the largest amount of variance. It then proceeds with the subgroup having the largest remaining variability and repeats the process using all the predictors and finds the best split and the best predictor for this subgroup. The process goes on until a prescribed set of criteria are met (for details of the procedure see Sonquist, 1970; Sonquist et al., 1971). The analysis shown in Figures 1 and 2 used the following criteria in order for a parent group to split:
   1. The division must explain at least .2% of the total sum of squares.
   2. The minimum number of observations in a group must be 25.
   3. The number of end groups must not exceed 30.

4. The score on ever use was calculated according to the following scale:

	Score
Neither spouses reported having ever used a method	1
Either spouse reported having ever used a method	2
Both spouses reported having ever used a method	3

5. The questions asked in each survey were:
   NIS: 'In your opinion what is the appropriate number of children for a family like yours?'
   PFS: 'In your opinion how many children should a married couple have?

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GOVERNMENT PROGRAMMES FOR WOMEN

By

Sabiha H. Syed

Programming of schemes is based on the policy goals of the issues concerned. Priorities are established after taking into account the magnitude of the problem and the resources that can be allocated to cope with the situation. In the normal course of events most programmes are a result of a set of policies, to which certain resources are earmarked on a priority basis. However, in the case of Pakistan, the historical background of the independence of the country from British rule had created a situation by which systematic planning could not be initiated for a few years after its creation until 1955 when the first Five Year Plan was launched. This was partly due to the mass-migration that is stated as the largest in modern history in the shortest period of time. The Government was faced with the gigantic task of settling the refugees and other displaced persons who had migrated from various parts of India. Large scale programmes were initiated for the rehabilitation of men, women and children (Planning Commission, 1957). Welfare oriented Women's Centres were set-up in all major cities. These centres provided needy women with shelter and facilities for acquiring of skills so that they could earn some income.

The first Five Year Plan (1955-60) and the subsequent plans have emphasised the development of female education and training programmes. The health of mothers and children has also received careful attention in

subsequent planning documents (Planning Commission, 1965). In the social welfare sector, the establishment of women welfare centres had become a standard activity during the Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65. The Federal Ministry of Social Welfare and Provincial Governments have been responsible for implementing projects for women's welfare. During the Third Five Year Plan (1965-70) a nationwide Family Planning Programme was launched that focussed on women as 'clients' of a big government effort. This scheme made women eligible for several jobs all over the country.

In the decade of the seventies, the development planners realized the significance of the role that women play in the socio-economic development of society. Therefore, the attitude towards women's centres gradually began to shift from a welfare orientation to that of a developmental nature.

At the advent of the United Nations Decade of Women in 1975, the government undertook several development oriented programmes for women. In 1979, a Women's Division was established in the Cabinet Secretariat to work for the advancement of women in the country. The following functions were entrusted to this Division: (Women's Division, 1980)

(i) "To formulate public policies and laws to meet the special needs of women.

(ii) To register and to assist women's organizations.

(iii) To undertake and promote projects for providing special facilities for women.

(iv) To undertake and promote research on the condition and problems of women.

(v) To represent the country in international organizations and countries with bilateral contacts dealing with problems of women.

(vi) To ensure that women's interests and needs are adequately represented in policy formulation by various organizations of Government.

(vii) To ensure equality of opportunity in education and employment and the fuller participation of women in all spheres of national life."

This brief outline indicates that the government has consistently pursued a conscious policy (a) for women's welfare and (b) to improve opportunities for women in education and training. In the present chapter, we will discuss the nature of the various programmes undertaken by the government agencies for the greater participation of women in the social and economic development of the country.

It should be stated that the present chapter is not a survey of government sponsored institutions for women in the country but it is an analysis of the government programmes for women in a conceptual or contextual manner. This type of analysis is necessitated by certain limitations, the main one being that the nature of programmes for women and their existence in terms of coverage is minimal, if not negligible. In other words, we can say that although there exists a variety of programmes that are undertaken for women, there remains a vast majority of women who need to be reached for participation in developmental activities. Therefore, any discussion based only on a quantitative type of analysis will not be meaningful at this point. What is more important is the conceptual framework underlying the design and implementation of the various schemes undertaken for women. Thus a discussion of areawise distribution of such programmes would be difficult in order to assess the situation in a realistic manner.

With this in mind, we can proceed to discuss the types of programmes for women that are planned and implemented by the government agencies. The basic programming has been undertaken through the establishment of women's institutions in the sector of Education, Health and Social Welfare.

Participation in such institutions has led to a widening of training and employment opportunities for women.[1]

In general terms, the programmes for women can be discussed broadly in a three way classificaton -

(A) Welfare oriented programmes.

(B) Programmes especially designed for women.

(C) Programmes having a women's component.

A. WELFARE ORIENTED PROGRAMMES:

The primary objective of welfare programmes is that needy women, such as destitutes, handicapped, widows, and orphans be given relief in an organized way. Essential services thus provided apply to women who are struck by misfortune or circumstances. The Welfare institutions such as Dar-ul-Aman, Dar-ul-Falah, and San'at Zar have a wide scope, and serve remedial, preventive, and supportive functions.

In a few major cities of the country some institutions have been set-up by the government where needy women are provided with shelter and some other assistance. 'Dar-ul-Aman', i.e. house of protection and 'Dar-ul-Falah' i.e. house of welfare are the names commonly given to such institutions. Some centres known as Mother's and Children's homes have also been established. Destitutes and other needy women who have dependent children can come to these institutions to stay as residents and they can also learn income-generating skills. The number of such institutions has not increased much, but the capacity of each institution to house such women has almost doubled in the last two decades in most cases. Besides the government agencies, some voluntary organizations and philanthrophic individuals have also set-up similar institutions for women's welfare (Government of Pakistan, 1980). Table 1 shows the number of various welfare institutions established by government departments/agencies.

Table 1. Number of existing social welfare services for women and children in the public sector, 1979

Services/Projects	Punjab	Sind	NWFP	Baluchistan	Federal	Total
Urban community development projects	50	26	12	7	18[a]	113
Rural community development projects	13	8	8	16	2	47
Community development	50	1	1	-	-	52
Socio-economic centres	5	3	-	-	2[b]	10
Mothers and childrens homes	7	-	-	-	-	7
Hostels for working women	2	-	-	-	1[c]	3
Darul Aman/ rescue homes	6	1	1[d]	1	-	9
Model orphanages	1	1	-	-	-	2
Day care centres	2	1	-	-	-	3
Services for handicapped, lost, kidnapped and abandoned children	6	-	-	-	-	6
Services for mentally & physically handicapped	1	1	-	1	-	3
Medical social work	13	10	-	1	-	24
Services for aged and infirm	2	-	-	-	-	2

Table 1 continued

Services/Projects	Punjab	Sind	NWFP	Baluch-istan	Federal	Total
School social work	-	6	-	-	-	6
Abandoned babies & children homes	1	-	-	-	-	1
Supervision of production units	1	-	-	-	-	1
District display centres (industrial centres of excellence)	19	-	-	-	-	19
Pilot craft training project	2	-	-	-	-	2
Homes for destitute women	2	-	-	-	-	2
Child welfare & in-service training institute	1	1	-	-	-	2
Lady industrial homes	1142 (transferred from people works programmes)	-	-	-	17[c]	1159
Vocational training centres for women	-	-	-	-	4[c]	4

[a] Seventeen under Staff Welfare Organization.
[b] Under Kashmir Affairs.
[c] Under Staff Welfare Organization.
[d] Construction of building.

Source: Adapted from Government of Pakistan (1980:84-85).

B. PROGRAMMES ESPECIALLY DESIGNED FOR WOMEN:

Traditionally, in Pakistani society, there has been sex-segregation for several religious and socio/cultural reasons. Men and women freely and comfortably perform their social functions in a sex-segregated atmosphere. One of the outcomes of such customs has been the establishment of centres, institutions, clubs etc. that are especially designed to cater to women's needs. There is a long history of centres that are especially designed for women.

Skill and Craft Training Centres - All over the country there are several centres where women can learn skills in sewing, knitting, embroidery and handicrafts. These skills and crafts training centres are commonly known as industrial homes or 'San'at Zars' (places of skills). These centres for women have been traditionally set-up by both government and private agencies. Government departments such as social welfare, small industries corporation, staff welfare organization (a section of the Establishment Division) and some other government organizations have been running more than 3000 centres for women in the country. Such centres do not have any residential facilities.

These centres have multiple functions. Primarily they provide instruction of skills by employing trained teachers in each of the centres. One attractive aspect of these institutions is that poor women can get an opportunity to earn some money by obtaining 'order work.' This type of work is usually available in industrial homes because women from the more affluent families get their garments and other articles embroidered or knitted by placing an 'order'. This form of income is considered acceptable by most men in the families of the women who work at industrial

centres, because women can go and bring the 'order' and work at home. This aspect of home-based earning reinforces sex-segregated work places for women.

The participation of a large number of women from low income families is a salient feature in the success of these centres. Learning skills and working in this kind of a set-up has become a socially and culturally accepted phenomenon for married as well as unmarried Pakistani women in both rural and urban areas. The village centres have a greater potential for training women in handicrafts and sewing because most rural women do not possess their personal tools such as sewing machines, knitting machines etc. An evaluation report of such centres has indicated that every month, at least 30 - 50 women benefit directly from each centre (Government of Punjab, 1978). In areas where such facilities are not available, there is a popular demand for establishing such centres. Thus, in brief, the industrial home provides women with an acceptable institution based learning where they can receive some 'technical' support from the trained teachers and at the same time earn a little income.

Hostels for Women - In order to meet the special needs of women students and workers, hostels have been set-up in some major cities. Both married and unmarried women can take up residence in these hostels. Typically a hostel has a resident Warden and a Chowkidar (guard). Some hostels also provide cooked meals while in some the residents have to make their own arrangements. Cooking facilities are, however, always available. It is commonly felt that many young women cannot pursue higher education and training or take up jobs due to the lack of safe and acceptable residential facilities. Parents and guardians are afraid to send girls outside their own area, because girls are customarily not sent to live away from home. Girls hostels located on the premises of schools, colleges,

universities and other institutions have, however, gained support from a growing number of families. Therefore, other hostels with similar facilities have gained gradual acceptance. The department of Social Welfare and some other government agencies for reasons stated above encourage the establishment of women's hostels. In major cities a few hostels are also run by voluntary organizations and private institutions. In cases where a building cannot be constructed, one is usually rented in a central locality of the city.

The number of government sponsored women's hostels has not increased much due to the huge financial investment required for renting of buildings and staff, etc. Apart from the women's hostels in teaching institutions, there are at present about 10 working women's hostels established by the central government in various cities of the country such as Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, Multan, Faisalabad, Rawalpindi and Quetta. Recently the Women's Division has financed the construction of two new working women's hostels in Baluchistan, one at Sibi and the other at Turbat.

Day-Care Centres - The number of working women (both married and unmarried) is gradually increasing in large cities. The entry of married women into services and professions is leading to a need for day-care centres for children. In some cities, a few women's organizations and individuals have set-up day-care centres in addition to the government sponsored day-care centres. Such centres are usually a play centre-cum-nursery for children of well-to-do families. Some well-off working mothers avail themselves of these facilities, but they are beyond the means of the majority of the lower income working women. There is a great need for day-care centres that are available to lower income women at a low cost. A few voluntary organizations have set-up such centres in

Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi and Islamabad. The government through the Social Welfare Departments and the staff welfare organization is currently operating a few day-care centres.

TABLE 2. Women's welfare services and projects for which financial allocations have been made during the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1978-83)

1. 22 Socio-economic centres for women, one each at Bagh, Pashin, Mastung, (Baluchistan) Thatta, Nawabshah and 4 Sub-Divisions of Sind; one each at 6 districts of North West Frontier Province; and one each at Lahore, Sargodha, Rawalpindi, Multan and Bahawalpur in Punjab; one each at Muzaffarabad and Kotli in Azad Jammu and Kashmir.

2. 19 Display centres and supervision of production units - one each in 19 districts of Punjab.

3. 19 Industrial centres of excellence - one each in 19 districts of Punjab.

4. 14 Hostels for Working Women - one each at Islamabad, Quetta, Azad Jammu & Kashmir, Sukkur, Hyderabad, Peshawar, Faisalabad, Rawalpindi, Multan, Bahawalpur and two each at Lahore and Karachi.

5. 1 Pilot Craft Training Project for rural women at Bahawalpur.

6. 18 Day-Care centres - one each at Islamabad, Quetta, Sukkur, Larkana, Nawabshah, Thatta, Abbottabad, Lahore, Sargodha, Multan, Bahawalpur, Rawalpindi and two each at Hyderabad, Karachi and Peshawar.

Source: Planning Commission (1978:412-413).

Over the current plan period (1978-83) the government has allocated substantial financial outlays to increase the services and projects for women. Funds have been allocated for 18 day care centres, 14 hostels for working women and 22 socio-economic centres for women. In addition to the planned services, both working women's hostels and day-care centres need to be made available in all cities. Special attention is required to provide these facilities in cities of the North West Frontier Province (N.W.F.P.) and Baluchistan.

C. PROGRAMMES HAVING A WOMEN'S COMPONENT:

In this category of programmes we can discuss those schemes and projects, where a women's component has been included as an integral part of the whole. The need of such components has been felt from time to time from the fact that with advancement of industry and technology, women are to be kept in pace with men in society. Some projects have been designed with a women's component in various government departments especially in Education, Food and Agriculture, Labour and Manpower, Industries, Culture and Sports etc. These components are meant to enable women to be active participants in specialized projects by acquiring the modern know-how and technology.

In the education and training sector, a project of Adult Functional Literacy was launched by Pakistan Television Corporation in 1975 with the major objective of utilizing T.V. media for educational purposes. This project was given priority because not only is illiteracy high in Pakistan but it is also increasing since millions of adults are being added to this category each year. In its pilot phase 240 Community Viewing Centers have been established in selected villages which have electricity and where the community was willing to share the cost of the center. Participants in these centers are provided a literacy course through tele-lessons and are assisted in learning by an adult functional literacy teacher. Each course is six months long. Two transmissions are held daily, one in the afternoon and another in the evening, keeping in view the daily routine of women. Each lesson is about 40 to 45 minutes long. The average attendance of women per center is thirty. Currently, the seventh cycle of the programme is in operation during October 1981 - March 1982. An evaluation report of this literacy project has indicated that women are keen to learn, and their

attendance in classes is good. Upon examination they perform better than men. At final evaluation of a cycle of course it was found that women retain the knowledge quite well (Rafe-uz-zaman, 1979).

Besides the Television programme, literacy classes for men and women have been conducted in all provinces through the Directorates of Adult Education in the Integrated Rural Development Programme since 1975.

Literacy Centres in Villages - In its first year of creation the Women's Division has sponsored more than 4000 literacy centres in villages for women all over the country. Each province has evolved its own approach to reach village women. In the Punjab the programme is being implemented by the Directorate of Adult Education. The unique feature of this programme is that a literate woman residing in the same area has been employed. She is provided with some basic facilities such as text books for students. She conducts a six month course at her own house or another selected place. Once the students have successfully completed a six month course they are given additional material to continue their learning process. The evaluation report of this programme indicated that more than 60 percent of the women attending these courses had developed the reading and writing ability. The women also mentioned that using their newly acquired knowledge was helpful in assisting their young children in school work (Government of Punjab, 1979).

In Sind, the literacy centres for women have been set-up in rural areas of Karachi and Hyderabad Divisions. The literacy courses are usually held in the evening in local primary school buildings in the community. The course has a duration of six months. Courses at these centres are designed so as to develop the reading and writing abilities of women. It is estimated that about 25-30 women attend a course in each centre

indicating that in each rural centre approximately 50-60 women acquire literacy skills each year.

In the N.W.F.P., the literacy programme is being run through the Integrated Rural Development Programme. In the villages around a Markaz[2], a primary school teacher or some other literate local woman is selected by the community and is given training for 15 days in adult literacy teaching. She then teaches the women in the locality. In Baluchistan Province, the literacy programme for women has been developed around the women's centres that are run by a voluntary organization, 'The Helpers' Association, and in some primary schools for girls.

The amount of honorarium paid to literacy teachers is varied in the Provinces. It ranges from Rs. 75/- per month in the Punjab to Rs. 250/- per month in Sind. The development of curriculum for women's literacy classes remains an issue to be handled in an effective way because the current material was prepared more than a decade ago and has not been revised since. Moreover, courses that are oriented towards women's needs have to be developed.

Vocational Training - The Directorates of technical education in the provinces have an integral component of women's vocational training centres. These centres are set-up for girls exclusively. Although these institutions work on the same lines as that of men's programme, the nature of courses taught are different. We can say there is a sex-typing of vocations. In the girls institutions, the emphasis is gradually being shifted to some traditionally male courses and trades, such as electronics, repair of domestic appliances etc.

The government during the present plan period is providing increased facilities for vocational training for women. Table 3 indicates the

benchmark (actual) and projections for vocational training programmes for women.

Training for secretarial work is gaining popularity among women because now a large number of government, private and commercial organizations are recruiting girls for secretarial work. Therefore, a women's component of secretarial training is being included in several vocational training programmes. The Government Polytechnic Institutes for women are gradually starting secretarial training courses during the current plan period in all provinces. The Women's Division during 1979-80 has sponsored a few additional trades (such as commercial tailoring and dressmaking) to be introduced for women in some of these institutions in Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan provinces.

Table 3. Benchmarks and projections for vocational institutions for females during fifth plan (1978-83)

	Enrollment capacity		Annual enrollment	
	Benchmark 1977-78	Projection 1982-83	Benchmark 1977-78	Projection 1982-83
Punjab Province	3,000	4,000	2,000	3,000
Sind Province	1,590	2,550	800	1,500
North West Frontier Province	60	150	40	90
Baluchistan Province	50	350	30	180
PAKISTAN	4,700	7,050	2,870	4,770

Source: Adopted from Planning Commission (1978:761).

Extension Workers in Agriculture and Livestock - The Food and Agriculture department has included a women's component by bringing women in two cadres of field workers. The Women's Division has sponsored the training of these two new cadres, one of Lady Field Assistants in agriculture extension work, who would work along the lines of male extension workers, and the other one of Lady Stock Assistants for poultry development programme in rural areas. These field workers would work mostly in the villages around a Rural Development 'Markaz.' Several of these marakaz all over the country now have a women's component where multipurpose centres and pilot projects for women are being implemented by the Livestock Division.

The inclusion of a women's component in development projects in the agriculture sector has great potential because traditionally women participate in all major aspects of production, but they have not been the recipients of any training programmes that would enhance their utility as farmers. As for agricultural extension services, women so far have been carelessly neglected. Similarly, in the transformation of rural marketing, women have not been exposed to any modern methods. If women are provided with training programmes for production in Livestock, Poultry, Fisheries, Agriculture Extension, Agriculture Marketing, and given information about Cooperatives, then their participation in the agriculture sector would be enhanced. This can be achieved by incorporating a component for women in all training programmes.

Handicraft Development Centres - The Small Industries Corporations in the provinces have a women's component in the establishment of handicrafts development centres. The most important example is that of carpet-weaving centres for women. A large number of women participate in these projects

because it is felt that local and indigenous handicrafts are easy to learn. During their early period of socialization, young girls are exposed to home-based handicraft work that is done by their mothers. The trades of carpet weaving, 'Durri'[3] and 'Niwar'[4] making are economically attractive skills. Women pick-up these skills quickly, since literacy or educational attainment is not a pre-requisite in learning of these commercial trades. There is a tremendous potential for organizing this type of work for generating employment for women. Women trained at the carpet weaving centres readily find jobs in the public and private sector. These types of trades are well-suited to the needs of rural women, because after learning the crafts they can set-up their own units on an individual and co-operative basis, where several other women can also work on full-time and part-time basis. Since most women prefer to work at home, those income generating activities are likely to be adopted where they can perform the work at home. The nature of their chores at home, such as food preparation, cleaning, caring of children etc. does not allow them to stay away from home for long hours. Thus at present a home-based or neighbourhood based industry seems essential to bring about some change in their lives.

Efforts of the Women's Division - The newly created national machinery i.e. Women's Division, during the first year of its function (1979-1980) was allocated a budget of Rs. 19.66 million (about US $1.966 million) for development programmes. The policy adopted for implementing women's programmes was based on the following major considerations (Women's Division, 1980):

(i) "The primary objective of the programme should be to reach out to the rural and poor urban segments of the women population and girls with lower levels of education.

(ii) Funds should be provided for programmes which have already shown their utility and where for years administrative experience has been achieved but where expansion has not taken place at the desired pace because of resource constraints.

(iii) Funds should be provided for programmes which have shown a potential for growth and where administrative experience is available but there has been little growth.

(iv) Programmes should be initiated on a pilot basis in fields where knowledge is available and success has been achieved in other countries and where attention has not been paid in our country so that these programmes can be expanded in the light of such experience."

(v) The existing structures of Government in each Province should be used for providing funds and implementation of the programmes and no parallel hierarchy should be set up.

(vi) Each Government department should be encouraged to design programmes for women and to expand it by utilizing funds provided to it."

It may be noted that the Women's Division has, through the above mentioned programme strategy, focussed on and emphasized all such activities of government departments that are geared towards the advancement of women in society. By supporting projects in all categories discussed earlier, it has ensured that there is an overall strengthening of development efforts for women. The following schemes and projects received the sponsorship of the Division in 1979-80:

(1) Literacy centres in the villages.

(2) Industrial homes in rural areas.

(3) Pilot women's centres at Rural Development Marakiz.

(4) Introduction of new trades in Vocational Institutions (Repair and servicing of domestic appliances, commercial tailoring and dressmaking, and embroidery).

(5) Handicraft Development centres in rural areas.

(6) Women's centres through community organizations.

(7) Multi-purpose centres for women.

(8) Sericulture programme for rural women.

(9) Special programmes in primary schools for young girls (Health and nutrition education, community organization).

(10) Introduction of economic activities for women at IRDP Marakiz.

(11) Construction of women's hostel in Turbet, Baluchistan.

(12) Construction of community halls for women in Quetta.

(13) Establishment of secretarial training courses.

(14) Assistance for women's projects in Local Government institutions.

(15) Assistance in Dai (local midwife) training programmes for rural areas.

(16) Grants-in-Aid to women's voluntary organizations.

In the provinces, the implementation work has been entrusted to several concerned departments. Provincial Cells have been established to co-ordinate and evaluate the work on various schemes. These cells are located in the Provincial Planning and Development Boards, where the planning of development activities is undertaken. The Provincial Co-ordinator of the Women's Cell also assists the various departments in the designing of women's programmes.

Besides this development effort, in order to give an appropriate place to research on women, this Division has established a Research Wing. Several studies are being planned to provide the much needed and so far delayed research on basic as well as critical issues concerning women in Pakistan. The Women's Division has so far funded several research studies in the various institutions of the country. The following research studies have been contracted during 1979-81 to the various institutions in the country:

	STUDY	AGENCY
(1)	Analysis of Mass Media Appealing to Women.	National Institute of Psychology, Islamabad
(2)	Female Crime in Urban and Rural Areas.	National Institute of Psychology, Islamabad

	STUDY	AGENCY
(3)	Psychological Profile of Rural Women.	National Institute of Psychology, Islamabad
(4)	Women in Islam.	Pakistan Studies Centre University of Sind, Hyderabad
(5)	Training of Rural Women in Daudzai Project Area, District Peshawar, NWFP.	Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, Peshawar
(6)	Women in Industry.	Department of Sociology, University of Karachi
(7)	Socio-Economic Status of Women in Agrarian Community in Punjab.	Department of Economics, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad
(8)	Sex Role Images in the Text Books.	Department of Sociology, University of the Punjab, Lahore
(9)	The Performance of Female Teachers in Punjab.	Pakistan Foundation School, Lahore
(10)	Unorganized Piece Work Labour Amongst Women: Case Study in a Lahore Neighbourhood.	B.K.M. Associates, Lahore
(11)	Possibilities and Prospects of Agro-based Industries for Rural Women in NWFP.	Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, Peshawar
(12)	An Investigation into the Patterns and Problems of Improving Rural Women's Skills.	University of Agriculture, Faisalabad
(13)	An Investigation into the Problems of Re-organizing the Village School System.	University of Agriculture, Faisalabad
(14)	Socio-Economic Status of Women Labour Force Working in Industrial Homes.	University of Agriculture, Faisalabad
(15)	Portrayal of Women through Communication Media.	Pakistan Women's Institute, Lahore

	STUDY	AGENCY
(16)	Nutrition of Women and Children.	Department of Obstetrics and Gynaeocology, Jinnah Post-Graduate Medical Centre, Karachi
(17)	Statistical Profile of Women in Pakistan.	Statistics Division, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad
(18)	Socio-Economic Characteristics of Women in Sind.	Sind Regional Plan Organization, Economic Studies Centre, Karachi
(19)	Patterns of Female Employment in Mining and Construction Industries.	M/s. Systems Limited, Lahore
(20)	Women in Agriculture Sector in Sind.	Agricon, Karachi
(21)	Male Migration, Absentee Fathership and Changing Role of Women in Village Communities.	Department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad
(22)	Access of Pakistani Women to their Legal Rights.	A.G.H.S. Law Associates, Lahore
(23)	Directory of Social Scientists of Pakistan.	Pakistan Sociological Forum, Islamabad
(24)	Participation of Women in Cottage and Small Scale Industries in N.W.F.P.	Applied Research Unit, Department of Economics, University of Peshawar, Peshawar
(25)	Participation of Women in Rural Economic Activities.	Department of Economics University of Peshawar, Peshawar

In order to strengthen the data resources and other relevant material, the Division has also established a library. A documentary film on "Women at Work," the first of its type, has also been prepared in collaboration with the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.

The Division has also undertaken a programme to sponsor several nation- and province-wide moots for women. This has provided them with the

opportunity of exchanging knowledge and ideas and to deliberate upon the problems facing women in various sectors of society. So far, a national forum has been provided by holding five conferences on the following themes:

(1) Critical Issues Concerning Women in Education
(29 Mar - 3 Apr 1980)

(2) Health: Problems and Prospects for Women
(26 Apr - 1 May 1980)

(3) The Role of Women Councillors for Effective Participation in Local Government
(18-23 June 1980)

(4) National Conference of Muslim Women
(27-30 October 1980)

(5) National Conference of Non-government Women's Organizations
(16-20 May 1981)

Proceedings of these meetings are being edited for publication.

During the year 1980-81, the Division has been allocated Rs. 40 million which is twice the size of its budget during the previous year. This enhancement in funds will enable it to expand some of its existing programmes and undertake the new schemes in other sectors as well. The nature and scope of the projects sponsored by the Women's Division manifests that this organ in the Federal Government is not working as an isolated structure. It has successfully widened the sphere of planning of women's programmes by involving the various ministeries and departments. Effective implementation is ensured by seeking active cooperation both at the Federal as well as at the provincial levels of government.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The design and execution of women's programmes undertaken by the government so far indicates that there has been a consistent policy to

alleviate women's problems. However, the magnitude of women's needs for equal participation as men in the development of society requires enormous mobilization of a variety of resources.

The major problems faced by the majority of Pakistani women are poverty and illiteracy. Undoubtedly if women become economicaly prosperous and achieve better literacy status, they will become more aware of their other needs, rights and responsibilities. So far only a small number of women are participating in, or are benefiting from, development planning.

Over a period of time we notice that there has been a positive impact, as indicated by greater participation and increased welfare, of some programmes undertaken for welfare planning. In the sphere of development programmes, women's participation in national educational and training programmes is of key importance to ensure equal participaton of both sexes. The development of human resources requires that equal access and equal opportunities in education and training become the goals of social policies. The gap between men and women in some levels of education is narrowing down. However, the overall programmes designed to remove lags and discrimination against women regarding socio-economic opportunities have met with limited success, primarily because of limited motivation on the part of planners and also due to limited resources allocated to such programmes. Some cultural factors have also been responsible for under utilization of female human resources. However, a consistent policy has been directed towards improving the status of women in society. A review of efforts of government in some social sectors has shown that a number of specific programmes and projects for women have been established.

The establishment of a national machinery has laid the foundation of a comprehensive and long term planning for opportunities for women in the socio-culture, economic and public life of the society. During the past three decades notable changes have taken place in the participation of women in the fields of education, health, social welfare, planning and management. In the future, the development planning and programming for women will require greater technical skills in the collection and analysis of information on a wide variety of issues concerning women rather than a process of limited advocacy for specific changes in selected programmes.

Footnotes

1. See Chapter 9 for the employment structure.
2. Markaz means a centre. Marakiz is the plural of Markaz.
3. Cotton and woolen mats.
4. Cotton straps used for weaving beds.

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13

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: TOWARDS REDEFINITION OF FEMALE ROLE AND STATUS IN PAKISTAN

by

Nasra M. Shah

This chapter is divided into three broad sections. The first part presents a summary of findings from Chapters 1-12. This summary is organized according to the framework of seven roles of women suggested by Oppong (1980) and discusses briefly some of the salient aspects of the various roles of Pakistani women. Selected data are presented to support the discussion. The second part deals with the issues that need to be addressed while suggesting changes or redefinition of the existing roles of women in Pakistan. One of the basic issues in such redefinition is the conflicting strains that exist between role prescriptions as provided by the religion of Islam and actual behavior. There is no agreement in the country on what the 'proper' role of a Pakistani woman is, or how a woman should be integrated into the development of the country. Examples of different interpretations of religious teaching are also provided in order to illustrate some of the difficulties in role redefinition of Pakistani women. In the third section, a few suggestions are offered as guidelines for action programs, particularly in the area of female employment.

I. SUMMARY: THE SEVEN ROLES OF PAKISTANI WOMEN

Since there are many facets which determine the overall status of women in a given society, it is necessary to identify the most important of these

facets, as has been done in the analysis in this book. A woman's status cannot be defined by any single indicator but has to be viewed as a combination of multiple statuses some of which are high while others are low. The seven roles that Oppong (1980) suggests for organizing data in most societies are: parental, occupational, conjugal. domestic, kin, community and individual. In the case of Pakistani women, the parental and conjugal roles have a high degree of primacy while the occupational and community roles are secondary. The individual role is quite different from Western societies since individualism does not constitute a basic or significant ideology within the Pakistani society. Rather, it is the family (kin) which predominates in most major decisions regarding a woman's, or for that matter a man's, life.

Selected data on each of the seven roles is shown in Table 1. A comparison between female and male roles and between rural and urban areas is given in this table. It would have been useful to also present some comparisons by social class or caste groupings but data for making such comparisons are very scanty. Limited comparisons of this nature are available in several of the chapters where differences in characteristics are analysed by the respondents' socioeconomic level measured by such indicators as education or ownership of durable goods.

The parental role.

The parental role has a very high priority in the lives of Pakistani women. Fertility is considered a blessing of God and childlessness is a cause for sympathy and pity. The role of the mother is a highly valued and respected role in the religion. Muslims generally believe that 'heaven lies under the mother's feet'. The norm relating to respect for mother is usually translated into actual behavior in the Pakistan society. Sons are

Table 1. An Illustrative Summary of the Quantitative Role Behaviours of Pakistani Men and Women in Rural and Urban Areas According to their Seven Roles

Roles	Urban Male	Urban Female	Rural Male	Rural Female
Parental Role				
$\bar{x}$ number of children ever-born, 1975	–	4.2	–	4.1
$\bar{x}$ number of living children, 1975	–	3.4	–	3.1
$\bar{x}$ ideal number of children, 1975	–	3.9	–	4.3
% know of f.p.,[a] 1975	–	83	–	73
% couples using f.p., 1975	12.4		2.7	
Occupational Role				
Percent age 10+ in labour force, 1974-75[b]	70	4(16)[c]	80	8(18)[c]
Percent age 10+ unemployed 1974-75[b]	3	1	1	1
Percent of workers underutilized, 1973 HED Survey[d]	42	67	30	58
Percent of workers in agricultural occupations, 1973 HED Survey	58[e]	73[e]		
Percent of non-agricultural workers in domestic service, 1973 HED Survey	9[e]	28[e]		
Percent employed as spinners, weavers or tailors, 1975[f]	–	58	–	40
Percent women who work at home, 1975[f]	–	67	–	47
Percent of employed persons as unpaid family workers, 1972 HED Survey	10	14	27	66
Conjugal Role				
$\bar{x}$ age at marriage, 1961[g]	24.1	18.3	23.4	17.4

Table 1 (Continued)

Roles	Urban Male	Urban Female	Rural Male	Rural Female
Percent currently married at age 30-34, 1972	80	94	80	94
Percent widowed at age 60+, 1972	22	58	19	51
Percent divorced at age 30-34, 1972	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.5
Percent couples who have communicated about f.p.[a], 1968-69	25		10	
Percent of couples where spouses have communicated and know about each other's approval of f.p. 1968-69	19.3		7.2	
Domestic Role				
Time spent on domestic tasks, a rural Punjabi village, 1976[h]	-	-	-	14 hours and 30 minutes
Kin Role				
Percent living in nuclear family, 1975[c]	44		47	
Community Role				
Percent who were members of organization, clubs, Karachi city	-	10	-	-
Percent of total councillors or local representatives	99	1	99.9	0.1
Individual Role				
Life expectancy at birth 1968-71	54.5	53.6	52.4	51.9

Table 1 (Continued)

Roles	Urban Male	Urban Female	Rural Male	Rural Female
Age-specific death rates (1-4) 1971 PGS	8.2	16.0	17.2	21.2
Percent literate (age 10+)	57	33	30	6
Percent (age 10+) with primary education	27	17	18	3
Percent (age 10+) with B.A. or higher education	4	1	0.5	0.1
Percent of children 10-14 enrolled in school, 1973 HED Survey	63	45	39	10

\- Indicates that the respective survey collected information from women only, hence comparable figures for males are not available.
a Family planning.
b From Labour Force Survey, 1974-75.
c From Pakistan Fertility Survey, 1975.
d Under utilization is measured in terms of unemployment, number of hours worked <35 and mismatch of education and occupation.
e These figures apply to the total labour force in rural and urban areas.
f These figures are for currently married women age 15-49.
g From Sadiq, 1965, p. 242.
h From Khan and Bilquees, 1976.

regarded as a necessity for the continuation of the family name, for the strength and security of a family, for age-old security of the parents and for protecting the honour of the family and particularly its female component. A married woman on the average still bears seven to eight children. Regardless of their actual fertility experience most women say that their ideal family size is between 4-5 children. Thus many women in the population have actually exceeded their ideal family size which was 3.9 for urban and 4.3 children for rural women in the 1975 Pakistan Fertility Survey (PFS). About 53% of the urban and 45% of the rural women did not want another child in 1975. Yet only 12% of the urban and 3% of the rural couples were actually using any contraceptive method to delay or prevent pregnancy, even though more than three-fourths of them had knowledge about specific family planning methods (Table 1). When asked about their intentions regarding future contraceptive use, about 43% of all women in reproductive age stated that they would not use any contraceptive method in the future. The predominant reasons given for their non-use intention were religious reasons; other reasons included fear of side effects and husband's or family's objection.

Fertility control increased significantly with female education in urban areas. Contraceptive use among women with a primary or higher education was about twice as high than among illiterate women, 27% and 15%.[1] Furthermore, a woman's own fertility intention was highly associated with contraceptive use. One third of those urban women who had exceeded their ideal family size and did not want additional children had made an attempt to control their fertility by using contraceptives.

Occupational role

As mentioned above, the occupational role is not one of the primary roles that a woman is expected to fulfill. While about four-fifths of the rural women participate in farm activities such as binding of sheaves (of wheat), threshing of wheat or cleaning of grains (Saeed, 1966), they are usually reported as 'non-working' members of the household. In the usual Census and Labour Force Survey data, about 5-10% of the women are reported to be members of the civilian labour force. The labour force participation rates are higher in studies which ask the woman herself to report on her economic activities—about 18-20%. While there are differences in the methodologies of these studies, there is reason to believe that male respondents underreport the economic activity of females more than the females themselves (see Chapter 10 for discussion).

One of the possible reasons for such underreporting by respondents, particularly males, is that the Pakistani culture defines the role of the man as the prime breadwinner and provider of food and shelter. The general norm states that women (wives) do not need to do other than farm related work if the husband can provide a 'comfortable' living. If he cannot, this may be a cause for shame and concern. In such situations, some women in both rural and urban areas are pushed into the labour force. Under normal circumstances, a significantly smaller proportion of the wives of higher status men enter the labour force than wives of lower status men. Only 13% of the wives of men with ten or more grades of education were in the labour force compared with 22% of the wives of illiterate men in urban Pakistan in the 1975 PFS (Shah and Shah, 1980).[2]

One other factor which seems to have a strong negative association with work participation is that of purdah observance by women. Many fewer women

who were in the labour force observed purdah than those who were not—62% compared with 85% in urban and 29% compared with 54% in rural areas. Purdah observance among agricultural labourers was particularly low—only 18% in rural areas (Shah and Bulatao, 1981). Thus, it appears that purdah observance increases or adds to the social status of the family while work participation tends to reduce such status. Women who can stay out of the labour force therefore do. As the economic status of the husband improves, the family demonstrates a gain in status by maintaining its women in purdah. There is a simultaneous decrease in the work participation of women who can afford to maintain purdah. While the causal connections between these several behaviours are not entirely clear from cross-sectional data, the interrelationships are strong and should be considered by the planners of programmed social change.

Among those who did enter the labour force, more women than men were in the agricultural sector—73% and 58% in 1973 (see Table 1). Two-thirds of the women in rural and 14% in urban areas were classified as unpaid family workers compared with 27% and 10% of the rural and urban males. The major female occupations were domestic service and spinning, weaving and tailoring. About one-tenth of the urban female labour force was composed of professional women including teachers, doctors, nurses and midwives (Chapter 10). Majority of the working women worked at home—67% in urban and 47% in rural areas. Different data sets in the country reveal somewhat different patterns of the female occupational structure but I consider the foregoing as a relatively accurate summary of the actual situation.

While majority of the women are engaged in traditional occupations which are consistent with their domestic roles and can be performed within the home, some examples of women in the non-traditional industrial sector

are also present. There are women journalists, lawyers, jurists, architects, engineers, air hostesses, and television artists and producers although their numbers are still small. There are some women in the government services, in administrative positions, and in research organizations. There are a few women in top positions such as ministers, vice-chancellors of universities, or secretaries in the federal government. Theoretically, any of these positions is open to women who have the required qualifications. Most of these positions, however, involve an environment in which the segregation of the sexes cannot be maintained (at least under the present socio-political set up). Two of the preferred occupations which are relatively high in status and usually do provide secluded work settings are those of the school and college teachers and of female doctors. About one-third of all doctors and 30% of all primary-level teachers in the country are women.

Thus, there are conflicting strains in the normative structure some of which discourage female work and some others which necessitate female work. For example, female doctors, midwives and female teachers are necessary since most women prefer to receive medical and educational services from women. On the other hand, such jobs compose only a small segment of the total female labour force since the majority of the working women are illiterate and have limited skills. The majority can enter only the services or the crafts sectors where most of the jobs are of a prestige-reducing rather than a prestige-enhancing nature. Most women who take up the latter type of jobs do so because they need to work and not because they want to. The labor of a much larger percentage of working females than males seems to be underutilized when measured according to the traditional criteria of number of hours worked, mismatch between education and occupation, etc. (Table 1).

Some change in attitudes toward female work is perhaps observable in some villages where private enterpreneurs from urban areas have introduced carpet weaving in the village homes. Young girls usually aged 5-15 provide labour in return for cash wages but the work is performed either in the young girl's own home or in a neighbor's home. More parents, even from relatively affluent families, have in recent years allowed their daughters to engage in this type of economic activity than they did before.

Conjugal role

Every Muslim, male and female, is required to marry, and to fulfill his/her sexual and procreative needs within marriage. In the present day Pakistan, therefore, marriage is almost universal—94% of the women aged 30-34 in both rural and urban areas were currently married in 1972 (see Table 1). The legal minimum age of marriage is 18 years for males and 16 years for females. The marriage of persons younger than these ages is, however, legally valid. According to the present laws in Pakistan, a female having attained puberty is sui-juris to contract a valid marriage and does not require the consent of her guardian or parent (see Chapter 4 for details).

While there is evidence that age at marriage has been rising in Pakistan, most marriages still occur at fairly young ages. The simple mean age at marriage for females was 16.5 years and the singulate mean age at marriage (SMAM) was 19.8 years in 1975 (Karim, 1980; also Karim and Alam, Chapter 6).[3] The SMAM has increased from 17.9 in 1951 to 19.8 years in 1975. Divorce, though allowed by the religious prescription is rare—less than one percent of the males and females aged 30-34 were divorced (Table 1). Divorce is considered as shameful and unfortunate and is therefore subject to some underreporting. In some cases, a woman is forced to spend

her entire life in misery in her husband's home but not seek divorce. A woman is allowed to sue for divorce if she has just cause but in reality few women do so. Remarriage of widows and divorcees, though encouraged in Islam, is also rare in Pakistan. There is a very substantial number of widows at older ages—58% of the urban and 51% of the rural women aged 60 and over were widows in 1972. The remarriage of widowed men is a more common occurence than the remarriage of widowed females.

Polygyny, or the marriage of one male to more than one woman at the same time, is allowed in Islam. A man can marry up to four wives but only under the condition that he is able to treat all of them justly and equally. The law in Pakistan requires that written consent of the first wife must be obtained by the husband who wants to marry another woman. Polygyny is not very common and only a small number of men have more than one wife.[4] In cases where there are two wives, however, the treatment accorded to both is usually not based on equality. The later wife (or wives) is usually given preferential treatment and in many cases the written consent of the first wife is not obtained, or is in fact falsified.

The Islamic prescription with regard to selection of a spouse states that the approval of both bride and groom is essential for marriage. In reality, such approval or permission is rarely sought from the bride and in some cases the partners see each other for the first time on the wedding night. The relationship between husband and wife is supposed to be based on mutual respect, understanding and love according to Islamic prescription. Most Pakistani wives are, however, not accorded the prescribed respect and kindness. Many of the less affluent wives are frequently over-worked, under-nourished and have high levels of morbidity. Their situation is further aggravated by too frequent childbearing.

Only a few couples report a mutual communication and discussion about fertility control. One-fourth of the urban and one-tenth of the rural couples reported that they had talked to each other about family planning in the National Impact Survey (NIS) conducted in 1968-69. Most of the couples who reported mutual discussion also reported that they recognized their partners' approval of family planning (Table 1). Furthermore, couples among whom both spouses reported communication and mutual recognition of approval of family planning had very high rates of contraceptive use (Shah, 1974; also Chapter 11). These findings probably imply that couples who discuss a subject like family planning probably share other information also and represent a relatively more progressive unit. We do not have detailed data on how decisions about family size or other matters are reached. Observation suggests that in many households most major decisions (such as purchase of property, schooling of children, etc.) are made by the male members. In many other matters, women often influence decision making by overt as well as tacit behaviours which may facilitate or obstruct a certain decision.[5] The role of the mother-in-law remains crucial in many matters.

Domestic role

Besides the parental role, the domestic role is one of the most significant ones in a Pakistani woman's life. The wife is the one who generally does most of the household work such as cooking, cleaning, fetching water, taking care of children, feeding and cleaning the milk yielding animals, milking the cows, etc. In one Punjab village, it was observed that women spent about fourteen and a half hours every day in completing such tasks (Khan and Bilquees, 1976). As part of this busy routine many village women manage to produce some extra money (or extra

food) for the family by raising chickens, selling eggs or ghee (shortening) made out of butter.

Women are usually not reported as the head of the household, even though in some cases they may be—less than 1% of all households were headed by women according to the 1973 HED Survey. Women are likely to be reported as household heads if they are widowed and either live alone or command enough respect and power to be considered as the head of household. Many of the widowed and divorced women are economically active, particularly those who have some education but they are not likely to be reported as household heads in census type surveys where male enumerators gather information from respondents.

Most women have considerable freedom in disbursement of resources within the family. For example, they are usually the ones who distribute food among the family members. It is generally believed that a well-organized and smart woman is the one who can manage the family expenditure and save something on the side for a rainy day. In homes which have servants to carry out domestic chores, the supervision of the servants is usually the wife's responsibility.

Kin Role

Women in Pakistan are recognized predominantly as members of a kin group—as daughters, sisters, wives, mothers, daughters-in-law or through their other relationships. They sometimes do achieve a status based on their career alone, but their linkages within the family system still continue to have a high significance. This role within the family system is consistent with the Islamic prescription about the importance of the community and the family in the overall social structure. About half of

the population still lives in families of a non-nuclear nature (see Table 1). Thus, women do not exist as individuals, in the Western sense of the word.

In a non-nuclear household almost all of which are patrilocal, the kin group usually includes the young bride and groom, his father and mother, his unmarried or married siblings (usually brothers only) and the wives of married siblings. Sometimes, grandparents, an aunt, uncle or other relative may also be present. The husband's mother usually commands a great deal of authority and respect. Both the son and the daughter-in-law are expected to defer to her. According to the Islamic prescription, the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are required to coexist in a situation of mutual affection and respect. This prescription is, however, not always followed in many cases. There are instances in which the daughter-in-law is grossly mistreated, and in some though limited cases the mother-in-law is mistreated.

In a non-nuclear household, finances are generally managed by the mother-in-law. A broad network of interrelationship including exchange of gifts are shared with relatives and members of the same general caste group or 'biradri.' The wife interacts largely with the female relatives and is expected to fulfill all the obligations to all the relatives as specified traditionally. Things, however, do not always work out smoothly. Quarrels between wives of two brothers or between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are quite common.

According to Islamic teaching, daughters are supposed to inherit a prescribed share out of the father's property. In actual practice, however, daughters in most families in Pakistan are rarely given their rightful share. In a survey of educated urban respondents in Pakistani

cities (discussed in Chapter 4), almost half of the respondents said that in their opinion, only about one-fifth of all Pakistani women claimed their legal share in their father's property. A majority (63%) of them said that only between 1-20% actually get legal share out of their father's property. General observation supports these opinions. One of the common rationalizations that is used for not giving the daughters their due share is that since girls are given a dowery at time of their wedding they should not be given a share in their father's property.

Community Role

The Constitution of Pakistan as promulgated in 1973 states that all citizens are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection of law; and that there shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex; that steps shall be taken to ensure the full participation of women in all spheres of national life (Patel, Chapter 4). Women have the same constitutional rights as men to vote in any elections, to contest for any public office and to hold such office. A certain percentage of the seats in the national and provincial assemblies as well as at the local level are reserved for women.[6]

In the elections to local bodies held in September, 1979, some women contested for the general (i.e., non-reserved) seats but only two women were elected in the province of Punjab. In case of the reserved seats for women the electoral college is composed of the members of local/municipal councils (Patel, Chapter 4). At present there are 438 women councillors or local government representatives which form less than one percent of the total councillors (51,000) in the country. Four-fifths of all female councillors have been elected in urban areas (see Chapter 3). There is almost complete lack of representation of females at the union council or

village council level. Thus, female representation in the present political system is still at a very rudimentary level.

At election time, separate polling booths are set up for women and the contestants urge women voters (through the male members of the family, of course) to come out and vote for them. Participation in voluntary organizations is equally low. There are about three thousand (2,863) voluntary organizations which are trying to improve the welfare of the community in their geographical areas (Planning and Development Division, 1980, p. 86). The best known and the largest national organization of women is the All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) founded in 1949. APWA was essentially an outgrowth of the voluntary efforts of several women who had taken an active part in the creation of Pakistan and the painful resettlement of refugees from India during the Partition of the Subcontinent in 1947 (See Chapter 1 for discussion). Today APWA has over 20,000 members with branches all over the country and even in some foreign countries, such as the U.S.A., U.K. and Kuwait. APWA has established many different institutions such as schools (59) and colleges (4), vocational training centers (57), industrial homes (63), Maternal and Child (MCH) centers (42), adult education centers (39), rural centers (20), etc. Furthermore, APWA has also acted as a pressure group in passage of laws or for organizing protest against certain laws which they considered unjust (see Chapter 4 for an example of this).

The fundamental objective of APWA consists of the furtherance of the moral, social and economic welfare of women and children of Pakistan. As observed by one foreign researcher, the means by which APWA plans to achieve this overall objective is by working within and upholding the religious heritage. APWA women are not truly social deviants and do not

engage in a frontal attack upon traditional beliefs and practices. They rationalize their public image in terms of a "liberal" Islam (Chipp, 1970). Thus, APWA represents a group of women who seek gradual changes in the conditions of women but entirely within the context of Islamic culture.[7] In its triennial conference held in February 1982, APWA has called for the establishment of a national commission on the status of women, and has emphasized that no laws concerning women and the family should be passed until such a commission is formed. APWA has also requrested that instead of spending a large amount of money on the establishment of a women's university, the government may concentrate first on primary education (Overseas Dawn, March 12, 1982).

Other organizations and groups such as the Pakistan Women's Institute, the Shirkat Gah and the Women's Action Forum have also emerged in response to the changing status of women in Pakistan. These groups are discussed in Chapter 1.

Data on female participation in community organizations are not easily available. In a study of middle class married women in Karachi, however it was found that 90% of the women had never been members of any organization (Hafeez, Chapter 3).

Individual Role

As mentioned above, the Pakistani woman usually exists as a member of a kin group rather than as an individual. Her birth is greeted by lesser happiness than that of a male. A typical rural female is born in a poor, illiterate household, receives little education herself, gets married at the age of 16 or 17, bears about seven children, has a higher mortality than males during her reproductive period and a lower overall life expectancy than males. Life expectancy at birth in 1968-71 was 53.6 years

for urban and 51.9 years for rural females; the corresponding figures for males were 54.5 years and 52.4 years (Table 1). The crude death rate for males and females was 10 per 1000 and 12 per 1000 in 1971. Iron deficiency anemias are common in the female population, particularly among pregnant and lactating women. A recent survey showed that 19% of the lactating mothers and 17% of pregnant women took less than 80% of the recommended daily allowance of iron. Maternal mortality has been estimated to be 6-8 per 1000 live births which is extremely high compared with developed countries (Awan, Chapter 8).

One-third of the urban and only 6% of the rural females are literate. Forty-five percent of girls aged 10-14 in urban areas and only 10% in rural areas were enrolled in school in 1973; corresponding figures for males were 63% and 39%. Among the literate women only about half had primary or higher education in both rural and urban areas. The percentage of women with a bachelors or higher degree was about one percent in urban and 0.1 in rural areas (Table 1). With regard to parental aspirations for their children's education, parents have more definite and higher goals for the education of male than female children. A notable proportion (46%) of rural wives said in the 1968-69 NIS that they considered the ability to read the holy Quran as sufficient for girls. In another study in which girls were asked about why they were not attending school, one-third reported that there was no school in the village, 22% said relatives were against their education and 18% gave poverty as the reason. One-tenth of the girls said that they were not sent to school because they were not good enough for study (Hassan, n.d.; also see discussion in Chapter 9). In yet another study of Punjabi villages, about one-third of the parents said that it is not necessary to give any formal (school) education to girls;

one-fourth said that female education has no advantage (Anwar and Naeem, 1980).

Most events in a Pakistani woman's life such as her schooling, her marriage, the number of children she has and whether she works or not are greatly influenced by the attitudes of her immediate relatives. For example, a study of university students showed that 52% of the university students in Karachi and 67% in Lahore felt that their parents would allow them to work only under purdah conditions such as teaching in a girls' school or college (Korson, 1970). Attitudes with regard to female employment are probably changing but we do not know the exact extent of change.

A Pakistani woman rarely migrates on her own in order to look for or take up employment. She usually moves as a part of her father's, brother's or husband's family. The phenomenon of migration is not very common in Pakistan—only about 3% of the males as well as females age 10+ reported that they had moved to their place of current residence in 1973 since 1965. More single women have, however, recently been moving to cities in connection with employment thus necessitating the creation of government and private hostels for working women. Two government hostels have been set up in Punjab and several private ones exist in other provinces. Women hardly ever live alone.

Despite the overall low rates of migration, specific subgroups of women such as divorced, educated women seem to have an unusually high propensity to move—30% of the divorced women with 1-9 grades of education had migrated between 1965-73 compared with only 4% of the illiterate divorced women. The labor force participation rates of divorced educated women were also unusually high. While their numbers are generally small, these

findings are perhaps indicative of a trend towards higher migration and work participation among divorced women (see Chapter 7 for disscussion).

One pattern of migration that is bound to have had some impact on women is among the families of male migrants to the oil-rich Middle Eastern countries in recent years. It is estimated that about 1.5 million adult Pakistani males are in Middle Eastern countries. Remittances sent to their families form one of the major sources of foreign exchange earnings for Pakistan. Impacts of this migration on women and children are currently being researched in Pakistan (Irfan, 1981; Gilani, et al. 1981).

Finally, one characteristic which must be emphasized in a discussion of the individual role of Pakistani women consists of purdah observance. The observance of purdah carries a high positive value in Pakistan. According to the 1968-69 NIS, 82% of the urban and 47% of the rural women reported that they observe purdah (Shah and Bulatao, 1981).[8] Furthermore, there is a strong positive association between purdah observance and the family's socioeconomic status. For example, husband's educational level and ownership of durable items (wealth) by the family were both significantly and positively associated with the proportion of women who observed purdah. The wife's own level of education was, however, negatively associated with purdah observance in urban areas—70% of the women with higher than primary education compared with 89% of those with primary or lower education observed purdah in urban areas (Shah and Bulatao, 1981, p. 35). Thus, fewer of the women with higher education observe purdah. Nevertheless, these data show that the practice of purdah was still very widely prevelant during late 1970s.

Purdah observance serves as a symbol of the respectibility, religiosity and high status of the family. Norms of a purdah society demand a clear

segregation of the sexes e.g., separate work places or schools for males and females. In Pakistan, a majority of the primary and secondary schools as well as colleges are segregated. University education has been co-educational up until now but two women's universities are in the making. I infer from these data that any programs aimed at redefining the roles of Pakistani women must take the predominance of this normative structure into account.

Thus, a typical Pakistani woman grows up in a fairly sheltered and protected environment. Most decisions affecting her life are made by others. She lives and interacts with a wide network of individuals. She learns the moral and social codes of behavior early in life, and usually abides by them. In the midst of this culturally prescribed pattern, there are certain conflicts between the prescribed and the actual modes of behavior as discussed below.

II. TOWARDS A REDEFINITION OF ROLES: CONFLICTS BETWEEN PRESCRIPTION AND REALITY

One major form of conflict that has been pointed out repeatedly in the foregoing analysis is that between norms and behaviors prescribed by the Islamic religion and the actual cultural deviations from the prescribed norms and behaviors. Cultural deviations from the prescribed norms are not uniform across the whole country. They vary by such factors as the socio-economic status of the family in which a woman is born and lives, rural-urban setting, caste group, regional group, etc. Programs aimed at a redefinition of roles and status of women must take these conflicts and the patterns of deviation into account.

Table 2 provides an illustrative example of some situations in which the actual norms and behaviors differ from or are even contradictory to the prescribed norms. I have restricted the prescribed norms to the ones taught by the religion of Islam. In the present day emphasis on re-vitalization of the Islamic way of life, it is important to understand the discrepancies between the Islamic prescriptions with regard to women's role and status and the actual situation. I have shown one example for each of the seven roles of women and have not distinguished between written or unwritten prescription as was done by Oppong (1980). It may be noted that all of the prescribed norms shown in Table 2 are in written form and are drawn from the holy Quran and Sunnah (the sayings of Prophet Muhammad—peace be upon him). One could draw up a comprehensive list of situations in which the prescriptive behaviors differ from the actual ones. The need for such an exercise has been pointed out by the President, General Zia-ul-Haq when he pointed out the need for studying customs and traditions that are contrary to Islamic teaching (see Chapter 1). Even though this is an essential element in the process of role redefinition, a comprehensive listing of such conflicting situations is beyond the scope of the present study. The framework shown in Table 2, however, provides a useful format for preparing such a list.

It is clear from the examples in Table 2 that the religion of Islam provides many more rights to women than are actually available to an average woman in Pakistan. If the country were to adopt a truly Islamic way of life, women just like all the other human beings, would regain many more rights. The current situation is, however, not so simple and straightforward. One of the basic reasons for this is that opinions with regard to the appropriate role of women in society or with regard to

Table 2. Illustration of conflicting situation between prescriptions, values and perceptions for seven roles of women, Pakistan

Role	Prescriptions (Islamic)	Values	Perceptions (Actual Behavior)
Parental Role	i - A woman must be paid Haq Mehr[a] before divorce. ii- If infant/young children are to be cared for by the woman, the father must provide compensation/maintenance to her.	In many cases the family of the divorced woman considers the demand for maintenance to be below their dignity.	Few divorced woman are actually provided maintenance for themselves and their children.
Occupational Role	A woman has the right to work in fields other than housekeeping.	Female work beyond household work is generally perceived as status-reducing and thus not a preferred role.	According to census data, only 5-10% of the women age 10+ are in labour force. Female work is underreported because of the negative value it generally carries.
Conjugal Role	A woman has the right to divorce her husband under specified circumstances.	Divorce for a female is considered as undesirable, shameful. Some women spend their entire life in a separated state rather than sue for divorce.	Divorce is discouraged as far as possible. Less than 1% of females are reported to be divorced at any age.
Domestic Role	A woman has the right to manage household matters and make the necessary decisions related to such matters.	In some cases, husbands or other family members actually control the finances, as well as decision making.	In cases where women do not have any income of their own, they are completely dependent on the husband for sustenance.
Kin Role	A mother-in-law and daughter-in-law should treat each other with affection and respect.	In many cases, the daughter-in law is expected to give unconditional obedience while the expectations about reciprocation from mother-in-law are less rigid.	Quarrels between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are commonplace.
Community Role	A woman has the right to appear as witness/express opinion on community related developmental issues.	Cultural values strongly discourage the appearance of women in a court of law. This is considered dishonorable.	Very few women actually appear as witnesses.
Individual Role	A woman has the right to receive education (own and dispose of property; to approve/disapprove the mate chosen for her.)	Some girl children believe that they are not smart enough to receive education; parents in some cases discourage education and have lower aspirations for the education of daughters than for sons.	Only 11% of the Pakistani women age 10+ are literate; less than half of the urban and one-tenth of the rural school age girls are in school.

[a]Haq Mehr refers to dower which a husband agrees to pay to the wife at the time the marriage is contracted.

specific behavior are not always consistent; in fact they are sometimes vehemently different. Students of religion in Pakistan differ on how strictly or how liberally certain verses from the Quran or certain sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) can be interpreted. On the one hand, the writings of scholars like the late Maulana Maududi seem to suggest that the parental and domestic roles are the only appropriate roles for women. On the other hand, some writers like Khan (1972) have challenged the traditional thinking vehemently.

Maulana Maududi believed that even though men and women are equipotential as regards their physical and mental abilities, they have not been entrusted equal responsibilities by nature (Maududi, 1979 p. 113-122). Man is the active and woman is the passive partner in the system of nature. "Activity" in itself is naturally superior to passivity and femininity. This superiority is not due to any merit in masculinity against any demerit in femininity. It is rather due to the fact of possessing natural qualities of dominance, power and authority (Maududi, 1979, p. 134). Thus, man and woman have very distinct separate domains - man being the provider and the organizer of life in general and the woman being the organizer of the house and children. It follows from these separate roles, according to Maududi, that even though islam does not allow any distinction between men and women in the acquisition of knowledge and cultural training, it does recognize a difference in the type of education meant for man and woman respectively. The Maulana thus states:

> "From the Islamic point of view the right sort of education for woman is that which prepares her to become a good wife, good mother and good housekeeper. Her sphere of activity is the house" (Maududi, 1979, p. 152).

Furthermore, Maulana Maududi regards women as being biologically weaker and states that the factors of menstruation and pregnancy

> "renders an otherwise healthy woman very nearly sick.... During pregnancy a woman's nervous system becomes disordered and remains so for months together. She is mentally deranged; all her mental and psychic energies remain continually upset...." (Maududi, 1979, pp. 114-116).

In view of all these hardships, the Maulana states, it would not be just or fair to demand the women to shoulder other responsibilities, which she cannot be expected to perform with manly vigour. One of the reasons why childbearing and childrearing appear as the basic roles of a muslim woman in Maulana Maududi's thinking is that he believes that the pattern of life that Islam builds does not have any "place for birth control as a national policy" (Maududi, 1976, p. 77). Birth control may be permitted in exceptional cases but should not be adopted as a national policy. It follows from this type of reasoning that an adult woman would naturally spend most of her life in bearing (and rearing) children. The religious thought and ideas of Maulana Maududi still dominate the thinking of many people in Pakistan, particularly the ones who are either members of, or sympathetic to his political party, the Jamaat-e-islami.

Opposed to these views is the vehement criticism of purdah and polygamy and of the writing of Maulana Maududi put forward by Khan (1972). He treats the institutions of purdah and polygamy as social pathologies in the muslim societies. He believes that these institutions are the basic factors in the decline and fall of the Muslim peoples, societies, civilization, and cultures. He views sex differences to be culturally rather than biologically caused. He states that there is

> "no dichotomous parallelism of sex and society as Maulana Maududi imagines. Biologically, the two sexes are equal or equipotential, for both play absolutely equal part in the reproduction of life: their sex differences are complementary and interdependent. Moreover, their potentiality for work, action and achievement is also equal. If there are differences in the achievement capacities and attainments of men and women, they are socially caused" (Khan, 1972, p. 206).

Khan challenges the purdah ideology as exploitive and degenerative and believes that the traditional men are trying to perpetuate this ideology as a safeguard against the rising tide of female emancipation and equality of the two sexes. He believes that not only are women more industrious but treats menstruation and pregnancy as natural and normal functions of the female human body, unlike Maulana Maududi. Thus, "the tragedy of women is not biological it is sociological and ideological," Khan concludes (Khan, p. 209).

There are numerous writings which tend toward one of these two extreme positions. Examples of writings supporting Maududi's views can be found in Azam (1969) and Jameelah (1977). Examples advocating a more liberal view of the status of women in Pakistan include Usmani (1975), Ahmed (1975), Sipila (1975), Ali (1975) and Ali (1978).

A good illustration of the divergence in views is provided by the case of purdah observance since this is one behavior on which views have been quite explicitly stated. Maulana Maududi states that the seclusion of women and restrictions on the movement of women outside the house is ordained by Quran and Sunnah. About the veil, Maulana Maududi says that it was not something devised and adopted after the day of the Prophet (pbuh) but "it was indeed devised by the Quran itself and established by the Holy Prophet himself as a social custom" (Maududi, 1979, p. 195). A contrasting view to the one just stated is provided by Ameer Ali (1978). He believes that purdah was a custom which was borrowed by the Muslims from the pre-islamic period.

> "The Prophet of Islam found it existing among the Persians and other Oriental communities; he perceived its advantages and it is possible that, in view of the widespread laxity of morals among all classes of people, he recommended to the women folk the observance of privacy. But to suppose that he ever intended his recommendations should assume its present inelastic form, or that he ever allowed or enjoined the 'seclusion' of women, is wholly opposed to the spirit of his reform. The Koran itself affords no warrant for holding that the seclusion of women is part of the new gospel" (Ali, 1978, p. 249).

The relatively liberal ideas of Ameer Ali put forward by him to describe the 'true spirit of islam' has been vehemently criticised by Jameelah as representing the 'spirit of unbelief' (Jameelah, 1977, p. 69). She views Ameer Ali's thinking as representing a general apologetic attitude about the Islamic faith.

Another more liberal view about purdah is that of P.S. Ali (1975). She also maintains, like Ameer Ali, that the present form of purdah is not islamic in origin. She argues that the protagonists of purdah have purposely infused wrong meaning in the holy verses regarding purdah. She holds that "purdah which reduces the woman to a clumsy shapeless bundle is only customary and not islamic" (Ali, 1975, p. 31). There is no sound authority to convince us that Islam prescribes the total confinement and complete segregation of women. It merely lays down certain restrictions as to dress, speech and movement (Ali, 1975, p. 33).

Whatever the differences in interpretation, purdah observance carries a high positive value in the lives of many Pakistani women, as discussed above. Owing to the varying interpretations, not only with regard to purdah, but several other behaviors also, a certain amount of confusion and uncertainity exists about the appropriate roles of women. In between the two rather extreme positions there exist a whole range of opinions held by people who have been raised in a tradition of compromise—and probably confusion. These people influence the role definition of women in various ways. The average senior level policy maker (including legislators, civil servants, jurists, educationists and others) is usually an urban male who has received minimal religious education, has had a Western-oriented education (perhaps even in a Christian missionary school or convent), does not openly challenge Islamic beliefs and principles but does not adhere to

them very strictly either. Women in such families are usually 'modern' college-educated, English-speaking and non purdah-observing. Children from such families continue to be sent to private (sometimes Christian missionary) schools since the prestige and long-term gains attached to such education far outweight the negative aspects of exposure to another religion and cultural values. In general, the path to occupational and social mobility is routed through successful Western-style education rather than religious education. The policy maker is thus constrained to define (or redefine) the role and status of women on the basis of his own experience.

Besides the senior policy maker, many other key individuals such as journalists, researchers and others have made their own accommodations to the prescribed norms and behaviours. The interpretations of all these people affect the shape that various institutions are taking (or will take) in the country. For example, university education which has been co-educational to date may be imparted to women in a women's university during the next few years. Segregation of the sexes in government and other organizations which employ women may increase; such constraints may negatively effect female employment in such institutions.

Women's organizations, such as the APWA, advocate gradual change in the context of the Islamic culture, as mentioned above. APWA, however, does not limit the definitions of female roles to that of mother and housekeeper. One of the basic objectives of APWA is the informed and intelligent participation of women of Pakistan in the growth and development of their country. Provision of education which is largely secular in nature and the creation of employment opportunities, mostly in the traditional handicraft sector, are two of APWA's major tasks. The

leadership of APWA would find it hard to accept that the woman's only role is that of wife, mother and housekeeper. Such differences of opinion can be potential points of conflict between organizations like APWA and the more traditional scholars like the (late) Maulana Maududi who is still very widely respected and whose teachings are widely followed and practiced.

The present day youth is thus faced with many dilemmas about not only the status of women but also about the general social, political and economic institutions in the Pakistani society. At least two groups with rather clearcut socio-political orientations can be found on campuses and work places. One group represents the relatively more traditional thinking of the Jamaat-e-islami[9] while the other group represents a more liberal and perhaps even radical thinking which is pro-socialist in orientation. Young men and women who are at college and universities and who are the future policy makers of the country are thus being raised amidst these divergent philosophies. A certain amount of confusion in their thinking is inevitable.

Thus, the present day Pakistan represents a way of life which is Islamic in some respects but not in many others. Some aspects such as prayer, fasting, and purdah observance are given considerable emphasis. Religious instruction is now compulsory in school although only a small fraction of the population is literate and less than half of all school age children are in school. With regard to status of women, however, the actual status is quite different from what is ordained by the religious teaching or prescribed by law. Note that the legal system is in general based on the Quranic prescription with regard to protection of women's rights.

The religion and the law regard males and females as human beings with equal worth. In practice, however, the birth of a girl child is often an occasion for sorrow and pity while the birth of a male child is an occasion for celebration and joy, reflecting an attitude embedded in the pre-islamic culture of the subcontinent. There is differential treatment of the male and female children, the latter having lower preference in terms of access to education, medical care and nutrition, and centrality within the family. This description is true in general terms but there are of course variations in the degree of undesirable treatment accorded to girls, depending on the family's socioeconomic level, the relative numbers of male and female children in the family, etc. Non-islamic customs such as the dowery system whereby the parents of the girl are required to give her expensive gifts and jewelry (even cars, refrigerators or land in some cases) at the time of her marriage have contributed a great deal towards making the girl children a burden on the parents. Furthermore, women are not expected to work and even when they do work, cultural values demand that the parents should not eat out of the daughter's earnings. Upon marrying, the daughters live in their husband's house in a patrilocal setting; the husband's home is regarded as their only real home.

Thus, given this background, girls are generally considered a nonproductive burden on the parents. They are loved for some of their characteristics such as tenderness and helpfulness toward parents, but their perceived responsibility and burden far outweighs their positive value, in majority of the cases.

On the basis of the foregoing discussion, what suggestions can be made for a smoother transition in the redefinition of female roles and status of Pakistani women? and, what suggestions can be made about the nature of programs to facilitate social change?

III. SOME SUGGESTIONS

First of all, in my opinion, the role of the Pakistani woman should not be defined only in terms of wife-mother-housekeeper by the policy makers or the society in general. She must be allowed and encouraged to develop her potential in other fields as well; this is possible within an Islamic society and culture. In situations where men and women are working together, Islamic norms with regard to respect for females should be propagated and enforced; modesty of dress and appropriate behaviour of both sexes must also be ensured. While a woman should not be forced to enter the labour force, as she is by her circumstances in many cases at present, she should be encouraged, within the Islamic framework, to get training in any field in which she has interest, aptitude and can make a contribution towards the national development. Needless to say that work outside the home should not be at the cost of care of the house and children. Suitable accommodations such as time saving devices and day care facilities for children must be developed simultaneously (in case there are no relatives who can be surrogate mothers). Furthermore, the rather strong norm with regard to males not taking part in household chores must be changed, and such a change will be strictly in accordance with the Islamic injunctions.

It should be emphasized that in a truly Islamic state, the needs of the socially dependent groups, such as orphans, widows, destitute and handicapped persons, would be provided by the state. Also, the opportunity for education would be a basic human right within such a state. Furthermore, an Islamic state would ensure that women be accorded their rightful place in society and given the respect, care and opportunities provided by the religion. Since the Pakistani society is currently striving towards the accomplishment of a truly Islamic state, it is

imperative that all the rights (and obligations) that a Muslim woman should have in such a state be carefylly studied, planned and provided.

Within this broad orientation, the following are offered as cautions and suggestions to persons involved in influencing the redefinitions of female roles and status in Pakistan:

1. The redefined role and status of women must have religious and sociocultural support in order to be widely acceptable; this is both politically and socially necessary. For example, the type of education and employment must be consistent with the society's ideals. We know, for instance, that desegregation of certain jobs may actually be detrimental to equality of opportunity since many women may not like to work in desegregated settings. For example, many teachers who are working in girls' schools and colleges may be reluctant to work in co-educational institutions. In order to be effective, the proposed changes must be acceptable to various members of the family, the community, the village and should generally work through the existing structures.
2. The basis for achieving status redefinition lies in changing deep-rooted unislamic attitudes and prejudices. The low value placed on female children is part of a centuries old belief system and cannot be changed overnight. One way of changing such values and beliefs and attitudes is by teaching the village leaders (including the maulvi or religious leader) the true status that is accorded to women in Islam. Other changes which are bound to have a strong impact on reducing negative attitudes towards females as a financial burden consist of actually abolishing[10] the dowery system (but replacing it with the woman's legal share in father's property) and making the females economically more productive.

3. Three groups of people whose attitudes need to be changed are:
   a) men, i.e. fathers, brothers and husbands;
   b) women, i.e. mothers, wives and daughters; and
   c) policy makers

   Since men, at the present time, have a central role in most decision making and since they are more powerful in the Pakistani setting, their attitudes towards the value of the female and her roles must be changed. Secondly, women themselves need to be taught to recognize and believe in their own worth and in the worth of their female offspring. They must also be provided the opportunities to combine their role of wife and mother with other roles, such as economically productive individuals, if they so desire or if they are required by their circumstances to work. Provision of opportunities would include social and psychological as well as economic facilities. Unless opportunities are available for such broadening of roles, some programs of social change (e.g., employment training), are not likely to be very successful.
4. It should be emphasized that in order to bridge the gap in the socioeconomic level of males and females, the latter would require an even greater attention by policy makers than the former. Such a need for special emphasis has been recognized by the Planning Commission during its Fifth Five Year Plan with regard to female education (Planning Commission, 1978, p. 335). There is a need for creating conditions favorable for several spheres of female existence, in addition to her education, such as employment, health, ability to own and dispense property, to have economic and legal security, etc.

5. Finally, the policy makers should take the issue of redefining female roles seriously rather than just treating it as a passing fad associated with the Women's Decade of the United Nations. Some evidence of the Government's comittment is provided by the creation of a Women's Division within the Cabinet Ministry, in early 1979. One of the explicit objectives of the Division's work is "to ensure equality of opportunity in education and employment and the fuller participation of women in all spheres of national life" (Women's Division, 1979). More important, this problem should not be tackled as primarily a welfare problem which can be handled by setting up additional industrial homes or welfare homes for destitute women. These services are essential but are not sufficient. What the policy maker needs to commit himself to is basic reorientation and organization of society so that attitudes and beliefs with regard to female roles may be changed. Many policy makers may need to be socialized into the new definitions themselves.

Suggestions for action programs

With regard to actual programs for women, the following considerations are necessary:

1. Programs must recognize that women's status is interrelated with a whole range of male statuses. In order to be successful, a program must consider the possible influence of the existing structures on the proposed behavior change. For example, a training program aimed at young married women may prove to be a failure in a community where majority of the married women live in joint families and the employment of the daughter-in-law is recognized as

taboo. It must be remembered that the woman herself is usually not the prime decision-maker. Programs must therefore ensure the cooperation and support of significant others in the family.

2. Visible and quick payoffs are essential for the short term as well as long-term success of a program. For example, why should girls be sent to school when it is unsafe and they are needed at home? Why should women work when it lowers their status? Why should women use contraceptive devices when a large family is recognized as financially beneficial and when contraception is considered by several people, particularly the religious zealots to be against religion? The program planners and administrations need to counter these perfectly logical reasons that people may have for not wanting to change an existing given behaviour. One of the reasons for the limited success of the Family Planning Program in Pakistan, for instance, is perhaps its lack of ability to show that prevention of an additional child actually did improve the welfare of a given family.

3. Employment programs must require only minimal training/retraining and should preferably provide financial assistance during the training period. In a setting where almost nine-tenths of the women are illiterate, programs must be simple, intelligible and in line with some of the skills that women already know. Industrial homes run by APWA and the Pakistan government have usually been successful in mobilizing women to engage in the handicrafts industry such as embroidering and knitting—crafts which women already know. Other voluntary organizations and private efforts in this regard have also been successful. Another example of a

successful effort at providing employment to young village girls can be found in the carpet weaving industry where the young girls have been able to teach each other and no formal training courses are required. Besides the work place is either in the home or a nearby home. Even the beginners usually start earning cash soon after they get engaged in carpet weaving.

4. Programs should have a large base. This is essential both from the humanitarian viewpoint and to ensure the necessary momentum required to bring about wideranging social change. Both rural and urban areas must be covered. While they may be started on an experimental basis, programs should aim to cover the whole country. This is particularly true of social programs such as adult education, public health education, etc.
5. In some cases the special needs of specific groups such as the widows and divorcees may have to be overemphasized. Care should be taken, however, that such programs do not become branded as widows' programs or programs for certain castes and hence generate prejudices and rejection.

Priorities

With regard to priorities in terms of the programs that seem to be most urgently needed I would list three. First, programs to provide education to men, women and children. This includes formal school education as well as education about the status of women as provided in the Islamic religion. Second, programs to change the attitudes and beliefs of citizens in various segments of society about the appropriate roles of women and about the worth of a female. Third, programs which provide women the ability to extend their roles beyond the wife-mother- housekeeper role.

Footnotes

1. These figures represent adjusted MCA values after controlling the effects of wife's age, number of living children, husband's education knowledge of family planning and ideal vs. living children (see Table 10, chapter 11).

2. These figures represent adjusted MCA values after the effects of age of wife, number of living children, age at marriage, marital status, wife's education and recent fertility are taken into account (For further discussion, see Chapter 10, Section V).

3. The singulate mean age at marriage (SWAM) represents an estimate based on the marital experience of a synthetic cohort.

4. This observation is based on a comparison of the total number of currently married males and females in the 1972 Census. The two numbers are roughly equal with females exceeding males by less than one percent.

5. Pastner (1974) provides a case study of such power wielded by women in the province of Baluchistan in Pakistan.

6. The country is at present being administered by a military government with General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq as the President. He has recently named a cabinet of ministers to advise him on various matters. No elections to the provincial or national assemblies have been held since the late Prime Minister Bhutto's election to office in March, 1977. The activities of political parties are currently banned. The only elections that have been held since General Zia took over in summer 1977 are those of the local bodies in September 1979. Recently, the President has appointed an Advisory body, Majlis-e-Shoora, as discussed in Chapter 1.

7. Some cynics often ridicule the 'do-good' attitude of the APWA 'begums' (ladies) because they represent an affluent class who are perceived to have 'nothing to do at home' and therefore while away their time in voluntary social service. Such cynicism is obviously unjustified in many cases judging from APWA's achievements.

8. We do not have any recent data available on the practice of purdah in the country.

9. Jamaat-e-islami is a political party which was headed by the late Maulana Maududi, as mentioned above.

10. Legal limitations have been imposed on the amount of dowery a bride may receive, but the law has had negligible impact on the age old customs and practices.

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APPENDIX A

DESCRIPTION OF CENSUSES AND SURVEYS USED

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POPULATION CENSUSES

1951 Census

The first Census of Pakistan was conducted in February 1951. Certain areas like Gilgit, Baltistan and Jammu and Kashmir were not included in the Census. About 2,642 thousand (estimated) population of frontier regions and all foreign nationals residing in Pakistan were also not included in the Census of 1951. Information on the following characteristics was gathered for each individual: sex, language, age, education, religion, marital status, district of birth, whether employed (sef-supporting) in Jan. 1951 (age 12+), duration of looking for job if unemployed, occupation, industrial status, and agricultural status, and employment status. In addition, the following information was gathered for married women: duration of marriage, number of children born, deaths of children under age 1. The Census publications consist of four bulletins, a complete village list and seven Census Reports.

1961 Census:

The second complete count under the Census of Pakistan was conducted in January, 1961. The 1961 Census also did not cover the non-Pakistanis and the areas of Baltistan, Gilgit, Jammu and Kashmir. Furthermore, it did not cover an estimated population of 167,580 belonging to various frontier regions and tribes. The information collected for each individual

consisted of: name, sex, age, marital status, district of birth, religion, disability, mother tongue, literacy, highest grade passed, ownership of agricultural land in Pakistan. For persons age 10 and above, the following information was also collected: whether working or unemployed, occupation, industrial status, employment status, agricultural status, and subsidiary occupation (if any). Additional information for married women regarding their live born children and duration of marriage was also collected, but is not available in published form.

1972 Census:

The 1972 Census was planned to be conducted in three phases, namely Household Listing, Big Count and Housing, Economic and Demographic (HED) Survey. The big count enumerated every person in the 2nd and 3rd week of September 1972 excluding all foreign nationals and their families. Only limited information like name, relationship with head of household, sex, age, marital status, religion and literacy was collected on all individuals. Based on this information, reports were published for each of the 50 districts, federally administered tribal area (FATA), and the federal capital territory, Islamabad. The third stage of the Census covered in more detail the demographic, economic and housing characteristics of the population.

NATIONAL SURVEYS/STATISTICS

1973 Housing, Economic and Demographic (HED) Survey:

As a part and the final stage of the 1972 Census, a detailed survey of a national sample of about 255,000 households was conducted in August-November 1973. This survey covered all areas of Pakistan except FATA and Malakand Division of NWFP, i.e., it excluded about six and a half percent

of the total population of Pakistan. The following information was collected as part of HED Survey: age, sex, marital status, fertility, disability, internal migration, literacy and educational status, various aspects of labor force (for persons age 10+) and housing conditions. The data of this survey has been published for Pakistan and provinces.

Labor Force Surveys (LFS) 1963-64 to 1974-75

This is a sample enquiry which was initiated in July 1963 and was carried on regularly on a yearly basis until 1974-75,except 1972-74 because of the HED Survey, 1973. The annual survey was based on randomly selected households in the four quarters for each year. The number of households covered was 13,466 in 1968-69, 13,962 in 1971-72 and 35,306 in 1974-75. The surveys covered all areas of Pakistan except Tribal agencies, special areas of Peshawar and D.I. Khan for all years up to 1971-72. In LFS 1974-75, special areas within Malakand Division in NWFP were also excluded. The survey provides information on variables like age, sex, marital status, literacy, level of education, civilian labor force classified by industry and occupation, employment status, hours worked by level of education, unemployed persons by level of education and duration of unemployment, and internal migration of population age 10 and above.

Population Growth Estimation (PGE) Experiment 1962-65:

In order to understand the rapid population growth and for better implementation and evaluation of developmetal and family planning programs, the PGE experiment was launched by Central Statistical Office (CSO) in early 1962. A national sample selected through multistage cluster sampling was drawn from broad geographic stratifications of various urban and rural areas separately. Frontier Regions, and Quetta and Kalat divisions with an estimated population of 10.2% were excluded. The PGE was based on a system

of dual data collection, i.e., longitudinal registration (LR) and cross-sectional (CS) enumeration in which data on births to married females during the one year prior to survey and deaths during the previous year were collected. In addition, data on demographic and socioeconomic status variables like family structure and composition, age, sex, marital status, occupation and religion were also collected. A technique developed by Chandrashaker and Deming to adjust for underreporting of vital events was used in order to arrive at reliable estimates of birth and death rates. Estimates based on the two types of data collection systems (CS and LR) and on the Chandra-Deming (CD) adjustment are available in published form for 1962-65.

Population Growth Survey (PGS) 1968-1971

This sample enquiry designed to collect data on various demographic characteristics and to estimate vital rates was initiated in January 1968 on an annual basis. The sample was drawn from both urban and rural areas with the help of single-stage and two-stage stratified sampling techniques respectively. The survey excluded tribal agencies, and special areas of Peshawar and D.I. Khan Divisions. All households falling in the sample clusters of rural and urban areas were enumerated to obtain data on births, death, and causes of death, age, sex, marital status, and duration of marriage.

National Impact Survey (NIS) 1968-69:

NIS was based on a national sample of 2,910 currently married women aged up to 49 and about 200 widowed, divorced and separated women, selected by a stratified two-stage sampling procedure. The sample excluded tribal areas estimated to include 6.3 percent of all households at the time of survey. Information was collected from each of the respondents on their

educational and occupatonal background, maternity and marriage history, contraceptive knowledge and use and exposure to mass media. NIS also collected information on the respondent's attitudes toward family planning, perceived adequacy of living, savings behavior, ownership of durable goods and land, and observance of purdah (veiling). Similar information was also gathered from half of the husbands of the respondents.

Pakistan Fertility Survey (FPS) 1975:

This survey was conducted in 1975 as part of the World Fertility Survey. A total of 4,949 ever-married women up to age 49 years were interviewed. They were selected on the basis of a stratified two-stage procedure. The sample excluded the tribal areas, rural Baluchistan and Cantonments estimated to be 9.2 percent of total households. The sample covered both urban and rural areas. Data collected include the respondent's and her husband's educational and occupational backgrounds, her marriage and maternity histories, her contraceptive knowledge and use and her exposure to mass media.

Pakistan Educational Statistics (BEPM) 1970-71 to 1975-76:

This is a sector report on education presenting annual data for the years 1970-71 to 1975-76. The data compiled in the report are based on the returns received from different provincial and concerned agencies. The report includes annual data on the number of educational institutions by kind, enrollment and the number of teachers therein at various levels, and aspects of teacher training.

OTHER SURVEYS

The People of Karachi Survey 1959:

In order to lay down baseline data for the rapidly developing city of Karachi, a two-phase survey was conducted in February-May 1959 and December-January 1960-61. For the purpose of the survey, 16,373 households were selected on the basis of a stratified random sample. Information was gathered on various demographic, social and economic aspects.

Bureau of Educational Planning and Management Survey on Rural Primary School education 1976-77 (BEPM, 1977):

A multi-phase project on primary education was launched in February 1976. At the first stage, a model village action program was successfully developed and tested in four villages in early 1976. The second phase constituted the collection of comprehensive school-community baseline information from randomly selected 416 villages of 25 districts and Federal Capital Areas of Pakistan. The information collected attempted first, to identify and document the causes of dropouts in the primary schools in all provinces of Pakistan, and second to examine the relationship between pupil drop-out and factors like curricula, learning environment, building facilities, school management, etc. The data were gathered on various aspects from different persons like village leaders, parents, teachers, primary school pupils, drop-outs and non-attenders.

National Institute of Psychology Survey on "Attitudes of Rural Population Towards Female Education" 1977:

In order to supplement the study on primary education by the Bureau of Educational Planning and Management in rural areas, this survey was conducted at the national level to examine the attitude of rural population towards female education. About 1,700 adult males and females and 377 minor girls were interviewed, who were selected on the basis of a stratified random sample from 20 villages in five districts of Pakistan.

Information for all interviewees was collected on positive and negative attitudes towards girl's education with respect to her work participation, marriage, etc. from parents as well as young girls.

Legal Rights Survey, 1980:

In order to establish some objective baseline data on the awareness of women regarding their legal rights, a special survey was conducted on a purposive sample from various cities in Pakistan. One hundred and seventy seven respondents, consisting of educated, and mostly employed, men and women were interviewed. The respondents, a large prportion of whom were lawyers and teachers, were asked to report their opinions about the percent of women who they think know about certain legal rights. The respondent's own knowledge about certain factual legal matters like age at marriage for females was also examined. This survey was conducted specifically for the present volume and data from it are reported in Chapter 4.

Public Health and Wellbeing Survey, 1980:

This survey was conducted in a purposively selected village in Faisalabad District, Pakistan by Makhdoom A. Shah (author of Chapter 1 in this volume) to collect baseline information regarding various demographic, public health and socioeconomic characteristics of the population. Another objective was to study the perception of the household needs regarding various problems related to health, child care, sanitation, etc. About 50% of all households were interviewed. The data were collected in January 1980 and are currently being analysed.

APPENDIX B

TABLES

Appendix Table Migration 1: Percent distribution of recent migrants by sex, migration stream and percent of population in urban areas, by provinces and districts, Pakistan - 1973

	Population Age 10+ in 1973 (000's)	Recent Migrants % of Population	Total	Urban to Urban	Rural to Rural	Urban to Rural	Rural to Urban	Percent Urban Population in District
PROVINCES								
PUNJAB	26,084	4.8	100.0	32.7	40.2	11.7	15.4	25.3
Male	14,437	4.6	100.0	33.1	37.9	13.0	16.0	25.3
Female	11,647	5.1	100.0	32.2	42.7	10.3	14.8	25.3
SIND	9,494	5.6	100.0	58.0	14.0	5.6	22.4	45.8
Male	5,459	5.7	100.0	57.2	12.9	5.6	24.3	43.0
Female	4,035	5.5	100.0	59.1	15.5	5.6	19.8	49.7
NWFP	4,211	4.4	100.0	28.3	34.6	21.9	15.2	17.9
Male	2,241	4.9	100.0	27.4	31.4	26.0	15.2	18.1
Female	1,970	3.8	100.0	29.5	39.5	15.8	15.2	17.6
BALUCHISTAN	1,926	3.6	100.0	28.3	33.8	21.4	16.5	15.8
Male	1,072	3.7	100.0	27.9	34.5	27.4	10.2	16.1
Female	854	3.5	100.0	28.8	32.9	13.3	25.0	15.6

Appendix Table Migration 1: (continued)

DISTRICTS	Population Age 10+ in 1973 (000's)	Recent Migrants % of Population	Total	Urban to Urban	Rural to Rural	Urban to Rural	Rural to Urban	Percent Urban Population in District[a]
KARACHI	2,742	12.5	100.0	69.2	2.4	1.1	27.2	97
Male	1,512	13.5	100.0	67.6	2.0	1.2	29.0	97
Female	1,230	11.1	100.0	71.1	3.0	1.2	24.7	97
ISLAMABAD/RAWALPINDI	1,462	9.8	100.0	56.0	6.0	7.2	30.8	45
Male	796	10.5	100.0	54.4	6.6	9.2	29.8	46
Female	666	8.9	100.0	58.3	5.5	4.0	32.2	44
GUJRANWALA	1,525	7.3	100.0	25.1	34.9	22.9	17.0	28
Male	824	6.5	100.0	27.0	30.9	24.5	17.6	28
Female	701	8.2	100.0	23.4	38.6	21.5	16.4	28
SHEIKHUPURA	1,206	6.7	100.0	12.9	61.0	12.9	13.1	16
Male	670	7.2	100.0	11.5	63.2	11.4	13.9	16
Female	535	6.0	100.0	15.1	58.0	14.9	12.0	16
LASBELLA	107	6.7	100.0	11.9	2.1	81.8	4.2	9
Male	57	11.2	100.0	7.6	2.3	87.1	2.9	9
Female	50	1.6	100.0	47.0	-	38.3	14.7	10
PESHAWAR	1,129	5.9	100.0	28.6	45.6	9.3	16.5	27
Male	667	6.0	100.0	29.3	41.2	10.5	18.9	27
Female	562	5.7	100.0	27.7	51.0	7.7	13.6	27
QUETTA	500	5.5	100.0	40.3	31.9	10.0	17.7	31
Male	274	5.6	100.0	39.1	32.4	10.6	17.9	32
Female	226	5.3	100.0	41.8	31.4	9.4	17.4	31
LAHORE	2,674	5.4	100.0	63.4	9.0	2.4	25.1	60
Male	1,487	5.4	100.0	64.4	8.2	2.2	25.2	60
Female	1,187	5.5	100.0	62.1	9.9	2.3	25.6	60
JHELUM	808	5.4	100.0	24.0	29.9	39.9	6.2	15
Male	431	7.4	100.0	19.0	28.7	46.8	5.4	16
Female	377	3.1	100.0	37.4	33.0	21.4	8.2	15

Appendix Table Migration 1: (continued)

DISTRICTS	Population Age 10+ in in 1973 (000's)	Recent Migrants % of Population	Total	Urban to Urban	Rural to Rural	Urban to Rural	Rural to Urban	Percent Urban Population in District
BAHAWALNAGAR	718	5.2	100.0	21.0	69.8	3.2	5.9	17
Male	395	4.8	100.0	21.3	69.7	3.5	5.4	17
Female	324	5.8	100.0	20.8	69.9	2.9	6.4	17
KOHAT	363	4.9	100.0	25.5	39.9	23.5	11.0	16
Male	187	7.3	100.0	20.1	42.1	27.6	10.2	16
Female	176	2.4	100.0	43.0	32.8	10.5	13.7	15
RAHIMYARKHAN	749	4.8	100.0	19.3	52.7	9.9	18.0	16
Male	415	4.4	100.0	18.9	51.2	11.7	18.2	16
Female	333	5.2	100.0	19.9	54.5	7.8	17.8	16
MULTAN	2,817	4.7	100.0	26.5	53.2	11.5	8.8	20
Male	1,542	4.4	100.0	26.4	51.6	12.3	9.6	20
Female	1,275	5.1	100.0	26.5	54.8	10.7	8.0	20
MUZZAFFARGARH	999	4.6	100.0	10.8	75.1	10.8	3.3	9
Male	555	4.8	100.0	10.9	74.9	10.6	3.5	9
Female	444	4.4	100.0	10.9	75.1	11.3	2.7	9
HAZARA	1,035	4.6	100.0	32.0	10.7	49.6	7.6	10
Male	549	5.7	100.0	29.3	10.2	53.4	7.1	10
Female	486	3.4	100.0	37.0	11.8	42.6	8.6	10
Lyallpur*	2,845	4.4	100.0	35.4	38.7	7.4	18.5	26
Male	1,551	4.0	100.0	37.5	35.0	7.5	20.0	26
Female	1,294	5.0	100.0	34.0	42.0	8.0	16.0	26
SAHIWAL	2,214	3.9	100.0	20.0	57.5	14.0	8.5	14
Male	1,199	3.2	100.0	22.6	54.4	13.8	9.1	14
Female	1,015	4.7	100.0	17.8	59.8	14.2	8.2	14
KHARAN	62	3.9	100.0	55.3	27.9	15.5	1.2	22
Male	32	4.9	100.0	51.0	33.3	14.3	1.4	22
Female	30	2.8	100.0	64.0	18.0	18.0	-	23

* now Faisalabad

Appendix Table Migration 1: (continued)

DISTRICTS	Population Age 10+ in in 1973 (000's)	Recent Migrants % of Population	Total	Urban to Urban	Rural to Rural	Urban to Rural	Rural to Urban	Percent Urban Population in District
KACCHI	261	3.9	100.0	7.7	41.0	48.7	2.6	5
Male	154	3.9	100.0	7.7	41.0	48.7	2.6	5
Female	107	3.9	100.0	5.1	41.0	48.7	5.1	5
MARDAN	911	3.8	100.0	20.8	43.7	12.1	23.4	17
Male	474	3.9	100.0	22.5	38.5	16.3	22.7	17
Female	437	3.8	100.0	18.8	49.6	7.7	23.9	17
HYDERABAD	1,536	3.5	100.0	57.3	18.9	2.9	20.9	41
Male	849	3.4	100.0	55.9	17.8	3.2	22.1	40
Female	687	3.5	100.0	57.8	20.3	2.6	19.3	42
GUJRAT	1,295	3.5	100.0	26.8	46.1	15.4	11.7	15
Male	703	3.3	100.0	27.3	45.4	15.2	12.1	15
Female	592	3.8	100.0	26.3	47.4	15.8	10.5	15
SARGODHA	1,520	3.4	100.0	25.2	50.4	9.6	14.8	21
Male	826	3.0	100.0	27.4	46.0	12.1	14.5	21
Female	694	3.8	100.0	23.3	54.4	7.2	15.1	21
SUKKUR	946	3.3	100.0	24.2	51.5	15.2	12.1	25
Male	529	3.4	100.0	20.6	55.9	14.7	11.8	25
Female	417	3.2	100.0	28.1	45.9	12.5	12.5	25
SANGHAR	508	3.3	100.0	33.9	48.7	8.1	9.3	20
Male	282	2.7	100.0	30.5	51.6	8.1	9.9	20
Female	226	4.1	100.0	36.8	46.2	8.2	8.8	20
JHANG	1,165	3.1	100.0	23.6	54.7	7.9	13.8	16
Male	642	2.9	100.0	22.2	56.6	9.7	11.5	16
Female	523	3.3	100.0	25.0	52.6	5.9	16.4	17
NAWABSHAH	732	3.0	100.0	41.5	28.6	25.6	3.3	17
Male	405	2.7	100.0	40.7	27.1	27.7	4.5	17
Female	327	3.4	100.0	44.1	29.4	23.5	2.9	17

Appendix Table Migration 1: (continued)

DISTRICTS	Population Age 10+ in in 1973 (000's)	Recent Migrants % of Population	Total	Urban to Urban	Rural to Rural	Urban to Rural	Rural to Urban	Percent Urban Population in District
THARPARKAR	645	3.0	100.0	13.2	61.1	20.6	5.1	20
Male	364	3.0	100.0	12.8	63.4	18.4	5.3	19
Female	281	3.1	100.0	12.9	58.1	22.6	6.4	21
SIBI	267	3.0	100.0	23.3	60.0	6.7	10.0	6
Male	151	3.1	100.0	22.6	58.1	9.6	9.7	6
Female	116	3.0	100.0	23.3	60.0	6.7	10.0	6
THATTA	412	3.0	100.0	43.8	21.2	3.7	31.3	14
Male	239	4.2	100.0	43.7	16.7	3.8	35.8	14
Female	173	1.3	100.0	44.5	42.2	3.1	10.2	14
SIALKOT	1,392	2.9	100.0	44.8	34.5	10.3	10.3	20
Male	760	2.4	100.0	49.8	27.2	10.7	12.3	20
Female	632	3.5	100.0	38.9	40.6	11.2	9.2	20
MIANWALI	807	2.9	100.0	21.5	47.1	20.0	11.4	22
Male	437	3.1	100.0	22.4	47.7	18.2	11.7	22
Female	370	2.6	100.0	20.1	46.3	22.4	11.2	22
CAMPBELLPUR	783	2.5	100.0	20.0	44.0	24.0	12.0	13
Male	411	3.0	100.0	20.0	43.3	26.7	10.0	13
Female	372	2.1	100.0	19.0	47.6	19.1	14.3	13
CHAGHAI [b]	65	2.4	100.0	79.2	4.2	-	16.6	32
Male	34	2.1	100.0	76.2	-	-	23.8	32
Female	31	2.8	100.0	78.6	7.1	-	18.2	32
D.I. KHAN	355	2.1	100.0	40.5	27.1	11.9	20.5	18
Male	195	2.2	100.0	39.8	27.5	11.8	20.9	18
Female	160	2.0	100.0	40.0	30.0	10.0	20.0	18
JACOBABAD	503	2.0	100.0	28.1	23.6	43.7	4.5	15
Male	283	2.2	100.0	22.7	22.7	50.0	4.6	15
Female	220	1.8	100.0	36.2	22.0	36.7	5.1	15

Appendix Table Migration 1: (continued)

DISTRICTS	Population Age 10+ in in 1973 (000's)	Recent Migrants % of Population	Total	Urban to Urban	Rural to Rural	Urban to Rural	Rural to Urban	Percent Urban Population in District
ZHOB	122	2.0	100.0	65.0	30.0	-	5.0	15
Male	69	2.0	100.0	70.0	25.0	-	5.0	15
Female	53	1.9	100.0	68.4	31.6	-	-	15
KHAIRPUR	555	1.9	100.0	38.0	39.0	8.6	14.4	14
Male	312	2.0	100.0	41.0	31.3	7.1	20.6	15
Female	243	1.7	100.0	33.0	50.5	10.4	6.1	14
LARKANA	611	1.6	100.0	37.5	25.0	18.7	18.7	19
Male	339	1.8	100.0	38.9	22.2	22.2	16.7	19
Female	272	1.5	100.0	38.7	30.7	12.3	18.2	19
KALAT	209	1.6	100.0	18.7	82.1	2.2	-	6
Male	116	1.6	100.0	12.7	83.1	4.2	-	6
Female	93	1.7	100.0	18.8	81.2	-	-	6
DADU	631	1.4	100.0	34.6	32.1	16.8	17.5	12
Male	345	1.4	100.0	35.6	29.4	17.1	17.8	12
Female	286	1.3	100.0	31.0	36.5	15.9	17.5	12
BANNU	318	1.4	100.0	28.6	35.7	14.3	21.4	11
Male	169	1.8	100.0	29.6	35.2	16.5	18.7	12
Female	149	0.9	100.0	37.6	28.0	11.8	22.6	11
D.G. KHAN	701	1.2	100.0	38.7	42.9	14.3	4.1	13
Male	388	1.3	100.0	36.8	45.1	15.0	3.0	13
Female	313	1.0	100.0	41.3	38.5	12.5	6.7	13
LORALAI	147	1.2	100.0	16.0	26.1	21.8	36.1	6
Male	83	1.3	100.0	17.8	36.4	14.5	31.2	6
Female	64	1.1	100.0	13.3	10.8	32.6	43.3	6
MEKRAN	186	0.5	100.0	3.6	80.0	-	16.4	16
Male	102	0.6	100.0	7.0	77.2	-	15.8	16
Female	84	0.5	100.0	-	84.9	-	15.1	16

a) The HED figures are fairly close to the 1972 Census figures for all districts except Chaghai, Kharan, and Mekran and Quetta.
b) According to the 1972 Census only 18% males and 7% females were in urban areas, in Chaghai
Source: Author's tabulation from the HED Survey

Appendix Table Migration 2: Place of birth of persons (who moved before 1965) by district of residence in 1965 and sex, HED Survey 1973*

District of Residence In 1965	Number	Place of Birth					
		Punjab	Sind	NWFP	Baluchistan	India	Others
TOTAL	7,834,073	19.5	2.9	4.2	5.5	63.3	4.5
Male	4,273,984	17.8	3.1	4.8	7.1	62.6	4.7
Female	3,560,089	21.6	2.7	3.5	3.7	64.2	4.3
Karachi	1,232,157	12.1	2.3	10.1	2.3	69.3	3.9
Male	692,797	12.6	2.3	12.3	2.4	66.0	4.4
Female	539,360	11.4	2.4	7.2	2.2	73.5	3.3
Bahawalnagar	239,067	21.1	0.1	0.4	3.3	74.3	0.7
Male	126,518	20.8	0.1	0.5	4.3	73.6	0.7
Female	112,549	21.5	0.1	0.3	2.2	75.2	0.7
Lyallpur*	938,968	13.7	0.2	0.4	2.5	81.3	1.7
Male	496,287	11.1	0.2	0.4	3.2	82.9	2.2
Female	442,681	16.6	0.2	0.4	1.8	79.7	1.3
Lahore	786,574	15.5	0.7	2.7	4.4	74.3	2.4
Male	439,150	14.9	0.7	3.0	5.8	72.9	2.7
Female	347,424	16.2	0.7	2.3	2.5	76.1	2.0
Sahiwal	625,700	13.8	0.2	0.3	3.2	80.5	2.0
Male	336,073	12.0	0.2	0.4	4.3	80.7	2.4
Female	289,627	16.0	0.2	0.3	1.9	80.2	1.4
Gujranwala	383,233	29.3	0.4	1.6	0.9	61.8	6.0
Male	188,412	22.4	0.4	2.3	1.1	67.2	6.7
Female	194,821	35.9	0.3	0.9	0.7	56.6	5.4
Multan	633,041	19.5	0.5	1.3	9.1	68.0	1.7
Male	364,437	17.9	0.4	1.2	12.6	66.6	1.3
Female	298,604	21.4	0.5	1.3	4.7	69.8	2.1
Sheikhupura	256,654	24.3	0.3	0.2	1.1	72.8	1.4
Male	125,385	16.8	0.2	0.2	1.5	79.6	1.6
Female	131,269	31.4	0.3	0.2	0.6	66.3	1.0
Rahimyar Khan	148,467	45.3	2.2	3.8	6.6	40.5	1.4
Male	83,881	44.5	2.0	3.6	8.9	39.4	1.5
Female	64,586	46.7	2.5	4.1	3.7	42.0	0.9
Bahawalpur	140,428	45.4	0.7	0.8	4.7	42.7	5.6
Male	75,699	43.7	0.8	0.9	4.2	43.2	7.0
Female	64,729	47.4	0.5	0.8	5.2	42.1	4.0

* Now Faisalabad

Appendix Table Migration 2 (continued)

District of Residence In 1965	Number	Place of Birth					
		Punjab	Sind	NWFP	Baluchistan	India	Others
Hyderabad	299,430	9.4	12.1	3.0	3.7	69.4	2.4
Male	165,472	9.6	12.0	3.4	4.6	68.1	2.3
Female	133,958	9.3	12.2	2.4	2.6	71.1	2.4
Sialkot	228,963	21.6	0.3	0.6	10.0	51.4	16.1
Male	119,783	14.0	0.4	0.8	16.2	52.1	16.5
Female	109,180	30.0	0.3	0.5	3.2	50.6	15.6
Sanghar	82,220	13.7	18.8	1.0	6.9	58.9	0.6
Male	45,942	13.8	17.9	1.1	8.4	58.0	0.8
Female	36,278	13.7	19.9	0.9	5.0	60.1	0.4
Islamabad/ Rawal Pindi	220,468	34.7	4.3	14.9	4.7	31.2	10.1
Male	125,755	33.1	4.3	15.5	6.1	30.1	10.8
Female	94,713	36.9	4.1	14.2	2.9	32.8	9.2
Sargodha	223,807	23.9	0.3	1.5	9.5	60.6	4.1
Male	118,556	21.3	0.3	1.5	12.6	60.6	3.6
Female	105,251	26.8	0.2	1.5	6.0	60.5	4.9
Nawabshah	106,885	33.2	15.3	1.1	5.9	43.4	1.2
Male	58,079	32.5	14.5	1.2	7.3	43.5	0.8
Female	48,006	33.9	16.3	1.0	4.2	43.2	1.4
Muzzafargarh	140,067	43.6	4.1	1.6	20.6	28.7	1.3
Male	82,173	41.2	5.6	1.3	24.2	26.5	1.3
Female	57,894	47.0	1.9	2.1	15.6	31.9	1.4
Jhang	157,937	19.6	0.5	0.7	2.8	75.3	1.1
Male	84,219	17.4	0.4	0.5	2.9	77.9	0.8
Female	73,718	22.1	0.7	0.9	2.7	72.3	1.3
Tharparker	85,188	10.4	10.6	1.7	5.8	62.1	9.3
Male	46,623	10.3	10.0	1.8	5.9	61.4	10.7
Female	38,565	10.6	11.5	1.5	5.7	62.9	7.7
Mianwali	85,358	29.4	0.4	2.6	3.8	47.0	16.8
Male	46,811	29.5	0.3	2.0	4.7	46.3	17.1
Female	38,547	29.2	0.5	3.2	2.7	47.9	16.5
Gujrat	135,706	30.5	2.8	0.8	12.3	41.7	11.7
Male	66,613	26.5	3.9	0.8	12.3	45.0	10.5
Female	69,093	34.6	1.8	0.8	12.4	38.5	11.9
Sukkur	90,875	25.9	6.5	1.0	2.1	62.3	2.1
Male	51,421	26.9	6.7	1.0	2.7	60.4	2.3
Female	39,454	24.6	6.3	0.9	1.3	64.8	2.0

Appendix Table Migration 2 (continued)

District of Residence In 1965	Number	Place of Birth					
		Punjab	Sind	NWFP	Baluchistan	India	Others
Khairpur	47,392	32.5	14.8	3.0	11.6	37.2	1.0
Male	27,102	30.8	16.4	4.0	14.1	34.1	0.6
Female	20,290	34.7	12.8	1.7	8.2	41.3	1.3
Quetta	42,497	30.4	8.3	14.2	11.7	23.4	11.9
Male	23,863	30.2	8.2	14.7	12.0	23.2	10.9
Female	10,634	30.8	8.5	13.5	11.3	23.6	12.2
Mardan	69,509	2.6	3.3	55.9	0.2	1.0	37.0
Male	36,784	3.2	5.6	54.3	0.2	1.0	35.7
Female	32,725	1.9	0.8	57.7	0.2	1.0	38.4
Peshawar	93,687	33.2	12.9	26.2	1.0	4.9	21.7
Male	56,881	32.4	15.2	24.9	1.3	5.0	21.0
Female	36,806	34.6	9.4	28.3	0.6	4.6	22.5
D.G. Khan	46,349	17.0	4.6	2.0	34.5	39.0	2.8
Male	31,199	14.3	4.7	1.8	46.4	30.3	2.5
Female	15,150	22.6	4.5	2.4	9.9	57.0	3.5
Sibi	17,076	12.8	7.2	0.3	68.6	4.6	6.6
Male	10,730	13.2	5.7	-	69.8	4.1	7.2
Female	6,346	12.1	9.7	0.7	66.6	5.4	5.4
Larkana	32,961	9.3	30.7	1.2	26.0	31.9	0.8
Male	19,452	8.9	26.1	1.1	32.0	31.1	0.8
Female	13,509	10.0	37.3	1.4	17.5	33.0	0.8
Jhelum	41,645	29.9	4.7	3.4	27.4	19.7	14.8
Male	25,797	24.0	3.7	2.4	39.7	17.7	10.4
Female	15,848	39.6	6.2	5.0	7.4	22.8	28.8
Chagai	3,190	4.6	29.2	1.5	50.4	6.7	7.4
Male	1,635	7.4	17.6	2.8	53.9	9.8	8.4
Female	1,456	1.6	42.3	-	46.6	3.2	6.3
Kharan	2,774	14.4	3.5	12.5	59.9	-	9.8
Male	1,713	14.5	5.7	5.7	64.0	-	10.1
Female	1,061	14.1	-	23.4	53.3	-	9.2
Kacchi	11,595	2.6	4.3	1.3	74.7	0.4	16.2
Male	6,917	3.2	3.2	2.2	71.9	0.3	19.1
Female	4,678	1.6	5.8	-	78.8	0.5	13.3
Mekran	7,781	3.2	1.3	8.5	83.0	1.8	2.2
Male	4,303	3.5	1.7	9.1	83.4	0.5	1.7
Female	3,478	2.8	0.7	7.8	82.4	3.5	2.9

Appendix Table Migration 2 (continued)

District of Residence In 1965		Number	Place of Birth: Punjab	Sind	NWFP	Baluchistan	India	Others
Zhob		4,839	3.3	36.9	14.0	12.4	5.7	27.6
	Male	2,771	2.5	42.3	14.3	10.2	4.1	26.6
	Female	2,068	4.4	29.8	13.6	15.3	7.8	28.9
D.I. Khan		13,728	8.5	18.6	27.2	1.8	30.4	13.6
	Male	8,305	8.1	24.2	26.5	1.6	27.1	12.5
	Female	5,423	9.1	9.9	28.2	2.2	35.3	15.2
Hazara		35,585	14.2	31.3	24.0	1.2	5.7	4.8
	Male	20,658	11.6	35.0	27.5	0.8	5.9	4.8
	Female	14,927	17.8	26.2	19.2	1.6	5.3	4.7
Loralai		4,667	29.7	12.9	5.7	35.7	5.4	10.6
	Male	2,864	25.9	10.5	7.6	36.4	5.6	13.9
	Female	1,803	35.8	16.6	2.5	34.5	5.1	5.5
Thatta		11,778	13.8	21.0	16.7	34.2	11.5	2.8
	Male	7,483	13.9	17.1	19.7	36.5	9.8	2.9
	Female	4,295	13.5	27.8	11.3	30.2	14.5	2.7
Kohat		9,119	13.7	35.8	31.2	1.3	5.5	12.3
	Male	6,061	13.1	41.4	25.4	1.3	6.0	12.9
	Female	3,058	15.1	24.8	42.8	1.4	4.7	11.3
Campbellpur		17,732	36.8	2.2	13.9	8.5	15.5	23.0
	Male	10,215	37.0	2.2	12.5	10.2	14.1	23.5
	Female	7,517	36.5	2.2	15.8	6.2	17.5	21.7
Jacobabad		9,518	15.3	31.4	2.5	22.0	15.0	13.6
	Male	4,935	19.7	28.2	2.6	23.0	15.4	11.2
	Female	4,583	10.6	35.0	2.4	21.0	14.0	16.5
Bannu		5,830	8.3	27.7	19.8	16.8	12.4	14.9
	Male	3,017	8.1	29.7	18.4	22.2	10.4	10.9
	Female	2,013	8.7	24.0	22.4	6.6	16.4	21.9
Lasbella		1,826	24.3	11.3	19.9	21.1	16.7	6.6
	Male	1,204	22.5	9.5	26.3	26.3	11.5	3.8
	Female	622	27.8	14.8	7.4	11.1	26.8	12.1
Kalat		3,190	3.1	11.7	2.3	61.8	-	21.0
	Male	2,094	1.1	14.3	3.6	60.9	-	19.9
	Female	1,096	6.8	6.8	-	63.7	-	22.6

* Districts are ranked according to percent of migrants in the population in 1965. "Others" include FATA, Muzzafarabad, Occupied Kashmir, and other places of the World.
- Nil.

Source: Author's tabulation from the HED Survey 1973.

Appendix Table Migration 3: Place of residence in 1965 (for persons who moved after 1965) by district of residence in 1973 by sex and rural/urban residence, HED Survey 1973

District of Residence in 1973*	Number of Migrants	Place of residence in 1965: Punjab U	Punjab R	Sind U	Sind R	NWFP U	NWFP R	Baluchistan U	Baluchistan R	Others U	Others R
TOTAL											
Urban	1,148,610	35.8	17.7	10.8	2.3	8.0	6.7	3.3	0.7	11.3	3.4
Male	647,331	34.1	16.9	10.2	2.3	8.5	7.5	3.4	0.8	12.0	4.1
Female	501,279	38.0	18.8	11.4	2.3	7.2	5.6	3.1	0.6	10.5	2.6
Rural	902,406	12.1	49.2	4.4	6.6	2.8	7.2	2.0	3.8	4.4	7.3
Male	487,736	12.9	43.5	5.1	6.7	3.6	8.2	2.4	4.1	5.5	7.9
Female	414,670	11.2	55.8	3.6	6.6	1.9	6.0	1.5	3.3	3.2	6.8
Karachi											
Urban	329,245	24.0	8.7	8.7	2.6	9.6	10.7	4.0	0.5	25.2	5.8
Male	197,938	22.9	8.6	8.1	2.4	10.2	11.8	4.1	0.5	24.6	6.7
Female	131,307	25.7	8.8	9.7	2.8	8.6	9.2	3.9	0.4	15.5	4.7
Rural	12,276	5.0	0.5	0.5	61.6	19.2	-	2.0	5.5	5.5	-
Male	6,510	4.8	0.9	0.9	55.2	20.9	-	1.9	7.6	7.6	-
Female	5,766	5.4	-	-	68.2	17.2		2.1	3.2	3.2	-
Islamabad/Rawalpindi											
Urban	124,085	34.0	20.1	12.3	0.2	9.7	10.5	1.1	0.2	7.3	4.4
Male	70,288	32.8	19.4	12.3	0.3	10.0	10.8	1.3	0.2	8.2	4.8
Female	53,797	35.6	21.0	12.4	0.2	9.3	10.1	0.9	0.1	6.1	4.2
Rural	18,780	22.4	27.5	20.4	1.0	2.9	4.1	2.2	1.3	5.7	12.1
Male	13,140	25.1	24.2	21.0	1.4	3.6	2.7	2.7	1.4	6.1	11.8
Female	5,640	16.0	35.1	19.1	-	1.1	7.4	1.1	1.1	5.3	14.9
Bahawalpur											
Urban	16,583	53.3	31.2	2.5	0.8	6.1	0.8	0.1	-	5.1	-
Male	8,671	54.6	32.1	2.1	1.1	3.2	1.1	0.3	-	5.6	-
Female	7,912	51.7	30.2	2.9	0.6	9.3	0.6	-	-	4.7	-
Rural	36,300	8.8	68.4	0.2	1.6	-	10.5	0.2	-	4.5	5.8
Male	18,180	8.2	63.7	-	2.0	-	12.5	-	-	8.2	5.3
Female	18,120	9.3	73.2	0.3	1.3	-	8.6	0.3	-	0.7	6.3
Gujranwala											
Urban	46,782	42.1	36.2	3.4	1.0	3.1	1.1	3.1	-	7.8	2.1
Male	23,805	38.6	35.0	3.4	1.2	3.7	0.9	3.9	-	8.9	2.5
Female	22,977	45.6	37.5	3.4	0.8	2.6	1.3	2.4	-	4.6	1.7
Rural	64,260	16.4	56.8	2.3	1.5	4.4	0.6	3.6	0.2	12.8	1.2
Male	29,580	16.4	51.9	2.2	1.4	5.9	0.6	5.1	-	14.5	1.8
Female	34,680	16.4	61.0	2.4	1.6	3.1	0.5	2.4	0.3	11.4	0.7
Lasbella											
Urban	1,150	4.0	-	34.0	4.0	8.0	2.0	22.0	20.0	6.0	-
Male	667	6.9	-	31.0	3.4	10.3	3.4	20.7	20.7	3.4	-
Female	483	-	-	38.1	4.8	4.8	-	23.8	19.5	9.5	-
Rural	6,000	13.7	-	1.2	-	28.7	2.5	36.2	-	17.4	-
Male	5,700	13.2	-	1.3	-	29.0	2.6	36.8	-	17.1	-
Female	300	25.0	-	-	-	25.0	-	25.0	-	25.0	-

* Districts have been ranked by percent of total migrants in that district.

Appendix Table Migration 3 (continued)

District of Residence in 1973	Number of Migrants	Punjab U	Punjab R	Sind U	Sind R	NWFP U	NWFP R	Baluchistan U	Baluchistan R	Others U	Others R
Sheikhupura											
Urban	21,068	45.0	30.5	0.7	0.1	1.3	4.9	0.3	4.0	2.1	11.0
Male	12,305	40.4	26.5	0.7	0.2	1.3	6.5	0.2	5.4	2.7	16.0
Female	8,763	51.4	36.0	0.5	-	1.3	2.6	0.5	2.1	1.7	3.9
Rural	59,580	15.7	50.9	0.3	0.8	0.6	15.3	0.1	4.6	0.6	11.1
Male	36,120	13.6	40.5	0.2	1.0	0.7	21.6	-	6.8	0.9	14.7
Female	23,460	18.9	66.7	0.5	0.5	0.5	5.6	0.3	1.3	0.3	5.4
Peshawar											
Urban	32,538	33.3	11.2	3.4	0.5	22.4	17.6	1.2	-	3.0	7.3
Male	19,250	31.1	12.3	3.0	0.2	21.9	19.7	1.1	-	3.5	7.1
Female	13,288	36.4	9.6	4.1	0.8	23.2	14.7	1.3	-	2.2	7.6
Rural	39,600	4.4	47.9	0.3	-	8.1	20.0	0.1	-	4.1	15.4
Male	20,680	6.1	46.0	0.5	-	9.6	18.6	0.3	-	4.3	15.5
Female	18,920	2.6	50.0	-	-	6.4	21.5	-	-	4.1	15.4
Quetta											
Urban	15,893	32.8	9.0	11.6	0.7	8.8	6.5	9.4	9.8	2.8	13.5
Male	8,832	31.5	9.1	12.0	0.8	8.8	5.7	10.2	11.2	3.5	13.8
Female	7,061	34.5	8.8	11.1	0.6	8.8	7.5	8.5	8.1	1.9	15.4
Rural	11,550	11.7	9.1	6.5	7.1	0.6	9.1	4.5	33.8	4.6	6.8
Male	6,675	11.2	5.6	6.7	5.6	1.1	13.5	4.5	31.5	3.7	10.0
Female	4,875	12.3	13.8	6.1	9.2	-	3.1	4.6	36.9	5.8	2.6
Lahore											
Urban	129,122	47.8	24.9	7.8	0.3	7.1	2.0	3.1	0.1	5.4	1.1
Male	71,392	48.0	24.2	7.0	0.4	8.0	2.1	3.2	0.1	5.9	1.2
Female	57,730	47.6	25.9	8.8	0.2	6.1	2.0	3.1	0.2	5.2	1.2
Rural	16,440	13.5	73.4	3.3	0.4	2.2	0.7	0.4	3.3	1.1	1.8
Male	8,400	12.9	69.3	4.3	0.7	2.9	0.7	0.7	5.7	0.7	2.1
Female	8,040	14.2	77.6	2.2	-	1.5	0.7	-	0.7	1.5	1.4
Jhelum											
Urban	13,202	51.0	17.6	6.4	0.2	7.8	2.4	1.0	-	12.3	1.8
Male	7,820	50.3	20.0	5.9	-	7.9	2.1	1.2	-	12.3	2.0
Female	5,382	52.1	14.1	7.3	0.4	7.7	3.0	0.8	-	11.5	0.4
Rural	30,540	37.5	28.5	10.6	2.0	4.1	2.5	1.8	1.4	4.2	6.9
Male	24,120	41.3	25.1	9.7	1.7	5.2	2.7	2.2	1.5	3.9	5.0
Female	6,420	23.4	41.1	14.0	2.8	-	1.9	-	0.9	4.3	14.0
Bahawalnagar											
Urban	10,143	64.4	21.8	3.0	-	6.1	0.2	0.7	-	3.8	-
Male	5,060	64.1	20.0	3.2	-	6.4	0.4	1.4	-	4.5	-
Female	5,083	64.7	23.5	2.7	-	5.9	-	-	-	3.2	-
Rural	27,480	3.3	73.4	0.4	0.7	0.2	6.3	-	-	0.4	15.2
Male	13,860	3.0	70.6	0.4	0.4	0.4	7.8	-	-	0.9	16.4
Female	13,620	3.5	76.2	0.4	0.9	-	4.8	-	-	-	14.1

Appendix Table Migration 3 (continued)

District of Residence in 1973	Number of Migrants	Punjab U	Punjab R	Sind U	Sind R	NWFP U	NWFP R	Baluchistan U	Baluchistan R	Others U	Others R
Kohat											
Urban	6,490	31.5	11.5	3.0	-	21.7	13.6	3.4	-	10.3	5.1
Male	4,114	29.4	11.2	3.2	-	20.3	16.0	3.2	-	11.1	6.3
Female	2,376	35.2	12.0	2.8	-	24.1	9.3	3.7	-	1.8	2.8
Rural	11,275	6.8	25.4	10.7	3.4	14.1	20.0	-	1.9	5.4	11.3
Male	9,460	8.1	20.9	12.2	3.5	12.8	19.2	-	2.3	6.4	14.5
Female	1,815	-	48.5	3.0	3.0	21.2	24.2	-	-	-	-
Rahimyarkhan											
Urban	13,386	10.4	65.2	13.2	7.4	6.2	2.7	2.2	-	3.1	1.0
Male	6,831	10.9	63.2	10.4	8.4	6.1	3.0	1.7	-	3.7	1.3
Female	6,555	9.9	67.4	16.1	6.3	6.3	2.5	2.8	-	2.5	0.7
Rural	22,440	26.6	37.1	1.6	13.1	2.1	3.2	0.5	0.5	1.4	2.1
Male	11,580	28.3	36.4	2.6	13.5	3.6	2.6	0.5	0.5	1.7	1.5
Female	10,860	24.9	37.9	0.5	12.7	0.5	3.9	0.5	0.5	1.0	2.8
Multan											
Urban	47,012	52.8	22.3	5.5	0.7	7.1	1.2	4.3	-	5.4	0.8
Male	24,426	49.3	23.2	4.8	0.7	8.5	1.4	4.8	-	5.8	1.2
Female	22,586	56.6	21.3	6.2	0.6	5.6	0.9	3.7	-	4.6	0.3
Rural	86,220	12.1	58.7	1.5	1.7	0.6	11.3	0.6	0.1	3.1	10.4
Male	43,380	12.4	53.0	1.9	1.5	0.7	14.9	0.4	-	3.9	11.1
Female	42,840	11.7	64.6	1.1	1.8	0.4	7.7	0.7	0.1	2.1	9.5
Muzzafargarh											
Urban	6,532	52.8	18.3	9.9	1.1	7.0	3.2	2.8	-	4.2	0.7
Male	3,864	48.2	17.9	11.3	1.2	7.7	4.7	3.0	-	5.3	1.2
Female	2,668	59.5	19.0	7.8	0.9	6.0	0.9	2.6	-	3.5	-
Rural	39,900	9.5	61.9	-	-	0.9	10.5	1.8	2.6	0.3	12.3
Male	22,920	8.9	61.8	-	-	0.5	12.3	2.4	3.1	0.6	10.4
Female	16,980	10.2	62.2	-	-	1.4	8.1	1.1	1.8	0.3	14.8
Hazara											
Urban	18,942	48.3	11.1	9.3	0.1	13.4	4.4	0.7	-	9.0	3.7
Male	11,418	45.7	11.0	9.6	-	13.3	3.1	0.8	-	11.2	5.4
Female	7,524	52.3	11.4	8.8	0.3	13.4	6.4	0.6	-	5.8	0.9
Rural	28,820	14.5	8.2	29.4	0.4	9.0	4.6	5.3	0.4	24.1	4.2
Male	19,910	15.5	8.0	31.8	0.5	7.7	3.3	5.0	0.3	23.7	3.9
Female	8,910	12.3	8.6	24.1	-	11.7	7.4	6.2	0.6	24.1	4.9
Lyallpur											
Urban	67,850	50.2	32.8	8.0	0.2	1.8	0.7	1.4	0.3	4.3	0.5
Male	35,512	48.7	32.6	7.8	0.1	2.1	0.9	1.4	0.5	4.9	0.8
Female	32,338	51.8	32.3	8.2	0.3	1.4	0.5	1.3	0.1	3.9	0.2
Rural	58,020	9.6	66.8	1.4	2.2	0.5	3.7	0.2	6.8	4.3	4.3
Male	26,100	9.0	61.6	1.1	3.0	0.7	3.7	-	8.5	7.3	5.1
Female	31,920	10.1	71.0	1.7	1.5	0.4	3.8	0.4	5.4	1.9	3.7

* Other include FATA, Muzzafarabad, Occupied Kashmir, former East Pakistan, India and rest of the world.

- Nil

Appendix Table Migration 4: Percent distribution of education level for women age 10+ by marital status, urban/rural residence and migration status, Pakistan, HED Survey, 1973

Percentages

	Single		Married		Widowed		Divorced		Total	
	U[a]	R[a]	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R
Never Moved										
No grades	48	88	85	98	94	99	84	95	66	95
1-9 grades	41	11	11	2	4	**	12	4	26	5
10+ grades	11	1	4	**	1	**	5	1	8	**
All Migrants										
No grades	35	74	78	94	89	90	44	48	72	91
1-9 grades	42	18	14	3	7	2	20	6	18	5
10+ grades	23	8	8	2	4	8	36	46	10	4
Long Term Migrants										
No grades	38	77	80	95	90	92	48	53	77	93
1-9 grades	35	14	13	3	6	2	16	4	14	3
10+ grades	27	9	7	2	4	6	36	42	9	4
Recent Migrants										
No grades	33	69	67	88	80	71	32	22	57	81
1-9 grades	49	25	20	8	11	6	31	16	29	12
10+ grades	18	6	13	7	9	23	37	62	14	7

** Less than one percent in cell

[a] U=Urban and R=Rural

Source: Author's Tabulation from the HED Survey , 1973.

Appendix Table Migration 5: Occupational structure of non migrant and recent migrant women age 10+ in rural and urban areas, Pakistan 1973 and Karachi City 1959

Occupational Categories	Women in Urban Areas: Non Migrant	Women in Urban Areas: Recent Migrant	Women in Urban Areas: Migrants in Karachi City, 1959	Women in Rural Areas: Non Migrant	Women in Rural Areas: Recent Migrants
Number (weighted)	77,804	16,714	(13,125)[a]	556,750	14,682
Percent	100	100	100	100	100
Professional, technical and related	31	42	(21)	2	24
Doctors, nurses, midwives, related medical	5	9	(5)	0*	2
Teachers	23	23	(14)	1	4
Other	4	11	(2)	1	18
Administrative and Managerial	1	2	(3)	0*	2
Clerical and Related	4	7	(2)	0*	2
Sales and Related	5	4	(3)	1	2
Agriculture	12	3	(0*)	86	54
General farmers	7	0*	-	58	35
Services	28	29	(47)	4	5
Cooks, chefs, waitresses	2	2	(0*)	1	1
Maids, housekeepers, etc.	15	16	(2)	2	1
Others	11	10	(45)	1	3
Production, Transport, Mining, Construction, etc.	22	13	(25)	6	11
Textile workers	3	2	(1)	1	1
Tailors, upholsters, etc.	7	4	(8)	1	1
Construction workers	4	2	(13)	2	3
Other workers	8	5	(3)	2	6

* Less than .5 Percent
\- No cases

Source: Author's tabulation from the HED Survey 1973 and Hashmi et al. (1964:208-209)

Appendix Table Ed. 1 Percentage of literate population (Age 10+) by level of education, urban Areas of Pakistan and Provinces, 1973*

Age	Total Population 10 years & Over	Total Literate	Percent of Population	Informal & Below Primary: Percent of Population	Informal & Below Primary: Percent of Literate	Primary & Middle: Percent of Population	Primary & Middle: Percent of Literate	Matric & Intermediate: Percent of Population	Matric & Intermediate: Percent of Literate	Degree*: Percent of Population	Degree*: Percent of Literate
PAKISTAN											
Both Sexes	11,855,967	5,463,709	46.1	8.1	17.6	22.7	49.2	12.3	26.7	3.0	6.6
Male	6,505,823	3,727,770	57.3	9.3	16.2	27.3	47.6	16.4	28.6	4.3	7.6
Female	5,350,144	1,735,939	32.5	6.7	20.6	17.1	52.6	7.3	22.4	1.4	4.4
PUNJAB											
Both Sexes	6,480,526	3,006,836	46.4	7.8	16.8	23.1	49.7	12.9	27.9	2.7	5.7
Male	3,546,531	2,050,197	57.8	9.0	15.6	27.6	47.7	17.4	30.1	3.8	6.6
Female	2,933,995	956,639	32.6	6.3	19.3	17.6	54.0	7.5	23.0	1.2	3.8
SIND											
Both Sexes	4,308,866	2,058,937	47.8	9.3	19.5	23.1	48.3	11.6	24.3	3.8	8.0
Male	2,377,717	1,382,530	58.1	10.2	17.6	27.5	47.3	15.1	25.9	5.4	9.2
Female	1,931,149	676,407	35.0	8.2	23.4	17.6	50.3	7.4	21.0	1.9	5.3
NWFP											
Both Sexes	767,690	293,194	38.2	5.1	13.3	19.4	50.7	11.5	30.2	2.2	5.8
Male	416,504	218,108	52.4	6.7	12.9	25.8	49.3	16.5	31.5	3.3	6.3
Female	351,186	75,086	21.4	3.1	14.7	11.7	54.6	5.6	26.4	0.9	4.3
BALUCHISTAN											
Both Sexes	298,885	104,742	35.0	5.5	15.7	17.5	49.8	9.8	28.1	2.2	6.4
Male	165,071	76,935	46.6	7.3	15.7	22.5	48.2	13.6	29.2	3.2	6.9
Female	133,814	27,807	20.8	3.3	15.8	11.3	54.3	5.2	25.1	1.0	4.9

* Description of the level of education given in Table 5.

SOURCE: Census Organization (n.d., Vol. II, prts. 1-5, Table 3).

Appendix Table E. 2 Percentage of literate population (age 10+) by level of education, rural areas of Pakistan and Provinces, 1973*

Age	Total Population 10 years & Over	Total Literate	Percent of Population	Informal & Below Primary: Percent of Population	Informal & Below Primary: Percent of Literate	Primary & Middle: Percent of Population	Primary & Middle: Percent of Literate	Matric & Intermediate: Percent of Population	Matric & Intermediate: Percent of Literate	Degree: Percent of Population	Degree: Percent of Literate
PAKISTAN											
Both Sexes	30,523,312	5,862,847	19.2	4.3	22.5	11.0	57.2	3.6	18.8	0.3	1.5
Male	16,704,008	5,038,349	30.2	6.5	21.6	17.5	58.1	5.6	18.7	0.5	1.6
Female	13,819,304	824,498	6.0	1.7	28.1	3.1	51.7	1.2	19.4	0.1	0.8
PUNJAB											
Both Sexes	1[illegible] 934,160	4,249,020	21.3	4.8	22.4	12.0	56.4	4.2	19.8	0.3	1.4
Male	1[illegible],887,660	3,568,140	32.8	6.9	21.2	18.7	57.1	6.6	20.3	0.5	1.5
Female	9,046,500	680,880	7.5	2.2	29.2	4.0	52.5	1.3	17.6	0.1	0.7
SIND											
Both Sexes	5,513,102	858,452	15.6	3.8	24.1	9.8	62.9	1.8	11.3	0.3	1.8
Male	3,081,338	794,344	25.8	6.2	23.9	16.5	64.1	2.7	10.3	0.4	1.7
Female	2,431,764	64,108	2.6	0.7	25.9	1.3	47.6	0.6	24.2	0.1	2.3
NWFP	3,447,950	623,150	18.1	3.8	21.2	10.2	56.6	3.7	20.4	0.3	1.9
Male	1,826,385	558,415	30.6	6.5	21.2	17.5	57.1	6.0	19.7	0.6	2.0
Female	1,621,565	64,735	4.0	0.6	21.3	2.1	51.7	1.0	26.2	0.0	0.8
BALUCHISTAN											
Both Sexes	1,628,100	132,225	8.1	1.8	22.7	4.0	49.1	2.2	26.7	0.1	1.5
Male	908,625	117,450	12.9	3.0	23.3	6.6	51.1	3.1	23.8	0.2	1.7
Female	719,475	14,775	2.1	0.4	17.8	0.7	3.0	1.0	49.2	-	-

* Description of the level of education given in Table 5.

SOURCE: Census Organization (n.d., Vol. II, prts. 1-5, Table 3).

Appendix Table Ed 3: Sex ratios of literates by age, educational level and rural/urban residence Pakistan and Provinces, 1973.

Age Groups	Informal and Below Primary	Primary and Middle	Matric and Intermediate	Degree	Informal Below Primary	Primary and Middle	Matric and Intermediate	Degree
	URBAN				RURAL			
PAKISTAN								
All Ages	168	194	275	367	471	686	590	1,163
10-14	153	160	145	*	418	515	446	*
15-19	154	173	169	94	417	539	827	353
20-24	166	188	234	179	485	669	647	833
25 and Over	212	253	402	561	751	1,069	524	1,617
N.W.F.P.								
All Ages	253	262	347	431	857	952	649	2,244
10-14	205	208	358	-	843	726	767	*
15-19	174	227	220	125	606	862	1,097	700
20-24	328	269	315	202	387	934	581	1,433
25 and Over	445	389	437	651	1,444	1,554	591	3,675
PUNJAB								
All Ages	173	189	281	373	380	570	603	1,088
10-14	154	161	189	*	353	433	331	-
15-19	168	167	174	117	325	442	734	389
20-24	174	182	234	195	372	543	722	830
25 and Over	243	237	409	552	578	894	544	1,367
SIND								
All Ages	153	192	252	354	1,143	1,669	526	912
10-14	146	148	90	*	1,025	952	875	*
15-19	133	171	157	72	922	1,728	2,450	67
20-24	144	185	222	160	1,343	1,825	494	514
25 and Over	175	267	379	558	1,394	2,423	423	1,750
BALUCHISTAN								
All Ages	275	246	322	391	1,043	1,232	384	-
10-14	231	205	146	-	1,177	1,130	667	-
15-19	236	282	169	40	2,850	5,367	1,550	-
20-24	259	279	300	200	733	800	225	-
25 and Over	398	285	539	696	782	980	305	-

*The figure has not been reported due to small number of cases (<10 unweighted) and the inconsistent responses

- No cases

SOURCE: Census organization (n.d., Vol. II , prt. 1, Table 3).

Appendix Table Ed 4: Percentage of enrollees (Age 5+) by grade level passed, HED 1973 and BEPM, 1972-73

	Total Enrolled(Number)		Primary I-V		Middle VI-VIII		High IX-X		Intermediate & Degree		Post Graduation*	
	HED 1973	BEPM 1972-73	HED 1973	BEPM 1972-73	HED 1973	BEPM 1972-73	HED 1973	BEPM 1972-73	HED 1973	BEMP 1972-73	HED 1973	BEPM 1972-73
PAKISTAN												
Both Sexes	6,314,893	6,191,400	70.1	72.0	11.3	16.8	8.2	7.3	9.4	3.0	1.0	0.9
Males	4,617,987	4,538,296	69.3	70.3	11.9	17.8	8.8	7.7	8.8	3.0	1.2	1.1
Females	1,696,906	1,653,104	72.1	76.8	9.8	14.0	6.5	5.9	11.0	2.8	0.7	0.6
PUNJAB												
Both Sexes	4,039,771	3,789,914	71.0	71.1	10.9	18.0	7.8	7.8	9.5	2.6	0.8	0.5
Males	2,962,654	2,679,374	70.1	67.5	11.6	20.3	8.4	8.8	9.0	2.8	0.9	0.9
Females	1,077,117	1,110,540	73.7	79.7	8.9	12.5	5.9	5.3	10.9	2.2	0.6	0.2
SIND												
Both Sexes	1,550,382	1,441,032	68.8	71.2	11.8	15.9	9.3	6.9	8.3	4.9	1.8	2.1
Males	1,066,992	1,040,482	67.8	72.9	11.9	15.6	10.0	6.3	8.1	4.9	2.1	2.4
Females	483,390	400,550	71.2	66.7	11.4	18.7	7.7	8.3	8.7	4.8	1.0	1.7
NWFP												
Both Sexes	556,094	758,782	70.6	76.4	13.0	15.2	6.4	6.2	9.1	1.7	1.0	0.5
Males	455,664	642,566	71.7	75.7	13.3	15.6	6.6	6.6	8.4	1.7	1.0	0.5
Females	100,430	116,216	65.6	80.5	11.6	12.0	5.1	4.4	17.1	1.5	0.7	0.5
BALUCHISTAN												
Both Sexes	168,646	118,157	56.5	76.9	12.0	14.2	13.3	5.4	16.6	2.7	1.6	0.7
Males	132,677	93,996	57.9	77.0	12.1	14.1	14.3	5.5	14.0	1.7	1.8	0.8
Females	35,969	24,161	51.3	76.4	11.9	14.4	9.6	5.1	26.2	3.8	1.0	0.4
FATA/Northern Area												
Both Sexes	- -	83,515	- -	85.6	- -	11.3	- -	3.4	- -	0.4	- -	- -
Males	- -	81,877	- -	86.0	- -	11.2	- -	3.1	- -	0.4	- -	- -
Females	- -	1,638	- -	75.5	- -	16.7	- -	7.8	- -	- -	- -	- -

* Includes Specialised education degrees, diplomas, certificates, and Oriental education.

- -Data not available

SOURCES: Census Organization (n.d., Vol. II, prts. 1-5, Table 5) and BEPM (1976: 17, 19, 23, 43, 77, 91)

Appendix Table Ed 5: Number of teachers at various grades by their level of training, Pakistan and Provinces, 1973-74.

Locality/Sex	Primary (Percent With)						Middle (Percent With)						High (Percent With)					
	Total (Number)	PTC/JV	CT/SAV	MEd/BEd	Other*	Untrained	Total (Number)	PTC/JV	CT/SAV	MEd/BEd	Other*	Untrained	Total (Number)	PTC/JV	CT/SAV	MEd/BEd	Other*	Untrained
Pakistan	115,275	76.8	1.1	1.0	9.6	11.4	41,876	36.9	14.2	10.4	31.5	6.6	45,079	6.8	17.5	34.6	30.6	10.5
Males	80,305	76.1	0.9	0.6	12.4	9.9	30,315	36.2	13.9	9.7	34.8	4.9	31,836	5.3	16.7	34.9	33.0	10.1
Females	34,970	78.4	1.7	1.9	3.2	14.8	11,561	38.7	14.9	12.0	23.0	11.2	13,243	10.5	19.4	33.7	24.9	11.6
NWFP	10,413	100	..	..	..	..	6,279	38.1	14.6	7.9	39.4	..	5,728	6.9	24.1	30.7	38.3	..
Males	7,736	100	..	..	..	..	5,274	35.9	14.4	7.7	41.9	..	4,892	3.9	24.7	31.0	40.4	..
Females	2,677	100	..	..	..	..	1,005	49.8	15.3	8.9	26.1	..	836	24.5	20.2	29.0	26.3	..
Punjab	67,179	89.0	0.5	0.3	1.8	8.6	28,529	43.7	13.4	8.9	29.2	4.9	26,183	7.9	15.8	32.7	34.1	9.6
Males	43,828	91.0	0.5	0.3	1.8	6.5	20,421	42.2	13.6	8.5	31.6	4.1	18,730	5.7	14.5	34.5	35.0	10.3
Females	23,351	85.1	0.6	0.2	2.0	12.1	8,108	47.6	12.7	9.8	22.9	6.9	7,453	13.3	19.0	28.1	31.7	7.9
Sind	33,607	43.6	2.7[a]	3.0	29.5	19.4	4,812	0.2	19.8[a]	21.8	31.9	26.4	11,255	0.8	19.2[a]	41.8	19.2	19.0
Males	25,158	40.9	1.9	1.5	36.8	19.0	2,724	-	17.0	21.6	41.4	20.1	6,678	0.3	18.4	40.1	23.2	18.0
Females	8,449	52.0	5.2	7.4	7.8	27.6	2,088	0.4	23.4	22.2	16.5	34.6	4,577	1.7	20.4	44.3	13.4	20.2
Baluchistan	2,674	100	..	..	..	..	1,704	30.8	12.2	14.1	42.9	..	1,524	33.0	8.5	30.2	28.3	..
Males	2,261	100	..	..	..	..	1,400	30.4	11.9	14.4	43.3	..	1,187	32.8	8.0	30.7	25.7	..
Females	413	100	..	..	..	..	304	32.9	13.2	12.8	41.1	..	337	33.8	10.4	28.5	27.3	..
Islamabad	334	2.1	43.1	15.3	37.7	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	389	2.1	21.6	57.1	13.1	6.2
Males	..	..	..	..	..	..	-	-	-	-	-	-	182	3.6	20.3	50.6	17.0	8.3
Females	334	2.1	43.1	15.3	37.7	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	207	0.5	22.7	62.8	10.0	4.4
FATA	1,042	72.8	..	..	..	27.2	362	9.9	11.6	8.6	37.9	32.0	389	5.9	20.1	23.4	29.1	21.6
Males	1,322	73.5	..	..	..	26.5	329	9.1	10.9	8.8	38.9	32.2	349	5.4	20.1	24.4	29.5	20.6
Females	80	60.0	..	..	..	40.0	33	18.2	18.2	6.1	27.3	30.3	40	10.0	20.0	15.0	25.0	30.0

[a] Includes Oriental Teaching (OT).

* Other includes Senior Vernacular (S.V.), Drawing Master (DM), OT, Physical Training Instructor (PTI), Agricultural Work Instructor (AWI), etc.

PTC Primary Teachers Certificate, JV Junior Vernacular, CT Certificate in Teaching, M.Ed./B.Ed. Masters/Bachelors in Education.

\- Data not available.

.. Nil.

SOURCE: BEPM (1976: 30-32)

Appendix Table LF1: Unemployment rates for provinces by sex, rural and urban areas, 1961 and 1973

	1961 Census			1973 HED Survey[a]		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
NWFP						
Both Sexes	2.7	2.5	3.7	3.6	3.2	5.1
Male	2.9	2.7	2.4	2.8	2.6	4.1
Female	0.4	0.4	1.1	14.3	12.9	21.5
Punjab						
Both Sexes	1.7	1.6	2.2	4.4	3.4	8.2
Male	1.8	1.7	2.2	3.7	2.7	7.3
Female	0.8	0.7	1.1	17.9	15.7	26.2
Sind						
Both Sexes	1.6	0.4	3.8	2.7	1.1	5.4
Male	1.7	0.4	3.9	2.3	0.8	4.8
Female	0.4	0.1	1.9	8.0	4.8	16.4
Baluchistan						
Both Sexes	0.3	0.3	0.4	2.4	2.1	4.4
Male	0.3	0.3	0.4	1.3	1.0	3.4
Female	0.1	0.1	0.1	38.0	40.5	26.3

[a]The data for HED Survey have been adjusted by excluding persons who were not in the labour force but may have been included in the published figures. The revised unemployed rates reported here are therefore considerably lower than the published figures, particularly for women.

Source: Home Affairs Division (n.d., Vol. 3, Tables 41 and 43); and author's tabulations from the HED Survey, 1973.

Appendix Table LF2: Labour force participation rates by sex, age groups, marital status and education, rural and urban areas, 1973

	MALES										FEMALES									
	Total		Single		Married		Widowed		Divorced		Total		Single		Married		Widowed		Divorced	
	U[a]	R[b]	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R
All Ages	61	74	37	56	86	90	57	69	55	65	3	5	3	4	3	5	8	5	11	8
Illiterate	73	83	56	72	86	92	54	68	40	58	3	5	2	4	2	5	7	5	7	7
< Matric	46	50	23	30	88	87	62	74	55	68	2	6	1	3	3	10	14	44	31	46
Matric +	65	62	41	43	86	77	66	74	71	74	11	10	11	15	10	9	16	4	7	3
10-24 (All)	35	55	31	52	82	85	45	62	37	49	2	4	2	4	2	4	3	6	6	10
Illiterate	54	71	51	70	84	90	31	58	19	35	2	4	2	4	1	5	3	4	2	9
< Matric	22	30	19	27	84	82	54	69	54	66	1	3	1	2	2	6	23	44	20	37
Matric +	36	41	31	37	75	60	61	67	54	62	7	11	7	13	5	9	5	8	5	3
25-44 (All)	89	92	78	85	92	94	78	86	60	71	4	6	19	11	3	5	16	11	14	8
Illiterate	90	94	82	90	93	96	76	89	50	70	3	6	6	9	2	5	16	11	9	7
< Matric	90	87	79	77	93	89	82	86	65	71	4	15	16	31	3	11	16	39	25	33
Matric +	87	77	74	65	91	81	78	73	72	73	17	13	39	32	12	10	24	8	22	5
45 & Above (All)	74	83	57	63	79	87	52	64	57	65	4	5	20	18	3	4	6	4	12	7
Illiterate	73	84	58	64	78	88	49	63	41	54	4	4	15	14	2	4	5	4	8	6
< Matric	77	82	48	53	81	85	55	68	48	66	9	30	29	51	5	18	13	47	41	67
Matric +	75	77	62	68	78	78	63	75	73	76	11	6	26	16	10	6	14	3	3	2

[a]U - Urban

[b]R - Rural

Source: Author's tabulations from the HED Survey, 1973.

Appendix Table LF3: Sex ratios (males per 100 females) in major occupational groups 1961 Census, 1973 HED Survey and 1975 PFS, Pakistan[a]

Occupations	1961 Census	1973 HED Survey	1975 PFS[c]
Total	1,533	2,708	393
Professional, Technical & Related	613	991	530
Medical Doctor, Surgeon's Assistants, etc.	752	902	0[b]
Nurses, Midwives etc.	285	490	2
Professors and all sorts of teachers	383	513	459
Others	13,898	2,198	4,100
Administrative & Managerial	19,136	2,450	0[b]
Clerical & Related	9,040	5,986	18,600
Sales & Related	7,440	7,393	3,313
Agriculture	1,817	2,244	0[b]
Services	688	896	386
Cooks, Chefs, Waiters etc.	} 367	1,190	15
Maid, Housekeepers etc.		165	150
Others	1,591	1,982	1,388
Production, Transport, Mining, Construction etc.	1,571	4,811	238
Textile Workers	838	3,299	96
Tailors, Upholsters etc.	233	816	22
Construction Workers	2,927	6,435	4,167
Other Workers etc.	3,266	7,634	909

[a]Unemployed and unclassified occupations have been excluded.

[b]In PFS 1975 sex ratios which are zero, mean zero in the denominators.

[c]Data from PFS pertain only to married couples and are therefore not strictly comparable with the other sources.

Sources: Home Affairs Division (1964, Vol. 4, Table 4:28-41); author's tabulations from the HED Survey 1973 and the Pakistan Fertility Survey, 1975.

Appendix Table LF4: Employment status of females by province and rural/urban residence, 1961 Census and 1973 HED Survey

	Total	Employers	Employees	Self-employed	Unpaid family helpers
1961* Total	100.0	0.13	27.7	51.3	19.5
1973 Total	100.0	8.0	20.4	16.6	55.0
Urban	100.0	10.7	54.6	20.4	14.3
Rural	100.0	7.3	11.4	15.6	65.7
Punjab					
Urban	100.0	13.1	50.3	20.6	16.0
Rural	100.0	7.6	8.4	15.4	68.6
Sind					
Urban	100.0	7.5	59.2	20.5	12.8
Rural	100.0	18.5	3.6	12.9	65.0
NWFP					
Urban	100.0	11.2	58.1	17.4	13.3
Rural	100.0	9.7	9.5	21.5	59.3
Baluchistan					
Urban	100.0	19.0	48.2	24.8	8.0
Rural	100.0	14.4	25.0	35.6	25.0

*Non-agricultural labour force only.

Source: Home Affairs Division (1964, Vol. 4, Table 4:28-41); and Census Organization (n.d., Vol. II, Parts I-V, Table 17).

APPENDIX C

ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

APPENDIX C

OTHER RELEVANT MATERIAL

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