

Pakistani Women

A SOCIOECONOMIC & DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

NASRA M. SHAH

(Editor)

with Foreword by
SYED NAWAB HAIDER NAQVI



Pakistan Institute
of Development Economics,
Islamabad (Pakistan)



East-West Population Institute
East-West Center,
Honolulu, Hawaii

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

IQBAL ALAM is currently working with the Population Division of the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific in Bangkok. Prior to that he was chief of the Demography Section at the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad, and was a researcher with the World Fertility Survey, London. He has a doctoral degree in population dynamics from Johns Hopkins University. Dr Alam has written extensively on fertility trends and on age at marriage in Pakistan.

ASGHARI K. AWAN is chairman of the Maternity and Child Welfare Association of Pakistan. She is a medical doctor and has a master's degree in public health from Harvard University. She also has a doctoral degree in sociology from the University of the Punjab and is a fellow of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Pakistan. She retired as a professor of maternal and child health in 1977.

MEHTAB S. KARIM recently joined the faculty of the sociology department at the Aga Khan University at Karachi. Before his current position, he was a research fellow with the East-West Population Institute, Honolulu, and also worked as a consultant to the United Nations Population Division in New York. Dr Karim received his Ph.D. in sociology from Cornell University. He has conducted research on nuptiality and migration in Pakistan.

NASRA M. SHAH is currently employed as a Consultant to the Ministry of Public Health, Kuwait. She was a research fellow with the East-West Population Institute, Honolulu, from July 1978 to December 1983. Prior to that she was working as a senior research demographer with the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad. Dr Shah has a doctoral degree in population dynamics from Johns Hopkins University. She has published numerous works dealing with female labour force participation, family planning, and migration in Pakistan. Her research interests have also included an analysis of child health and availability of basic needs in squatter areas in Pakistan.

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FOREWORD

What are the role, the status and the place of a woman in a society made up of both men and women? Rousseau's famous declamation about mankind, "Man was born free, and everywhere he is in chains", is a more accurate description of the status of women since time immemorial, even though the great advocate of equality between men, somewhat ungratefully to the woman who educated him, never thought much of equality between sexes. Most of the intellectual seraphim – philosophers, social reformers, the high priests of religion and the laity – in all ages and in all climes and cultures have indulged in epigrammatic humbug when it comes to recognizing woman as a normal human being. It appears that while a part of these great men, who stand high on their austere marble pedestals, has striven for more light of knowledge, the other part has asked for more darkness of ignorance. This is at least one indisputable case where, contrary to Rudyard Kipling's prophecy, the East and the West have more often than not met in a warm embrace in an atmosphere heavy with prejudice and superstition – only to prove, with the help of the flimsiest arguments, unsupported by any solid empirical evidence, that a woman is innately inferior to man in terms of physical strength, emotional stability and intellectual prowess, and that she suffers from some mysterious heirloom paralytic infirmity that cannot be cured by any cultural, educational or civilizational shocks.

Thanks mainly to the unholy alliance of the savant and the saint, who seem to be possessed by an incurable collective obsession and uncontrolled schizophrenia, the woman's role on the societal stage has been conceived as only a 'light' one – not that of an actor in a serious real-life drama but one of a pretty pantomime in some vaudeville lacking robust vitality. The women of the world, who are hypocritically called the better halves of men, are still governed by what Arthur Koestler in a different context has referred to as "medieval vision of an immutable social order in a walled-in Universe together with its fixed hierarchy of

moral values.” Their universe remains engulfed in congealed darkness even at noon-time. For them the Age of Enlightenment has not yet dawned. Standing erect in a state of consciousness, the modern woman firmly rejects such an anachronism and insists on deep social changes to secure a life of justice, equality, freedom and human dignity, with a definite social purpose. Stirred to great dreams, she has waged relentless struggle against passiveness, timidity and static faith in what has been falsely described through the ages as her destiny. Even as the first rays of the rising sun enliven new horizons where there was darkness and gloom, she is determined to set out in the search of her identity as a self-respecting individual.

With a greater perception of the inequality of status between the two sexes that has come with better female education in Pakistan, the subject has been brought to the forefront of public debate, even by moderate women, so great and universal is the sense of outrage at their deprivation in every walk of life. That sex discrimination is a universal problem does not mean that we should do nothing about it. It should not even be relevant for us in Pakistan that the plight of womenfolk in some of the neighbouring countries is perhaps even worse, and that even in the advanced countries of the West women are discriminated against in a myriad subtle ways despite all the claims to the contrary. The lot of the women in our ‘country of the pure’ is so utterly wretched, especially in rural areas, that we can no longer shirk, on any pretext whatsoever, our social responsibility to ameliorate it significantly. There is no point in denying the cultural degradation of Pakistani women just because it hurts our self-esteem. The hard fact is that economic progress and social, political and cultural advancements have not significantly reduced the differences of relative status between man and woman, even though in *absolute* terms women may have become better off in some respects, if not in all. We should carefully document evidences of the gross discrimination that Pakistani women have suffered from, analyse the historical, cultural and social factors that explain such discrimination, and offer useful and workable suggestions to set right the present unacceptable female discrimination that darkens the face of the Pakistani society.

The present volume, *Pakistani Women*, which has been edited by a Pakistani woman, provides credible evidence about sex discrimination, makes us aware of the deep-seated social prejudices against women, and informs us about what little is being done to remedy this shameful state

Foreword

of affairs. The contributors to this volume, mostly women who, unfortunately for men, also have brains, have carefully put together a fairly balanced picture of the fair sex in Pakistan. Those of us who wish to know more about womenfolk than they already know, which is precious little, must patiently work through the wealth of data and information provided in the present volume. Dr Nasra Shah and her associates deserve our admiration and thanks for producing such a useful book, which should be followed, sooner rather than later, by many more realistic, well-researched and even more empirically oriented volumes on Pakistani women.

I shall restrict myself in this brief foreword, which Dr Nasra Shah insisted that I write, to highlighting some findings of the study which are most disturbing, to say the least. Being a non-specialist I shall keep my narrative somewhat informal. But let me first introduce the 'subject' by explaining what I consider to be the root cause of the woman's winter of discontent: it is the ideas about women of the philosophers and thinkers of yore which have been dutifully accepted without demur by their progeny.

Intellectual Rubbish and Women

Or else, how do we explain the need for a public debate now in the twentieth century about the status and role of women in the society, when both man and woman have lived together since time immemorial on the planet earth? The fact is that while they have lived together, there have been, in the words of Khalil Gibran, "spaces in this togetherness", which have mostly been created by the nonsensical ideas of great men of thought and action. Let me present here only the views of a small, but fairly representative, sample of Western philosophers to emphasize the intensity of men's prejudice against women even in societies that we look upon as models of civilization.

"Frailty thy name is woman" is a Shakespearean (manly) aphorism that sums up the attitudes of men of all ages, nations and cultures. Bertrand Russell tells us that the great philosopher and great believer in man's rationality, Aristotle, solemnly declared that women had fewer teeth than men, without even bothering to count the teeth of his own two wives! According to Virgil, "A woman is always a fickle, unstable thing". Then there is Nietzsche: "God created woman. And boredom did indeed cease from that moment — but many other things ceased as

well! Woman was God's *second* mistake¹." According to Lord Tennyson, the great English poet, "Man is the hunter; woman is his game." And so on. True, there are a few gallant dissenters. John Stuart Mill questioned man's competence to sit in judgement on women because he is, as a rule, ignorant about the "character even of the women of his own family." For Heinrich Hein, "Every woman is the gift of a world to me"; to William Wordsworth she is a "divine thing" and "nobly planned, to warn, to comfort, and command"; for Rupert Brooke "there is wisdom in women"; and according to the Charter of the United Nations all nations of the world must reaffirm "the equal rights of man and woman".

But such dissenters, though important, have been few and far between. Through the centuries the view that man has held about a woman is that she is basically frail, fickle, flower-like, fair, loving but foolish, and certainly inferior to man when it comes to knowledge, wisdom and brains. And since woman has more 'heart' than brains, according to C. G. Jung, "love alone can give her her full stature". That perfection in love does not necessarily preclude woman's preoccupation with such mundane matters as independence of judgement and action does not bother Jung, who was after all a psychologist and not a logician! Through some Freudian processes such ideas, indeed prejudices, have sunk into man's subconscious and have been accepted as almost universal truths having the force of 'tradition' behind them, so that even in the attitude of the well-wishers of woman, there is an irritating element of condescension.

These 'universal truths', coined in the West, are as much a legal currency there as they are in the East, where poverty, illiteracy and tradition make people even more tradition-bound and narrow-minded. The editor of the present volume gives plenty of examples of the oriental philosophers as well, who, it appears, have had telepathic relations with their occidental counterparts. How has this incredible consensus against woman arisen — held together and banded together — and

¹ Similarly, another wise man, Thomas Otway, apparently tormented by some woman who might have been too much for him, sums up the 'reasons' why women's creation has been a 'mistake'.

"What mighty ills have not been done by woman!
Who was't betrayed the Capitol? — A Woman!
Who lost Mark Antony the world? — A Woman!
Who was the cause of a long ten years' war,
And laid at last old Troy in ashes? Woman!
Destructive, damnable deceitful woman!"

Perhaps it was such an historical 'proof' which convinced Victor Hugo of man's eternal superiority over woman: "God became a man, granted. The devil became a woman".

Foreword

whence does its strength come? This is one of the most vital questions about our social life that we must reflect upon. We must shed the dead weight of the intellectual rubbish that our ancestors produced, with cavalier abandon, about women; for, as John Maynard Keynes, the economist, remarked, "sooner or later it is ideas, not vested interests, which are dangerous for good or evil." To make any progress at all towards creating a world where sun shines on both men and women, what we need most is the creation of new knowledge based on hard empirical evidence about the modern woman, who is now more 'visible' than ever before in human history. The principle of the equality of all mankind, including women, has been dictated by Nature and approved by reason. It must be translated into a resplendent social reality.

"Man to Command and Woman to Obey"²

The present volume clearly shows that men in Pakistan, too, have been taken in by such foolish ideas. They lovingly prepare infant garments for fully grown-up women. For woman's own good, man makes all the basic decisions which determine her 'status' in the society. Demanding from her an intense and unquestioning loyalty, he defines her 'role' in a variety of activities. The decisions about getting married, receiving proper education, securing gainful employment, receiving proper health care and migrating are all made for her, and not by her, in a world that man has created in his own image. The end result of such decisions is that for Pakistani women, as the editor of this volume informs us, "the parental and conjugal roles have a high degree of primacy while the occupational and community roles are secondary". This primacy of the parental and conjugal roles which perpetuates woman's economic dependence on man is forced on her by a number of social factors. The most important factors that keep a woman confined to the cares of the household are the relatively large size of the family,

²The discoverer of this universal 'truth' is no less a person than Lord Tennyson, who, being a poet, should have been more chivalrous. Let me, if only for the record, quote him in full:
"Man for the field and woman for the hearth;
Man for the sword and for the needle she;
Man with the head and woman with the heart;
Man to command and woman to obey;
All else confusion."

the universality of the institution of marriage,³ and the rather young mean age of 16.5 years at which females marry in Pakistan. A married woman in Pakistan, on the average, bears seven to eight children. There is no hope of a let-up in this burden, which even an animal might refuse to carry, because of the reluctance of an overwhelming majority of women in both rural and urban areas to use contraceptive methods. They are reluctant, notwithstanding their knowledge of such preventive measures and their salutary effects on their health and happiness, "mainly because of the fears of side-effects and husband's or family objections". The relatively high frequency of pregnancy is also responsible for severe iron-deficiency among pregnant women and for the very high maternal mortality which has been reported as 6 to 8 per thousand live births in Pakistan. These factors keep a woman's life expectancy at birth significantly lower than that of a male.

Aristotle's Wives⁴ and Pakistani Women

From the time she is born, a woman's place in the household and the family is at best secondary, if not altogether superfluous.⁵ This is partly because a woman is supposed to be born with only a mouth while man also brings two hands, i.e. while the former is a pure liability the latter is an asset. Such fallacious thinking springs from a near-total lack of a reasonable amount of empirical evidence about the magnitude of her contribution to national wealth. There is an urgent need, therefore, to estimate women's contribution to the Gross Domestic Product, which most men mistakenly think is exclusively *their* creation. Ismail Sirageldin showed that the average value of an unpaid female's output in the United States was about 30 percent of the National Income. A similar study for Pakistan by Talat Alauddin estimates it at about 33 percent of the GNP.

³ However, it does not necessarily follow from this observation that the institution of marriage should be made less than 'universal'. This is an instance where Pakistani women may not like to follow in the footsteps of the women in the West, where the rules governing sex morality are very different from those prevailing in Pakistan. Even in borrowings, let there be an element of creative adaptations to suit the local cultural and religious milieu.

⁴ Aristotle's 'finding' about women having fewer teeth than men has been cited by Bertrand Russell as a striking example of the general tendency of ancient philosophers *not* to bother about collecting any empirical evidence while enunciating their 'laws'.

⁵ In Pakistani villages some, if not all, parents, when reporting the number of the members of their families fail to count their daughters! The sense of embarrassment and even shame that men in Pakistan experience at the birth of a daughter is almost universal. These (Muslim) parents should know that such a sense of shame has been condemned unequivocally in the Holy Quran: "Yet when the birth of one of those (daughters) they attribute to the Merciful is announced to one of them, his face darkens and he is filled with gloom" (43: 17).

This percentage may be even higher as the evaluation of the unpaid work in a country where 70 percent of the population lives in rural areas is at best a guesstimate, with a very large margin of error.

The present volume does not provide an estimate of this important statistic; but there is a considerable amount of information here which, if properly reflected in the National Accounts, will refute the folk wisdom about women's frailty. According to the present study, a married woman in a sample village tends to spend, without being paid, about 14.5 hours a day in the drudgery of such chores as cooking, cleaning, fetching water, taking care of children, feeding and cleaning the livestock, milking cows, and many other things. The condition of slaves in the days of yore was hardly any worse than that of the Pakistani woman in some of the villages in Pakistan, where in eloquent silence the beautiful flower in the poet's notebook gets withered in her youth while man goes about his appointed role of reproduction with impunity. Although the estimation of the value of such unpaid work may not necessarily change the women's lot, a knowledge of the 'opportunity cost' of such work will create an awareness of women's social 'productivity', confer more respectability on her domestic chores than is done now, and reduce somewhat the current obsession with having a son in the family.

The Militant Woman Also Rises?

It will be sheer complacency to deny an increasing element of militancy among the fighters for Pakistani women's rights. This is an inevitable response to male chauvinism that sometimes assumes ugly proportions. However, it is satisfying to note that, despite the intensity of sex discrimination, the women in Pakistan are for a gradual change within the framework of Islamic norms. As noted in this volume, the most representative women's organization, the All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA), is committed to a "gradual change in the context of Islamic culture". Looking at a Pakistani woman, even an extreme activist, one does *not* get the impression that she does not respect the cultural and religious mores. In actual practice, she is dedicated to her family and is fully cognizant of the great value of the institution of family as a great protector of a woman's social position. She also knows, *much more than man*, how to strike a balance between her individual freedom and her responsibilities to the family and the society. She still prefers the balancing act of a funambulist and abhors assuming extreme postures. In Pakistan the militant woman has not risen, not yet. But the

family responsibilities cannot be turned into a system of institutionalized slavery – and that, too, unpaid! The Pakistani woman is not prepared now to be made to sit in a time machine and carried back to the Middle Ages to live there happily ever after – not even in the name of religion, which she respects more than men do.

Those who give extensive lectures on the place of women according to Islam should realize that while they may not be wrong, they are definitely anachronistic and irrelevant. For, *in practice*, Pakistani customs, borrowed mostly from non-Muslims, have tended to override the very liberal Islamic injunctions on such crucial matters as the freedom of marriage and divorce, the right to own private property, a woman's rightful share in family inheritance, etc.⁶ Let the broadside of casuistic hair-splitting be directed against the impenetrable fortress of un-Islamic customs and traditions rather than against the helpless women who are the victims of such customs. As the editor of this book has noted, Islam "provides many more rights to women than are actually available to her". It would be fair to state that, for the present, this is *the* bone of contention between activistic women and male chauvinists, the latter including not only the so-called religious fanatics but *also* some of the Western-educated elites to whom feudal values are very dear because they are so beneficial for them.

Let us not be complaisant. If these reactionary, myopic and misanthropic fanatics are allowed a free hand, and if the Pakistani woman is in effect told that Islam gives her only the slavish, though perhaps comfortable, confinement of the home, and if her legitimate rights are not given to her, then, impelled by the inexorable march of history, the militant woman *will* rise in Pakistan as well to teach such elements a lesson. Should a gossamer of beauty, intellect and wit be forced to become a red-hot iron of revenge and hatred and destruction, it will certainly be a social tragedy. Those who talk about reorganizing the Pakistani society on Islamic lines should remember that the Islamic Revolution that the Prophet Mohammed (S.A.S) engineered was aimed, among other things, at the liberation of women and slaves from the cruel pre-Islamic practices. *That Islamic Revolution must continue, in the modern context, within the framework of the universal Islamic principles*

⁶Strangely enough, most litigants in the law courts dealing with matters of inheritance tend to request to be judged according to the customary law rather than the Islamic Law of Inheritance.

of *'adl* and *ihsan*.⁷ Indeed, it will be a counter-revolution if, for whatever reason, the modern woman is now given the status enjoyed by the daughters of Eve in the Middle Ages. That must not happen. We must eschew narrow-mindedness and strive actively to promote peace, beauty and contentment in our families and society. Such beautiful things, however, are not found in the bottomless ravines of a bygone age, engulfed in a deep foggy darkness.

The Ray of Hope

Of course, as always, there is a silver lining in the dark cloud that hangs over a woman's social horizons in Pakistan. Education among females is more widespread now than in the past. Reading together the Population Censuses of 1951, 1961, 1972 and 1981, one notes that the female literacy rate increased from 8.6 percent in 1951 to 16 percent in 1981.⁸ Indeed, if we compare the male attitude towards female education now with that prevailing before Independence in 1947, then the improvement is nothing less than revolutionary. Its incidence is, however, disproportionately higher in urban areas than in rural areas. As reported in the present book, females above ten years of age and with primary education constitute 15–17 percent of all females in urban areas but only 3 percent in rural areas. With the spread of education, the attitude towards fertility has also changed. One indicator of such a positive attitude is the use of contraceptives which, though still very low, is much more widespread among literate women (27 percent) than among illiterate women (15 percent). Then, theoretically at least, all jobs are open to both women and men and there is *no* evidence of discrimination against women in matters of wages, salaries and other facilities that go with a job. The Minimum Wage Law guarantees the same minimum wage to all, irrespective of the sex of the employee. The conditions in the informal sector may be different. There is some evidence, not cited in this volume, that the workers in small-scale industries are paid an 'exploitative' wage, and that the same holds for the wage-earning, landless peasant. But here both men and women are

⁷The Quranic expression *'adl* is most appropriately translated as "social equilibrium", while *ihsan* denotes the Islamic injunction to give to the poor, the needy and the oppressed even more than what may 'justly' be their due.

⁸However, note that these happy tidings conceal the disturbing fact that the absolute number of illiterate women in Pakistan nearly doubled between 1951 and 1981! This point was brought to my notice by Dr J. W. Bjorkman of Wisconsin University, at present a Visiting Scholar at the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE).

subjected to an intolerable work burden, most of it unpaid. The feudal-capitalistic system prevalent in Pakistan does not discriminate between man and woman when it comes to resorting to oppression! Then, happily, about one-third of all doctors and 30 percent of all primary-level teachers in the country are women.⁹ Also, even though a typical Pakistani woman seldom migrates on her own in search of the best-paid job, there is an increasing tendency among certain women, mainly divorcees, to migrate in search of a more lucrative job.¹⁰ Even more significant is the widespread acceptance of a woman's role as the head of the family among the migrant families.

However, it will be hypocritical for anyone in Pakistan to make the claim, on the basis of the kind of 'evidence' just given, that woman in Pakistan has already crossed the socio-economic and political barriers. There are two interesting pieces of information in this regard, not reported in this volume. One, a study of the successive population censuses shows that while female literacy rate has increased substantially since 1951, the male literacy rate has increased at a much higher rate, *so that the inter-sex differential in literacy rates widened somewhat during the 1951-1981 period.* Two, the inter-sex differential in school enrolment is wider in rural areas than in urban areas, with the rural female being the worst sufferer. However, women may derive some consolation, but only some, from the fact that the enrolment of *females* in urban areas (24.4 percent) is better than that of *males* in rural areas (14.3 percent).¹¹ The rural-urban differential tends to dominate the sex differential.

The hard fact is that the numerous difficulties encountered in securing education, labour force participation, social and locational

⁹Oddly enough, at least a part of the female preponderance in such jobs may perhaps be due to the prevalence of the *pardah* system in the country which does not permit a female being examined by a male doctor or taught by a male teacher. This illustrates the complexity of social systems where the values taken by economic and demographic variables are constrained by social customs, cultural mores, etc. How the maximized values of these variables would be changed by a change in some of these constraints is an empirical question, which cannot be answered on an *a priori* basis with any reasonable degree of confidence. In the present case, it may not be possible, just on the basis of an *a priori* reasoning such as one finds in many sociological and demographic writings on the subject, to predict what would happen to female labour force participation rates once one of these cultural constraints is removed.

¹⁰According to the Population, Labour Force and Migration (PLM) Survey done at the PIDE, the incidence of migration is *higher* among females (11.6) than among males (10.1), especially in the rural areas. However, such migration is induced mostly by marriage and family shifting; but only negligibly few shift for reasons of a job or for a better-paid job.

¹¹This piece of information was provided to me by Dr M. Irfan, Chief of Research at the PIDE.

mobility, and the society's willing acceptance of woman as an individual in her own right, as a head of household, and as one with an identity of her own are *the* problems that women in Pakistan face and the solutions for which have to be found to ameliorate their present socio-economic predicament. As noted in the present study, "the typical Pakistani woman grows up in a fairly sheltered environment. Most decisions affecting her life are made by others." These "others" are, of course, men – the fathers, the brothers and the husbands.¹² Possessing little or no education, getting married mostly against her wishes at the age of 16 to 17, having to bear about seven children, and enjoying a life expectancy lower than that of man, a Pakistani woman leads a life that cannot be called respectable by any standards. Her situation is much worse in the rural areas, where under the unbearable burden of the daily routine, the surrealist beauty of a village girl gets destroyed by the streaks of a premature old age furrowing her honest peasant face.

Between what is prescribed by religion for the protection of woman and what she gets in practice there is a wide gulf. The taxonomy of prescriptions, values and perceptions about women in the Pakistani society, set out in Table 1.2 of this volume, makes it quite clear that the Pakistani woman has been confined to the procrustean bed of reactionary and cruel customs, traditions and cultural mores and foolish ideas, instead of being governed by any civilized code of ethics, Islamic or otherwise. The revolting hypocrisy of high-sounding religiosity is nowhere more visible than in the case of the Pakistani woman, who is deprived of her rights without being able to stir the keepers of faith to so much as protest against the gross injustice done to her.

Frailty! Is Thy Name Woman?

Margaret Mitchell bitingly remarked that there is "the usual masculine disillusionment in discovering that a woman has brains." But the Pakistani women may have provided a lot of evidence for anyone who may be asking for such "disillusionment". There has been in Pakistan a tendency to self-assertion among women. The All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA)¹³ symbolizes women's struggle for an identity of

¹²Don't forget the notorious mother-in-law, who sometimes provides a convincing (though false) argument to those who assert that women may be their own worst enemies!

¹³Another vocal organization, established in 1981, is the Women's Action Forum (WAF), which, by its charter, is committed to "protecting and promoting the fundamental human rights of women by resisting and fighting all forms of oppression and by educating women regarding their rights". These and other activist women organizations are briefly described in the introductory chapter of the present volume.

their own in Pakistan's suffocatingly conservative, indeed reactionary, society. This broad-based organization, ably led by the indefatigable Begum Liaquat Ali Khan, wife of the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, was founded in 1949 to help actively in solving the gigantic problem of refugee resettlement that Pakistan was faced with on the eve of Independence in 1947. It has stoutly refused to accept that a woman's *only* roles are conjugal and parental; and it has positively striven, against heavy odds, to inculcate among Pakistani women an awareness of their rightful place in the society as self-respecting individuals. It is important that such activist, but non-radical, women's organizations are encouraged to play a more active role in relieving the plight of women, especially in the rural areas. Those who ridicule these organizations must remember that these may be the last bulwarks against the inroads of an 'alien' culture which, because of its irrelevance, and *not* because of its being bad in its own context, may do more harm than good to the Pakistani women.

Then there have been ladies of great distinction, like Miss Fatima Jinnah, lovingly called the Mother of the Nation, Begum Shaista Ikramullah, Lady Hidayatullah, Begum Salma Tasadduq Husain, and Begum Shah Nawaz. The torch has now been passed to such luminaries of the younger generation as Ms Syeda Abida Husain, Begum Attiya Inayatullah, Begum Afifa Mamdot and others, who have played a catalytic role in urging women to cross the threshold in search of horizons which the general run of the Pakistani women never set their eyes on before. During the struggle for Pakistan and after the country's creation such illustrious women participated actively in politics, in refugee rehabilitation and in the struggle for democracy and human dignity. For such women, the only place for the Pakistani woman is *not* her home but the entire environment, of which her home is an integral part. They have refused to play the cowardly ostriches. A Shakespeare or a Virgil might not like it, if only to save his badly jaundiced maxims about women from the dustbin of history, but all men of vision in Pakistan have warmly applauded these women's highly positive role in nation-building. Far from being frail, these women of Pakistan have emerged stronger from every trial of strength, whatever the odds; and throughout they have managed to remain cheerful, energetic and loyal to their families and society — the living spirits of an astonishing struggle for human dignity, imbued with faith and hope. Invested with some mystical amphibious quality, they have lived both on contoured drylands and in boundless oceans without showing any signs of schizophrenia that afflicts men so often.

“The Road Not Taken”¹⁴

What should be done then to wipe off this shame from the face of our society, which keeps in bondage about half of its population? *Everything*, should be our answer. As a matter of their fundamental human right, and not as an act of charity on the part of some male philanthropist, the Pakistani women should get literally everything that distinguishes human beings from animals. They must be able to exercise the basic human faculty of making decisions about themselves and about what is best for them.

Those who talk about women’s place in an Islamic society should know that the fundamental Islamic axiom of human freedom based on Free Will does not distinguish between men and women but extends to all human beings. And, yet, in the Pakistani society, as elsewhere in the world, there is no such thing as Free Will when it comes to women. It is therefore essential that to avoid an ugly war of sexes Pakistani women must be treated as equals when vital decisions about education, marriage and the size of the family are taken – as enjoined by Islam. The Pakistani woman should be allowed, according to the Islamic rules, to have her own private property. She should also be entitled to a monetary reward, if she chooses to demand it, for her daily chores like feeding the baby – as allowed by Islam.¹⁵ And she should receive much more, to promote social harmony on the basis of equality between the sexes and mutual self-respect.

There is one perfectly reasonable argument that crops up in the general discussion about improving the lot of women. It is that, in the last analysis, the status of women in the society is determined by the stage of socio-economic development. This argument is at best a truism, without any operational significance whatsoever. Even in the cases where greater material prosperity is associated with a greater and beneficial role for women in the economy, the relationship may be that of necessity but not of sufficiency – i.e. a rise in GDP is not by itself sufficient to alleviate the lot of women. For if that were so, there could not have existed a militant organization like the Women’s Lib in one of the richest

¹⁴This is the title of one of Robert Frost’s collections of verses.

¹⁵There are many verses in the Holy Quran to substantiate these statements but only two are given here: “Unto men a fortune from that which they have earned, and unto women a fortune from that which they have earned” (4; 32); and “They [women] are raiment for you and ye are raiment for them.” (2; 187). Needless to add, in actual practice these Divine commandments are followed more in breach than in observance, while the iron-clad laws of a feudal society, such as we have in Pakistan, rule the roost.

countries of the world, the United States!¹⁶ Furthermore, as pointed out in this volume, there are instances when a rise in the income of the husband directly increases the parental and domestic roles of the wife!¹⁷

However, women's social and community roles do increase with *their* education. This finding, which may be generally true, points to the important fact that while in a poor country like Pakistan the best hope of alleviating the lot of women lies in the context of a dynamic and growing economy, special steps must be taken — e.g. greater national expenditure on women's education, special employment-generating programmes that are intensive in the use of female labour, etc. — to directly raise women's share in national wealth. The prospect of attaining the eldorado in the long run cannot be used as a pretext for postponing far-reaching social reforms. Incidentally, this is an important instance where one cannot rely on the social and market forces automatically making the fruits of economic progress 'trickle down' to the least-privileged class in the society, of which women are the most important members.

We in Pakistan must not make the mistake, made elsewhere for social, religious and historical reasons, of casting women as permanent adversaries of men, and certainly not that of *destroying* altogether the institution of family. But this is *not* to say that women must fight their battles only from the family fortress; nor does it mean that there will never be an occasion in women's long march through the night when they will not be pitted against unchivalrous men. It is rather to highlight the 'fact' that women must associate the maximum number of men of conscience in Pakistan with their just struggle for social justice. Even *realpolitik* demands it. But this is what the women of Pakistan probably already know, without any male homily about what is best for them.

Instead of despairingly demanding, like A. J. Lerner, "Why can't a woman be more like a man", we should work together, men *and* women, to see that she gets her rightful place as an independent, educated and decent human being. We must remember that the Pakistani woman in fetters, with iron in her soul, is not exactly the ornament with which to

¹⁶To make the same point even more sharply, the great material prosperity of the ancient civilizations, which were based on the institution of slavery, did not make the lot of the slaves any better!

¹⁷One should be careful in interpreting this finding. Some women *have* to work to supplement the very meagre incomes of their husbands. As husbands' incomes rise or if a son of the family gets a job, women, willingly and happily, get rid of this extra burden on them. To force them to work just to improve the labour participation rates may not be just.

adorn the Pakistani society. They must be unshackled and allowed to behold the clear blue sky spangled with the stars of hope. In the darkness and drought that have stultified the creative faculties of the (better) half of the human race, let there be a heavy shower of rain, where every drop catches a gleam, to open a window on the hyaline of harmony, beauty and light.

It is a hard fact that the Woman Question is one of the most enigmatic *culs-de-sac* of our mental and social development. Our society is, by and large, insensitive to the joylessness of the withered lives of countless women, and provides very little accommodation to women-folk. It lets *the* flame of life flicker and die out, without even bothering to offer any reasonable explanation for such callousness, or doing anything tangible to prevent such a sordid event from occurring. This is the 'fact' of our social life that must be accepted, understood and *changed*, if only to rekindle in the oppressed the dying embers of faith in a peaceful and gradual process of societal transformation. We must pull down all the artificial black-out shutters to let the rays of enlightened thought come, sweeping like a searchlight, to scatter the heavy clouds of intolerance and unreason. We must throw out the blinkered single-mindedness of fanaticism, based on an illogical and vain male hubris, to sail ahead, with breath-taking speed, in search of new horizons — to "exhaust the limits of the possible." Through an agonizing reappraisal of the fundamental axioms of a male-dominated society, we must devise new rules of the game that satisfy woman's need for protection *and* liberation.

Let us write not a narrative of compromises and prevarications, but an honest chronicle of the searing facts about a deep-seated social crisis that emanates directly from a gross female discrimination in Pakistan. A rocky ride this for the seeker of truth, but what cannot be avoided must be accepted with fortitude and courage. And in this odyssey through the dark alleys of the firmly implanted credos of prejudice and falsehood and ignorance that man must undertake in his search for truth, *let woman be the torch-bearer and the guide.*

Syed Nawab Haider Naqvi
Director,

Pakistan Institute of Development Economics
Islamabad.

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PREFACE

My motivation to prepare this book emerged as a result of several factors—above all, the shortage of reliable research on Pakistani women based on empirical observation and adequate methodology. The second main reason consisted of my own inability to answer certain questions with regard to the roles and status of women in the absence of empirical evidence and information. My hope is that the present volume will fill a substantial gap in our knowledge.

Since the celebration of the United Nations Women's Year 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 this awareness is the creation of a Women's Division within the Cabinet Secretariat and also the recent establishment of a commission on the status of women. The need to integrate women into the development process is being emphasized in speeches by policymakers. This integration involves such themes as increased opportunities for female employment, education, training in skills, and additional women's hostels in cities. A core group of women concerned with women's rights, problems, and issues is emerging and gathering strength both within the structure of the All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) and beyond. A lobby-cum-pressure group known as the Women's Action Forum (WAF) has become a reality.

Notable gains have been made with regard to institutional development that may afford women greater access to educational and employment opportunities. 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. In rural areas, only one-tenth of the school-age girls are in school.

Existing census data on labour force participation of Pakistani women do not indicate any increase in participation rate over the last

two decades so that only about 8 to 10 percent of the women are reported to be in the labour 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. Most of the employed women work as tailors, weavers, domestic servants, agricultural workers, and labourers. 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 a somewhat shorter life than the Pakistani male and has slightly higher mortality during the childbearing years. Many of the pregnant and lactating women suffer from iron-deficiency anaemia. Married Pakistani women still bear seven or eight children on the average. Few women practise contraception, and about four-tenths say that they will not use it in the future.

While a beginning toward improving the situation of the Pakistani woman has been made, a great deal remains to be done. Striking changes will be very difficult to achieve without overall development of the country, however. In outlining the development strategies, the government is trying to bring many of the institutions in line with Islamic dictates. The question of integrating women into development and the subsequent redefinition of female roles are intrinsically related to the nation's choice of development strategies. Currently one can perceive several conflicting 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 topics that could not be covered adequately in this volume, primarily due to the lack of reliable information. For example, the situation of special groups of women such as beggars, prisoners, women attempting suicide, and destitute women could not be analysed. Similarly, our analysis did not take into account the religious minorities of Christians, Hindus, Parsis, and others. Numerically these special groups and minorities constitute a negligible proportion of the total female population in Pakistan. Women in certain groups, such as beggars, however, are in need of special assistance for their rehabilitation and therefore warrant attention. Special studies aimed at analysing the situations of these groups of women are urgently needed. Special tabulations from survey and census data are also essential. Another subject that could not be covered adequately concerns the activities of voluntary organizations with regard to the status of Pakistani women.

Preface

Although several small voluntary organizations are making an effort to improve the conditions of women by providing educational, health, or employment services, information on these organizations was not available to us. Despite these shortcomings, we hope that this volume will provide much-needed information on many aspects of 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 chapters, and discussing various topics. The institute also provided support services for which I am thankful. 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 Drs. Robert Retherford, Peter Smith, James Fawcett, and Robert Gardner.

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I would like to thank all the persons who have reviewed the various chapters in this manuscript. Thanks are also due to the contributors who took time off from busy schedules to prepare the chapters.

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The EWPI computer specialists were very patient in running and rerunning huge volumes of data from large data files; I thank them all. My two research assistants, Tauseef Ahmad and Elizabeth Q. Bulatao, provided invaluable assistance at all stages of the project and I offer them my sincerest thanks. Finally, I admire the resolve and patience of the steno pool at EWPI in typing and retyping various drafts of the text and would like to thank everyone who assisted in this tedious step.

Nasra M. Shah

There are so many people who have contributed towards the production of the book—some of whom I have never even met; I am grateful to them all. Two persons whose names I must mention are Sandra Ward, Manager of Publications Office at the East-West Center and S. H. H. Naqavi, Chief of Publications at PIDE. Among the various proofreaders I would like to acknowledge the assistance of my colleagues Dr J. K. Misra and Mr S. Murthy.

One person whose cooperation, care, and support have always been invaluable in my career is my husband, Makhdoom Ali Shah. He reviewed almost all of the chapters in this volume and made excellent suggestions for improving their quality for which I am deeply grateful to him. I pray that more Pakistani men recognize the rights of Muslim women to opportunities. Without such a change in the attitudes of Pakistani men, it will be very hard, if not impossible, to improve the status of Pakistani women. I would also like to thank my sons, Rizwan and Imran, for putting up with my busy schedule and my absence from home due to travel. Lastly, I would like to thank my mother and my late father, who was a strong supporter of women's education. Without the nurturing they gave me, I would have lacked the training to complete this project.

Nasra Mahboob Shah

PAKISTANI WOMEN

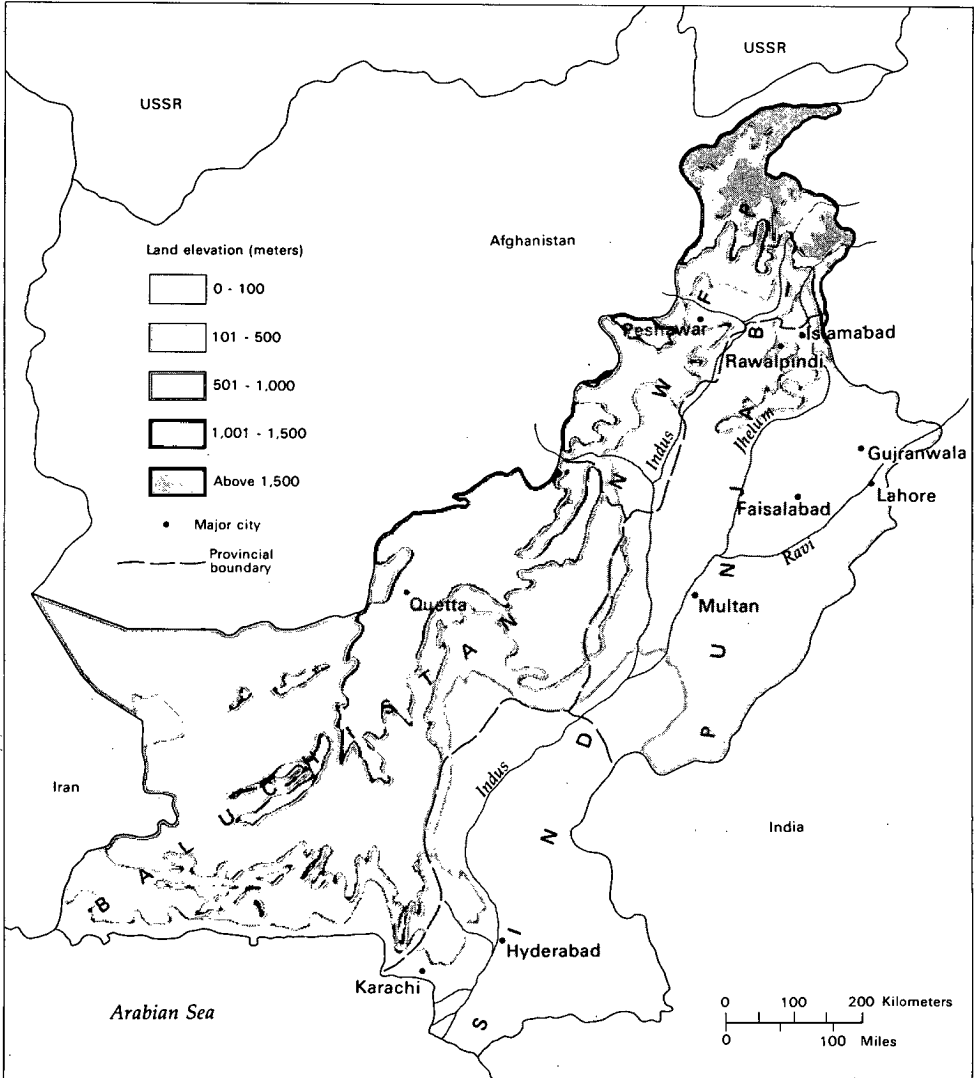
A Socioeconomic and Demographic Profile

**Edited by NASRA M. SHAH
East-West Population Institute**

**With Foreword by
SYED NAWAB HAIDER NAQVI
Pakistan Institute of Development Economics**

**Pakistan Institute of Development
Economics, Islamabad**

**East-West Populations Institute,
East-West Center,
Honolulu, Hawaii**



INTRODUCTION

Nasra M. Shah

Women's increased participation in the national development is a theme that 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 into the development process even though their strategies for accomplishing this end may vary widely. A common problem that faces many of these countries 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 inherent in the process is the general ambiguity, and sometimes disagreement, about the appropriate roles and the corresponding status of women in the development process.

Pakistan is similar to certain 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. Moreover, there are no clear-cut guidelines telling exactly how women are to be integrated into the development process and defining their appropriate roles. The present volume is an attempt at addressing both of these issues. It provides comprehensive data on the current roles and status of Pakistani women and discusses the problems inherent in redefining the present situation.

The major intent of the book is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the demographic and socioeconomic status of women over their life cycle. Four themes with regard to their demographic status—marriage, fertility, mortality, and migration—are addressed in Chapters 2 to 4 (Part I). Their socioeconomic status is examined in terms of health,

education, employment, and contraceptive use in Chapters 5 to 8 (Part II). A holistic appreciation of the current role and status of Pakistani women is possible only when their lives are analysed in entirety, including such aspects as their cultural valuation in the family, community, and nation as well as their demographic and economic roles. Furthermore, it is essential to understand the religious and legal prescriptions and rules relating to the status of women; these aspects are, however, beyond the scope of the present volume.¹ In the following chapters the demographic and socioeconomic situations of Pakistani women are analysed from a wide perspective with the help of census and survey data. An effort is then made to identify some of the constraints on the role redefinition of Pakistani women. Finally, some suggestions and cautions are offered for possible action programmes for women. All of the analysis has been done by Pakistani researchers working in Pakistan or abroad.

This introductory chapter has six sections. The first section presents a brief overview of the geographical and political setup of Pakistan by way of background. The second section explains the book's overall conceptual framework and summarizes the situation of women revealed by the findings in this volume. The third section discusses some of the historical events that have had a deep-rooted effect on the current status of Pakistani women; it also examines the religious and ethical issues that lie at the source of any redefinition of the status of women in the country. The fourth section offers guidelines that may be helpful in formulating effective programmes for improving women's status. The fifth section describes the types of organizations that are currently engaged in programmes to bring about a change in the status of women. The final section explains the organization of the present volume and offers a brief discussion of data sources and quality.

PAKISTAN: AN OVERVIEW

Pakistan—literally 'Land of the Pure' — emerged as an independent nation on 14 August 1947 as a result of the demand for a separate

¹Comprehensive chapters on the 'Female Role and Status in Islam: Prescription and Reality' by Makhdoom A. Shah and the 'Legal Status of Women in Pakistan' by Rashida Patel were contained in an earlier draft of this volume released in 1982. Limited copies of the earlier draft are available at the East-West Population Institute.

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.

Present-day Pakistan comprises an enumerated population of about 83.8 million persons, as of March 1981 (PCO 1981), with a land area of 307,374 square miles. The estimated population for mid-1983 is 95.7 million (PRB 1983). Females comprise about 40 million or 47 percent of the total population. An overwhelming majority (97.2 percent) of the population is Muslim. Hindus and Christians constitute 1.4 and 1.3 percent respectively, while Parsis, Buddhists, and people of other religions constitute less than 0.1 percent of the population.

Geographically and administratively, the country is divided into four provinces: Baluchistan, North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), Punjab, and Sind (see map on p. 109). Outside the province boundaries, in the north west corner of Pakistan, there are federally administered northern areas, Azad Kashmir, and the federally administered tribal areas (FATA). Each province is divided into administrative divisions and districts. There were 16 divisions and 62 districts in the country in 1981. Each province has its own native language: Punjabi, Sindhi, Pushto, and Baluchi. Within each language group there are several dialects. Most of the people speak their native language and also Urdu, the national language.

Punjab is the largest province in terms of population. It has 21 districts with about 56 percent of the population but only about 26 percent of the land area, whereas Baluchistan has 44 percent of the land area but only 5 percent of the population. Because of the population distribution, Punjab has a very high density of 229 persons per square kilometre compared with only 12 for Baluchistan. The other two provinces, Sind and NWFP, have densities of 134 and 146 respectively (PCO 1981:1).

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 labour 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 in 1977-78 (Planning

Commission 1978: 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 them 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 \$349 in 1983; this figure, although higher than in some of the more populated countries like India and Bangladesh, is among the lowest in the world (PRB 1983). While agricultural activity remains an extremely important segment of the economy, it is expected that the proportion of labour force engaged in agriculture will decline gradually. To meet the food requirements of a rapidly growing population the government is trying to augment production by increasing cultivable land, mechanizing farms, improving irrigation systems, undertaking large-scale efforts to control waterlogging and salinity, multiple cropping, and the like.

Politically the country has undergone several revolutions and transitions since its creation in 1947. With a belief in preserving 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 periods of military rule. The first martial law, imposed in 1958, was followed by an attempt at a democratic system; in 1969 the political disturbances led to a second martial law. The third (and present) martial law regime was imposed in 1977 after widespread civil unrest following the reelection of the late Prime Minister Bhutto to office.

The current president is General Mohammad Zial-ul-Haq, who until December 30, 1985, was also the chief martial law administrator of the country. He has been confirmed as president through a referendum held in December 1984. As part of the government's efforts to restore civilian rule, elections for the local government were held in September 1979. About 68,000 local councillors were elected to represent the people; about 7,000 of these councillors were women. Also, in December 1981, the government established a federal advisory council known as Majlis-e-Shura (Pakistan Embassy, 1982). The council was a nominated body designed to consist of 350 members, 282 of whom were in office in October 1983; 16 of them were women. This council has

now been replaced by an elected body through general elections held in March 1985. A national assembly, and provincial assemblies have been elected in each of the four provinces. Within the National Assembly, 21 seats are reserved for women, and 2 women were elected to the assembly in March 1985.

CONCEPTUAL OVERVIEW AND SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

No single definition of the role and status of women may be sufficient to describe the analysis in this book. In general, our analysis has been influenced by the definition of roles and status as discussed by Oppong (1980) and Dixon (1978). The term 'status' is used here generally to denote, first, an access to resources such as education, gainful employment, and health services and, second, the position (power, prestige, authority) that a woman has in various situations. The term 'role' refers to the various activities that a woman performs in relation to her status in a given situation.

Since many forces determine the overall status of women in a society, a woman's status cannot be defined by a 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 given here together with the chapters in which they are discussed in the present volume:

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Parental | (Chapters 2, 3, 8) |
| 2. Occupational | (Chapter 7) |
| 3. Conjugal | (Chapters 3, 8) |
| 4. Domestic | (Chapter 7) |
| 5. Kin | (Chapter 3) |
| 6. Community | (Chapter 1) |
| 7. Individual | (Chapters 2, 4, 5, 6) |

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 that in Western societies since individualism does not constitute a significant ideology in the Pakistani society. Rather, it is the family (kin) that 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, drawn from various chapters, are shown in Table 1.1. A comparison between female and male roles and between rural and urban areas is given in this table. It would have been useful to present comparisons by social class or caste groupings also, but data for making such comparisons are scanty. Limited comparisons of this nature are offered in several chapters where differences in characteristics are analysed by the respondents' socio-economic level measured by such indicators as education or ownership of durable goods.

Parental Role

The parental role has high priority in the lives of Pakistani women. Fertility is considered a blessing; childlessness is a cause for pity. The role of the mother is highly valued and respected 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 behaviour in the Pakistani society. Sons are regarded as a necessity for the continuation of the family name, for the strength and security of a family, for old-age 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 or eight children. Regardless of their actual fertility experience most women say that the ideal family size is between four and five children. Thus many women in the population have actually exceeded their ideal family size, which was 3.9 children for urban women and 4.3 for rural women in the 1975 Pakistan Fertility Survey (PFS). About 53 percent of the urban and 45 percent of the rural women did not want another child in 1975. Yet only 12 percent of the urban and 3 percent of the rural couples were actually using a contraceptive method to delay or prevent pregnancy, even though 83 percent of the former and 73 percent of the latter had knowledge about specific family planning methods (Table 1.1). When asked about their intentions regarding future contraceptive use, about 43 percent of all women of reproductive age said they would not use any contraceptive method in the future. The predominant reason given for their attitude was religious beliefs; 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 as among illiterate women: 27 versus

Table 1.1

Role	Urban		Rural	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Parental Role				
\bar{x} number of children ever born (1975)	na	4.2	na	4.1
\bar{x} number of living children (1975)	na	3.4	na	3.1
\bar{x} ideal number of children (1975)	na	3.9	na	4.3
Percent knowing of family planning (1975)	na	83	na	73
Percent couples using family planning (1975)		12.4		2.7
Occupational Role				
Percent age 10+ in labour force (1974-75) ^a	70	4(16) ^b	80	8(18) ^b
Percent age 10+ unemployed (1974-75) ^a	3	1	1	1
Percent workers in agricultural occupations (1973 HED Survey)	58 ^c	73 ^c	u	u
Percent nonagricultural workers in domestic service (1973 HED Survey)	9 ^c	28 ^c	u	u
Percent employed as spinners, weavers, tailors (1975) ^d	0	58	0	40
Percent women who work at home (1975) ^d	na	67	na	47
Percent employed persons as unpaid family workers (1972 HED Survey)	10	14	27	66
Conjugal Role				
\bar{x} age at marriage (1961) ^e	24.1	18.3	23.4	17.4

Continued -

Table 1.1 – (Continued)

Role	Urban		Rural	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Percent currently married at age 30–34 (1972)	80	94	80	94
(1981) ^f	82	93	82	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 family planning (1968–69)		25		10
Percent couples where spouses have communicated and know about each other's approval of family planning (1968–69)		19.3		7.2
Domestic Role				
Time spent on domestic tasks (rural Punjabi village, 1976) ^g	u	u	u	14 hours and 30 minutes
Kin Role				
Percent living in nuclear family (1975) ^b		44		47
Community Role				
Percent who were members of organizations (Karachi city)	u	10	u	u
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
Age-specific death rate (1–4) (1971 PGS)	8.2	16.0	17.2	21.2

Continued –

Table 1.1 – (Continued)

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

na—not applicable.

u—indicates that the respective survey collected information from women only; hence comparable figures for males are not available.

a. From Labour Force Survey (1974–75).

b. From Pakistan Fertility Survey (1975).

c. These figures apply to the total labour force in rural and urban areas.

d. These figures are for currently married women ages 15–49.

e. From Sadiq (1965: 242)

f. Based on advanced tabulation of marital distribution from the 1981 census.

g. From Khan and Bilquees (1976).

15 percent.² 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

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 wheat sheaves, threshing, 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 to 10 percent of the women are reported to be members of the civilian labour force. The labour-force participation rates are higher in studies that ask the woman herself to report on her economic activities — about 18 to 20 percent. While there are differences in the methodologies of these studies, there is reason to

² These figures represent adjusted multiple classification analysis (MCA) values after controlling the effects of wife's age, number of living children, husband's education, knowledge of family planning, and ideal versus living children (see Table 8.10). A definition of the MCA technique is given in footnote 2 of Chapter 8.

believe that male respondents underreport the economic activity of females more than the females themselves (see Chapter 7 for discussion).

One reason 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 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 high-status men enter the labour force than wives of low-status men. Only 13 percent of the wives of men with ten or more grades of education were in the labour force compared with 22 percent of the wives of illiterate men in urban Pakistan in the 1975 PFS (see Chapter 7).³

One other factor that seems to have a strong negative association with work participation is the practice of purdah: the seclusion of women. The traditional form of purdah consists of wearing the *burqah*, an overgarment, to cover the whole body including the face. Some women observe purdah by using a *chaddar*, a large sheet like piece of material, to cover the head and body. Many fewer women who were in the labour force observed purdah than those who were not – 62 percent compared with 85 percent in urban areas and 29 percent compared with 54 percent in rural areas. Purdah observance among agricultural labourers was particularly low – only 18 percent in rural areas (Chapter 7). Thus it appears that purdah observance enhances the social status of the family whereas work participation tends to reduce it. Women who can stay out of the labour force therefore do so. 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 observe purdah. While the causal connections between these types of behaviour are not entirely clear from cross-sectional data, the interrelationships are strong and should be considered by the planners of programmed social change.

³These 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 7.)

Among those who did enter the labour force, more women than men were in the agricultural sector — 73 and 58 percent in 1973 (see Table 1.1). Two-thirds of the women in rural areas and 14 percent in urban areas were classified as unpaid family workers compared with 27 percent and 10 percent 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 7). Most of the working women worked at home — 67 percent in urban areas and 47 percent in rural. Although different data sets in the country reveal somewhat different patterns of the female occupational structure, I consider the foregoing description as a relatively accurate summary of the situation.

While most of the women are engaged in traditional occupations that are consistent with their domestic roles and can be performed in the home, some women are found in the nontraditional industrial sector. There are women journalists, lawyers, jurists, architects, engineers, air hostesses, and television artists and producers, although their numbers are still small. There are women in 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, all of these positions are open to women who have the requisite qualifications. Most of the positions, however, involve an environment in which the segregation of the sexes cannot be maintained (at least under the present sociopolitical setup). Two of the preferred occupations that are relatively high in status and usually do provide secluded work settings are those of the school and college teachers and female doctors. About one-third of all doctors and 30 percent 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 others which demand it. 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 jobs do so because they need to work, not because they want to.

A change in attitudes toward female work is perhaps observable in certain villages where private entrepreneurs from urban areas have introduced carpet weaving in the village homes. Young girls usually aged 5 to 15 provide labour in return for cash wages, but the work is performed either in the girl's own home or in a neighbour's home. More and more parents, even from relatively affluent families, are allowing their daughters to engage in this type of economic activity.

Conjugal Role

All Muslims, male and female, are required to marry and fulfill their sexual and procreative needs within marriage. In present-day Pakistan, therefore, marriage is almost universal – 94 percent of the women aged 30 to 34 in both rural and urban areas were currently married in 1972 (see Table 1.1). The figures were quite similar in 1981. The legal minimum age of marriage is 18 years for males and 16 years for females.

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; see also Chapter 3).⁴ 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 1 percent of the males and females aged 30 to 34 were divorced (Table 1.1). Divorce is considered shameful and is therefore subject to underreporting. In some cases, a woman is forced to spend her entire life in misery in her husband's home without seeking 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 rare in Pakistan. There is a substantial number of widows of older age – 58 percent of the urban and 51 percent of the rural women aged 60 and over were widows in 1972. The remarriage of

⁴The singulate mean age at marriage (SMAM) represents an estimate based on the marital experience of a synthetic cohort.

widowed men appears to be more common than the remarriage of widowed women.

Polygyny, the marriage of one male to more than one woman at the same time, is allowed in Islam. In fact, a man may 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 common, however, and few men have more than one wife.⁵ In cases where there are two wives, the treatment accorded to both is usually not based on equality. The later wife is usually given preferential treatment, and in many cases the written consent of the first wife is not obtained (or is falsified).

Few couples report mutual discussion about fertility control. One-fourth of the urban and one-tenth of the rural couples reported, in the National Impact Survey (NIS) conducted in 1968–69, that they had talked to each other about family planning. Most of the couples who reported mutual discussion also reported that they recognized their partner's approval of family planning (Table 1.1). Furthermore, couples among whom both spouses reported communication and mutual recognition of approval of family planning had very high rates of contraceptive use (see Chapter 8). These findings imply that couples who discuss a subject like family planning probably share other information also and represent a progressive unit. We do not have detailed data on the way in which decisions about family size or other matters are reached. Observation suggests that in many households major decisions (purchase of property, schooling of children, and so on) are made by the males. In many other matters, women often influence decision-making by overt as well as tacit behaviour that may facilitate or obstruct a certain decision.⁶ The role of the mother-in-law remains crucial in many matters.

Domestic Role

Like the parental role, the domestic role is especially significant in a Pakistani woman's life. The wife is the one who generally does most of

⁵This 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 1 percent.

⁶Pastner (1974) provides a case study of such power wielded by women in the province of Baluchistan.

the household work such as cooking, cleaning, fetching water, taking care of the children, feeding and cleaning the livestock, milking the cows, and so forth. In one Punjabi village, it was observed that women spent about 14 and a half hours every day in completing such tasks (Khan and Bilquees 1976). Apart from this busy routine many village women manage to earn extra money (or extra food) for the family by raising chickens and selling eggs or ghee (shortening) made of butter.

Women are usually not reported as the head of the household, even though in some cases they may be – less than 1 percent of all households were headed by women according to the 1973 Housing, Economic and Demographic (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 can manage the family expenditure and save something on the side for a rainy day. In homes that have servants to carry out domestic chores, 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, and 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 great 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 nonnuclear nature (see Table 1.1). Thus women do not exist as individuals in the Western sense of the word.

In nonnuclear households 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. There are instances in which the daughter-in-law is grossly mistreated, and in some cases the mother-in-law is mistreated.

In a nonnuclear household, finances are generally managed by the mother-in-law. A broad network of interrelationships including exchange of gifts is shared with relatives and members of the same caste group or *biradari*. The wife interacts largely with the female relatives and is expected to fulfill all the obligations to all the relatives as specified traditionally. Things do not always work out smoothly, however. Quarrels between wives of two brothers or between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are quite common.

Community Role

The constitution of Pakistan, promulgated in 1973, states that all citizens are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection; that there shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex; and that steps shall be taken to ensure the full participation of women in all spheres of national life. Women have the same constitutional rights as men to vote in 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, according to the constitution.

In the elections to local bodies held in September 1979, some women contested for the general (nonreserved) seats but only two women were elected in the province of Punjab. In the case of the reserved seats for women the electoral college is composed of the members of local/municipal councils (Patel 1979). At present there are 438 women councillors or local government representatives; they constitute less than 1 percent of the total councillors (51,000) in the country. Four-fifths of all female councillors have been elected in urban areas (Hafeez 1982). 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 rudimentary state.

At election time separate polling booths are set up for women and the contestants urge women voters (through the men in the family, of course) to come out and vote for them. Participation in voluntary organizations is equally low, although there are some 2,863 voluntary organizations that are trying to improve the welfare of the community in their geographical areas (PDD 1980: 86). 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 percent of the women had never been members of any organization (Hafeez 1982).

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 with less enthusiasm than that which welcomes a male. The typical rural female is born into a poor, illiterate household, receives little education, marries at the age of 16 or 17, bears about seven children, and has a higher mortality risk 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 females and 51.9 years for rural females; the corresponding figures for males were 54.5 years and 52.4 years (Table 1.1). In 1971 the crude death rate for males and females was 10 per 1,000 and 12 per 1,000 respectively. Iron-deficiency anaemias are common in the female population, particularly among pregnant and lactating women. A recent survey showed that 19 percent of the lactating mothers and 17 percent of the pregnant women took less than 80 percent of the recommended daily allowance of iron. Maternal mortality has been estimated to be 6 to 8 per 1,000 live births, which is extremely high compared with developed countries (see Chapter 5).

One-third of the urban females and only 6 percent of the rural females are literate. Some 45 percent of girls aged 10 to 14 in urban areas and only 10 percent in rural areas were enrolled in school in 1973; corresponding figures for males were 63 and 39 percent. Among the literate women only about half had had primary or higher education in both rural and urban areas. The percentage of women with a bachelor's or higher degree was about 1 percent in urban areas and 0.1 percent in rural areas (Table 1.1). 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 percent) 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 girls were asked why they were not attending school: One-third reported that there was no school in the village, 22 percent said relatives were against their education, and 18 percent gave poverty as the reason. One-tenth of the girls said they were not sent to school because they were not good enough for study (Hassan n.d.; see also the discussion in Chapter 6). 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 – 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. A study of university students showed that 52 percent of the university students in Karachi and 67 percent 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 toward female employment are probably changing, but we do not know the exact extent of the change.

A Pakistani woman rarely migrates on her own to look for employment. She usually moves as a part of her father's, brother's, or husband's family. Migration itself is not very common in Pakistan – only about 3 percent of the males as well as females aged ten or above reported in 1973 that they had moved to their place of current residence since 1965 (see Chapter 4). More single women, however, have 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 percent of the divorced women with one to nine grades of education had migrated between 1965 and 1973 compared with only 4 percent of the illiterate divorced women. The labour-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 toward higher migration and work participation among divorced women (see Chapter 4).

One pattern of migration is bound to have had some impact on women: the migration of males to the oil-rich Middle Eastern countries in recent years. It is estimated that about 1.5 million adult Pakistani males are in the Middle East. Remittances sent to their families, as observed earlier, form one of the major sources of foreign exchange earnings for Pakistan. The impact of this migration on women and children is currently being researched in Pakistan (Irfan 1981; Abbasi and Irfan 1983; Gilani *et al.* 1981).

Finally, one characteristic must be emphasized in discussing the individual role of Pakistani women: purdah observance. The practice of purdah carries a high positive value in Pakistan. According to the 1968–69 NIS, 82 percent of the urban women and 47 percent of the rural women reported that they observed purdah. A survey of squatter areas in Lahore city that I conducted (in collaboration with the Department of Sociology, University of the Punjab) in 1982 showed that 87 percent of the women observed purdah by wearing either a *burqah* or a *chaddar*. This finding indicates that a large majority of the urban Pakistani women probably still observe purdah. The 1968–69 study found a strong positive association between purdah observance and the family's socioeconomic status. For example, husband's educational level and family's ownership of durable items (wealth) 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 percent of the women with higher than primary education compared with 89 percent of those with primary or lower education observed purdah in urban areas (Shah and Bulatao 1981: 35). Thus fewer of the women with higher education observe purdah.

Purdah observance serves as a symbol of the family's respectability, religiosity, and high status. Norms of a purdah society demand a clear segregation of the sexes – for example, separate workplaces 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 coeducational until now, but the establishment of certain women's universities is being planned by the government. I infer from these data that any programmes aimed at redefining the roles of Pakistani women must take the predominance of this normative structure into account.

In summary, then, the typical Pakistani woman grows up in a fairly sheltered 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 behaviour early in life, and she usually abides by them. In the midst of this culturally prescribed pattern, as we shall see later in this chapter, there are certain conflicts between the prescribed and the actual modes of behaviour.

ROOTS OF THE PAKISTANI WOMAN'S STATUS

To understand the cultural priorities, customs, values, and beliefs currently prevalent in Pakistan it is essential to understand the historical roots of the society. Thus a brief account of its evolution, particularly with regard to females, is given here.

Pakistani women live in a culture that is many centuries old. The current institutions, beliefs, attitudes, and customs have been shaped by a long history during which the Indian subcontinent was conquered by Muslim rulers who brought the religion of Islam; this conquest resulted in the conversion of a sizeable minority of local inhabitants to the Islamic faith. 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 subcontinent into two parts, India and Pakistan. Pakistan is an ideological state. It resulted from the struggle of the Muslims of the subcontinent to 'develop their own distinctive culture and unfold their potentialities by following the Islamic way of life' (Rauf 1975:59). During the struggle for independence from 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 and sovereign Muslim state was envisioned as an absolute necessity by the Muslims of the subcontinent so that they might 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 22 March 1940:

The Hindus and Muslims belong to 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 outlooks 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 the 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: 432]

The deep-rooted philosophical differences between Hindus and Muslims, as expressed by the founder of the nation, were crystallized by the poet-philosopher of the East, Allama Mohammad Iqbal, and 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 toward Independence, there existed among Muslims several customs, traditions, attitudes, and beliefs that had been deeply influenced by Hindu traditions that had existed in the subcontinent prior to the advent of Islam. Many such customs and traditions that are non-Islamic in origin as well as spirit – for example, the dowry 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: 38).

Several negative images about the role and status of women were preserved in the Hindu religion. These images had traditionally been supported by the local inhabitants prior to conversion. After conversion to Islam, many of these images and beliefs continued to define the role and status of Muslim women, and their influence can still be perceived in present-day Pakistan. In India itself, several traditions 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: '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 woman 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, the widow's expectation of immolation on the deceased husband's pyre (*sati*) was the extreme expression of the notion that a woman's worth is nil without her husband (Government of India 1974: 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 the eighth century A.D., many of the old belief systems of the converts to Islam did not change simultaneously. During the Muslim rule on 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 prescriptions with regard to the rights of women to education, property, approval of marital partner, and the like 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: 4). Various forms of *purdah* are still practiced by Hindu women in present-day India (Papanek 1973).

It would be erroneous to say that the present-day status of Pakistani women is determined purely by historical circumstances, but at the same time the force of tradition and custom must not be neglected in such an analysis. As Papanek (1973: 309) 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'.

THE MUSLIM WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Historically, the basic role of the Muslim woman in undivided India had been that of mother and homemaker. Muslim girls were not encouraged to get an education since formal schooling was held in suspicion because of its Western, colonial bias. With the efforts of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and other reform movement leaders, more women, particularly from aristocratic families, were sent to school in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of this century. In due course 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. As the struggle 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.⁷

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 highly placed families, several of whom had received titles such as 'Sir' or 'Lady' from the British rulers. They entered public life in a crisis situation and were encouraged to struggle alongside the 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 the autobiography of 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 Christian 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

⁷The Muslim League was the political party that was instrumental in the creation of Pakistan.

early married life until she entered politics. Upon joining the parliament, she wrote (1963: 167–168):

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?

After the creation of Pakistan, the crisis assumed a different shape and the women's organizations and committees played an effective role in providing assistance to the refugees from India who had left all their possessions behind. About 6.5 million refugees came to what is now Pakistan (Afzal 1974: 27) and the task of rehabilitation was indeed stupendous. As the crisis of refugee resettlement was being resolved, many of the women who had taken an active part in the Pakistan movement organized in 1949 a women's group known as the All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA). Begum Liaquat Ali Khan, wife of the prime minister, became the founder-president of APWA while Fatima Jinnah and Begum Nazim-ud-Din became its patrons. Begum Liaquat Ali Khan is still actively involved in the work of the APWA. Today the APWA, with a membership of over 20,000 women, is one of the largest voluntary organizations of women in Pakistan.

THE REDEFINITION OF FEMALE ROLES IN PAKISTAN

There are at least three basic issues that must be addressed in attempting to redefine female roles in Pakistan. First, a clear perception of the appropriate roles of women is necessary in order to launch effective programmes for redefinition. The second issue concerns the varying interpretations of specific behaviour such as purdah observance. The third issue centers on the conflict between what is prescribed by Islam and what actually exists in present-day Pakistan. Each of these three issues is discussed in the following paragraphs.

What is a Woman's 'Appropriate' Role?

Opinions on the appropriate role of an adult Pakistani woman vary widely within the country. The two extremes are probably reflected in

the writings of Maududi (1979) on the one hand and Khan (1972) on the other.

Maulana Maududi believed that even though men and women are equipotential with respect to their physical and mental abilities, they have not been entrusted with equal responsibilities by nature (Maududi 1979: 113–122). Man is the active and woman the passive partner in the system of nature. ‘Activity’ itself is naturally superior to passivity. This superiority is not due to any merit in masculinity as opposed to any demerit in femininity. It is due rather to the fact of possessing natural qualities of dominance, power, and authority (Maududi 1979: 134). Thus man and woman have distinct domains – man being the provider and the organizer of life in general and 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. Maududi thus states (p. 152): ‘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’.

Furthermore, Maududi (pp. 114–116) regards women as biologically weaker than men and argues that the existence 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.’ In view of all these hardships, the Maulana Maududi states, it would not be just or fair to demand that women shoulder other responsibilities that they cannot be expected to perform with manly vigour. One of the reasons why child-bearing and childrearing appear as the basic roles of a Muslim woman in 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’ (p. 77). Birth control may be permitted in exceptional cases but should not be adopted as national policy.

It follows from this type of reasoning that an adult woman would naturally spend most of her life bearing and rearing children. The religious ideas of Maulana Maududi still dominate the thinking of many people in Pakistan, particularly those who are either members of his political party, the Jamaat-e-Islami, or sympathetic to its aims.

Opposed to these views is the vehement criticism of purdah, polygyny, and the writing of Maulana Maududi put forward by Khan (1972). He treats the institutions of purdah and polygyny as social pathologies in Muslim societies. He believes that these institutions are the basic cause of the decline and fall of the Muslim civilization. He views sex-role differences to be culturally rather than biologically caused. He contends (p. 206) 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 parts 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 challenges the purdah ideology as exploitive and degenerative and believes that traditional men are trying to perpetuate this ideology as a safeguard against the rising tide of female emancipation and equality of the two sexes. Not only does he believe that women are more industrious but, unlike Maulana Maududi, he treats menstruation and pregnancy as natural and normal functions of the female human body. Thus, Khan concludes (p. 209), 'the tragedy of women is not biological, it is sociological and ideological'.

There are numerous writings tending toward one or the other of these two extreme positions. Examples of writings supporting Maududi's views can be found, to name several, in Azam (1969) and Jameelah (1977). Examples advocating a more liberal view of the status of women in Pakistan include Usmani (1975), Ahmad (1975), Sipila (1975), P.S. Ali (1975), and S.A. Ali (1978).

Despite the concern with the topic expressed by these authors there is no consensus on what a woman's appropriate role in Pakistani society should be. This lack of clear perception was echoed in a speech by the president, General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, to the National Conference of Women in Islamabad in October 1980. He suggested that the conference should deliberate upon the following questions regarding the status of Pakistani women (*Dawn*, 29 October 1980):

1. What role can women play in establishing an Islamic society in Pakistan?
2. What will be their obligations and rights in Islamic society, and how can these rights be protected?

3. What are the un-Islamic customs and traditions that militate against the rights of women, and what steps can be taken to do away with them?
4. What administrative structure is needed to enable women to play an effective role in the national reconstruction, and how can it be set up?
5. What measures should be adopted to establish special institutions for the religious education and advanced training of women, and how can resources be generated for them?
6. What ways and means may be adopted to do away with the indifference women are suffering in the fields of education, health, and general services? What services can the women render in the Jihad 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.

Differences in Interpretation

A thorough discussion of the differences in interpretation relating to various aspects of a woman's life is beyond the scope of this volume. An illustration of the divergence in views is provided here with regard to purdah observance since this is one issue 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 are ordained by the Quran and Sunna. About the veil, Maududi (1979: 195) says that it was not something devised and adopted after the day of the Prophet but 'it was indeed devised by the Quran itself and established by the Holy Prophet himself as a social custom'. A contrasting view to the one just stated is provided by S.A. Ali (1978: 249), who believes that purdah was a custom 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 recommendation 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 Quran itself affords no warrant for holding that the seclusion of women is part of the new gospel.

The relatively liberal ideas put forward by S.A. Ali to describe the 'true spirit of Islam' have been vehemently criticized by Jameelah (1977: 69) as representing the 'spirit of unbelief' and a generally apologetic attitude about the Islamic faith.

Another liberal view about purdah is that of P.S. Ali (1975). She maintains, like S.A. 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' (1975: 31). There is no sound authority to convince us that Islam prescribes the total confinement and complete segregation of women. According to Ali (p. 33), Islam merely lays down certain restrictions as to dress, speech, and movement.

Whatever the differences in interpretation, purdah observance carries a high positive value in the lives of many Pakistani women. Owing to the varying interpretations, not only of purdah but of several other practices also, a certain amount of confusion exists about the appropriate roles of women.

Conflicts between Prescription and Reality

A major conflict that has been mentioned in the foregoing analysis is that between norms prescribed by the Islamic religion and cultural deviations from these norms. Cultural deviations 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, the rural/urban setting, caste group, regional group, and so forth. Programmes aimed at redefining the roles and status of women must take these conflicts and the patterns of deviation into account.

Table 1.2 illustrates some situations in which the actual norms and behaviour differ from or even contradict the prescribed norms. I have restricted the prescribed norms to the ones taught by Islam. In the present-day emphasis on revitalization of the Islamic way of life, it is important to understand the discrepancies between the Islamic prescriptions about women's role and status and the actual situation. I have shown one example for each of the seven roles of women discussed earlier in this chapter; unlike Oppong (1980), I have not distinguished between written and unwritten prescription. All the prescribed norms shown in Table 1.2 are in written form and are drawn from the Quran and Sunna (the sayings of the Prophet Mohammed). One could draw up a comprehensive list of situations in which the prescriptive behaviour differs from the actual. Even though this is an essential element in the process of role redefinition, a comprehensive list of this sort is beyond the scope of the present study. The framework shown in Table 1.2, however, provides a useful format for preparing such a list.

It is clear from the examples in Table 1.2 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 would regain many more rights. The current situation is, however, not so simple and straightforward. For one thing, as we have seen, opinions on the proper role of women in society are not always consistent.

Between the two extreme positions relating to the status of women discussed in the preceding section, there exists 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 policymaker (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), and 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 outweigh the negative aspects of exposure to another religion and cultural values. In general,

Table 1.2

Conflicting Prescriptions, Values, and Perceptions for Seven Roles of Pakistani Women

Role	Prescriptions (Islamic)	Values	Perceptions (actual behaviour)
Parental role	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A woman must be paid <i>haq mehr</i> before divorce.^a 2. If infants/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 do work 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% to 10% of the women aged 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 shameful. Some women spend their entire lives in a separated state rather than sue for divorce.	Divorce is strongly discouraged. 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 making decisions.	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.

Continued -

Table 1.2 – (Continued)

Role	Perceptions (Islamic)	Values	Perceptions (actual behaviour)
Community role	A woman has the right to appear as witness and express opinion on community-related developmental issues.	Cultural values strongly discourage the appearance of women in a court of law; it is considered dishonourable.	Very few women actually appear as witnesses.
Individual role	A woman has the right to receive education; own and dispose of property; approve/disapprove the mate chosen for her.	Some girls believe 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 aged 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 the dowry that a husband agrees to pay the wife at the time the marriage is contracted.

the path to occupational and social mobility is routed through successful Western-style education rather than religious education. The policymaker is thus constrained to define (or redefine) the role and status of women on the basis of his own experience.

Besides the senior policymaker, many other key individuals such as journalists and researchers have made their own accommodations to the prescribed norms and behaviour. The interpretations of all these people affect the shape that various institutions are taking in the country. University education, for example, which has been coeducational 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 that employ women may increase; such constraints may have a harmful effect on female employment in such institutions.

Women's organizations, such as APWA, advocate gradual change in the context of Islamic culture. APWA does not limit the definitions of female roles to that of mother and housekeeper, however. One of the basic objectives of APWA is the informed participation of Pakistani women 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 traditional scholars like the late Maulana Maududi whose teachings are still widely followed and practiced.

Present-day youth are thus faced with many dilemmas concerning not only the status of women but also the general social, political, and economic institutions in Pakistani society. At least two groups with clear-cut sociopolitical orientations can be found on campuses and in the workplace. One group represents the traditional thinking of the Jamaat-e-Islami; the other represents a liberal and perhaps even radical thinking that is socialist in orientation. Young men and women at college, the future policymakers of the country, are thus being raised amid these divergent philosophies. A certain amount of confusion in their thinking is inevitable.

Thus present-day Pakistan represents a way of life that 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 women, however, their actual status is quite different from what is ordained by religious teaching or prescribed by law.

On the basis of the foregoing discussion, what suggestions can be made for a smoother transition in the redefinition of female roles and the status of Pakistani women? And what suggestions can be made about the nature of programmes to facilitate social change?

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 society in general. She must be 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 fostering 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 compelled to enter the labour force, as she is by 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 and aptitude and can make a contribution toward the national development. Work outside the home should not be pursued at the expense of the house and children, of course. Suitable accommodations such as timesaving devices and day-care facilities for children must be developed simultaneously (in case there are no relatives who can be surrogate mothers). Furthermore, the strong norm that forbids males to take 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 society the needs of socially dependent groups, such as orphans, widows, the destitute, and the handicapped would be provided for by the state. Moreover, the opportunity for education would be a basic human right in such a state. Furthermore, an Islamic state would ensure that women are accorded their rightful place in society and given the respect, care, and opportunities provided by the religion. Since Pakistani society is currently striving toward the accomplishment of a truly Islamic state, it is imperative that all of the Muslim woman's rights (and obligations) in such a society be carefully studied, planned, and provided. Within this

broad orientation, the following remarks are offered as cautions and suggestions to persons involved in redefining female roles and status in Pakistan.

First, 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 – many teachers who are working in girls' schools and colleges may be reluctant to work in coeducational institutions. To be effective, the proposed changes must be acceptable to various members of the family, community, and village and should generally work through existing structures.

Second, the basis for redefining status lies in changing deep-rooted un-Islamic 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 is by teaching the village leaders (including the *maulvi* or religious leader) the true status that is accorded to women in Islam. Other changes that are bound to have a strong impact on reducing negative attitudes toward females as a financial burden consist of actually abolishing the dowry system (but replacing it with the woman's legal share in the father's property) and making the females economically more productive.⁸

Third, there are three groups of people whose attitudes need to be changed: men (fathers, brothers, husbands); women (mothers, wives, daughters); and policymakers. 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 toward the value of the female and her roles must be changed. Moreover, women themselves need to be taught to recognize their own worth and that 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 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 programmes of social change (such as employment training) are not likely to be very successful.

⁸Legal limitations have been imposed on the amount of dowry a bride may receive, but the law has had negligible impact on the age-old customs and practices.

Fourth, it should be emphasized that to bridge the gap in the socio-economic level of males and females, women require even greater attention by policymakers than men. Such a need for special emphasis was recognized by the Planning Commission during its Fifth Five-Year Plan with regard to female education (Planning Commission 1978b, 335). A similar concern has also been expressed in the Sixth Plan (Planning Commission 1983). There is a need to create conditions favourable for several spheres of female existence in addition to education: employment, health, the ability to own and dispense property, the right to have economic and legal security, and so forth.

Finally, policymakers should take the issue of redefining female roles seriously rather than treating it as a passing fad associated with the Women's Decade of the United Nations. Some evidence of the government's commitment 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 issue should not be tackled as primarily a welfare problem that can be handled by setting up additional industrial centers or welfare homes for destitute women. These services are essential but they are not sufficient. Policymakers must commit themselves to a basic reorientation and organization of society so that attitudes toward female roles may be changed. Many policymakers may need to be socialized into the new definitions themselves.

Suggestions for Action Programmes

With regard to actual programmes for women, the following considerations are necessary. First, programmes must recognize that women's status is interrelated with a whole range of male statuses. To be successful, a programme must consider the possible influence of the existing structures on the proposed behavioural change. For example, a training programme aimed at young married women may prove to be a failure in a community where most of the married women live in joint families and the employment of the daughter-in-law is considered taboo. It must be remembered that the woman herself is usually not the prime decision-maker. Programmes must therefore ensure the cooperation and support of significant others in the family.

Second, quick payoffs are essential for the short-term as well as the long-term success of a programme. 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 regarded as financially beneficial and contraception is considered by many, particularly the religious zealots, to be against their religion? The programme planners and administrators need to counter these perfectly logical reasons that people may have for not wanting to change their behaviour. One reason for the limited success of the Family Planning Programme in Pakistan for instance is perhaps its inability to show that prevention of an additional child actually improves the welfare of a family.

Third, employment programmes must require only minimal training or retraining and should provide financial assistance during the training period. In a setting where almost nine-tenths of the women are illiterate, programmes must be simple, intelligible, and in line with the skills that women already have. 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 that 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 girls have been able to teach each other and no formal training courses are required. Besides, the workplace is either in the girl's own home or a nearby neighbour's home. Even the beginners usually start earning cash soon after they engage in carpet-weaving.

Fourth, programmes should have a large base. This is essential both from the humanitarian viewpoint and to ensure the necessary momentum required to bring about wide-ranging social change. Both rural and urban areas must be covered. Although programmes may be started on an experimental basis, they should aim to cover the whole country. This is particularly true of social programmes such as adult education and public health education.

Finally, in some cases the special needs of specific groups such as widows and divorcees may have to be overemphasized. Care should be taken, however, that such programmes do not become branded as widows' programmes or programmes for certain subsections of communities (castes, for example) and hence create prejudice and rejection.

Priorities

Three programmes seem to be most urgently needed. First: programmes to provide education to men, women, and children – not only formal schooling but also education about the status of women as provided in the Islamic religion. Second: programmes to change the attitudes and beliefs of citizens in various segments of society about the appropriate roles of women and the worth of a female. Third: programmes that provide women the ability to extend their lives beyond the wife-mother-housekeeper role.

CURRENT EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE STATUS OF WOMEN

Although the activities of voluntary organizations, such as APWA, together with government efforts, had attempted to improve the status of women, the question of the role and status of women received renewed attention from the government in 1975 when Pakistan celebrated Women's Year as part of the United Nations observance. Since then, the focus of speeches and general writings seems to have shifted from a welfare approach to a developmental approach. Integration of women into national development is a theme that 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 improving the status of women in the spheres of marriage, divorce, custody of children, employment, family planning, and the like (Law Division 1976). The committee also recommended that for males the minimum legal age at marriage should 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 committee were not adopted.

The present government has taken major steps to improve the status of women. In response to the growing demand for some body or commission to deal with women's matters, it has recently established an advisory commission on the status of women. The commission is composed of thirteen female and three male honorary members. Its tenure is initially one year, beginning 9 July 1982, but it may be extended by (see Government of Pakistan 1983):

1. To ascertain the rights and responsibilities of women in an Islamic society and to make recommendations to the federal government for effective safeguards of women's rights

2. To advise the federal government on measures to provide educational, health, and employment opportunities for women
3. To determine the services that women can render in eradicating ignorance, social evils, poverty, and disease in the country
4. To suggest measures to integrate women of minority communities into the national life

The government had earlier established a Women's Division within the Cabinet Secretariat in January 1979. The division had a budget of Rs. 40 million (\$4 million) during 1980-81. 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 assist women's organizations
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 organizations 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 full participation of women in all spheres of national life.

The Women's Division has sponsored more than 4,000 literacy centres in rural areas all over the country. It has established several vocational and skill-development centres, and provides assistance to other agencies (such as voluntary agencies) involved in women's programmes. The division has a research wing and during 1979-80 contracted out various research projects to gather information on particular aspects of women's lives such as female crime in urban and rural areas and sex-role images in textbooks. A complete list of the studies along with the contracting agencies is given as an appendix to this chapter.

Prior to the establishment of the Women's Division, the government had several programmes focused on women's issues that may be categorized into three broad types: welfare-oriented programmes, programmes especially designed for women, and programmes having a women's component.⁹ Among the welfare programmes are institutions such as Dar-ul-Aman and Dar-ul-Falah that have been run by the Social Welfare Ministry for many years. The basic function of these institutions is to provide support and shelter for destitute and needy women. These institutions furnish housing and teach income-generating skills to such women.

Programmes designed especially for women include industrial houses or '*san'at zars*', which are skill and craft training centres. Several government departments such as Social Welfare, Small Industries Corporation, and Staff Welfare Organization (a section of the Establishment Division) have been running about 3,000 such centres in the country. These centres provide training as well as equipment, such as sewing and knitting machines, which the women can use to produce handicrafts that are then sold through the centres. The women get a preassigned income for such work. Other programmes catering to women's special needs include women's hostels and day-care centres for the children of working mothers.

Programmes that comprise a women's component include such efforts as the Adult Literacy Programme launched by the Pakistan Television Corporation, rural literacy centres sponsored by the Women's Division, and vocational training centres organized by the directorates of technical education within the four provinces. There were 2,870 vocational institutions for females in 1977-78. The government had plans to increase this number to 4,770 by 1982-83 (Planning Commission 1978b: 761). An attempt is being made to diversify women's skills to include secretarial training, electronics, repair of domestic appliances, and other specialities. Within the rural areas, an attempt is being made to train female farmers in agriculture, poultry, and livestock development.

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

⁹ A more comprehensive description of women's programmes in Pakistan was included in the earlier draft of this volume (1982) in a chapter by Sabiha Syed titled 'Government Programmes for Women'.

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. Representing a group of women who seek gradual changes in the conditions of women but entirely within the context of Islamic culture (Chipp 1970). APWA has more than 20,000 members with branches all over the country and even in some foreign countries. APWA has established many different institutions such as schools (59) and colleges (4), vocational training centres (57), industrial homes (63), maternal and child centres (42), adult education centres (39), and rural centres (20). Furthermore, APWA has acted as a pressure group in urging the passage of certain laws or organizing protest against laws it considers unjust. In its triennial conference held in February 1982, APWA called for the establishment of a national commission on the status of women and emphasized that no laws concerning women and the family should be passed until such a commission is formed. APWA has also requested that instead of spending a large amount of money on the establishment of a women's university, the government should concentrate first on primary education (*Overseas Dawn* 1982a).

Apart from voluntary organizations like APWA, special-purpose women's organizations have also emerged in recent years. The Pakistan Women's Institute (PWI) 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: 4). The institute has developed three projects. First, it has established a reading room/library containing relevant materials from Pakistan and abroad. Second, it has been holding training courses aimed at career development in such areas as ticketing and tariffs, secretarial training, and training for kindergarten teaching. Third, the institute serves a research function by conducting or subcontracting studies on various aspects of women's lives. It also helps in job placement of students. In 1978, it held a seminar on the prospects of women's education.

The Women's Resource Centre/Shirkat Gah has centres in Karachi and Islamabad. It serves a research function and has published an annotated bibliography on 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).

The Women's Action Forum (WAF) is a nonpolitical, nonhierarchical, and nongovernmental lobby-cum-pressure group that was first organized in Karachi in September 1981. A chapter of WAF emerged in Lahore in October 1981, followed by another in Islamabad in February 1982 and a third in Peshawar in October 1982. It has received endorsement and support from several women's organizations such as APWA and Behbud. WAF is 'committed to protecting and promoting the fundamental human rights of women by resisting and fighting all forms of oppression and by educating women regarding their rights' (WAF 1983). The WAF charter holds that women are equal partners in the development of the nation. As such, they have a right to equal opportunities in all walks of life and are entitled to equal pay. It also states that women have a right to determine their likes according to their own aspirations and must be provided the opportunities to facilitate the realization of their potential, whether it be in the intellectual, physical, or spiritual field. It believes that women and men are governed by the same moral code. WAF therefore opposes any action or speech based on the assumption that women qua women provoke men and are thus to be kept wrapped in *chaddars* or *char-divaris* (four walls of the house). The WAF charter advocates purity of mind through proper education of women and men rather than by segregation, and it upholds the fundamental human rights for women and men as laid down by the United Nations.

No firm figures on the membership of WAF are available at this time. It is clear, however, that the group has become highly visible in the press and gets a fair amount of coverage in the news. It has passed several resolutions protesting certain government decisions regarding the activities and status of Pakistani women — for example, it has protested the recent government ban on women's participation in national and international sports. WAF also opposes the idea of a separate university for women on the grounds that the curricula proposed for this university are limited and the quality of education is likely to be poor given the shortage of resources.

On the basis of the preceding discussion it may be concluded that Pakistani women are more aware of their possible career roles today than they were three decades ago; more people are concerned about redefining female roles so that women can make a greater contribution to the development and growth of Pakistan; and bigger steps are being taken toward redefining women's roles.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

This book has eight chapters arranged in two major parts. Part I deals with the demographic situation, including population composition, fertility, mortality, marriage, and migration. Part II focuses on women's socioeconomic situation in terms of health and nutritional status, education, employment, and fertility control and desires.

The analysis, where possible, has been done from the perspective of the woman's life cycle. For example, her health is viewed at various stages in the life cycle — as a child and then as an adult, childbearing individual. 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 presents the trends in certain behaviour 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 employment, migration, contraceptive use, and the like.

Each chapter concludes with a summary to facilitate a quick review. References are found at the end of each chapter. Additional references that are not cited in any of the chapters but are useful for a study of Pakistani women are given in Appendix C at the end of the book.

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 at the end of the book. For a quick reference to the major sources of demographic data and their content, the reader may refer to Table 2.1 in Chapter 2. The bulk of the analysis in the present study is based on the following sources: the Pakistan censuses of 1951, 1961, 1972, and preliminary results from 1981; the Housing, Economic, and Demographic (HED) Survey of 1973; the Population Growth Surveys (PGS); the Labour Force Surveys (LFS); the Pakistan Fertility Survey of 1975 (PFS); and the National Impact Survey of 1968–69 (NIS). Other surveys by government and nongovernment departments are used and cited as appropriate.

The quality of demographic and socioeconomic data in Pakistan is an issue with which researchers as well as policymakers have been concerned for many years. The problems of age misreporting, undercounting of certain members of the family such as females, underreporting of certain activities such as female economic activity, and

definitional problems have all been the subject of repeated enquiry (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 been made, however, to use the available information in as careful a fashion as possible.

A comparison of the female's situation with that of the male has usually been provided throughout the volume. At times the female situation has been given more emphasis in the text, but data on both are available in most of the tabulations for the reader who wishes a detailed comparison. The availability of male as well as female data in most tabulations should make the volume useful to a wide audience of researchers and policymakers.

APPENDIX

Research Projects Funded by the Women's Division

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
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. Socioeconomic Status of Women in Agrarian Com- munity in Punjab	Department of Economics, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad
8. Sex-Role Images in the Text-books	Department of Sociology, Univer- sity of the Punjab, Lahore
9. The Performance of Female Teachers in Punjab	Pakistan Foundation School, Lahore
10. Unorganized Piecework Labour Amongst Women: Case Study in a Lahore Neighbourhood	BKM Associates, Lahore

Continued -

APPENDIX -- (Continued)

Study	Agency
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 Reorganizing the Village School System	University of Agriculture, Faisalabad
14. Socioeconomic 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
16. Nutrition of Women and Children	Department of Obstetrics and Gynaecology, Jinnah Post-graduate Medical Centre, Karachi
17. Statistical Profile of Women in Pakistan	Statistics Division, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad
18. Socioeconomic Characteristics of Women in Sind	Sind Regional Plan Organization, Economic Studies Centre, Karachi
19. Patterns of Female Employment in Mining and Construction Industries	Systems Limited, Lahore
20. Women in the Agriculture Sector in Sind	Agricon, Karachi

Continued -

APPENDIX – (Continued)

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	AGHS 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 NWFP	Applied Research Unit, Department of Economics, University of Peshawar
25. Participation of Women in Rural Economic Activities	Department of Economics, University of Peshawar

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PART I
THE DEMOGRAPHIC
SITUATION

POPULATION COMPOSITION, MORTALITY, AND FERTILITY

Iqbal Alam and 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 impediment to the provision of basic social services such as schools, hospitals, and adequate housing. Since its birth, Pakistan has been faced with the problem of a high rate of population growth averaging between 2.5 and 3.0 percent per year. This high rate 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 labour force. Second, too frequent childbearing may, in many cases, have a negative effect 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 particularly since families in Pakistan generally prefer to invest their resources (for example, in education and health) in male rather than female children. Research and observation indicate that all of these statements are generally true in the case of Pakistan.

The government has active health and population programmes to control both mortality and fertility. These programmes are discussed in some detail in Chapters 5 and 8 respectively. The government has estimated that the crude death rate (number of deaths per 1,000 population in one year) was about 12 while the crude birth rate (number of births per 1,000 population in one year) was 41 in mid-1981 (Planning Commission 1983: 354).

Table 2.1 – (Continued)

Demographic variable (x = data available)												
Data source	Age	Sex	Marital status	Children ever born	Children still living	Household listing/composition	Births last year	Deaths last year	Urban/rural breakdown	Provincial breakdown	Pregnancy history	Source
NIS 1968 (ever-married women sample)	women 10–49	some husbands interviewed	ever-married only	x	x		x		x		x	tapes available
PFS 1975 (ever-married women sample)	x ^c	x ^c	x ^c	x	x	x	x		x		x	tapes at WFS, London
HED survey 1973 (estimated total population)	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x		published
LFS 1974–75 (estimated total population)	x	x	x						x	x		published
Registration	x	x	x			x						no published data available
Other ^d												

Note: 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; LFS = Labour Force Survey.

- Only for 1971 – unpublished data.
- PGS data have been collected for 1976–78.
- Data on these characteristics are available for all members of sampled households.
- Two surveys – one on migration and another on population and development – are currently under way and should yield national data on fertility and mortality.

Table 2.2
Estimates of Population and Growth Rates: Various Years

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

a. Afzal (1974: 2).

b. Census Organization (n.d.: table 3).

c. Population Census Organization (1981: table 1).

d. Calculated by the authors.

incapable of detecting a large-scale undercount or overenumeration when whole segments of population are omitted or duplicated. It is obvious, however, that if we assume these estimates of underenumeration in the 1972 census count, the corresponding birth and death rates would be substantially different than what the planners and demographers seem to agree on. According to Krotki, if one assumes 46.9 million (Krotki 1963a) to be the actual population in 1961 and 72.7 million (Krotki 1976) to be the correct size for 1972, one observes an increase of nearly 25 million over a period of 11 years and 8 months, which implies a compound growth rate of 3.6 percent per annum. If we assume that the crude death rate of the 1961 – 72 intercensal period was around 15, it is implicit in these revised figures that the crude birth rate for this period was around 51, a figure not achieved by any population of South-west Asia.

There is general agreement among those who have investigated the fertility levels and trends closely that the crude birth rate for the country as a whole was never as high as Krotki's study suggests and that the best one can say is that it was around 45 during the 1960–70 period, a fact consistently observed by various demographic and other related surveys. If this is the level, then in our view Krotki and the U.S. Bureau of Census have grossly exaggerated the problem of coverage in the 1972 census. Probably there was an undercount in the 1972 census; however, this was to some extent compensated by selective overreporting by certain groups motivated by sociopolitical reasons (Hashmi 1977; Bean and Bhatti 1972).

The 1981 census count is, very close to the figure predicted by the Pakistan Planning Division. Some of the factors that should 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.

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; Planning Commission 1978: 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 the population continues to grow at this pace.

Provincial and Urban/Rural Distribution

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Pakistan has four provinces that vary considerably in population density and land area. Table 2.3 shows that in 1981 the province of Punjab contained 47.1 million people and had a density of 229 persons per square kilometre compared with a density of only 12 persons per square kilometre in Baluchistan, which had only 4.3 million (or 5 percent) of the total population. Sind and NWFP had about 19 million and 10.9 million people respectively in 1981. The federally administered tribal areas (FATA) had 2.2 million while Islamabad, the federal capital, had about 0.34 million.

Of the 83.8 million persons, 28 percent or 23.7 million were living in urban areas while the majority (72 percent) were living in rural areas in 1981. The proportion of population that was urban was 18 percent in 1951, 22 percent in 1961, and 27 percent in 1972. The intercensal annual growth rate of urban population was 4.5 percent during 1951–61, 4.6 percent during 1961–72, and 4.2 percent during 1972–81; the corresponding growth rates for rural areas were 1.8, 3.2, and 2.5 percent. These figures provide an indication of considerable rural-to-urban migration within the country. Furthermore, the ratio of urban/rural growth of the total population was lower in 1961–72 than in 1951–61 (1.7 and 3.0), which suggests a reduction in the pace of urbanization; the ratio had declined further to 1.3 during the 1972–81 intercensal period.

Table 2.3
Provisional Population by Provinces: 1981 Census

Area	Population (in thousands)		Percentage change in population (1972-81)	Sex ratio (males per 100 females)		Proportion 1981 census	Density per sq. km.	Urban popu- lation as % of total population
	September 1972	March 1981		1972	1981			
Pakistan	65,309	83,782	28.28	114	111	100	105	28.28
NWFP	8,388	10,885	29.77	108	108	12.99	146	15.23
FATA	2,491	2,175	(-) 12.68	103	108	2.60	80	u
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

u - data unavailable.

Source: Population Census Organization (1981: table 1).

Well over half of the urban population (58 percent) lives in cities of more than 200,000 inhabitants. More than one-third (38 percent) live in the three largest cities of Karachi, Lahore, and Faisalabad, all of which have populations of more than 1 million. Karachi, with an enumerated population of 5.1 million, is the largest city, followed by Lahore with 2.9 million (PCO 1981: 6).

Sex and Age Composition

Of the 83.8 million persons in the country in 1981, about 47.5 percent (or roughly 40 million) were female (calculated from the sex ratio in Table 2.3). Table 2.4 shows unadjusted age distributions of the population from 1951 to 1972. 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 that contribute to their smaller proportion in the enumerated population.

According to the 1972 unadjusted figures, about 16 percent or 4.7 million females are in the preschool ages 0–4 while over half (51 percent) can be classified in the 'dependent' age groups comprising those less than 15 and those 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 6 on education. The percentage of women in the childbearing ages (15 to 49) was 44 or 45 percent of all women over the three censuses. In 1972 the total number of women of childbearing age was 12.73 million. The current population plan is based on an estimated number of 15.9 million women in reproductive ages 15 to 44 in 1979–80 (Population Division 1981: 167). Thus 45 percent of Pakistani females are children below the reproductive ages, about 44 percent are in the reproductive ages, and the remaining 11 percent are women aged 50 and over who have completed their reproductive period.

It was mentioned above that there has been a tendency toward selective underreporting of females in Pakistan. Table 2.5 shows that the number of males per 100 females has been consistently higher in all the sources, although there does seem to be a slight tendency toward a decline. From 117 in 1951 the sex ratio has declined to 110 in 1981. Sex ratios seem to be particularly high among adolescent persons aged 10–14 and 15–19. It has been suggested that this pattern of sex ratios

Table 2.4
Reported Census Age Distribution for Pakistan by Sex:
1951, 1961, and 1972 (Number in Thousands)

Age group	Census ^a 1951		Census ^b 1961		Census ^c 1972		Census ^d 1981	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Males								
All ages	16,697	100.0	21,168	100.0	33,394	100.0	42,824	100.0
0-4	2,174	13.0	3,301	15.6	4,725	14.1	6,469	15.1
5-9	2,149	12.9	3,456	16.3	5,317	15.9	6,865	16.0
10-14	2,700	16.1	2,098	9.9	4,384	13.1	5,743	13.4
15-19	1,922	11.5	1,916	9.1	2,910	8.7	4,139	9.7
20-24	1,350	8.1	1,635	7.7	2,351	7.0	3,300	7.7
25-29	1,158	6.9	1,586	7.5	2,450	7.3	2,854	6.7
30-34	1,009	6.0	1,330	6.3	2,057	6.2	2,335	5.5
35-39	817	4.9	1,126	5.3	1,791	5.4	2,080	4.8
40-44	806	4.8	1,040	4.9	1,645	4.9	1,891	4.4
45-49	627	3.8	824	4.0	1,283	3.8	1,597	3.7
50-54	651	3.9	827	3.9	1,319	4.0	1,575	3.7
55-59	364	2.2	449	2.1	642	1.9	846	2.0
60+	950	5.7	1,563	7.4	2,520	7.6	3,126	7.3

Continued -

Table 2.4 – (Continued)

Age group	Census ^a 1951		Census ^b 1961		Census ^c 1972		Census ^d 1981	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Females								
All ages	14,279	100.0	18,274	100.0	29,068	100.0	38,783	100.0
0–4	2,079	14.6	3,157	17.3	4,668	16.1	6,624	17.1
5–9	1,919	13.4	3,016	16.5	4,815	16.6	6,334	16.3
10–14	2,362	16.5	1,711	9.4	3,451	11.9	4,813	12.4
15–19	1,811	12.7	1,617	8.9	2,423	8.3	3,572	9.2
20–24	1,159	8.1	1,448	7.9	2,211	7.6	3,039	7.8
25–29	857	6.0	1,456	8.0	2,196	7.5	2,677	6.9
30–34	754	5.3	1,202	6.6	1,903	6.5	2,237	5.8
35–39	606	4.2	958	5.2	1,539	5.3	1,967	5.1
40–44	610	4.3	871	4.8	1,417	4.9	1,731	4.5
45–49	481	3.4	671	3.7	1,044	3.6	1,422	3.7
50–54	495	3.5	639	3.5	994	3.4	1,270	3.3
55–59	335	2.3	357	2.0	543	1.9	747	1.9
60+	811	5.7	1,161	6.4	1,841	6.3	2,347	6.0

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

b. Excludes 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 federally administered tribal areas (FATA) and Kohistan and the FATA in Hazara district.

d. Based on the advanced age-sex distribution from the 1981 census. These figures exclude the population of FATA.

Sources: Afzal (1974: 34-35) and Census Organization (n.d.: table 4).

Table 2.5
Comparison of Age-specific Sex-ratios (Males per 100 Females):
1951, 1961, 1972, and 1981 Censuses

Age group	1951	1961	1972	1981 ^b
0-4	104.5	104.6	100.8	97.7
5-9	112.0	114.6	110.4	108.4
10-14	114.4	122.6	127.0	119.3
15-19	106.1	118.5	120.1	115.9
20-24	116.6	112.9	106.3	108.6
25-29	135.1	108.9	111.6	106.6
30-34	133.8	110.6	108.1	104.4
35-39	134.8	117.5	116.4	105.7
40-44	132.3	119.4	116.1	109.2
45-49	130.3	125.5	122.9	112.3
50-54	131.9	129.4	132.7	124.0
55-59	108.5	125.8	118.2	113.3
60-64	117.0 ^a	133.5 ^a	142.5	138.5
65+	u	u	132.9	130.0
Total	116.8	115.8	114.9	110.4

u - data unavailable.

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

b. These ratios are based on an age distribution that excludes FATA and yields a total population estimate of 81.6 million with 42.8 million males and 38.8 million females.

Sources: Office of Census Commissioner (n.d.: statement 5A, page III-A); Census Organization (n.d.: table 4); and Population Census Organization (1981: table 1).

is probably related to selective underenumeration or age misreporting of young girls who are not yet married. (For a detailed discussion of sex ratios in Pakistan see Rukanuddin 1967; see also Alam and Nobbe 1977 and Nobbe and Alam 1977.) There is also a tendency toward higher sex ratios among persons aged 50 or more that can result from both age misreporting and selective underenumeration.

Rural/Urban Differences in Sex and Age Composition

Table 2.6 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

Table 2.6

Population, Age Composition, and Sex Ratios for Urban and Rural Pakistan: 1972

Age group	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
Percentage	100.0	100.0	na	100.0	100.0	na
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+	1.1	1.0	127	1.9	1.6	133

Note: This table excludes the population of FATA, Kohistan areas, and provincially administered tribal areas adjoining Hazara district.

na - Not applicable.

Source: Census Organization (n.d.: table 4).

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 areas, which results in higher sex ratios in such areas (see 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 the years 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 with rural areas — 46 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 and above) is higher in rural compared with urban areas — 13 and 9 percent respectively.

TRENDS, LEVELS, AND DIFFERENTIALS IN MORTALITY

Estimation of mortality and fertility levels and trends in Pakistan is particularly difficult because even though the country has reasonably extensive census data, it is not so favourably 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 sociodemographic 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 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 the crude birth rate and crude death rate were inflated by 12 and 9 percent respectively. In addition to the PGE, data from several other national surveys have been used to estimate mortality levels and trends.

Estimates from earlier studies indicate that the crude death rate 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 smallpox, cholera, and plague (Robinson 1967; Davis 1951). By the mid-1960s, the crude death rate had declined to around 18 per 1,000 as estimated in the PGE (Table 2.7).

Female mortality has been found to be consistently higher than male mortality in all three approaches used in the PGE. According to the CD estimates for 1962–65 the crude death rate was 20 per 1,000 for females compared with 17 per 1,000 for males (Table 2.7). 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 crude death rate to be 14 per 1,000 (for both sexes) for 1978 and planned to reduce this figure to 10.2 over the plan period 1978–83 (Planning Commission 1978: 365).

A clearer picture of the male/female mortality differential is provided by the ratio of the male to female deaths at various ages (Table 2.8). Among children less than one year old, mortality is somewhat higher among males. After age one, however, and almost throughout the reproductive period female mortality is higher. Among children aged one to four, for example, females had consistently higher death rates in both the 1962–65 PGE and the 1968–71 PGS; the sex ratios were 67 and 85 respectively. The same pattern of high female mortality among children aged one to four was found in urban and rural areas. Furthermore, mortality among females aged 5 to 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 women have a somewhat lower mortality than men. A major reason for higher female

Table 2.7
Levels and Trends in Crude Death Rates and Infant Mortality Rates: 1881–1975

Period	Crude death rate			Infant mortality rates		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
1881–1891	41	u	u	u	u	u
1891–1901	44	u	u	u	u	u
1901–1911	43	u	u	222	u	u
1911–1921	49	u	u	212	u	u
1921–1931	36	u	u	176	u	u
1931–1941	31	u	u	168	u	u
1962–1965						
PGE – CD	18	17	20	136	137	135
PGE – LR	15	14	16	143	140	146
PGE – CS	11	u	u	105	111	98
1968–1971 (PGS)	11	11	11	113	153	85
1970–1975 (PFS)	u	u	u	143	135	152

u – data unavailable.

Sources: Davis (1951); Farooqui and Farooq (1971: 103); Statistics Division (1973–74: tables 1 and 15); author's tabulation from 1975 Pakistan Fertility Survey.

Table 2.8
Age-specific and Sex-specific Death Rates for Urban/Rural Pakistan 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
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				1.1	4.4	25	0.8	2.0	40	1.1	5.2	21
30–34	4.5	5.5	82	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+				40.3	40.3	100	44.5	34.5	129	38.3	41.8	92

a. Farooqui and Farooq (1971: 103).

b. Statistics Division (1973–74: xi, xiii).

c. Calculated as male death rates ÷ female death rates × 100.

mortality during the childbearing ages is likely to be mortality related with childbirth. Awan has calculated the maternal mortality rate in Pakistan to be 6 to 8 per 1,000 live births; see Chapter 5. Among children aged 1 to 14, the higher female mortality is probably indicative of poor 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 with male children in the amount and quality of food and medical care they receive. A recent study of Katchi Abadis in Lahore city showed that two-thirds of the married women who said that certain members of the family needed more healthful food than others reported that it was the husband who needed the more healthful foods (Shah and Anwar 1983).

Infant and Neonatal Mortality

It was shown in Table 2.7 that when an average for the years 1962–65 is used, male infants have a slightly higher mortality than females (137 and 135 respectively). Moreover, the PGS figures for 1968–71 indicate a lower infant mortality among females (Table 2.7). The PFS data, on the other hand, indicate a higher infant mortality among females – 152 compared with 135 for males. The PFS data have been found to be of higher quality than PGS by several researchers (see Booth and Alam 1980; Retherford and Mirza 1982) and probably present a more accurate 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 to 150 of every 1,000 girls who are born die before they reach age one. Over half of these infant deaths occur during the first month of the infant's life as indicated in this tabulation of infant mortality rates:

Source	Total	Neonatal	Postnatal
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 neonatal mortality is probably the unhygienic conditions at the time of the child's birth and delivery by poorly trained local midwives (*dai*). Further discussion of these factors is offered in Chapter 5.

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 2.9 shows the life expectancy at various ages based on these two sources. The PGE data indicate 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 and 51.8 years for males and females respectively.

Table 2.9

Life Expectancy for Males and Females Based on PGE and PGS Data

Age group	1962–65 PGE		1968 and 1971 (based on PGS 2-year average)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
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 +	4.70	4.68	4.8	4.8

Source: Planning Commission (1978: 786).

The Planning Commission has estimated the life expectancy for males and females to be 54 and 53 years respectively for 1978 and plans to increase it to 60 and 59 years over the plan period 1978–83 (Planning Commission 1978: 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 is the finding that 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 here:

Area	Male	Female
Urban	56.4	54.9
Rural	52.1	51.3

The expectation of life at birth is nearly four 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.

TRENDS, LEVELS, AND DIFFERENTIALS IN FERTILITY

In this section we use the following measures of fertility: (1) crude birth rate (CBR), which is the number of births per 1,000 persons over a specified time period; (2) age-specific fertility rate (ASFR), which refers to the number of babies born to women in an age group such as 15–19 or 29–34 during one year; (3) age-specific marital fertility rate (ASMFR), which is the same as ASFR except that the women in the denominator include only married rather than all women as in the case of ASFR; (4) duration-specific marital fertility rate (DSMFR), where fertility rates are calculated according to the duration since the women first married; (5) total fertility rate (TFR), which is the summation of total number of children born to women in each five-year age group during one year and indicates the total average number of births a woman is likely to experience over her reproductive span if current fertility rates continue.

Analysis of the CBR during the pre-Partition period based on the 1881–1941 censuses indicates that the CBR varied between 45 and 49

during this period (Davis 1951). An estimate of 43 was provided by the PGE (LR) for 1962–65; 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 more valid estimates of fertility.

The TFRs given in Table 2.10 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.¹ A comparison of the age-specific data obtained through various sources shows an irregular pattern. The PFS and PGE (LR and CD average) estimates are in fairly close agreement for the age group 25–29. For ages 30 and above, however, the PGE estimates are consistently higher than PFS. The higher PFS estimate for the age group 15–19 is due mainly to the rise in age at marriage, but the considerably low estimates for PFS women aged 45 to 49 are puzzling. It 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. The low estimates for older women could also be due to age exaggeration among them. Retherford and Mirza (1982) analysed data from the HED Survey and found that the fertility of older women (35 and above) fell substantially between 1962–66 and 1967–71, a spurious result generated by age exaggeration.

ASMFRs show similar patterns to those 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 to 29.

As for the fertility decline over the 1960–75 period revealed by the PFS data, the ASFRs showed a gradual decline over the years, particularly for young women aged 15 to 19 (Table 2.10). 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 group 20–34; age group 35

¹The PFS estimates are based on retrospectively collected birth histories and are subject to associated errors such as recall lapse and misplacement of births in time (Potter 1977). Even though the data evaluation by Booth and Shah (1983) does not indicate any specific biases in the PFS data, the reader should keep in mind that birth histories usually have certain reporting problems attached to them.

Table 2.10

Age-specific Fertility Rates and Age-specific Marital Fertility Rates by Source of Estimates: 1963-75

Current age	Age-specific fertility rates							Age-specific marital fertility rates								
	PGE (1963-65 average) ^a			PGS ^b	PFS ^c				PGE (1963-65 average) ^a			NIS ^d	PFS ^c			
	LR	CD	LR-CD average		1968-71	1960-65	1965-70	1970-75	LR	CD	average		1968-71	1968-69	1960-65	1965-70
15-19	110 ^e	130 ^e	120 ^e	58	194	180	154	367 ^e	433 ^e	400 ^e	187	251	316	315	313	
20-24	226	303	264	223	308	323	285	276	370	323	275	310	339	369	344	
25-29	291	373	332	261	329	325	313	306	393	349	284	335	339	340	331	
30-34	283	353	318	252	271	280	253	295	368	331	265	294	274	285	260	
35-39	187	250	218	200	206 ^f	190	179	199	266	233	213	174	209 ^f	192	182	
40-44	79	114	96	124	g	107 ^f	64	90	130	110	138	90	g	108 ^f	64 ^f	
45-49	42 ^e	67 ^e	54 ^e	85 ^e	g		10 ^f	51 ^e	82 ^e	66 ^e	105 ^f	5	g	g	10 ^f	
TFR	6.1	8.0	7.0	6.0	g		6.3									

a. Farooqui and Farooq (1971).

b. Afzal (1974).

c. Alam (1983).

d. TREC (n.d.).

e. All births reported to women under 15 years of age and over 50 were included in the 15-19 and 50+ age groups respectively.

f. Based on incomplete cohorts.

g. Cells empty because data were based on incomplete cohorts.

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

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 – all are significant factors in the fertility levels of a country. Pakistan is known to be a country with almost universal marriage. Moreover, age at marriage has been rising in Pakistan but is still fairly young as discussed in Chapter 3.

One way to examine the changing tempo of childbearing is to analyse fertility rates specific to duration since first marriage, as we have done in Table 2.11.³ 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 five years of marriage. This change is expected on account of the decrease in temporary sterility that the very young women probably suffer from. The duration-specific marital fertility rates (DSMFRs) presented in Table 2.11 show such a pattern until 1970. In recent years (1960–75) the DSMFRs for zero to

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

³Note that the data in Tables 2.11 to 2.15 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 aged 45–49 at the time of the survey whose members have completed their reproductive histories. The rest are still at different stages of their reproductive life. Another complication is introduced by within-cohort selectivity – that is, 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 that 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 event (a birth, death, or marriage), and omissions of births. For further discussion of such errors, see Alam and Cleland (1981).

Table 2.11
Duration-specific Fertility Rates and Relative Change Since 1960–65:
Pakistan, 1955–75 (Pakistan 1960–65 = 100)

Duration since first marriage (years)	Duration-specific fertility rates				% change
	1955–60	1960–65	1965–70	1970–75	
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	na
Children born in first 20 years since marriage	6.0	6.3	6.5	6.1	–3.2

na – not applicable.

Source: Pakistan Fertility Survey.

four years' duration have risen slightly (3 percent). Fertility at the five to nine years' duration has remained more or less unchanged. For duration 15 years and over, however, it has declined. The decline increases with the rise in duration. These changes in marital fertility are summarized in the last row of the table by cumulating the DSMFRs to duration 20. The impact on number of children in the first 20 years of marriage since 1960–65 is negligible (3 percent).

When we analysed DSMFRs within age-at-marriage categories and by duration since first marriage, we did not find any systematic pattern (Table 2.12). One notable finding from Table 2.12 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 above and a relative increase for those marrying at 18 or 19. The number of children born in the first 20 years of marriage varied between 5.3 (for those marrying at 20 and above) and 6.5 (for those marrying at 18 or 19 years), which suggests that a rise in age at marriage is related to a decline in marital fertility.

Table 2.12
Duration-specific Marital Fertility Rates and Relative Change Since 1960–65
by Age-at-marriage Cohort 1970–75 (Pakistan 1960–65 = 100)

Duration since first marriage (years)	Married at <15		Married 15–17		Married 18–19		Married 20+	
	DSMFR	% change	DSMFR	% change	DSMFR	% change	DSMFR	% 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	0	0	0	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

Note: Figures in parentheses refer to less than 250 woman-years of exposure.

Source: Pakistan Fertility Survey (1975).

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 or 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 to 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). In a multivariate analysis in which several of the relevant variables were controlled, Karim found that age at marriage had a significant negative effect on CEB to women aged 30 to 39 as well as those aged 40 to 49 (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 conclusions regarding the probable future impact of a rising age at marriage on fertility.

Regional and Rural/Urban Differentials in Fertility

Pakistan's four provinces show considerable regional variation in population characteristics. Since PFS sample sizes for each region were proportional to population size, the number of women interviewed in Baluchistan is very small. We have therefore excluded Baluchistan from our analysis of provincial differences.

Table 2.13 shows 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 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 slowest there (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 ages 25 to 29. The Sind pattern is quite different, however, probably due to lower age at marriage in rural areas than in urban areas. In Sind there is little difference between the fertility levels for age groups 20–24 and 25–29.

Table 2.13

Age-specific Fertility Rates and Total Fertility Rates by Region of Residence: 1960-75

Mother's age at birth	Sind			Punjab			NWFP		
	1960-65	1965-70	1970-75	1960-65	1965-70	1970-75	1960-65	1965-70	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) ^a	209	191	202 ^a	184	173	(241) ^a	220	208
40-44	b	(143) ^a	69	b	98 ^a	58	b	(160) ^a	132
45-49	b	b	(18) ^a	b	b	0.7 ^a	b	b	(16) ^a
TFR ^c	7.5	7.5	6.6	7.0	6.9	6.2	7.8	7.5	6.4

a. Based on incomplete cohorts. (Figures in parentheses to less than 250 woman-years of exposure).

b. Unavailable because data were based on incomplete cohorts.

c. For the incomplete periods the total fertility rates (TFRs) have been obtained by assuming that the fertility for cohorts for which information is available has remained constant back in time.

Note: Overlapping calendar years in blocks of five years from the date of interview.

Source: Pakistan Fertility Survey (1975).

The ASFRs show that fertility has declined for all age groups; the age group 15–19 registers the largest decline for all the provinces.

In summary, though fertility has declined in all the provinces, the levels and tempo of decline vary 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.

We turn now to the question of rural/urban differences. About 72 percent of Pakistan's population lives in rural areas. The age distribution of 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 the 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 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 finding 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 be mentioned, however, that the Davis and Duza analyses were based on child/woman ratios whereas 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 2.14 shows that in the 1970–75 period the urban TFR was lower (6.2) than the rural (6.4). The rate of decline in urban and rural fertility was surprising, however. Contrary to the generally observed pattern – in which 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, in both urban and rural areas between 1960–65 and 1970–75.

Table 2.14

Age-specific Fertility Rates and Total Fertility Rates by Rural/Urban Residence: 1960-75

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

a. Overlapping calendar years in blocks of five years from the date of interview.

b. For the incomplete periods the TFRs have been obtained by assuming that the fertility for cohorts for which information is available has remained constant in time; includes age-specific fertility rates (ASFRs) for age group 15-19.

c. Based on incomplete cohorts.

Source: Pakistan Fertility Survey (1975).

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 group the urban rate was higher; after age 35 the rural rate was higher. This pattern is consistent with urban/rural differentials in age at marriage. The age at marriage is higher in urban areas than in rural areas (Chapter 3), resulting in the late onset of fertility in urban areas. In both urban and rural areas, the 15–19 age group has registered a systematic decline in fertility since 1945–50; the 20–29 age group's fertility has shown a rise and then a decline, and the age group 30 and above has registered a gradual decline. The decline at ages 15–19 is due mainly to changes in age at marriage whereas the decline at older ages is probably due to some form of fertility control, although the reported current contraceptive use rates in Pakistan were only around 3 percent in rural and 12 percent in urban areas in 1975 (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. The relationship reverses, however, when fertility behaviour within marriage is observed. Table 2.15 shows that the number of births in the first 20 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 both (3 percent). The data suggest that although the age at marriage is higher in urban areas, the intensity of fertility during the first 20 years of marriage is also higher. With regard to the change in fertility levels between 1960 and 1975, urban fertility showed an increase of 18.4 percent in the first five years of marriage whereas rural fertility remained unchanged. At durations 15 years 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. Postnatal abstinence and length of breastfeeding are likely to be much shorter in urban areas, for example, because of the diminished influence of parents and other members of the family. Iqbal Shah (1983) has observed that in fact urban mothers generally breastfeed for shorter durations than rural mothers.

Table 2.15

Duration-specific Marital Fertility Rates and Relative Change Since 1960-65
by Place of Residence: 1960-65 (Pakistan 1960-65 = 100)

Duration since first marriage (years)	Urban				Rural			
	1960-65	1965-70	1970-75	% change	1960-65	1965-70	1970-75	% 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).

SUMMARY

The population of Pakistan has been enumerated to be 83.8 million in March 1981. About 40 million or 47 percent of the total population are women. Of all the females, about 45 percent are children below age 15, another 44 percent are in the reproductive ages 15 to 49 percent, and 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 are either under-reported or have higher mortality rates than males.

A higher mortality among females than among males is generally indicated by the diverse data sources within the country. Females expect to live a shorter life than males at birth – 51.8 and 52.9 years respectively, although the differential has narrowed over the years. Mortality among infants continues to be high, and well over a hundred girl babies of every 1,000 born during a year die before they reach the age of one.

Fertility has been traditionally high in Pakistan. The crude birth rate has been above 40 per 1,000 according to all data sources while the total fertility rate was reported to be 6.3 in the 1975 PFS. There is some indication of a 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 married seems to be an important factor in the decline in fertility. Women who married at age 20 or more experienced a much higher decline in fertility between 1960 and 1975 than women who 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 in rural areas.

The rural/urban differentials in fertility did not lead to any conclusive findings. An analysis of the age-specific fertility rate suggests that fertility in urban areas was lower than in rural areas. This finding was, however, reversed when age-specific marital fertility rates 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 programme since

1965 to provide services and advice for fertility control. In the mean-time, about 3 million babies are born every year. The population is likely to double in about 23 years if the present rate of population growth (about 3 percent per year) continues unchecked. Such a high rate of growth has serious consequences for the development of a nation with limited resources – and particularly for women and female children, since these groups are socially less valued and have less access to these resources.

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MARRIAGE PATTERNS, MARITAL DISSOLUTION, AND REMARRIAGE

Iqbal Alam and Mehtab S. Karim

Marriage, divorce, and widowhood are demographic events that influence the course of population growth. They shape the marital composition of a population, which can in turn affect all aspects of population dynamics. In Pakistan, as in most 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 forces of differing intensity — such as temporary separation of spouses, coital frequency, intensity and duration of breastfeeding, level 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 limited 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 sections. The first section 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; in the final section we discuss differentials and determinants of age at first marriage. Data for this analysis are drawn from decennial censuses of Pakistan and the 1975 Pakistan Fertility Survey (PFS).

MARITAL STATUS AND TIMES MARRIED

Table 3.1 shows the percentage of women in different marital statuses. According to PFS data, of all ever-married women aged 15 to 49, some 94 percent were currently married, 2 percent were separated or divorced, and 3 percent were widowed (Table 3.1).¹ Although divorce is allowed in Islam and is relatively easy to obtain, its occurrence is probably restrained by the fact that Pakistani custom obliges the husband to pay the wife a substantial *mehr* (dowry) in case of divorce. Moreover, divorce is socially disapproved, and divorced women at times become social outcasts.² The relatively low percentage of female widowhood may be attributed partly to declining male mortality. The incidence of widowhood is not fully revealed by the PFS (individual level) data, however, 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). But there were substantial differences in marital distribution of women classified by age. The percentage of divorced women

Table 3.1
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).

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

² For a detailed discussion of divorce see Shah (1982: chap. 4).

remained more or less unchanged by age, while the percentage of widowed women increased with age and about 11 percent of women aged 45 to 49 were classified as widowed.

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. Thus any meaningful investigation of remarriage is severely impaired by the small number of such events. Table 3.2 provides a picture of the overall pattern of remarriage. Among the total sample, only 4 percent married twice and hardly any married three times. Of the 10 percent of women whose first marriage was dissolved, however, about half have remarried. The percentage remarried remained above 60 percent among women below 40 years. It decreased to 45 percent or less for those of older ages, however, which is likely due to the lower incidence of remarriage during earlier years or underreporting 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

Table 3.2

Number of Times All Ever-married Women were Married and the Incidence of Remarriage by Age: Currently Married Women, 1975

Current age	Times married				% remarried among all women whose first marriage was dissolved
	Once	Twice	Thrice	No.	
15-19	99.8	0.2	0.0	628	u
20-24	98.4	1.6	0.0	843	63.0
25-29	97.1	4.2	0.1	913	60.4
30-34	95.7	4.2	0.1	821	63.7
35-39	92.1	7.7	0.2	624	60.6
40-44	93.5	6.1	0.4	620	42.8
45-49	91.0	8.8	0.1	503	45.0
All women	95.7	4.1	0.1	4,952	52.4

u - data unavailable.

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

Source: Pakistan Fertility Survey (individual data).

problems in finding a husband and are often married to a much older man or a widower, if at all.

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 3.3. 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. On the average, about 96 percent of the women spent their reproductive life in a married state, which suggests that marital dissolution is unlikely to have a significant depressing effect on the overall marital fertility in Pakistan.³ We further

Table 3.3
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				Total
	< 15	15-19	20-24	25+	
15-19	98.9	99.6	na	na	99.1
20-24	98.6	99.1	96.9	na	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
No.	(2,158)	(2,304)	(49)	(81)	(4,952)

na - not applicable

Source: Pakistan Fertility Survey (individual data).

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

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.

CHANGING TRENDS OF AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

Age at first marriage of Pakistani women has increased considerably over the past half century. Before discussing this change, however, it would be useful to explain the four measures of age at marriage used in this chapter: singulate mean age at marriage (SMAM), proportion of women single by age, mean age at marriage (MAM), and median age at marriage. The SMAM is calculated by adding the population currently single at successive ages – or age groups – as though they referred 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 time and does not refer to a real but to a synthetic cohort.⁴ In the absence of direct estimates of age at marriage, either from registration statistics or from survey data, the SMAM has been widely used in Pakistan to show trends in age at marriage over the years. 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 used the SMAM and the proportion of women single over time; our sources are the census data and PFS household data. In the following sections we discuss each of the four measures of age at marriage.

Singulate Mean Age at Marriage (SMAM)

Table 3.4 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, the 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

⁴Hajnal's (1953) SMAM utilizes the percentages single and with a single decrement procedure enables the calculation of the average number of years spent in a single state by a cohort. It yields mean ages that typically differ from means obtained from retrospective survey responses, which reflect the age compositions of populations at risk. 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 (MAM).

(1964) from the censuses of 1921 to 1941 are for the Muslim population of those provinces of British India that now constitute Pakistan.⁵

Table 3.4

Singulate Mean Age at Marriage (SMAM): 1921–81

Year	SMAM
1921	15.8
1931	15.7
1941	16.4
1951	17.9
1961	17.6
1972	20.0
1975	19.8
1981	20.8

Sources: 1921–61: Sadiq (1964: table 25, p. 72); 1972: Pakistan Census Organization (n.d.: table 5); 1975: Pakistan Fertility Survey (household data).

A 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 that eventually became Pakistan. Furthermore, educational facilities in the region, like those throughout the subcontinent, were generally lacking and industries were almost nonexistent, forcing the population to depend entirely on agriculture. The latter decades, however, brought substantial changes to 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 subcontinent was involved in the Second World War on behalf of the British Empire. The provinces of Punjab and North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), which together constitute about 75 percent of Pakistan's population, also provided a large proportion of the Indian subcontinent's armed forces. Thus male participation in the war might have led to the postponement of marriages, consequently increasing the female age at marriage as well. Finally, from 1945 to 1947 the province of Punjab experienced large-scale communal riots between Muslims and Hindus. This upheaval

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, is not likely to affect the estimates of SMAM prior to 1951.

led to severe social and economic disruptions resulting in the displacement of Muslim families who migrated from India to Pakistan after the British withdrawal from the subcontinent.

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 the SMAM between 1941 and 1951. During the 1950s there was a slight reversal in the upward trend in the SMAM, which was mainly due to the decline in the proportion single among women aged 20 to 24 years from 17.7 percent in 1951 to 12.0 in 1961 (Table 3.5). It is likely that when displaced persons started to settle down and links between the families were re-established, the frequency of marriage also went up.⁶ 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 effect on the forced postponement of marriages.

The 1960s brought substantial changes in Pakistan that 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 that could directly affect nuptiality were introduced.

Table 3.5
Proportion of Women Single by Age: 1951–75

Age	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

a. Pakistan Census Organization (n.d.: table 13, pp. III 14–15).

b. Pakistan Census Organization (n.d.: table 5).

c. Data (household level).

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

One of the most significant pieces of legislation was the Muslim Family Law Ordinance, introduced in 1961. (For discussion see Shah 1982: Chap. 4.). These changes together with the improvement in socio-economic conditions in the country may have been responsible for the substantial increase in the average female age at marriage from 17.6 in 1961 to 20.0 in 1972.

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 3.5. Although the proportion of women single in the age group 15–19 has substantially increased from about 47 percent in 1961 to 62 percent in 1975, only about one-fifth (22 percent) of women aged 20 to 24 in 1975 were single. With increasing age the proportion of single women declined substantially in all years shown in Table 3.5. Thus by age 50 less than 1 percent of the 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 (Alam *et al.* 1983).

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 3.6 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 the interquartile range; this range includes the central one-half of the marriages (that is, between 25 and 75 percent), with one-fourth marrying younger and one-fourth later than the interquartile range. The median age at first marriage (the age by which half of the women in any given cohort entered into a first marriage) has risen by a year – from 15.3 years for women aged 45–49 to 16.5 years for women aged 25 to 29. A generally similar 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 increase in the interquartile range – from 3.7 years for women

Table 3.6
Median Age by which 10, 25, 50, and 75 Percent of Women
were Married (by Age) and the Interquartile Range: 1975

Current age	Percentage ever married				Interquartile range
	10%	25%	50%	75%	
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).

45 to 49 years of age to 5.3 years for those aged 25 to 29. From the PFS individual-level data, we may conclude that across cohorts 45-49 and 40-44, there was no change in marriage behaviour except for a slight reduction in very young marriages. Among younger cohorts (ages 30 to 34 and below), however, a clear trend toward the postponement of marriage is shown, with an increase of more than one year in the median age at marriage between ages 30 to 34 and 25 to 29 (data not shown).

DETERMINANTS OF AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

In the preceding section we showed that female age at marriage in Pakistan has increased over the years, especially during the 1960s, and suggested that this increase could be associated with changes in the socio-economic conditions in the country. While the joint family is still widely prevalent and about 55 percent of all households in the PFS were composed of nonnuclear 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 that 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 in which there is

extreme pressure on the availability of land and, consequently, a need to adjust to changing conditions. In many instances, independent living and earning by the prospective groom has become a prerequisite to marriage, and it entails delayed marriage for both men and women. Beginning in the 1960s, Pakistan also experienced sustained economic growth in the nonagricultural sector that enabled the urban sector to absorb the rural migrants; this development has apparently affected the marriage patterns in both urban and rural sectors. Since changes in marriage patterns and the mechanisms at work are at times difficult to determine due to the paucity of time-series data, the preceding explanations are based on our knowledge of Pakistani society.

We have tried to identify the factors that are associated with the differentials in marriage patterns in Pakistan. For this purpose, we have done the analysis at both household and individual levels. At the household level we have examined differentials in proportion of women married by age and SMAM for three subgroups: urban/rural place of residence, province, and exposure to schooling. At the individual level, we expand the analysis 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 labour force participation. Our analysis at the household level is based on the PFS data pertaining to all women in the household; 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 to 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. But 99 percent of ever-married women in the PFS were married by age 25, so we have confined our analysis to ages 25 and above. It may be noted, however, that the MAM 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. The SMAM, on the other hand, reflects the experience of a synthetic cohort (see note 4). The two measures are therefore not comparable. The estimates of SMAM and MAM presented in Tables 3.7 and 3.8 are meant to show the variations between the subcategories of women's characteristics rather than to show the trends in age at marriage.

Table 3.7
Proportion of Women Ever-married by Age and Singulate Mean Age
at Marriage (SMAM) by Selected Background Variables: 1975

Background variable	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	SMAM	Difference in SMAM over previous 5 years
Pakistan	0.382	0.779	0.915	0.967	0.974	0.988	0.992	19.8	+ 1.3
<i>Place of residence</i>									
Urban	0.279	0.701	0.896	0.974	0.965	0.983	0.990	20.7	+ 1.5
Rural	0.424	0.813	0.922	0.964	0.979	0.990	0.994	19.2	+ 1.1
<i>Province of residence</i>									
NWFP	0.429	0.792	0.920	0.899	0.953	0.981	0.982	17.9	+ 0.5
Punjab	0.343	0.770	0.903	0.970	0.976	0.989	0.987	20.0	+ 1.3
Sind	0.466	0.831	0.941	0.983	0.985	0.986	1.000	18.8	+ 1.1
<i>Schooling exposure</i>									
Schooling	0.182	0.550	0.814	0.940	0.926	0.939	0.974	21.6	+ 1.3
No schooling	0.448	0.841	0.934	0.970	0.980	0.990	0.996	18.9	+ 1.0

Source : Pakistan Fertility Survey (1975: household data).

Table 3.8
 Percentage Married at Age 21 and Above and Mean Age at Marriage of Ever-married Women
 by Age and Selected Characteristics: 1975

Characteristic	Current age		40-49		Current age		30-39		Current age		25-29	Difference in mean age at marriage between ages 40-49 and 25-29
	No.	% married at age 21+	Mean age at marriage	No.	% married at age 21+	Mean age at marriage	No.	% 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												
Push to 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 ^b	17.2 ^b	56	36.8	19.0	52	44.2	19.8	+ 2.6		

Continued -

Table 3.8 – (Continued)

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 ^b	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—before and after	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 ^b	15.8	17	6.9 ^b	14.8 ^b	8	0.0 ^b	16.1 ^b	+ 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.

b. Based on fewer than 25 cases.

Source: Pakistan Fertility Survey (individual data).

Place of Residence and Origin

Urban women tend to delay their marriage to fairly later ages than rural women, especially those at ages below 30. Thus at ages 15–19, some 42 percent of rural women but only 28 percent of urban women were already married. Even at ages 20–24, some 11 percent fewer women were married in urban than in rural areas. Although with increasing ages the differentials had narrowed, the SMAM of urban women was 1.5 years higher than the rural women in 1975 (Table 3.7). Over the previous five years urban women show a higher gain in the SMAM than rural women, a finding that is further confirmed by the analysis done at the individual level in Table 3.8. The marriage pattern of women in their forties for example, was quite similar in both urban and rural areas; younger urban women were, however, married more than half a year later than younger rural women (Table 3.8).

Rapid urbanization and a large-scale movement of people from rural to urban areas has occurred in Pakistan over the last three decades. In the PFS sample, one-third of all urban respondents had lived in rural areas during their premarital adolescent period – that is, they were rural migrants to urban areas. Table 3.8 indicates 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 the younger age cohort. About 18 percent of younger women (aged 25 to 29) with lifetime urban residence were married at age 21 or later, and they were married at age 17 on the 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 areas, although evident in delaying the 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 with regard to the timing of girls' marriage in the older generation; this pattern is revealed by a small difference in age at marriage of lifetime urban residents and rural women in the older cohort. However, a departure from this value seems to have taken place for the younger generation of women who have lived in urban areas most of their lives.

Geographic and Linguistic Affiliations

Pakistan, as discussed in Chapter 1, is divided into four administrative provinces – Baluchistan, 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 the small number of interviews conducted in the province in the PFS.

Women in each of the three provinces report somewhat different marriage patterns. A relatively lower percentage of women in Punjab were married at ages 15 to 19 than in NWFP and Sind. Women in Punjab, on the average, married about 1.2 years later than those living in Sind and 2.1 years later than those living in NWFP (Table 3.7). Women in NWFP showed a gain of half a year in SMAM over the previous 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, has unique marriage practices and customs. Certain cultural practices, such as the 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. Such customs may influence age at marriage of females (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, interviews were conducted in the language that the respondent usually speaks. The results presented in Table 3.8 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 age than Urdu- and Punjabi-speaking women. Younger Sindhi-speaking women have in fact married somewhat earlier on the 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 to 49 all four linguistic groups on the average were married between ages 15.7 to 16.2, Punjabi- and Urdu-speaking women aged 15 to 19, on the average, were married a year later than Pushto-speaking women and more than two years later than Sindhi-speaking women.

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 the women reported attending school and only 4 percent completed primary education or above in the PFS sample (that is, six or more years of schooling), 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 for those who never attended school (Table 3.7). 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 the age group 15–19 the difference is indeed quite wide; 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 to 24 when only 55 percent of the former were married against 84 percent of the later. Although marriage is almost universal in Pakistan, the only subgroup that 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 ages 45 to 49 and were thus likely to remain single.

When the analysis is 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 3.8). At ages 40 to 49, some 7 percent of women without schooling reported marrying at age 21 or later, while about 13 percent of those with one to five years of schooling did so. Among younger women aged 25 to 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 the average, married more than two and a half years later than their older counterparts. Younger women with no schooling or below primary schooling showed very little change in the timing of marriage as compared to older women with similar schooling. Thus it appears that not only school attendance but also 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; it 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 differently 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; education may increase their demand as wives, but at the same time it delays their marriage.

Pattern of Work and Age at Marriage

Due to the traditional nature of Pakistani society, employment of women outside the home, particularly before marriage, is discouraged. 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 labour-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 labour force while waiting to get married. At younger ages (25 to 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 for those who never worked, two years higher than for those who have always worked (that is, before and after marriage), and more than three years higher than for those who entered the labour force only after marriage (Table 3.8). It is possible that women who worked only before marriage belonged to lower-income families. Thus, by joining the labour force before marriage, they experienced a delay in their marriage of between one and two years.

Dixon (1971) has suggested that female employment may have a depressing effect 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 Table 3.8. 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 to 29, the mean age at marriage for women who had cash earnings was 17.4, more than a year higher than for those who either worked for 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 a very 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 finding indicates 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 or 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.

SUMMARY

With the help of census and survey data we have demonstrated the changing marriage patterns and determinants of age at marriage in Pakistan. In the early 1970s, women were marrying about two years later on the average than those married in 1951. In 1972, about two-thirds of the women at ages 15 to 19 were single as compared to less than half in

1951. In 1975, less than 3 percent of ever-married women were classified as divorced or separated and another 3 percent as widowed. Although no variations were found in the proportions divorced and separated by age, more older women were classified as widowed. About 10 percent of ever-married women reported that their marriages were dissolved (by divorce or death of husband); however, about half remarry. In 1975, of the 94 percent women who were classified as currently married, only 4 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 years.

Some of the variations in female age at marriage were also analysed with regard to the current place of residence, exposure to urban living, geographic and linguistic affiliations, school attendance, and work experience prior to marriage. In this case we analysed 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 the 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 that are occurring in Pakistan and affecting family life may continue to influence the upward shift in age at marriage.

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INTERNAL MIGRATION: PATTERNS AND MIGRANT CHARACTERISTICS

Nasra M. Shah

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 certain members of a family move.

The stream of migration that is likely to bring about the greatest change in the migrant families' environment and status is the movement from rural to urban areas. This is so because of the large differences between the two areas in infrastructure development and 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 the years and compare it with male migration
2. To study the patterns of interdistrict migration, particularly for recent migrants
3. To analyse the characteristics of female migrants in relation to their nonmigrant counterparts
4. To outline the implications of existing migration patterns for the status of women in Pakistan

Data for the present report come primarily from the Housing, Economics, and Demographic (HED) Survey. With regard to migration estimates, data that render direct estimates are available in the 1961 census and the 1973 HED Survey. Some data on recent (five-year and one-year) migrants are also available in the 1974–75 Labour Force Survey (LFS). All these data sources have been used in this chapter. Most of the analysis from the HED Survey presented here is based on special tabulations made in Honolulu. Because of editing and other data-processing differences, there may be minor discrepancies between some of the figures based on these special tabulations and the ones based on published data.

Before analysing the trends and characteristics of migration, I should point out the weaknesses of the available data. Like most data sources in Pakistan, the HED Survey suffers from problems of reliability and validity and has been the subject of considerable discussion. Data from the HED Survey and other sources are essentially cross-sectional. Since information on the socioeconomic situation of the migrants pertains only to the time of survey, any implications of these data for the migration process are simply inferential.

Another drawback of the analysis in this chapter is that migration data are available only for interdistrict movement. Figure 4.1 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 moves within the same district. Irfan *et al.* (1983) have estimated that about 42 percent of all the moves between 1972 and 1979 were within the district. Similarly, 47 percent of the in-migrants to Peshawar city and 28 percent of the ones to Gujranwala city came from within the district (SSRC 1977; BOEE 1977). Although the HED Survey does not provide any direct estimate of intradistrict migration, it does contain fairly detailed data on the district of origin for recent migrants in terms of the type of stream (rural or urban).

One other 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 small number of cases

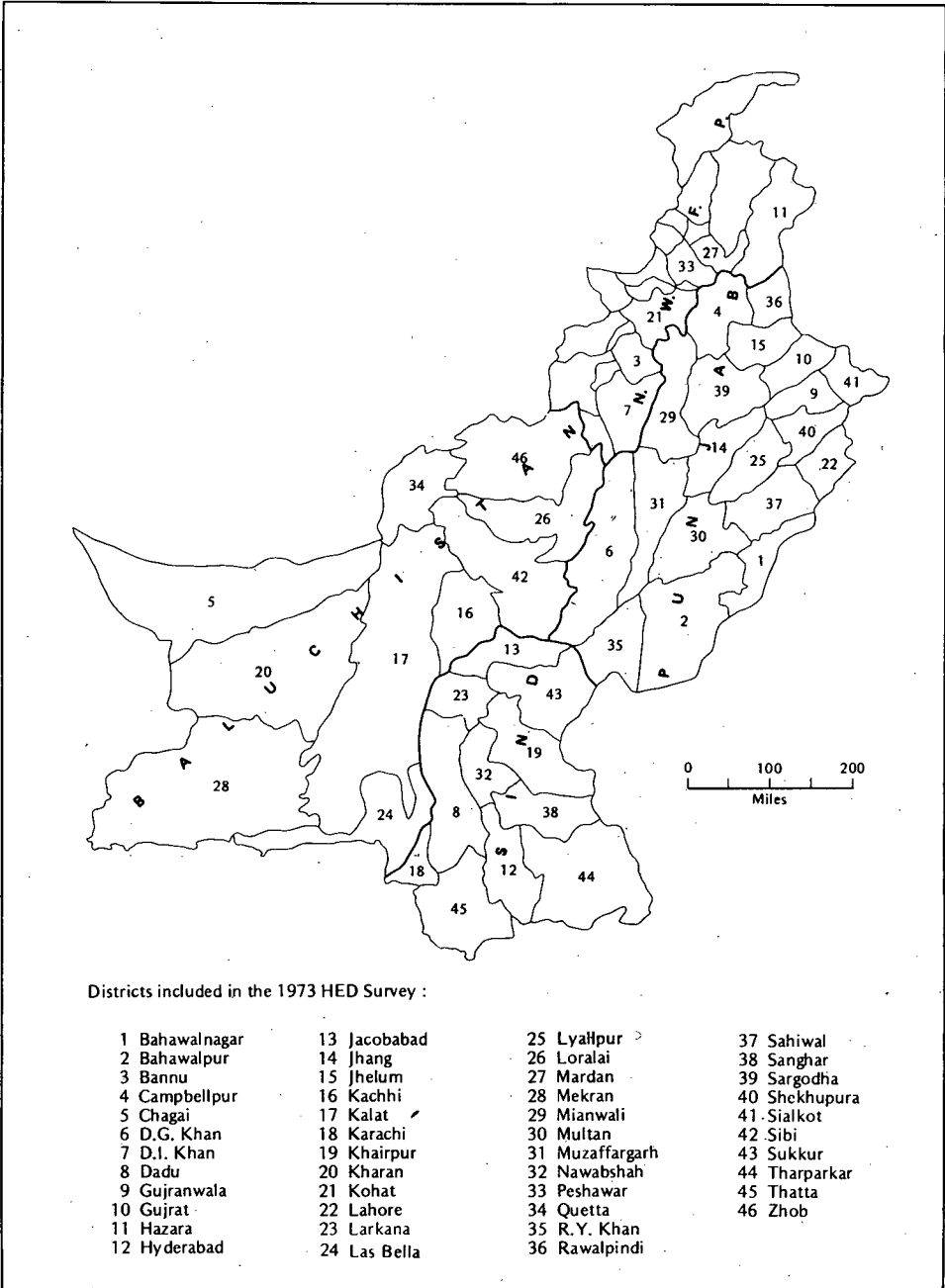


Figure 4.1 Administrative Districts of Pakistan in 1972.

on which to base conclusions. Despite these shortcomings, direct estimates of migration by district do indicate the patterns of female migration in Pakistan. Finally, as discussed below, data on the reasons for migration are not available in the censuses or the HED Survey.

The HED Survey did not contain any questions on why people moved from one place to another. Earlier studies of Gujranwala and Peshawar indicate that for the primary mover (or household head), the predominant reason for migration was economic. Roughly 70 percent of the household heads in each study moved for business-related reasons (SSRC 1977; BOEE 1977). Since these studies collected data on the reasons of migration only for the household head, who is in most cases a male, they do not provide any information on women's reasons for migration. The Social Sciences Research Center (SSRC) study, however, did indicate that 18 percent of all migrants from other urban areas and 11 percent from rural areas to Gujranwala moved on account of marriage; the sex breakdown for this phenomenon was not provided in the report. Thus we do not have any direct estimate of the percentage of women who migrated on account of marriage on the basis of these studies, although the incidence of marriage-related migration is generally believed to be a significant factor in the migration of women in South Asia. Premi (1982), for example, provides strong evidence suggesting that this is the case for India.

A more recent study in Pakistan by Irfan *et al.* (1983) indicates that marriage migration is indeed a significant aspect of female migration. The incidence of female migration declined from 11.6 to only 4.8 percent once migration for marriage was excluded; thus close to six-tenths of all female migration apparently occurred because of marriage. Indirect evidence of this phenomenon provided by such indicators as the marital status distribution also suggests a strong tendency toward marriage-related migration among women. In the following analysis I discuss the volume and patterns of migration within the country and the characteristics of various types of migrants.

VOLUME AND PATTERNS OF INTERDISTRICT 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 persons of the urban population at the 1951 census to be 18.7 for males and 18.2 for females. He interpreted this close correspondence to be indicative of a trend toward 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 pattern represents a reversal in the trend of the earlier period (1951–61). The authors interpret this finding as suggesting a growing tendency toward 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 1961 to 119 in 1972 also implies a probable decline in male-only migration (Afzal and Abbasi 1979· Table 6). For the present analysis, migrants have been divided into two types: long-term and recent. Long-term migrants consist of those who moved before the 1965 war between India and Pakistan; 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 in which they were enumerated in 1973.

Table 4.1 presents data on the percentage of migrants in the rural and urban populations of Pakistan and its four provinces. Among the urban areas, 58 percent of the population has never moved whereas 42 percent 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 10 percent of the total population of urban areas consists of recent migrants (migrants between 1965 and 1973). The percentage of migrants is much smaller within rural areas – 16 percent, 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 is 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

Table 4.1
 Number and Percentage of Non-migrants, Long-term Migrants, and Recent Migrants
 Aged 10+ by Residence, Sex, and Urban/Rural Areas: 1973

Residence/Sex	Urban				Rural				LFS recent migrants ^b	
	Total population ^a	Non-migrants	Long-term migrants	Recent migrants	Total population ^a	Non-migrants	Long-term migrants	Recent migrants	Urban	Rural
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

Continued -

Table 4.1 – (Continued)

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. Numbers are based on HED Survey weighted data.

b. Labour Force Survey (LFS) recent migrants are for five years prior to survey of 1974–75.

Note: 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. Nonmigrants include persons who have never moved—that is, their place of birth is the same as their residence in 1965 and in 1973.

Sources: Author's tabulation from HED Survey (1973); Statistics Division (n.d.: tables 18.2 and 19.2).

areas might be an actual trend toward higher female than male migration in rural areas that 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 North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Baluchistan. This finding implies that larger proportions of migrants from India settled in Punjab and Sind compared to the other two provinces and is consistent with other data on lifetime migration. The percentage of recent migrants is very similar for urban areas of all four provinces – 9 to 10 percent 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.

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 4.2 shows the numerical concentration of all male and female recent migrants within rural and urban areas by district. Some 16 percent of all recent migrants in the country had moved to urban Karachi whereas 29 percent of all migrants in urban areas were in Karachi district. Within the urban areas, more than half of all migrants (51 percent) were concentrated in three districts: Karachi,

¹The question used to measure the persons' migration status was 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 length of time since the person migrated and place from which he or she came. Furthermore, the HED and LFS samples are different although both are intended to be national in scope. The difference in percentage of female migrants might be caused by the nature of samples in the two surveys.

Table 4.2

Percentage Distribution of All Recent Migrants by Province, District, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence: 1973

Residence	Total			Urban			Rural		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
Total migrants (weighted No.)	2,051,016	1,135,067	915,949	1,148,610	647,331	501,279	902,406	487,736	414,670
Province									
Total (%)	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
District									
Total	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
Muzaffargarh	2.3	2.4	2.1	0.6	0.6	0.5	4.4	4.7	4.1

Continued -

Table 4.2 – (Continued)

Residence	Total			Urban			Rural		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
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
Other districts	28.6	28.3	28.7	22.9	22.0	23.7	35.7	36.9	35.3

Note: Recent migrants include persons who moved between 1965 and 1973.

Source: Author's tabulation from HED Survey (1973).

Rawalpindi, and Lahore. These three districts are highly urbanized (Karachi: 97 percent, Lahore: 60 percent, and Rawalpindi: 45 percent in 1973). The high degree of migration to these places suggests the importance of metropolitan areas in the migration process and also the significance of migration in metropolitan growth. A slightly larger percentage of males than urban female migrants were in these three districts (52 and 48 percent) suggesting a trend toward 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 percent) compared with other districts. Some 53 percent of all migrants in rural areas were located in nine districts. These nine districts (see Table 4.2) had a slightly smaller proportion of male than female migrants – 51 and 55 percent. 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 percentage of recent migrants (those who moved between 1965 and 1973) in the total population within each district, Karachi had the largest percentage (about 10 percent) of male as well as female migrants followed by Rawalpindi (Figures 4.2 and 4.3). Most of the migrants in these two districts were in urban areas. Other districts that had more than 5 percent recent migrants in their male population were Gujranwala, Bahawalpur, and Lasbela. In the three most urbanized districts, 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.

Districtwise Lifetime and Recent Migration

When we measure migrants as a proportion of the district population, we find that Karachi had the largest proportion of female as well as male lifetime migrants in 1961 and 1973, followed by the districts of Faisalabad, Bahawalnagar, and Lahore – all three in the province of Punjab (Table 4.3). The percentage of lifetime migrants in a district provides a simple estimate of the population born outside the district. The percentage of lifetime migrants in most districts was substantially smaller in 1973 than in 1961. A major reason for this decline is that

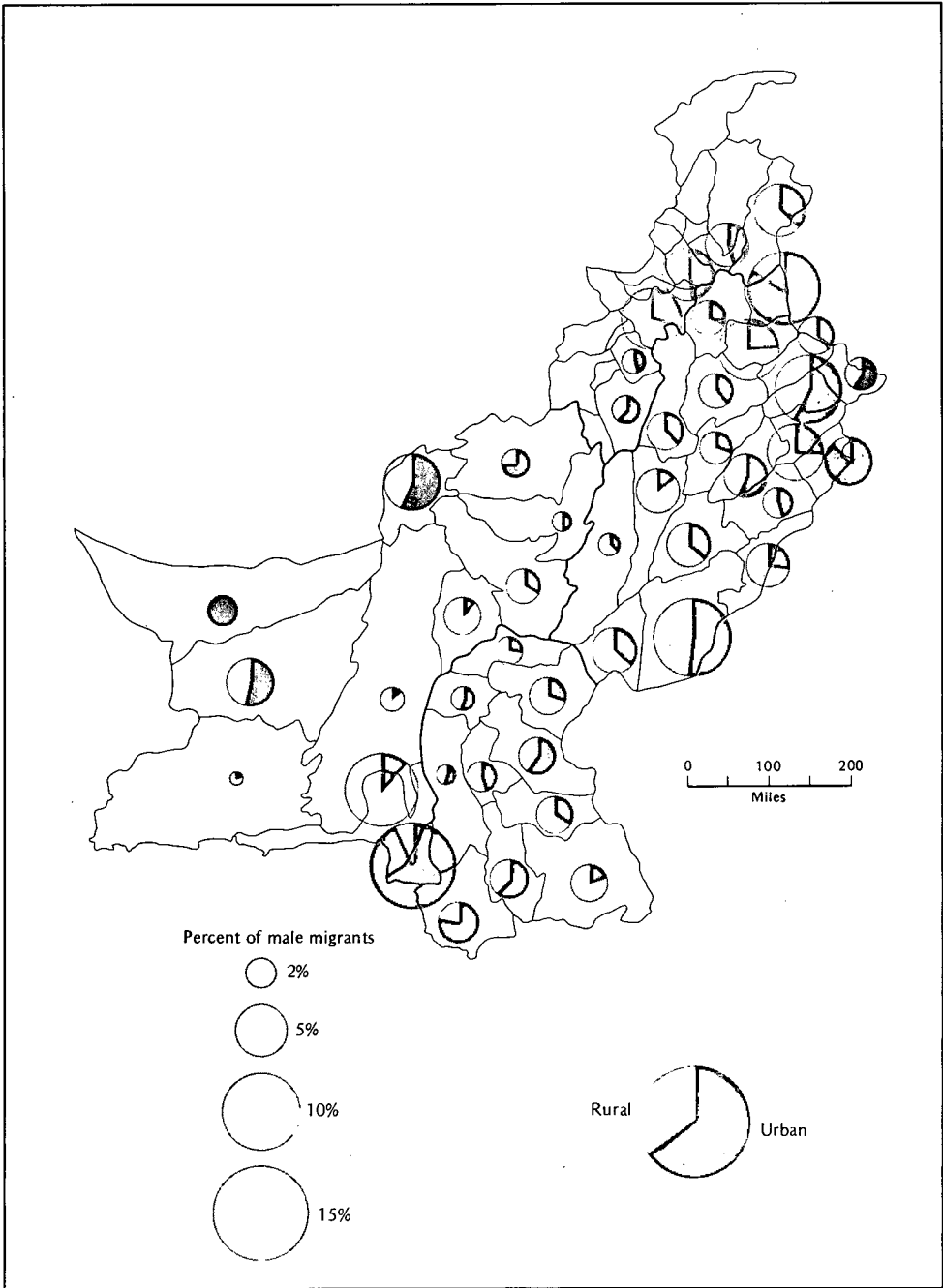


Figure 4.2: Percentage of Recent Male Migrants in Total Male Population within Urban and Rural Areas by District: (1973).

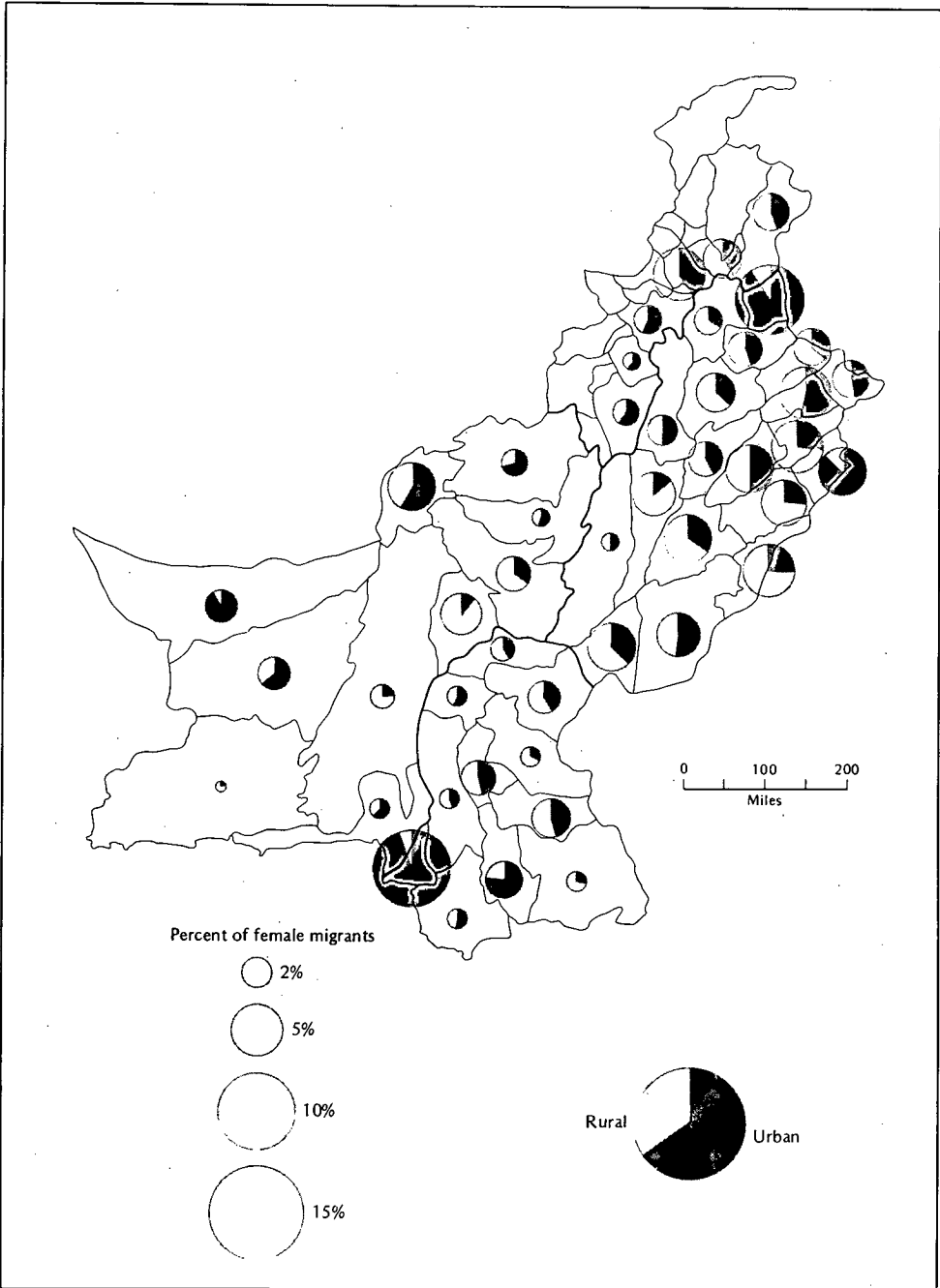


Figure 4.3 Percentage of Recent Female Migrants in Total Female Population within Urban and Rural Areas by District: (1973).

Table 4.3
Percentage of Lifetime Migrants (All Ages) in the District Population
by Sex: 1961 and 1973

District	Females			Males		
	1961	1973	% change	1961	1973	% change
Pakistan	21.6	17.1	-4.5	23.1	17.7	-5.4
Province						
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
District						
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
Rahimyar Khan	22.8	16.9	-5.9	24.6	18.0	-6.6
Bahawalpur	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
Sargodha	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
Muzaffargarh	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

Continued -

Table 4.3 – (Continued)

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
Las Bela	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	0.0
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
Mekran	0.8	4.5	+3.3	1.6	3.8	+2.2

Note: Ranked by percentage of female migrants in 1961.

Sources: Home Affairs Division (n.d.: vol. 3, table 8); Census Organization (n.d.: vol. 2, pt. 1, table 12).

the initial migrants from India who were a larger proportion of the population in 1961 constituted a much smaller proportion in 1973 because of attrition due to mortality and also because of the 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 – Chagai, Gujrat, and D.G. Khan – have experienced some increase in lifetime migration of females but not males. While the increase for Gujrat was small (less than 1 percent), the percentage of lifetime female

²Mass 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 (migrants before 1965) to the four districts with the largest percentage of lifetime migrants shows that substantial proportions came to these districts from India. The percentage of long-term migrants from India was as follows: 73 percent for Karachi, 75 percent for Bahawalnagar, 79 percent for Faisalabad, and 76 percent for Lahore (data not shown).

migrants in Chagai was 3.5 points more in 1973 than in 1961; there was no corresponding gain for the males. Other districts in which the percentage of lifetime migrants had increased by at least half a point for both sexes include Rawalpindi, Hazara, Kharan, Mekran, and Mardan. The increase in the percentage of lifetime migrants implies that the number of lifetime migrants grew at a greater pace than the native population of the district during 1961–73.

The apparent increase in migration to Rawalpindi is related to the location of Islamabad in this district. Islamabad was designated as the federal capital in February 1960, and most federal government offices have relocated there. 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 Rawalpindi, which was the third most urbanized district with 45 percent of the population living in urban areas.

Hazara and Mardan in NWFP had urbanization levels of 10 and 17 percent in 1973, but both districts had a positive pace of urbanization in the 1961–72 period (Afzal and Abbasi 1979: Table 3). The swift 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 there. 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 interrelationships between migration and urbanization is, however, beyond the scope of this study.³ My 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 in the next section.

A comparison of the sex ratios of lifetime migrants for 1961 and 1973 (Table 4.4) shows that sex ratios have declined in 35 out of the 45 districts (78 percent). This finding indicates that there is a higher proportion 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; that is, there were more female than male migrants in these two districts in 1973. These findings are consistent with the relatively high percentage of lifetime female

³For detailed discussions on urbanization in Pakistan see Helbock (1975a, 1975b), Burki (1973a, 1973b, 1974), Belokvenitsky (1974), and Mujahid (1975). Afzal and Abbasi (1979) also provide detailed district-level analysis of urbanization in Pakistan.

Table 4.4
Sex Ratios of Lifetime Migrants (All Ages) by District, as Reported
in the 1961 Census and HED Survey (1973)

District	1961	1973
NWFP	137	129
Hazara	217	137
Mardan	134	107
Peshawar	128	135
Kohat	226	151
D. I. Khan	178	149
Bannu	199	114
Punjab	117	118
Campbellpur	158	142
Rawalpindi/Islamabad	139	129
Jhelum	138	152
Gujrat	116	96
Sargodha	118	109
Mianwali	127	119
Lyallpur	101	110
Jhang	114	113
Lahore	132	126
Gujranwala	106	97
Sheikhupura	105	106
Sialkot	107	115
D. G. Khan	125	180
Muzaffargarh	126	140
Multan	123	119
Sahiwal	116	112
Bahawalpur	125	116
Bahawalnagar	119	109
Rahimyar Khan	128	127
Sind	141	129
Jacobabad	148	126
Sukkur	127	128

Continued -

Table 4.4 – (Continued)

District	1961	1973
Larkana	116	150
Nawabshah	125	117
Khairpur	134	133
Hyderabad	137	121
Dadu	138	139
Tharparkar	131	118
Karachi	148	132
Sanghar	133	127
Thatta	166	243
Baluchistan	206	190
Quetta	245	126
Sibi	147	152
Loralai	160	159
Zhob	258	132
Chagai	238	95
Kalat	265	151
Mekran	218	83
Kharan	155	140
Las Bela	129	468
Kacchi ^a		134

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

Sources: Home Affairs Division (n.d.: vol. 3, table 8); Census Organization (n.d.: vol. 2, pt. 1, table 12).

migrants in these districts in 1973. Baluchistan is a relatively backward province in terms of economic development, education, and health care, and the higher proportion of female migrants in the districts of Chagai and Mekran needs further study.

Two districts had much higher sex ratios in 1973 than in 1961: 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 rapid pace of urbanization in the 1961–72 period. (Only 9 percent of Lasbela's population was urban in 1973, however.) Lasbela had the highest pace of urbanization among all districts in Pakistan in 1961–72, and many more males than females would probably have 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 (see Appendix Table B.1). The number of cases on which these findings are based is small, however, and does not permit firm conclusions.⁴ 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 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. Moreover, the number of females making an interdistrict move might have increased for such reasons as 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 is now a larger proportion of female migrants than before. The nature of the move in terms of rural or urban origin and destination is discussed in detail in the next section.

Types 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-rural, urban-urban, rural-urban, and urban-rural. These four patterns are labelled as types of stream for the present analysis. Tables 4.5 and 4.6 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 five-year migrants reported in the Labour Force Survey (LFS) of 1974-75.

According to the HED Survey data, almost 40 percent of the male as well as female migrants were in the urban-urban stream for the country as a whole (Table 4.5). The next largest stream was from rural to rural areas; 30 percent of the males and 36 percent of the females were 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 percent were in the rural-urban stream. These figures, however, differ sharply from the data provided by the LFS, which show that 34 percent of all migrants in Pakistan were in the rural-urban stream. (The LFS does not give a sex breakdown of migrants by type of stream.) The LFS data show that a larger percentage

⁴ Another problem that needs to be considered is the definition of areas as urban or rural. One reason for the high urban-to-rural migration might be the definition of suburbs of Karachi district (administratively in Lasbela) as rural.

Table 4.5
 Percentage of Recent Inter Province Migrants Aged 10+
 by Type of Stream: Pakistan and Province, HED Survey (1973),
 and LFS (1974-75)

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

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

Notes: HED Survey data pertain to those who moved during eight years before the survey, between 1965 and 1973; LFS data are for persons who migrated during the five years prior to the survey.

Sources: Author's tabulation from HED Survey; Statistics Division (n.d.: table 19.2).

of all migrants move to urban areas (62 percent) compared with 57 percent male and 55 percent females who are reported to move to urban areas in the HED Survey. Furthermore, data from the PLM Survey indicate that there are substantial differences between the HED Survey and the PLM Survey (Irfan *et al.* 1983). In particular, the urban-urban stream was much less significant in the PLM Survey than in the HED Survey, which raises a question about the reliability of the data. The samples in the HED Survey and the other sources are different, and it is not clear whether these discrepancies are a result simply of different samples or caused by nonsampling differences (and errors) in the various 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 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 that 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 4.5. For example, the HED Survey data show that about 80 percent of male as well as female migrants in Sind were going to urban areas whereas the LFS reports only 57 percent in the two streams toward urban areas. The HED Survey figures for Sind seem to be more accurate because of the high rate of migration to Karachi district (97 percent of which is urban); 64 percent of all migrants to Sind moved to Karachi. But any conclusions based on these data must be treated as tentative.

One pattern of migration that seems typical of females is their greater preponderance in the rural-rural stream compared to males in Pakistan and all the four provinces (Table 4.5). Roughly 40 percent of the female migrants in Punjab, NWFP, and Baluchistan were in the rural-rural stream compared with only 16 percent 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.⁵ Appendix Table B.1

⁵It might be repeated here that residence after marriage is patrilocal; the bride leaves her parental abode to live with the husband (and his family in many cases).

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 1965–73, and about 13 percent of the total population of Karachi (aged ten and above) were recent migrants (see Figures 4.2 and 4.3). The district that received the next highest percentage of migrants during this period was Rawalpindi/Islamabad (10 percent) followed by Gujranwala (7 percent). 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 falls within a broad range with about 13 percent in Karachi and only 0.5 percent in the district of Mekran (see Appendix Table B.1).⁶ Ten of the 45 districts had 5 percent or more recent migrants in their population while the remaining 35 had less than 5 percent. With the exception of Karachi and Rawalpindi/Islamabad, the level of urbanization of a district (as measured by percentage of population that is urban) does not seem to be closely related to the percentage of migrants in that district. The urban-urban stream was the predominant one in the major urban centres like Karachi and Lahore. The rural-rural stream was the predominant one for several of the districts that had about 5 percent recent migrants. For example, more than half of all migrants were in the rural-rural stream in Sheikhpura, Bahawalnagar, Rahimyar Khan, Multan, and Muzzafargarh. The male/female differentials within this stream were generally small; the females usually have a slight edge over males.

Male/Female Differences in Migration Streams

Table 4.6 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

⁶The extremely low figure for Mekran is discrepant with the data on lifetime migrants in 1973 presented in Table 4.3. Mekran had over 4 percent lifetime migrants in 1973, but only 0.5 percent of the migrants to Mekran are recent migrants aged 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 that is 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 small number of cases.

Table 4.6

Sex Ratios of Migrant Streams for Persons Aged 10+ who Moved Before 1965 (Long-term Migrants) and between 1965 and 1973 (Recent Migrants)

District	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
NWFP	144	139	149	139	119	244	150
Punjab	116	116	113	117	101	143	117
Sind	130	128	142	137	118	141	174
Baluchistan	146	140	154	126	139	275	129
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
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	96	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	70	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
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	121	95	92	85	112	105
Khairpur	136	134	197	183	91	100	500

Continued -

Table 4.6 - (Continued)

District	Total migrants	Long-term migrants	Recent migrants	Stream of recent migrants			
				Urban to urban	Rural to rural	Urban to rural	Rural to urban
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
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
Zohb	136	134	140	145	125	0	200
Chagai	100	112	83	80	0	0	140
Kalat	146	191	115	77	118	0	0
Kacchi	147	148	145	233	143	144	78
Kharan	174	161	190	152	350	150	0
Mekran	121	118	132	0	120	0	133
Las Bela	539	194	813	131	0	1,850	160

Note: Sex ratio = (males/females) × 100.

Source: Author's tabulation from HED Survey (1973).

heavily male-dominated than that of long-term migrants. When the recent migrants are grouped into those who moved only between 1965 and 1973 and those who moved both before and after 1965, the following pattern of sex ratios is observed:

Classification	Sex ratio	% of total
Nonmigrant	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 toward more female migration among those who moved (only) since 1965, the trend is not so

obvious in Table 4.6 as it might have been if the group of recent migrants had been analysed separately. An analysis based on the two separate groups has been given in Shah (1984).

With regard to 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 4.4. The sex ratios for recent migrants were higher than for long-term migrants in all provinces except Punjab. When recent migrants are viewed as a group, all of the districts in NWFP had more males than females. This finding remains true for all the migration streams in NWFP 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 that was the most frequently female-dominated was the rural-rural stream; 8 of the 19 districts in Punjab had sex ratios less than 100. In 13 of the 19 districts the sex ratios among recent migrants were lower than among long-term migrants, indicating a widespread tendency in Punjab toward increased female migration. When we recall that Punjab contains about 58 percent of the total population of the country, these findings become quite significant.

In the province of Sind, two districts, Nawabshah and Sanghar, had sex ratios less than 100. Sanghar is the only district 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, a finding that is consistent with the increase in lifetime 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 certain streams – the rural-rural stream, for example – again points toward cultural patterns such as village exogamy that might be related to higher female migration. Baluchistan had the highest sex ratios among recent migrants (154), followed by NWFP (149) and Sind (142); Punjab had the lowest sex ratios among all provinces (113). Certain districts that need further examination due to their somewhat unusual migration patterns of relatively high female migration include

Sanghar in Sind, Chagai in Baluchistan, and Sialkot and Sahiwal in Punjab. One reservation must be emphasized, however. Some of these districts are fairly small in terms of population, 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.

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 for social and economic reasons. I therefore divided the sample of migrants into those who moved (only) before 1965 and those who moved between 1965 and 1973 (including those who moved both before and after 1965) to study the patterns of interdistrict movement. A preliminary analysis of the district of origin for persons who moved into the district before 1965 shows that in districts having large proportions of migrants, more than 60 percent of all migrants came from India (see Appendix Table B.2). More than 70 percent of the migrants to Karachi, Lahore, Faisalabad, and Sahiwal, for example, came from India. In 14 of the 45 districts, 60 percent or more of the migrants had migrated from India.

A summary of the district-level data is given in Table 4.7, which shows the origin of long-term migrants at the provincial level. Larger proportions of migrants to Punjab and Sind migrated from India compared with the other two provinces. Table 4.1 shows that a larger proportion of the migrants to NWFP 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 percent in Punjab and 68 percent in Sind came from India; the pattern was quite similar for males. A fairly large proportion of the migrants to NWFP came from other areas, mainly federally administered tribal areas (FATA). These areas, though outside the administrative unit, are geographically contiguous to NWFP – 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

Table 4.7
Place of Birth of Long-term Migrants Aged 10+
by Sex and Province of Residence: 1965

Residence in 1965	Place of birth					
	NWFP (%)	Punjab (%)	Sind (%)	Baluchistan (%)	India (%)	Other ^a (%)
M A L E S						
All Pakistan	4.8	17.8	3.1	7.1	62.6	4.7
NWFP	33.4 (47) ^b	17.9	17.8	1.6	5.6	23.7
Punjab	2.0	19.1 (65)	0.9	7.6	66.4	4.0
Sind	8.5	14.2	6.7 (20)	4.8	61.9	4.0
Baluchistan	8.9	18.0	8.9	41.0 (53)	11.3	11.9
F E M A L E S						
All Pakistan	3.5	21.6	2.7	3.7	64.2	4.3
NWFP	37.3 (57)	18.1	9.9	0.9	5.5	28.3
Punjab	1.6	24.6 (81)	0.7	3.3	66.1	3.7
Sind	5.1	13.5	7.3 (25)	3.4	67.6	3.1
Baluchistan	8.4	19.0	10.2	38.4 (51)	13.0	11.1

a. Others include Azad Kashmir, occupied Kashmir, Northern Areas, FATA, former East Pakistan, Afghanistan, and all other countries.

b. Figures in parentheses represent within-province migration only. The denominator excludes persons who migrated from India or other places.

Source: Author's tabulation from HED Survey (1973).

four provinces. In Punjab, over four-fifths of the female migrants (81 percent) moved within the province; this figure compares to 65 percent for males. In Sind, on the contrary, only 25 percent of the females and 20 percent of the males came from within the province. A large proportion of both sexes came to Sind from Punjab province.

An analysis of the place of origin of recent migrants shows that 70 percent of male and 74 percent of female migrants to Punjab came from within the province (Table 4.8). (For detailed district-level data on recent migrants see Appendix Table B.3.) Figures 4.4 and 4.5 show the origin of migrants who came to selected districts in Pakistan. The majority of migrants to the districts in Punjab came from within Punjab province. Migrants to Karachi came from many different areas. 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 large proportion of migration in all four provinces is within the 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 must therefore remain tentative.

Within rural areas of all four provinces a large percentage of the females migrated from within the province compared to males, according to HED Survey findings. For example, 79 percent of the females in rural Punjab migrated from within the province, largely from other rural areas, compared to 68 percent of rural males in Punjab. Comparable figures for Sindhi males and females were 46 and 55 percent. These sex differentials in migration patterns suggest that females generally tend to move shorter distances than males. One reason for the higher within-province movement of females may again be based on patterns of village exogamy whereby females may marry into nearby districts in the same province. Most of the out-of-province female migrants to urban NWFP came from Punjab (45 percent). Urban Sind received 32 percent of its female migrants from Punjab and another 24 percent 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).

Table 4.8
Place of Origin of Recent Migrants Aged 10+ by Sex and Province of Residence:
HED Survey (1973) and LPS (1974-75)

Residence in 1973	Residence in 1965										% of within- province mi- grants 1974-75 (both sexes) ^a	
	NWFP		Punjab		Sind		Baluchistan		Other			
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Males												
Rural	3.6	8.2	12.9	43.5	5.1	6.7	2.4	4.1	5.5	7.9		
Urban	8.5	7.5	34.1	16.9	10.2	2.3	3.4	0.8	12.1	4.1		
NWFP												
Rural	9.5	16.0	9.9	23.2	13.4	1.6	2.0	0.8	10.5	13.1	17.0	59.6
Urban	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												
Rural	2.1	8.1	14.4	53.9	3.0	2.2	1.3	3.0	4.7	7.3	19.3	76.3
Urban	6.4	3.9	44.8	25.0	7.2	0.6	2.3	0.4	6.7	2.5	37.1	50.7
			69.8									

Continued -

Internal Migration

Table 4.8 – (Continued)

Residence in 1973	Residence in 1965										% of within- province mi- grants 1974-75 (both sexes) ^a	
	NWFP		Punjab		Sind		Baluchistan		Other			
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Sind												
Rural	3.6	1.9	10.3	21.0	8.8	37.3	2.0	3.7	5.3	5.9	13.8	72.7
Urban	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												
Rural	8.9	4.3	6.4	3.7	4.9	9.5	19.9	30.3	4.3	7.9	34.9	53.5
Urban	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					
Females												
Total												
Rural	1.9	5.9	11.2	55.8	3.6	6.9	1.5	3.3	3.2	6.8		
Urban	7.1	5.6	38.0	18.8	11.4	2.3	3.1	0.6	10.4	2.6		
NWFP												
Rural	8.5	25.5	5.0	29.0	6.3	0.5	1.3	0.3	7.5	16.0		
Urban	22.6	15.5	33.8	11.4	4.4	0.8	1.1	0.0	4.0	6.3		
	38.1											

Continued –

Table 4.8 – (Continued)

Punjab										
Rural	1.0	4.3	12.7	66.5	2.0	1.8	0.9	2.1	2.8	5.8
Urban	5.4	3.3	<u>47.6</u>	<u>26.8</u>	7.6	0.6	2.0	0.2	5.0	1.5
			74.4							
Sind										
Rural	2.5	1.3	8.5	21.7	11.5	43.0	1.1	2.9	2.9	4.5
Urban	7.1	7.6	24.3	8.0	<u>18.9</u>	<u>5.4</u>	3.9	0.5	20.8	3.5
					23.3					
Baluchistan										
Rural	0.5	1.1	6.0	8.1	4.3	9.8	16.8	42.9	1.1	9.2
Urban	7.2	4.4	24.8	6.9	11.8	1.7	22.6	11.2	6.0	3.3
							34.8			

a. The LFS does not provide separate data for males and females.

Sources: Author's tabulation from HED Survey (1973); Statistics Division (n.d.: table 18.2).

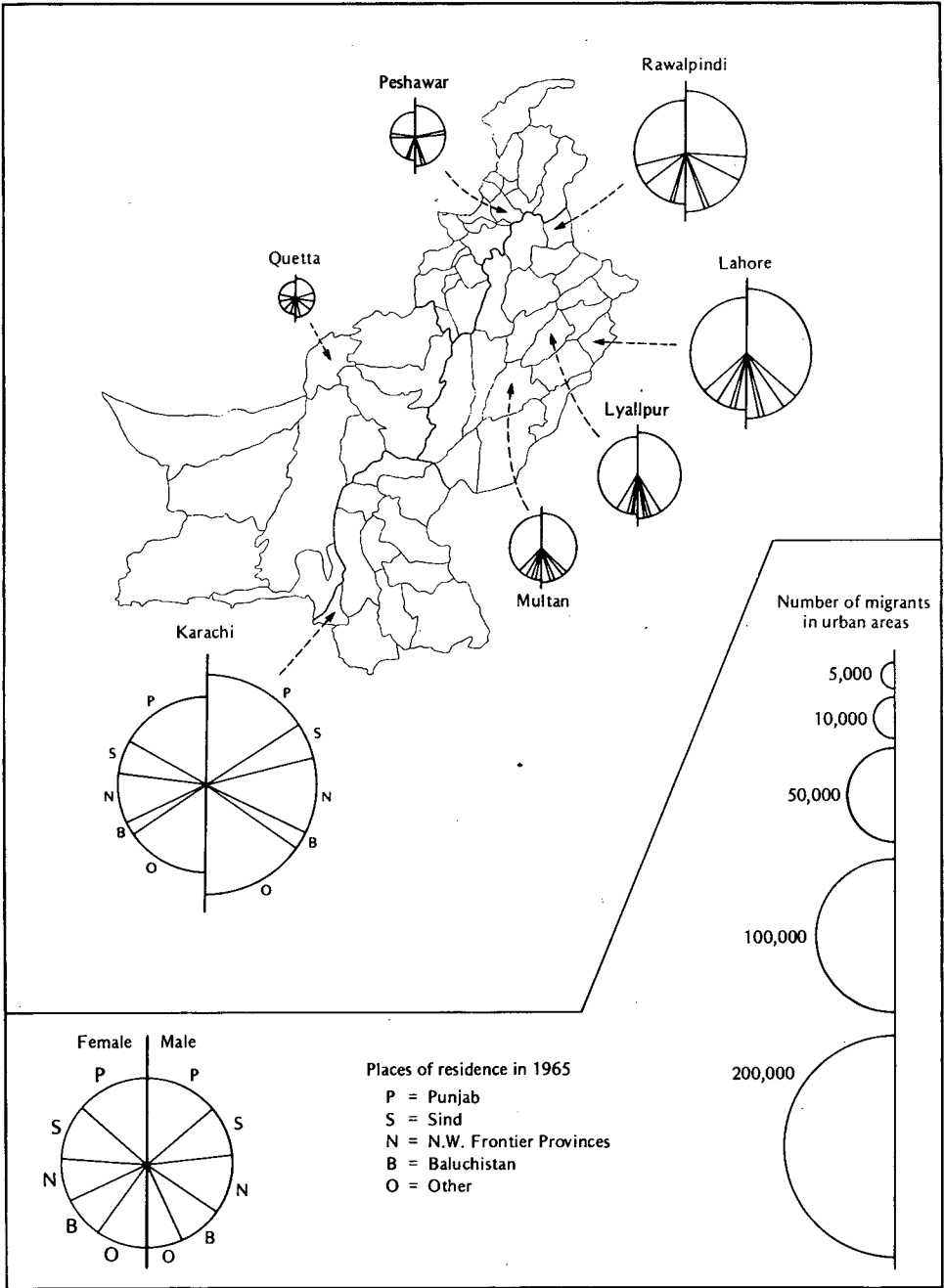


Figure 4.4 Places of Origin of Recent Male and Female Migrants to Urban Areas of Selected Districts: (1973).

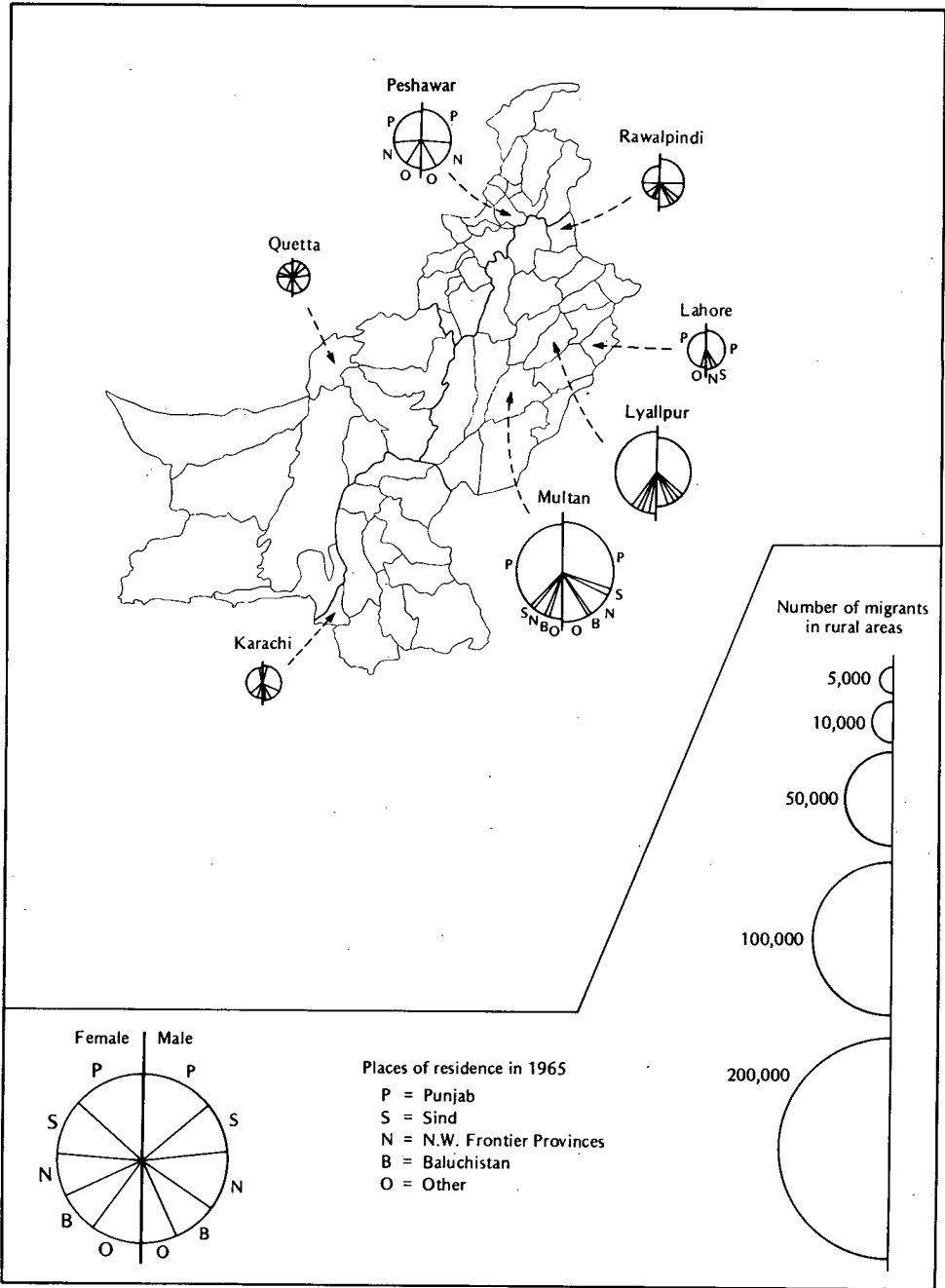


Figure 4.5 Places of Origin of Recent Male and Female Migrants to Rural Areas of Selected Districts: (1973).

Tables 4.9 and 4.10 list the major areas of origin of recent migrants to selected districts. Of all females who came to the district of Karachi during 1965–73, some 14 percent came from Bangladesh.⁷ Another 21 percent came from Hazara, Lahore, or other countries, 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 indicates the significance of Karachi in the migration process. Figure 4.6, which shows the major districts and other places sending migrants to Karachi, demonstrates 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 4.6 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 percent from the districts of Hazara, Peshawar, 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 exception is the location of Islamabad in Rawalpindi, which received federal employees and their families from many districts.

A comparison of male and female migrants shows almost identical patterns for the districts of Karachi and Rawalpindi (Tables 4.9 and 4.10). This correspondence suggests strongly that males and females are migrating together in families, a finding that is supported by other studies in Pakistan (Afzal and Abbasi 1979; Naeem and Mahbub 1969). Rawalpindi's male migrants, however, have come from many more districts than its female migrants, which suggests that the males coming to Rawalpindi have more varied cultural backgrounds than the females. Even though the migration patterns for males and females are often similar, there are notable differences between the sexes in several districts. Sheikhupura, for example, whose population had 7 percent male and 6 percent female recent migrants, showed a fairly different pattern for the two. Some 26 percent of the female migrants to Sheikhupura were from Lahore compared with only 14 percent males. Similarly, Sheikhupura received a substantial proportion of its male migrants from Peshawar (17 percent) and Azad Kashmir (12 percent), but these two districts did not constitute important districts of origin in the case of

⁷East Pakistan, which had been a province of Pakistan, was created as an independent country in 1971 and was named Bangladesh.

Table 4.9

Percentage Distribution of Recent Female Migrants to Selected Districts by Places of Origin: 1973

Residence in 1973	Recent female migrants as % of female Population	% distribution of recent female migrants from specified districts and places of origin			Total No. of districts and places sending migrants to respective districts
		Places sending greater than 10%	Places sending 5 – 10%	Places sending less than 5%	
Karachi	11.1	Former East Pakistan: 14	Hazara, Lahore, other countries: 21	45 districts and 4 other places: 65 ^a	53
Islamabad/Rawalpindi	8.9	Lahore: 13 Karachi: 12	Hazara, Peshawar, Jhelum, Sialkot, 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, Muzaffargarh, Sahiwal, Rahimyar Khan: 29	23 districts and 5 other places: 22	35
Sheikhupura	6.0	Lahore: 26 Lyallpur: 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, India: 29	19 districts and 2 other places: 17	28

Continued –

Table 4.9 – Continued

Residence in 1973	Recent female migrants as % of female Population	% distribution of recent female migrants from specified districts and places of origin			Total No. of districts and places sending migrants to respective districts
		Places sending greater than 10%	Places sending 5–10%	Places sending less than 5%	
Peshawar	5.7	Sialkot: 30 FATA: 12	Mardan, Kohat, Multan: 24	26 districts and 5 other places: 34	34
Lahore	5.5	Sialkot: 12 Lyallpur: 11	Islamabad/Rawalpindi, Multan, Gujranwala, Sheikhupura, Sahiwal, Karachi: 42	31 districts and 6 other places: 35	45
Quetta	5.3	Zhob: 11	Campbellpur, Rawalpindi, Islamabad, Lahore, Karachi, other countries: 31	30 districts and 3 other places: 58	40
Multan	5.1	Sahiwal: 13 Lyallpur: 12	Bannu, Lahore, Muzaffargarh, Bahawalpur, Bahawalnagar, Azad Kashmir: 43	32 districts and 4 other places: 32	44
Lyallpur	5.0	nil	Gujrat, Sargodha, Jhang, Gujranwala, Sheikhupura, Lahore, Sialkot, Multan, Sahiwal: 69	31 districts and 6 other places: 17	46
Sahiwal	4.7	Lyallpur: 17 Lahore: 16 Multan: 18 Bahawalnagar: 16	nil	30 districts and 3 other places: 33	37

Continued –

Table 4.9 – (Continued)

Jhelum	3.8	Islamabad/Rawalpindi: 11 Gujrat: 24 Lahore: 12 Azad Kashmir: 11	Sargodha, Mianwali, Karachi : 21	27 districts and 3 other places: 21	37
Hyderabad	3.5	Karachi: 16	Lahore, Sukkur, Nawabshah, Tharparkar, Sanghar: 29	31 districts and 5 other places: 45	42
Sialkot	3.5	Gujranwala: 29	Gujrat, Lyallpur, Sheikhpura, Lahore: 35	24 districts and 4 other places: 36	33
Las Bela	1.6	Bannu: 13 Karachi: 18 Mekran: 12 Other countries: 15	Sargodha, Quetta, Loralai, Chagai: 39	Tharparkar: 3	9
Chagai	2.8	Hazara: 11 Lahore: 19 Quetta: 24	Multan, Khairpur, Loralai, Zhob, Kharan, Azad Kashmir: 40	2 districts: 6	11

a. Other places include India, former East Pakistan, FATA, Azad Kashmir, Northern Areas, Occupied Kashmir, and other countries (if not mentioned for that district).

Source: Author's tabulation from HED Survey (1973).

Table 4.10

Percentage Distribution of Recent Male Migrants to Selected Districts by Places of Origin: 1973

Residence	Recent male migrants as % of male population	% distribution of recent male migrations from specified districts and places of origin			Total No. of districts and places sending migrants to respective districts
		Places sending greater than 10%	Places sending 5-10%	Places sending less than 5%	
Karachi	13.5	Former East Pakistan: 14	Hazara, Lahore, other countries: 20	45 districts and 4 other places: 66 ^a	53
Las Bela	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, Azad Kashmir: 38	36 districts and 5 other places: 36	49
Sheikhupura	7.2	Peshawar: 17 Lahore: 14 Azad Kashmir: 12	Lyallpur, Gujranwala, Sialkot, Sibi: 29	22 districts and 4 other places: 28	32
Bahawalpur	6.9	Lyallpur: 14 Multan: 17 Bahawalnagar: 16	Chitral, Rahimyar Khan, other countries: 24	26 districts and 2 other places: 29	34

Continued -

Table 4.10 – (Continued)

Gujranwala	6.5	Sialkot: 22	Gujrat, Lyallpur, Lahore, Sheikhupura, Azad Kashmir: 39	32 districts and 4 other places: 39	42
Peshawar	6.0	Sialkot: 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, other countries: 54	31 districts and 4 other places: 46	43
Lahore	5.4	Lyallpur: 11 Sialkot: 12	Rawalpindi/Islamabad, Gujranwala, Sheikhupura, Multan, Sahiwal: 33	34 districts and 6 other places: 45	47
Bahawalnagar	4.8	Multan: 33 Sahiwal: 13 India: 13	Swat, Lyallpur, Lahore, Bahawalpur: 24	19 districts and 2 other places: 17	28
Multan	4.4	nil	Bannu, Lyallpur, Lahore, Muzaffargarh, Sahiwal, Bahawalpur, Bahawalnagar, Azad Kashmir: 64	32 districts and 5 other places: 36	45
Lyallpur	4.0	nil	Lahore, Gujrat, Sargodha, Jhang, Sheikhupura, Sialkot, Multan, Sahiwal: 60	36 districts and 5 other places: 40	49
Hyderabad	3.4	Karachi: 12	Lyallpur, Lahore, Sukkur, Nawabshah, Dadu, Tharparkar: 43	32 districts and 5 other places: 45	44

Table 4.10 – (Continued)

Residence	Recent male migrants as % of male population	% distribution of recent male migrations from specified districts and places of origin			Total No. of districts and places sending migrants to respective districts
		Places sending greater than 10%	Places sending 5–10%	Places sending less than 5%	
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, 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

a. Other places include India, former East Pakistan, FATA, Azad Kashmir, Northern Areas, Occupied Kashmir, and other countries (if not mentioned for that district).

Source: Author's tabulation from HED Survey (1973).

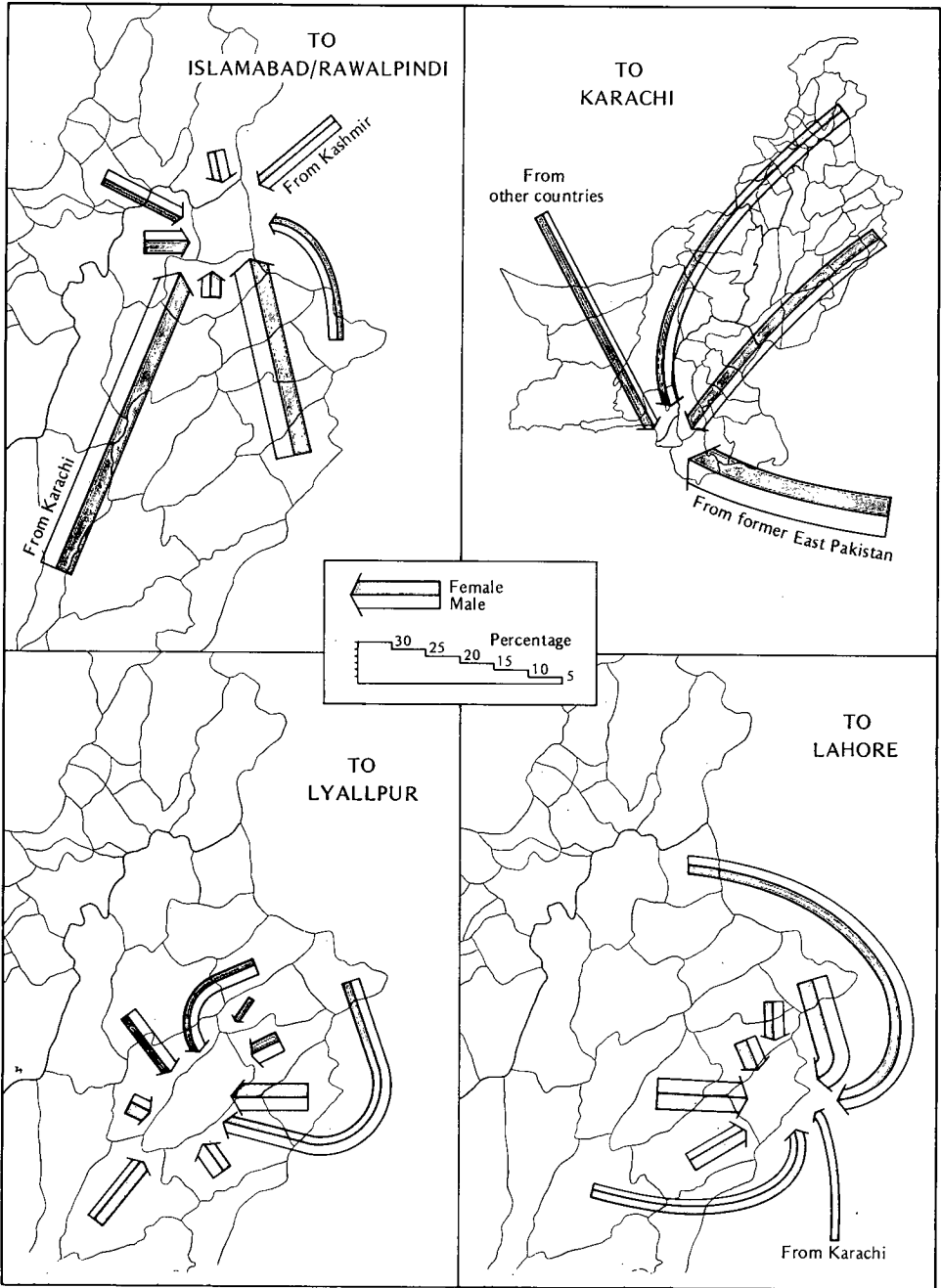


Figure 4.6 Major Places of Origin of Migrants to Lahore, Lyallpur, Rawalpindi, and Karachi Districts by Sex: (1965-73).

females. This example shows that we cannot make any easy generalization about the closeness of female and male patterns for any specific district.

The district of Las Bela represents a unique case of high male migration. Las Bela is numerically an insignificant district with regard to the overall percentage of migrants. But more than 10 percent of the male population of Las Bela consists of recent migrants. Very large proportions of these in-migrants came either from Chagai or from Bannu in NWFP – 33 and 27 percent. The district of Bannu is several hundred miles away from Las Bela, and the reasons for this heavy migration to Las Bela need further study. The district of Chagai, which had a disproportionately low sex ratio, received many of its female migrants from Quetta (24 percent) and Lahore (19 percent). The reader must be cautioned here, however, that both these districts have fairly small populations – and the data therefore pertain to a small size that may make the results more unstable than in the case of larger districts.

Summary

Interdistrict migration data of persons in Pakistan indicate that 23 percent of the males as well as females have changed their district of residence at least once during their lifetime. In general, the volume and characteristics of male and female migrants are similar in many respects. The percentage of migrants in urban areas is much greater than the percentage in rural areas for both sexes. About 10 percent of the population of urban areas consists of persons who migrated to them during 1965–73 (recent migrants); the corresponding figure for rural areas is 2 percent. About half of all urban female migrants were in the three most urbanized districts: Karachi, Lahore, and Rawalpindi. Recent female migrants constituted 11 percent of the female population of Karachi, 5 percent of Lahore, and 9 percent of Rawalpindi.

A comparison of the sex ratios of lifetime migrants in 1961 and 1973 shows that sex ratios in 1973 were lower in 35 of the total 45 districts than in 1961. This finding suggests a relative increase in female migration compared with males and is consistent with other studies. Most 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 percent of the males as well as females were in the urban-urban stream while less than 20 percent were in the rural-urban stream. These findings, however,

need to be probed further since they are not consistent when we compare different data sources. Persons who moved only after 1965 had a much lower sex ratio (107) compared with nonmigrants (121) or those who moved before as well as after 1965 (143). One pattern 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. For the country as a whole, the sex ratio in the rural-rural stream was 105 compared with 137 in the rural-urban stream.

The provinces of Punjab and Sind had a much larger percentage of long-term migrants than the provinces of Baluchistan and NWFP. The majority of the migrants to the former provinces came from India. As for the recent migrants (who moved between 1965 and 1973) about three-fourths of the female migrants to Punjab came from within the province. The pattern was very different for Sind, however, 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. The similarity of patterns of migration to the district of Karachi suggests a tendency toward family migration. But such a trend is not observable for all districts.

CHARACTERISTICS OF FEMALE MIGRANTS

Few studies in Pakistan have dealt with the characteristics of female migrants, perhaps because data 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 of ages 10 to 24 and an excess of males of ages 10 to 44 in urban areas. Although one reason for this excess could be age-selective migration of females into urban areas, Krotki concludes that it might simply be a result of other factors such as a substantial underenumeration of women of ages 10 to 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 group 20–34 among in-migrants than among nonmigrants; the sex ratios were 65 and 104 (Naeem and Mahbub 1969).⁸ In their study on migration Afzal and Abbasi (1979) have also

⁸Lulliani was an experimental project involving continuous registration of vital events (births, deaths, and migration) for several years during the 1960s.

looked at the age structure of migrants but without regard to sex.⁹ Studies from Gujranwala and Peshawar also provide information on migrant characteristics (SSRC 1977; BOEE 1977). 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. Most of the analysis in this section is based on my tabulations of the HED Survey data. A note of caution about data quality is again in order at this point. A comparison of the patterns of migration reported in the HED Survey and the 1974–75 LFS shows 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. In analysing the characteristics of migrants by duration since migration (or date of migration), the researcher must keep in mind the obvious demographic changes that are likely to take place over a person's life cycle. Those who migrated a long time ago, for example, are obviously older at the time of the survey than those who migrated only recently. Similarly, earlier migrants are more likely than others to be widowed and divorced 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, I compare migrants and nonmigrants with regard to their age, marital status, education, employment, and occupation. Second, I discuss the socioeconomic groups where migrant women are concentrated. Following the analysis in the preceding section, migrants are again divided into two broad groups, long-term and recent, defined in terms of those who moved before and after 1965. Comparisons with males are made wherever regarded as necessary.

⁹Migration studies in four cities (Gujranwala, Peshawar, Hyderabad, and Quetta) have been conducted on behalf of the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE) during the 1970s. Migrant characteristics are discussed in each of the reports. Furthermore, researchers at PIDE are currently analysing the characteristics of migrants from the PLM study.

Male and Female Migrants: Some Comparisons

Table 4.11 presents an overview of the characteristics of male and female migrants in Pakistan. Recent female migrants had an age distribution quite similar to that of nonmigrants – 49 percent of the migrants were below age 25 compared to 48 percent of the nonmigrants. When the migrants who moved only after 1965 (that is, excluding those who had moved both before and after 1965) were analysed as a separate group, the differences were much sharper – 60 percent of the female migrants were less than age 25 compared with 48 percent of the nonmigrants. Moreover, the sex ratio for married migrants was 63 compared to 95 for nonmigrants. For details of those results see Shah (1984). 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 nonmigrant females. The relatively low sex ratio of 91 among the recent married migrants (compared to 95 for nonmigrants) further highlights the importance of marriage migration as an important aspect of overall migration in Pakistan.

Table 4.12 presents a detailed analysis of the age structure of migrants who moved less than ten years before the survey. When the total population (all ages) is considered, 23 percent of all male and female recent migrants consist of persons less than ten years of age; this proportion compares with 33 percent males and 36 percent females in this age group among nonmigrants (data not shown).¹⁰ This finding indicates that, as expected, there are fewer children among recent migrants than among the nonmigrants. While the presence of children under ten years of age suggests a tendency toward family migration, migrants are on the average about four to five years older than nonmigrants. The mean age of female migrants was 24.3 years compared with 20.6 years among nonmigrants; the corresponding mean age for males was 26.3 and 20.1 years (Table 4.12). The greater number of adults among migrant females is probably related to the marriage migration of women.

Although 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. Some 12 percent of the long-term female migrants were

¹⁰ A comparison of the age distributions provided by the HED Survey and the 1972 census shows that the children under age one were grossly underestimated by the former survey. The data shown in Table 4.12 do not take this underenumeration into account.

Table 4.11
 Percentage of Migrant and Nonmigrant Males and Females Aged 10+
 by Age, Marital Status, Education, and Employment Status: HED Survey (1973)

Characteristics	Never moved			All migrants			Long-term migrants ^b			Recent migrants ^c		
	Males	Females	Sex ratio ^a	Males	Females	Sex ratio ^a	Males	Females	Sex ratio ^a	Males	Females	Sex ratio ^a
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	d	d	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	289	34	21	201
10+ grades	7	2	418	20	7	334	18	6	363	25	11	275
Employment												
Now working	69	4	1,871	76	4	2,235	80	4	2,355	63	4	1,799
Non-working	31	96	40	24	96	30	20	96	25	37	96	48

Continued -

Table 4.9 – (Continued)

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
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- a. Sex ratio = males ÷ females X 100.
 - b. Includes persons who moved only before 1965.
 - c. Includes persons who moved between 1965 and 1973.
 - d. Less than 1 percent.
- Source: Author's tabulation from HED Survey (1973).

Table 4.12
Age Distribution of Persons who Moved to Current Place
of Residence less than Ten Years before Survey: 1973

Age group	All migrants			Migrants in urban areas		
	Total	Male	Female	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 ^b	12.5	8.6	9.0	9.8	8.7
\bar{x} age of migrants ^a	25.2	26.3	24.3	24.9	25.6	24.1
\bar{x} age nonmigrants ^a	20.3	20.1	20.6	17.2	17.6	16.8

Note: 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. 2, pt. 1, table 15).

widowed compared with 6 percent of nonmigrants (Table 4.11). Whether divorce and widowhood themselves motivate higher mobility is an interesting question but one that cannot be 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 and 89 percent (Table 4.11). Similarly, the proportion of those with higher education (ten or more grades) was significantly greater among the recent migrant males and females than among their nonmigrant counterparts. Another point worth noting from Table 4.11 is the relatively lower discrepancy in the male-female educational level within each of the migrant groups compared with nonmigrants; this is particularly true for the recent migrants, as suggested by the sex ratios of 275 and 418 for recent migrants and nonmigrants with ten or more grades of education. Migration itself might have improved the chances for females to get an education, but this connection cannot be clearly demonstrated with the cross-sectional data available.

Labour force participation was uniformly low for all groups; only 4 percent of the females in each group were currently employed. It should be noted that female employment rates reported in the HED Survey are much lower than rates reported in the 1961 census or other national sample surveys in Pakistan (see Chapter 7). 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 lower.

Education and Female Migration Status

The general pattern of higher literacy rates among migrants persisted after the age and marital status of women were controlled (Table 4.13). Within each of the marital status categories, migrants had a higher literacy rate than nonmigrants; the differences were particularly marked for single and ever-married recent migrants. Some 53 percent of the single recent migrants were literate, compared with only 24 percent of single nonmigrants; the corresponding figures for married women were 23 and 4 percent (Table 4.13).

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 whereas 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 with 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 facing these women. 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 that 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 the older women, as well as on their work participation, 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

Table 4.13
 Percentage Literate by Age, Marital Status, and Migration
 Status: Females, HED Survey (1973)

Age group	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	All females
Non-migrant	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 4.1.

Source: Author's tabulation from HED Survey (1973).

of single women was literate compared with married and widowed women but not when compared with divorced women. The latter group of migrant women had an unusually high literacy rate. The phenomenon of 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 young, well-educated women is 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 residence as shown in Appendix Table B.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 the dynamics of this relationship from the available data. We do not know whether divorced women migrated in order to obtain further education, whether education was a factor in divorce itself, or whether educated divorced women migrated for some other reason such as employment. It must be kept in mind that at least part of the movement of divorced women results from migration back to the parental home. Employment is yet another explanation why women have certain educational levels.

Employment and Female Migration Status

Table 4.14 shows the 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 4.11. 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. Single women aged 25 to 44 and with ten or more grades of education had 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 to 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 higher education seem to have been important factors in the employment of this subgroup. Note 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 labour force compared with the uneducated. The employment patterns of the oldest single women (45 and above) were somewhat different — those with less than ten

Table 4.14

Percentage Employed by Age, Marital Status, Education, and Migration Status: Females, HED Survey (1973)

Age and migration status	Single			Married			Widowed			Divorced		
	Illit- erate ^a	< Matric	Matric +	Illit- erate ^a	< Matric	Matric +	Illit- erate ^a	< Matric	Matric +	Illit- erate ^a	< Matric	Matric +
Total	4	2	12	4	5	10	5	22	9	7	38	4
Nonmigrants	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
Nonmigrants	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 ^b	43	6	18	44	3 ^b
25-44	8	22	38	5	5	12	12	23	16	2	28	10
Nonmigrants	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 ^b
45+	15	40	18	4	9	8	4	22	6	7	52	2
Nonmigrants	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 ^b	52	0

a. No grades completed.

b. Fewer than 100 weighted cases.

Source: Author's tabulation from HED Survey (1973).

grades of education had consistently higher employment rates than the illiterate women, while the employment rate of those with ten or more grades was lower than the less educated group.

The widowed and divorced women constitute two groups theoretically in greatest need of employment – particularly if the family structure that is expected to provide shelter and sustenance for these women is weak or absent. The last two columns of Table 4.14 show that employment rates were unusually high among widowed and divorced women who had less than ten 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 possibility seems to be supported for divorced migrant women with medium levels of education (less than ten grades), it does not hold true for the higher-educated divorced women. Assuming there were no reporting biases that influenced the results for the less and more educated women, it is possible that divorced women with medium levels of education belong to families that cannot support them financially and therefore endorse (or tolerate) work participation. The more educated women, on the contrary, might belong to more affluent families and 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.

Occupations of Employed Migrants and Nonmigrants

Table 4.15 presents data on the occupational structure of migrant and nonmigrant females. According to the data in the HED Survey, a larger percentage of migrant women were in professional occupations compared with nonmigrants (Table 4.15). While the concentration of migrant women in professional occupations seems consistent with their relatively higher education, there is reason to be cautious about these findings. When compared with other data sources from Pakistan, the HED Survey seems to have overestimated the percentages of women in professional occupations (see also Shah and Shah 1980). Thus, while the pattern of differentials between migrants and nonmigrants may be true in general, it is difficult to be confident about the levels.

Table 4.15
Occupational Distribution of Employed Persons by Sex and Migration Status: 1973

Occupation	Male				Female			
	Total population	Non-migrants	Long-term migrants	Recent migrants	Total population	Non-migrants	Long-term migrants	Recent migrants
Total (thousands)	16,227	12,152	3,377	698	795	635	129	31
Professional and technical	5	3	10	16	10	6	25	34
Medical-related professions	0 ^a	0 ^a	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 ^a	1	2	1	0 ^a	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 ^a	1	2	1	1	1	1
maids, house keepers, etc.	0 ^a	0 ^a	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

Continued -

Table 4.15 – (Continued)

Production, construction, and related	22	19	28	30	9	8	14	12
Textile workers	3	1	5	7	2	1	3	1
Tailors, upholsterers, etc.	1	2	1	1	2	2	4	3
Machinery, electricity, TV and radio workers	2	1	3	3	0 ^a	0 ^a	0 ^a	0 ^a
Construction workers	6	6	7	7	2	2	2	3
Others	10	9	13	13	3	3	4	6

a. Less than 0.5 percent.

Note: Some 1,362 males and 205 females are not included because their migration status was not known. Persons with unclassified occupations are not included.

Source: Author's tabulation from HED Survey (1973).

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 percent. Migrants were concentrated in nonagricultural occupations among both males and females. This finding is consistent with the concentration of migrants in urban areas. More of the migrants than nonmigrants were in clerical occupations among both males and females. The service sector seems to be particularly important for female migrants, since 17 percent of recent female migrants were in this sector compared with 7 percent of the nonmigrants. This differential, however, disappears when occupational structures of recent migrants and nonmigrants are examined within rural and urban areas (see Appendix Table B.5).

MIGRANT CONCENTRATION IN SOCIOECONOMIC GROUPS

In the preceding section I described the differences between migrants and nonmigrants on basic socioeconomic characteristics. In this section I wish to identify the major groups where migrant women are concentrated. This information is important from the perspective of future policies aimed at migrant women as a group. Table 4.16 shows the percentage of migrant women in specific age and marital status groups.

Among the relatively younger females (less than age 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 divorced women – 17 percent of the divorced women in urban areas and 10 percent in rural areas were recent migrants compared with 10 percent and 3 percent of married women. Younger (under 25) divorced women 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 with an unusually higher proportion, 28 percent, of recent migrants is that of single older women (over age 45) 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 4.17). For the country as a whole, the group of women with ten or more grades of education had 16 percent recent migrants compared with 4 percent among illiterate women. Divorced women again had a higher percentage of migrants, but

Table 4.16

Percentage of All Migrants and Recent Migrants among Females Aged 10+ by Age, Marital Status, and Urban/Rural Residence: 1973

Marital status	< 25		25-44		45+		Total	
	All migrants	Recent migrants	All migrants	Recent migrants	All migrants	Recent migrants	All migrants	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 HED Survey (1973).

Table 4.17
 Percentage of All Migrants and Recent Migrants among Females Aged 10+
 by Marital Status, Education, and Place of Residence: 1973

Marital status	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 — that is, 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 and 1973.

Source: Author's tabulation from HED Survey (1973).

the difference was present only among educated women. There were twice as many migrants (30 percent) among divorced women with one to nine grades of education compared with 15 percent among married or widowed women. Among widowed and divorced women with higher education (ten or more grades) there were more migrants in rural than in urban areas, which is contrary to the overall pattern of a larger percentage of 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 influencing their migration behaviour, a question that requires further study.

One way of examining the migration behaviour of the widowed, divorced, and single women is to analyse female household heads who are in the labour force and compare their migration behaviour with their non-head-of-household counterparts. Results of this analysis are presented in Tables 4.18 and 4.19.¹¹ Less than 1 percent of all household heads were women; more women in urban than in rural areas were household heads, particularly among those aged 45 or more.¹² Among all employed women, 45 percent were migrants among household heads compared with only 20 percent among nonheads. Furthermore, the percentage of migrants was notably higher among female than among male heads – 45 and 31 percent. 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 4.18). Moreover, there was a marked differential between heads and nonheads among the youngest women (aged 10 to 24). Although the number of such women was small, those who were household heads were much more likely to have migrated – 56 and 10 percent.

Education was positively related with the propensity to migrate among both female heads and nonheads, but within each educational category heads had a larger percentage of migrants (Table 4.19). For example, 75 percent of the employed female heads with ten or more grades of education in urban areas were migrants compared with 52 percent of the nonheads in the corresponding category. Furthermore, a

¹¹Female household heads consisted largely of widowed and single women. Of all female heads, 57 percent were widowed and 19 percent were single. Females are likely to be reported as household heads only under exceptional circumstances in cases where the father or husband is not present.

¹²Female household heads were not divided according to marital status because of the relatively small number of cases.

Table 4.18
 Percentage of Lifetime Migrants among Currently Employed
 Males and Females by Age, Urban/Rural Residence,
 and whether Head of Household: 1973

Age group/ residence	Total No. (weighted) of household heads (thousands)	% of heads who are female	% of migrants among heads of households		% of migrants among non-heads of households	
			Male	Female	Male	Female
All age groups	9,187	1	31	45	18	20
Urban	2,310	1	62	69	38	49
Rural	6,876	1	21	32	0 ^a	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 ^a	19	22	1	1
45+	4,379	1	33	48	50	31
Urban	986	1	64	70	71	64
Rural	3,393	1	24	37	11	7

a. Less than 0.5 percent.

Source: Author's tabulation from HED Survey (1973).

large 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 migration of employed Pakistani women.

In 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, grandmothers

Table 4.19
 Percentage of Lifetime Migrants among Employed Heads
 and Nonheads of Household (Age 10+) by Sex, Education,
 and Urban/Rural Residence: 1973

Education area	Total No. of household heads (thousands)	% of heads who are female	% of migrants among heads of household		% of migrants among non-heads of household	
			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 ^a	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 ^a	39	72	19	52
Urban	569	1	63	78	35	52
Rural	916	0 ^a	24	66	11	52
Grade 10 and above	720	1	61	70	46	50
Urban	488	1	71	71	50	52
Rural	231	1	38	52	42	43

a. Less than 0.5 percent.

Source: Author's tabulation from HED Survey (1973).

or great-grandmothers may be reported as the head under certain circumstances. Most 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 migrant women are concentrated in the following major groups: (1) divorced women, particularly the young ones in urban areas; (2) single women aged 45 or more in urban areas; (3) educated women in both urban and rural areas, particularly those with ten or more grades of education, as well as widowed and divorced women with ten or more grades of education in rural areas; and (4) employed women who are household heads, particularly in the urban areas.

SUMMARY

The volume and patterns of migration were summarized earlier in the chapter. Three patterns of migration seem to typify the interdistrict movement of adult Pakistani women aged ten and above. In the first place, the predominant pattern is that of a married woman moving to another district with her family. Some 29 percent of all married women in the country had migrated at least once during their lifetime, and 5 percent were recent migrants. Considerable migration seems to have taken place on account of marriage itself, as inferred from the high proportion of married women among all migrants compared to nonmigrants – 75 and 57 percent respectively.

The second pattern is that of a higher propensity to move among older single women, particularly those aged 45 and above. Some 13 percent of single women aged 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 labour force participation, 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 that 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 those 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 compared to 5 percent of married and 4 percent of single and widowed women. Although some of the mobility of divorced women might be related to the incidence of divorce itself, education seems to exert an exceptionally strong positive influence on the migration of divorced women. Among the divorced women with one to nine grades of education, 30 percent were recent migrants; 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. Moreover, there might be other factors related to educational attainment such as intention to look for a job. The Pakistani female migrant's educational level in many cases can serve as a proxy for the socioeconomic status of her family. It appears that most female migration is taking place in the form of family migration and, furthermore, 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.

Although migrants as a whole were not more likely to be employed than nonmigrants, certain subgroups of migrant women were employed in much larger proportions than nonmigrants: single women aged 25 to 44 in all migrant groups who had some education; single women aged 45 and over; divorced women in general and divorced women with medium levels of education (less than ten 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 more educated indicate that women in such families perhaps get a greater access to education as a result of the move. Moreover, certain subgroups of women, such as the divorced, among whom migration is quite common also have unusually high employment rates suggesting that migration itself 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. Although the proportion of women who are divorced or are household heads in the country is very small, the data do point out certain interesting aspects of the migration process. In the absence of longitudinal data, however, we do not know whether divorce and widowhood precede 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 to migration and employment.

This chapter has dealt only with internal migration since data on international migration have not been available until recently. Another phenomenon that 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 Pakistanis 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 are highly visible among migrant families. The effects 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. A few recent studies (Irfan *et al.* 1983; Abbasi and Irfan 1983) represent welcome addition to the scanty literature on the topic.

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PART II
THE SOCIOECONOMIC
SITUATION

HEALTH SERVICES, HEALTH STATUS, AND NUTRITION

Asghari K. Awan

The health status of women is one of the three major concerns emphasized by the United Nations mid-decade conference on the status of women in 1975. In Pakistan, the health status of women and children, particularly mothers and children, is an explicit concern of the government. Maternal and child health services have been in existence for many years. During the last decade the percentage of GNP spent on health services has increased from 0.47 percent in 1970–71 to 0.76 percent in 1977–78. Although 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, in Pakistan females have somewhat lower life expectancy than males, estimated at 52.9 for males and 51.8 for females around 1970 (Planning Commission 1978b: 786). The life expectancy is estimated to have increased to 55 for males and 54 for females by 1983 (Planning Commission 1983).

Given this overall situation, my objective in this chapter is to discuss in some detail the following aspects of female health in Pakistan:

1. Availability of health services
2. Current health status of women at different stages of their life cycle (both child health and maternal health)
3. Nutrition
4. Disability at various ages.

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, and health training standards. 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 district) administer health services under the supervision of a director of health services, one in each of the four provinces. Each district has a central hospital managed by a medical superintendent working directly under the director of 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 (medical colleges, postgraduate teaching institutions, and the like) are directly under the control of the secretaries of health (Mahmood 1977). Besides the general hospitals and teaching hospitals, there are three other major units – dispensaries, maternal and child health (MCH) centres, and rural health centres – all under the supervision of the district health officer. The district health organization performs two distinct functions: (1) *curative* services through hospitals, dispensaries, rural health centres, and MCH centres and (2) *preventive* services through sanitation staff, vaccination staff, rural health centres, and MCH centres.

A considerable share of patients are taken care of by private clinics that serve people on a direct compensation basis. Besides qualified doctors and paramedical staff, a number of *hakims*, homeopaths, and *ayurveds* (all indigenous healers) offer health care through their clinics. A 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 entirely devoted to the government's philosophy. It has therefore not been possible to meet all the multiple obligations under the government's policy.

Types of Facilities and Rural/Urban Differences

Table 5.1 indicates 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

Table 5.1

Percentage of Population within 2 Miles and 5 Miles of a Public or Semi-public Health Institution: 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: 359).

(Mahmood 1978).¹ In the country as a whole, there are about 15,000 persons per health facility according to the government of Pakistan (1980b: 49). The breakdown by province is as follows:

Province	Population per health facility
Pakistan	15,280
Punjab	18,400
Sind	14,800
NWFP	13,241
Baluchistan	5,050

Table 5.2 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

¹Even though some of the centres may have been physically available within a 5-mile radius of rural areas, these were not always fully operational and did not necessarily provide the required services to the population. The Sixth Plan also points out the shortage of trained medical practitioners in rural areas (Planning Commission 1983). To begin with, rural areas have only 1,000 posts for medical doctors compared with 6,000 for urban areas; of the rural posts, many are lying vacant. Therefore services are not always available.

Table 5.2
Number of Selected Health Facilities and Population
per Health Facility Available in Pakistan: Various Years

Facility and personnel	Population per facility				
	1951	1961	1972	1975	1978
Population (thousands) ^a	33,740	42,880	64,892	70,182 ^b	75,620
Population per Hospitals (Number of facilities)	110,261 (306)	124,290 (345)	124,553 (521)	133,679 (525)	u
Dispensaries (Number)	40,996 (823)	34,277 (1,251)	25,289 (2,566)	22,928 (3,061)	15,521 (4,872)
MCH centres (Number)	306,727 (110)	101,611 (422)	95,852 (677)	98,156 (715)	88,135 (858)
Beds in hospitals (Number)	2,289 (14,741)	1,915 (22,394)	1,836 (35,337)	1,858 (37,776)	1,641 (46,096)
Registered doctors (Number)	12,873 (2,621)	5,910 (7,255)	4,110 (15,789)	3,899 (18,000)	5,412 (13,971)
Nurses (Number)	58,780 (574)	20,745 (2,067)	11,790 (5,504)	11,423 (6,144)	17,586 (4,300)
Registered LHVs (Number)	337,400 (100)	155,362 (276)	44,507 (1,458)	42,898 (1,636)	u

u - data unavailable.

a. Unadjusted reported census data.

b. Estimated.

Sources: Ministry of Finance (1976: 118); Finance Division (1979: 204).

in 1978 had 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 facilities with regard to dispensaries, MCH centres, registered doctors, nurses, and lady health visitors (LHVs) over the 1951-78 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 5.3 shows the health facilities that are available in the country. Note that 81 percent of all hospital beds are in urban areas. Moreover, there are almost 200,000 people per rural health centre, which indicates the acute shortage of such centres. 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 centres, each covering about 5,000 population, to meet the needs of mothers and children (Awan 1979a). Thus there is an astonishing gap between available facilities and adequate health services.

Availability of Health Personnel

Table 5.2 shows that there are about 14,000 medical doctors and 4,300 trained nurses in the country. Thus there are about 5,500 persons

Table 5.3
Health Institutions and Health Personnel: 1978 and 1983

Category	Total No. of facili- ties	Population per facility	Urban (%)	Rural (%)	Total No. of facili- ties	Population per facility
	(1978)	(1978)			(1983)	(1983)
Health institutions						
Subcentres/basic health units, dispensaries, MCH centres	5,850	13,128	48.2	52.8	6,489	12,943
Rural health centres	289	191,335	0	100.0	374	246,059
Hospital beds	46,092	1,666	81.0	19.0	51,400	1,790
Personnel						
Doctors	12,924	5,940	u	u	20,000	4,600
Dental surgeons	1,047	73,352	u	u	1,100	83,000
Nurses	4,300	17,860	u	u	5,530	b
Paramedicals and health auxiliaries	24,428	3,144	u	u	37,000	2,486
TBA ^a	u	u	u	u	15,000	c

u - data unavailable.

a. TBAs (traditional birth attendants) in 1978 were apparently included in the category for paramedicals.

b. One nurse per 6.4 beds.

c. One per three villages.

Source: Planning Commission (1978b: 361; 1983: 332).

per medical doctor and about 17,500 persons per trained nurse.² These patient/doctor ratios are very high compared to a country like the United States where there were 600 persons per doctor and 200 persons per nurse in 1975 (Nortman and Hoffstatter 1979: 47). The availability of female doctors is particularly important in a country like Pakistan since most women prefer to consult a female doctor, particularly for gynaecological problems. Table 5.4 shows that about one-fourth of all registered doctors were female in 1977. 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 infection leads to severe deterioration in the health status of children. Fortunately, most of the infectious diseases such as diphtheria, tetanus, whooping cough, measles, poliomyelitis, typhoid, and cholera are easily preventable through proper

Table 5.4
Proportion of Female Doctors among the Total Doctors
Registered with Pakistan Medical and Dental Council: 1952-77

Year	Total registered doctors		Registered female doctors each year	% of registered female doctors each year
	Registered 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.

² These estimates are based on a total population figure of 75.6 million shown in Table 5.2. The patient/doctor and patient/nurse ratios are higher (6,084 and 19,767) if an adjusted population figure of roughly 85 million for 1978 is used.

immunization. Typhoid and cholera need more than just inoculations for prevention, however, since the efficacy of their vaccines is doubtful. All these diseases are still common in Pakistan, especially among the lower socioeconomic groups who constitute the majority.

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: 372) has estimated in the Fifth Plan that 2.5 percent of the target population for BCG (tuberculosis) 100 percent for smallpox, and only negligible proportions for polio and triple vaccine (diphtheria, 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 5.5 shows these 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 1 million children a year were sick with measles, and about 20,000 deaths occurred on account of measles alone. Although these numbers have been calculated on the basis of all children less than 15 years of age, the incidence of these diseases is usually much higher among younger children from birth

Table 5.5
Incidence of Infectious Diseases among Children
less than 15 Years of Age: 1978

Disease	Annual incidence rate per 100,000 children	No. of sick children per year	Annual mortality rate per 100,000	No. of dead children 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	u

u - data unavailable.

Note: Data are calculated on the basis of a total population less than age 15 of 34, 195, 104.

Source: Adapted from Khan and Baker (1979: 84).

to age four. Thus it seems that many of the infants and young children, male and female, are currently unprotected from diseases like tetanus, measles, and tuberculosis.

A 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 percent of the male and 49 percent of the female children had been immunized against at least one disease. The male/female differential was larger among infants, among whom 22 percent of the male and only 14 percent of the female children had been vaccinated (Shah and Shah 1979: 52). When analysed by birth order, firstborn children (aged less than five) seemed more likely to have been vaccinated than children born later. Of all the firstborn children who were immunized, about half (40 percent) were immunized only against smallpox (Shah and Shah 1979: 53).

In a national survey that assessed the immunization level of children under age 15 conducted in 1978, it was found that 71 percent of the children had been immunized against smallpox. It should be noted, however, that among children aged less than two, only one-fifth were inoculated; the inoculations were given to relatively older children, and 90 percent of them aged 5 to 14 years were protected. With regard to inoculations against tuberculosis, only 10 percent of the children had been immunized; the percentages for diphtheria and polio were only about 3 percent (Ahmad *et al.* 1979). Thus it appears that a lot remains to be achieved in terms of providing adequate immunization 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 5.5 should be completed during the first year of life (Khan and Baker 1979), but less than one-fourth (18 percent) of the children in the Child Need Survey were inoculated at this age (Shah and Shah 1979: 52). In a more recent study of Katchi Abadis in Lahore city, Shah and Anwar (1983) found that even though a large proportion (72 percent) of the children had been immunized against smallpox, less than one-fifth had received inoculations against tuberculosis or diphtheria, pertussis, and tetanus.

Considering the magnitude of the problem and its health and economic consequences, the government of Pakistan, with the help and consultation of WHO and UNICEF, has launched an Expanded Programme of Immunization (EPI). The target of the fifth Five-Year Plan was to increase the immunization coverage drastically during the 1978–83 plan period. It was projected that by the end of 1983, 100 percent of the target population in need of BCG, smallpox, polio,

and triple vaccine would be covered by the expanded programme (Planning Commission 1978b: 372). The programme is fairly recent and problems such as administrative constraints, financial bottlenecks, poor training of personnel, lack of staff motivation, and poor supervision have proved to be major difficulties in its success. According to the Planning Commission (1983), the targets of the Fifth Plan were too low and the EPI could therefore immunize only 1 million of the 3.5 million children born every year. During 1982–83, this programme was accelerated manifold and it is estimated that 3 million children were immunized under the accelerated programme.

CURRENT HEALTH STATUS

In this section the health status of women is examined according to 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. Although data on these indicators are not always available in a reliable and consistent fashion, I have attempted here to present evidence based on information from 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; she is usually breastfed for at least one year and probably does not receive 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 according to the 1975 Pakistan Fertility Survey (PFS) data. The overall sex ratio of the population was about 115 in the 1972 census and about 110 in the 1981 census. (Reporting problems related to the calculation of sex ratio are discussed in Chapter 2.)

Estimates of infant mortality vary from source to source. The 1971 PGS data showed the infant mortality rate (IMR) to be 105, which most demographers believe is too low. Data from the 1975 PFS show that the IMR is about 129 (Kabir 1978) while the U.S. Bureau of Census (1980) has estimated the IMR to be 142 in 1971 – 140 for males and 144 for females. The Population Growth Experiment (PGE) data for 1962–65 had reported IMRs 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 1,000 babies who are born alive during a year die before they reach the age of one. In the presence of conflicting findings, it is impossible to determine whether the IMR is higher among females or males.

During the preschool years (ages one to four), however, the crude death rate is higher among females than males – 38 and 25 per 1,000 as indicated by the 1962–65 PGE. The 1971 PGS data (de facto estimates for each age group) 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 to 9; and were 2.8 and 1.8 for those aged 10 to 14 (Statistics Division 1971: xii). The higher mortality among female children is probably the result of differential patterns of child care, nutrition, immunization, 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 the early neonatal period – that is, seven 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 fetal period or during the early neonatal period. Pregnancy wastage thus resulting from fetal 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 the Saddar area of Lahore cantonment (Awan 1974). Thus loss of reproductive effort during the fetal period and early neonatal period has been found to be much higher than the estimated IMR.

An estimate of perinatal mortality was made among the married pregnant women residing in the Saddar area of Lahore cantonment. The life-table method was used for the computation of perinatal loss rates (Awan 1968). The perinatal loss rate was 60.98 per 1,000 fetuses 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

the 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 pregnancy, lower during the second to fifth pregnancy, became higher during the sixth to ninth pregnancy, and became very high during the tenth or higher pregnancy.
2. Perinatal mortality was higher when the mother was a teenager or was 35 years or older.
3. Perinatal loss rate increased when there was history of previous fetal death. The greater the number of previous fetal deaths, the greater the risk of perinatal mortality during the current pregnancy.
4. Perinatal mortality was highest among couples where spouses were first cousins and lowest when there was no blood relationship.
5. Table 5.6 shows that among mothers who received antenatal care before the twentieth week of gestation, the chances of perinatal mortality were lower than among women who did not get any antenatal care or got it late during the pregnancy.
6. There was higher perinatal loss among twin pregnancies compared to single births. Twin pregnancies, therefore, require intensive antenatal and natal care.
7. In the Lahore cantonment study, education, occupation, income, and caste were used for computing and determining

Table 5.6

Perinatal Mortality Rate Related to Antenatal Care:
Saddar Area of Lahore Cantonment: 1963-65

Type of loss	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	23.4	37.6
Early neonatal	23.9	35.4
Perinatal	46.7	71.7

Source: Awan (1968).

the composite socioeconomic status of the family (Awan 1975). Table 5.7, which shows the relationship between perinatal mortality and composite socioeconomic status, indicates that the perinatal loss rate was markedly higher among mothers belonging to lower socioeconomic categories.

Table 5.7

Perinatal Mortality Rate related to Social Status:
Saddar Area of Lahore Cantonment: 1963-65

Type of loss	Rate per 1,000 conceptions at risk	
	Higher socioeconomic status	Lower socioeconomic status
Late foetal	31.1	33.3
Early neonatal	18.6	38.5
Perinatal	49.1	70.5

Source: Awan (1968).

Causes of Death

Reference has been made in Table 5.5 to the incidence of disease and death among children aged less than 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 percent of all male as well as female infant deaths (Table 5.8). The limited data available on the incidence of disease, which are largely hospital data, show that diseases of the gastrointestinal system are most commonly observed. The high incidence of infective and parasitic diseases is also pointed out by findings from the Child Need Survey (Shah and Shah 1979). Table 5.8 shows 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 of female deaths. Of all infant deaths, about 50 percent occur during the first month of life. The causes of death during the first four weeks (neonatal deaths) are prematurity, asphyxia, birth injuries, tetanus and other infections, congenital deformities, and diseases that are inherited from parents or acquired from the mother during pregnancy (erythroblastosis, for example). All these conditions are intimately related to the health of the mother during pregnancy, efficiency of

Table 5.8
Estimated Infant Deaths by Cause of Death and Sex:
Urban and Rural Areas: PGS (1971)

Type of disease	Pakistan			Urban areas			Rural areas		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
Infective and parasitic diseases ^a	59.7	58.7	60.9	67.1	57.2	80.7	58.0	59.1	56.8
Congenital anomalies, birth injuries, etc. ^b	20.1	20.5	19.7	15.5	22.0	4.2	21.4	20.1	22.9
Malaria	8.7	7.8	9.8	7.4	9.6	4.2	9.0	7.4	11.0
Tuberculosis of all sorts	3.1	3.8	2.1	u	u	u	3.7	4.7	2.5
Bacillary dysentery and amoebiasis	2.0	2.3	1.8	2.6	6.5	2.1	1.5	1.3	1.7
Diseases of heart, peptic ulcer, accidents, and other unknown causes ^c	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

u - data unavailable.

a. Infective and parasitic diseases include cholera, smallpox, typhoid fever, and all other parasitic and infective diseases.

b. Congenital anomalies, birth injuries, difficult labour and other anoxic and hypoxic conditions, and other causes of perinatal mortality.

c. Heart diseases, hypertensive diseases, peptic ulcers, appendicitis, intestinal obstruction, hernia, death by accidents, and all other unknown causes of death.

Source: Statistics Division (1971: 19).

antenatal care, type of lying-in care, and the care of the neonate (new-born). The neonatal deaths that occur during the first week after birth are mostly due to endogenous causes. Cousin marriages are believed to lead to a greater prevalence of such disorders. The principal causes of infant deaths after the first month are respiratory, gastrointestinal, and communicable diseases and malnutrition.

At ages beyond infancy the most common causes of outpatient 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 children (aged 5 to 14) 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 (MNS) 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 percent of Pakistani children are suffering from serious malnutrition, about 9 percent from moderate malnutrition, and 43 percent from mild malnutrition (Table 5.9). 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. Females, however, seem to be at a greater disadvantage as indicated by their consistently higher mortality rates.

Health of the Woman (Age 15 and Over)

Many Pakistani women get married quite young (ages 15 to 19) and start bearing children soon after. Maternal health is therefore a 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 to 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 six to eight per 1,000 live births (Awan 1979a; Mahmood *et al.* 1975; Planning Commission 1983) – which is very high, for example, in comparison with 0.15 in the United

Table 5.9

Percentage Prevalence of Need for Nutrition Intervention in Children under Five Years using Waterlow's Classification of Weight and Height

Growth failure	Pakistan	Rural	Urban
Severe ^a	7.18	7.16	7.22
Moderately severe ^b	9.52	9.82	8.65
Mild ^c	43.36	43.73	42.29
Satisfactory ^d	39.95	39.28	41.84

- a. Severe (priority): weight less than 80 percent standard weight for height for age and height less than 90 percent standard height for age.
- b. Moderately severe (action needed): weight less than 80 percent standard weight for height for age and height greater than 90 percent standard for age.
- c. Mild (action possibly needed): weight greater than 80 percent standard weight for height for age and height less than 90 percent standard weight for age.
- d. Satisfactory (no action needed): weight greater than 80 percent standard weight for height for age and height greater than 90 percent standard height for age.

Source: Nutrition Cell (1978b: 54).

States (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 childbirth is great.

The main causes of death used to be puerperal sepsis, anaemia, toxaeias, and haemorrhages. Due to reduction in the incidence of puerperal sepsis because of the use of antibiotics, and increasing practice of aseptic midwifery, it is no longer the most common cause of maternal death, especially in urban areas. However, toxaeia, anaemia, haemorrhages, accidents of childbirth, 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 home. A large proportion of confinements that are attended at home are conducted by *dais* (indigenous midwives or traditional birth attendants). Table 5.10 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; 89 percent deliveries at home were conducted by *dais*, of whom only 19 percent were fully trained.³

Table 5.10
Type of Birth Attendant at 336 Home Confinements
in Model Town, Lahore: 1957

Type of attendant	% distribution
Doctor	0.3
Untrained <i>dai</i>	20.5
Untrained <i>dai</i> but getting supervised training	50.0
Trained <i>dai</i>	18.8
Qualified nurse midwife	10.4

Source: Awan (1979a).

Dais learn midwifery by percept, or often by instinct. It is therefore not surprising that they practice the profession in all its ancient impurity. The methods adopted to deliver women or to hasten delivery – some of them shocking to the trained mind – are well known. Although some *dais* have certainly acquired good experience and knowledge and conduct their work satisfactorily, though in their own style, *dais* have great influence over the people and sometimes 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 prefer to take her advice rather than that of a qualified doctor. Yet even though *dais* may cause harm it is impossible to eliminate them, firstly, because there are no trained replacements (nor can the country 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 care during pregnancy, labour, and puerperium; people respect them, consider them satisfactory attendants for pregnant women, and pay willingly for their services.

³In a recent study conducted in *Katchi Abadis* of Lahore in 1982, Shah and Anwar (1983) found that only 16 percent of the last deliveries of the currently married women interviewed were attended by a medical doctor or nurse.

Abortion

Apart from the dangers 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 1930 Law of Crime (Section 312) in Pakistan states that whoever 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 woman's life. The law is more literally followed in general wards and when dealing with poorer patients. But in private wards, and in dealing with private patients, the law is probably interpreted more liberally because induced abortions are performed therapeutically 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 subject. Social and cultural attitudes do not encourage discussion of the topic. It is generally assumed that in Pakistan illegal abortions constitute a minor problem. At 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 ward during 1971 and 1972; of these, 1,208 were admitted on account of abortion. That is, abortions alone contributed 32 percent of the hospital admissions. Some 16 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 to 34 years (Awan 1973). These figures are of limited value, however, 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 to 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 amenorrhoea. 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 (1,462) 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 40 instances. In 12 cases, though physical evidence was detected, the act was denied by the respondent. All the inductions occurred during the first 24 weeks of pregnancy, but 35 occurred during 12 to 20 weeks of gestation. The abortion rate per 1,000 conceptions was found to be 27.4. A positive relationship was found between induced abortions and the following factors: increasing age, gravidity status, increasing size of family, lower socioeconomic status, and among respondents who have little education (matriculation or lower).

Table 5.11 shows the methods used for causing abortions and the type of abortionist. In most cases the abortionist was a nonqualified 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 5.8. That is, infective and parasitic diseases account for about 65 percent of all female deaths while congenital anomalies and birth injuries account for about 7 percent (Table 5.12). Complications of childbirth account for 2.5 percent 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 expected to be a more important cause of death for married women of reproductive age.

Table 5.11
 Methods used for Inducing Abortion and Type of Abortinist:
 Saddar Pregnancy Study (1963-65)

Type of abortinist	No. of respondents according to method causing abortion				
	Total	Mechanical methods	Ingestion of medicine		
			Followed by pelvic bleeding and D&C ^a	Ingestion of medicine followed by foetal loss	Introduction of medicine in vagina
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

a. Dilatation and curettage.

Note: Only 28 of 40 respondents admitted causing abortions and informed about the method used.

Source: Awan (1968).

Morbidity

Some data on morbidity patterns of children less than 15 years old were shown in Table 5.5. Unfortunately, only meagre data on morbidity are available and they too are hospital-based and pertain to groups of diseases. Hospital morbidity data are not truly representative of the health status of the community, however, since these data are biased by the selection of patients who choose to seek treatment in the outpatient or inpatient departments. It excludes people who choose to go to private physicians or to local healers such as *hakims* rather than to the hospital. Moreover, 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.

Table 5.12
Percentage Distribution of Causes of Death for Males and Females:
Urban and Rural Areas: 1971

Cause of death	Pakistan			Urban areas			Rural areas		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
Infective and parasitic diseases ^a	63.8	62.2	65.8	67.6	62.5	74.4	63.1	62.1	64.2
Malaria	10.4	10.0	11.0	7.4	8.8	6.6	10.9	10.2	11.8
Congenital anomalies ^b	7.4	7.7	7.0	5.6	8.7	1.6	7.7	7.5	8.0
Tuberculosis	5.5	6.8	4.0	2.9	3.8	1.7	6.1	7.5	4.4
Bacillary dysentery and amoebiasis	2.5	2.3	2.8	2.9	3.8	1.7	2.4	2.0	3.0
Accidents, poisonings, and violence	1.9	2.7	0.9	1.0	1.2	0.8	2.0	3.0	0.9
Diseases of heart and circulatory system	1.8	2.4	1.0	3.9	4.3	3.4	1.3	2.0	0.6
Peptic ulcer, appendicitis, etc. ^c	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.1	0.7	1.7	1.2	1.3	1.2

Continued —

Table 5.12 – (Continued)

Complications of pregnancy and childbirth, abortions, etc.	1.1	na	2.5	1.4	na	3.3	1.1	na	2.4
Diabetes, tumors, 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

na – not applicable.

a. Infective and parasitic diseases include cholera, smallpox, typhoid fever, plague, and all other parasitic and infective diseases.

b. Congenital anomalies, birth injuries, difficult labour and other anoxic and hypoxic conditions, and other causes of perinatal mortality.

c. Peptic ulcers, appendicitis, intestinal obstruction, hernia, etc.

Source: Statistics Division (1971: 21).

The 'patient record' of public hospitals and dispensaries, as reported in Table 5.13, indicates that gastrointestinal and parasitic diseases top the list of illnesses for which treatment is sought by the people of Pakistan (25 to 30 percent). These diseases are due mostly to environmental problems – particularly defective water supply, unsatisfactory disposal of human waste, insects, defective food and lack of cleanliness, and ignorance due to the absence of health information (Awan 1969b). The next most common sickness necessitating hospital intervention is diseases of the respiratory system, which constitute 15 to 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 to 15 percent) while 5 to 10 percent suffer from skin diseases.

Table 5.13
Health Institution Data on Sickness: 1973

Disease	% of total
Gastrointestinal 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 genitourinary tract	3–5
Dental diseases	3–5
Diseases of 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	0.5–1
Other diseases	1.5–2

Source: Patients' records of reporting public hospitals and dispensaries, Pakistan, 1973.

Little effort has been made to collect epidemiological information by conducting special surveys or field studies.⁴ 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, enterobiasis, 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 two 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 percent), malaria (23.7 percent), diarrhoea and dysentery (10 percent), anaemias (5.6 percent), smallpox (1.34 percent), enterobiasis (1.06 percent), vitamin deficiency (0.52 percent), tuberculosis (0.43 percent), ascariasis (0.23 percent), and poliomyelitis (0.09 percent).

NUTRITIONAL STATUS

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 I want to examine the nutritional status of two major groups: children less than five years old and pregnant and lactating women.

Young Children

Results from the Micronutrient Survey (MNS) shown in Table 5.9 in this chapter indicate that only about 40 percent of the children less than five years old were adequately nourished in Pakistan. The same survey looked into some of the reasons for malnutrition in children but did not publish any data on sex differentials in these patterns. The MNS found that about 95 percent of all children in the sample had been breastfed, a form of nourishment that is highly recommended by pediatricians. Most of the children had been breastfed for one year or longer. The Child Need Survey (1979) also found that over 95 percent

⁴In their study of *Katchi Abadis* in Lahore, Shah and Anwar (1983) asked the respondent to report on her illnesses during the 12 months prior to the survey. About 42 percent of the currently married and as many as 54 percent of the widowed, divorced, or separated women said they had remained seriously ill sometime during the previous year.

of all children in the sample had been breastfed; the average length of breastfeeding was about 16 to 19 months for children of different birth order (Shah and Shah 1979: 42). Similar findings have been reported from the 1975 PFS (I. Shah 1980). Thus a large majority of 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 MNS show that less than half the children get solid food during the first year of life, and about 10 percent are not given any solid food before their second birthday, although other milk (that is, nonbreast milk) had been introduced by mothers in 30 percent of the households. Withholding solid food and keeping the child on breast milk or other milk interferes with its nutritional status. It is frequently observed that rate of weight gain slows down during the latter half of infancy.

The age period between one and five years, though less risky than infancy, covers a large proportion of the child population (Government of Pakistan 1980a). Pre-school-age children and preadolescents 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 average daily intake of calories in this group is less than 80 percent of the RDA, and 7 percent of the children under the age of five suffer from severe malnutrition (Nutrition Cell 1978b: 2, 54).

Lactating and Pregnant Women

Iron-deficiency anaemias are common in the female population in Pakistan. Some 31 percent of nonpregnant and nonlactating females, 54 percent of expectant mothers, and 40 percent of lactating mothers were found to be anaemic (Government of Pakistan 1980b: 67). About 36 percent of the rural population and 56 percent of the urban suffer from anaemia, and 76 percent of rural and 100 percent of urban pregnant and lactating women are anaemic (Health Division 1970: 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 percent compared with women who had levels of 70 percent or more (Butler and Bonham 1963).

The diet of Pakistani females is deficient in caloric intake also. Findings of the MNS show that 35 percent of expectant mothers took less than 80 percent of the RDAs, while 41 percent of the lactating mothers fell into this category. The same survey shows that 19 percent of lactating mothers and 17 percent of pregnant women took less than 80 percent of the recommended intake of iron daily (Nutrition Cell 1978b: 40–41).

Maternal and child nutrition assumes great importance because the mother and child population constitutes a large segment of the total population and their health problems indirectly influence the health status of the entire nation. Moreover, mother and child live in a family environment and are therefore subjected to the family budget, priorities, and needs. On a limited budget, in low-income groups where food is scarce, the wage-earner (adult male) may get nutritional priority. Often it is the nutritionally vulnerable person who gets the lowest priority and therefore the last choice of what food is available at any meal. In many households males who are the breadwinners are given 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: 72).

DISABILITY

Disability constitutes a health problem that can create especially severe difficulties for the family of the disabled person, particularly if that person happens to be the major breadwinner. Table 5.14 shows data from the 1961 census and 1973 HED Survey on percentage of disabled males and females in the population. From less than 0.5 percent in 1961, the proportion of disabled persons in the population seems to have increased to 2.6 percent for males and 1.5 percent 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. How can we explain the finding that 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, therefore leaving fewer disabled females in the population. Moreover, the disability status of females is even more likely to be underreported than the disability status of males.

The percentage of disabled persons is relatively higher among the older (40 and above) age groups in both 1961 and 1973. In 1973, some 6 percent males and 4 percent females aged 40 or more were

Table 5.14
Percentage of Disabled Males and Females: 1961 and 1973

Sex and age	Total population	% disabled	Type of disability (% of total disabled)			
			Blind	Deaf and dumb	Crippled	Others
<i>1961 Census</i>						
Males						
Total (all ages)	21,168,047	0.4	39.6	27.3	33.1	0.0
0-9	6,756,106	0.2	24.3	35.3	40.4	0.0
10-19	4,014,011	0.3	25.5	35.9	38.7	0.0
20-39	5,677,437	0.3	30.0	33.3	36.7	0.0
40+	4,720,493	0.8	54.5	18.6	26.9	0.0
Females						
Total (all ages)	18,274,392	0.3	50.4	24.4	25.1	0.0
0-9	6,173,394	0.1	25.4	37.6	37.0	0.0
10-19	3,327,908	0.3	29.0	37.1	33.9	0.0
29-39	5,064,890	0.2	36.0	33.5	30.5	0.0
40+	3,708,200	0.8	67.7	14.4	17.9	0.0

Continued -

Table 5.14 – (Continued)

1973 HED Survey

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); Census Organization (n.d., vol. II, pt. 1:33).

reported as disabled. About one-fourth of the disabled females (40 and over) were blind, 35 percent were deaf and dumb, and 15 percent were crippled. Numerically there were about a quarter of a million disabled females aged 40 or more in the population in 1973. While the families in Pakistan usually take care of disabled persons, these figures provide some idea of the social service programmes that are necessary for this subgroup.

SUMMARY

An analysis of the health status of Pakistani females shows that females aged 1 to 39 have higher mortality rates than males of the same ages. The life expectancy for females continues to be lower than that of males, a pattern contrary to that of developed countries. While both male and female children suffer because of malnutrition and lack of proper immunization there is evidence indicating that female infants have an even lower rate of immunization than male children. Less than one-fourth (22 percent) of male infants and 14 percent of female infants were found to have been immunized against at least one disease (usually smallpox) in a study of nine slum areas in the four provincial capitals 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 significant component of the general health of adult Pakistani women. The maternal mortality rate has been calculated to be about 6 to 8 deaths per 1,000 live births. Most women do not get any prenatal care and deliver at home with the help of *dais* (indigenous midwives) who are usually untrained. Abortion is illegal and hard data on its prevalence are not available. It is, however, practiced and constitutes a serious health hazard for those who attempt it. Iron-deficiency anaemia is very common among women and particularly acute among pregnant women. Moreover, about 35 percent of the pregnant women take less than 80 percent 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 percent of the rural population lives within a 5-mile radius of such a facility. There is approximately one doctor for every 5,400 persons, one nurse for every 17,500 persons, and one hospital for every 1,33,679 persons. Of all hospital beds, only 19

percent are in rural areas. There is only one MCH centre for every 88,000 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.

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EDUCATION: LEVEL, ENROLLMENT, FACILITIES, AND ATTITUDES

Nasra M. Shah

Education has consistently received great 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 microlevel 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 condition for bringing about desired behavioural and attitudinal changes within a population. The planners believe that as people become educated they are more open (less resistant) to new ideas. While these hypotheses are true in a broad sense there are many patterns that the relationship between education and modernization may follow depending on the cultural and religious situation within a country. Moreover, the general patterns may not be borne out for all classes and subgroups within a country.

Development planners in Pakistan conform to the thinking outlined above. Education for every human being is regarded not only as a basic human right but also as a prerequisite for 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 male and female literacy, which was about 30 percent for males and 11.6 percent for females in 1972. This chapter focuses on the following themes related to female education:

1. The trends in level of literacy, educational attainment, and student enrollment at various levels
2. Facilities (schools and teachers)
3. Societal and parental attitudes toward female education
4. Issues in the content of education
5. The future of female education in Pakistan

TRENDS IN LITERACY, EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, AND ENROLLMENT

The 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*, and the 1972 census and 1973 HED Survey treated as literate those persons 'who were able to *read and write* in some language, with understanding'. Thus comparisons of literacy must take definitional differences into account. Note that the definition has become consistently more conservative. In attempting to control for the definitional differences Naushin Mahmood (1978) concludes that adjusting the 1951 and 1961 figures to be comparable with the 1972 census definition make the most sense (see Table 6.1, last column). According to this adjustment, 13 percent of the population (age ten and above) was literate in 1951 compared with 18 percent in 1961 and 22 percent in 1972; the corresponding rates for females were about 9, 8, and 12 percent. Thus according to Mahmood's definition female literacy declined slightly between 1951 and 1961 but increased by 50 percent during the 1961-72 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 0.52 million in 1951 and 1.12 million in 1961 (Jillani 1964: 76). These numbers imply a literacy rate of 4.2 percent in 1951 and 7.4 percent in 1961. Jillani's calculations show that the percentage of literate females increased considerably (by 76 percent) 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 6.2 shows that when defined according to this criterion, the percentage of literate women declined from 8.5 percent in 1951 to 5.9 percent in 1961 and increased to 12.2 percent in 1973. The number of persons with a given grade level, however, seems highly unreliable since there were fewer women with one

¹Jillani estimated the number of Quran readers in 1951 and excluded them from the total literates in 1951. He estimated Quran readers by applying the percentage of Quran readers in 1961 to the Muslim population of 1951.

Table 6.1
Literacy Rates Adjusted for Different Definitions of Literacy used in Censuses of Pakistan:
1951, 1961, and 1972 by Sex

Definition of literacy	Sex	Population			Literates					
		1951	1961	1972	1951		1961		1972	
					No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1951 definition (for ages 5+) ^a	BS	26,793,631	32,984,654	53,048,396	5,084,559	18.9	9,307,554 ^f	28.2	u	u
	M	14,552,660	17,867,526	28,668,321	3,289,760	22.6	5,412,094	30.3	u	u
	F	12,240,971	15,117,128	24,380,075	1,794,799	14.7	3,895,460	25.8	u	u
1961 definition (for ages 5+) ^b	BS	26,793,631	32,984,654	53,048,396	3,507,924 ^d	13.1	5,380,308	16.3	u	u
	M	14,552,660	17,867,526	28,668,321	2,463,937	16.9	4,260,586	23.8	u	u
	F	12,240,971	15,117,128	24,380,075	1,043,987	8.5	1,119,722	7.4	u	u
1972 definition (for ages 10+) ^c	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
	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
	F	10,316,185	12,100,998	19,565,450	891,298	8.6	665,210	8.2	224,177	11.6

u – data unavailable.

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 the population aged 5 and over.)

c. The 1972 definition of literacy included those as literates “who were able to read and write in some language with understanding”. (The information was obtained for the population aged 10 and above.)

d. The number of total educated persons in 1951 (those who have passed at least grade 1 at school) 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 the 1972 census and are assumed to be able to read and write.

f. Adjusted upward by including Quran readers.

Source : N. Mahmood (1978: 271).

Table 6.2

Percentage of Persons with One or More and Five or More Grades of Education: 1951, 1961, and 1973

Sex	Population aged 5+ (thousands)	Persons aged 15+ with 1 or more grades of education (%)	Population aged 10+ (thousands)	Persons aged 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, pp. 9–21); Home Affairs Division (n.d. [b]: vol. 1, IV: 89 and 108–109); Census Organization (n.d.: vol. II, part 1, tables 3 and 5)

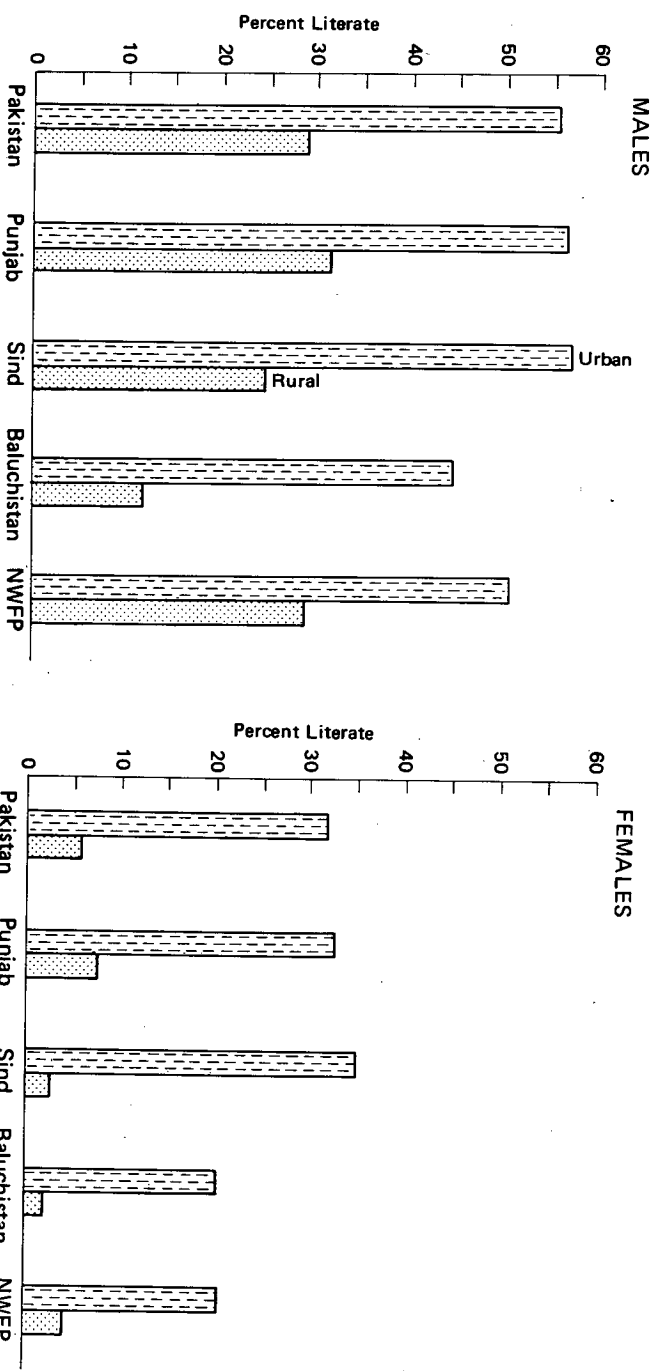
or more grades of education in 1961 than in 1951 (0.89 million compared with 1.0 million). This result is not possible since most of the persons who were enumerated to have passed grade 1 or more in 1951 should have theoretically been present at the time of the 1961 census, making an allowance for mortality and selective out-migration. Thus there are methodological as well as other differences between data sets that make it extremely difficult to make any conclusive statement about the trend in female literacy. When defined in the sense of functional literacy (that is, 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 percent (Table 6.2).

In the face of all the discrepancies between data sources we can only conclude that while female literacy has increased over the 1951–73 period, the trend in literacy during this time is not clear. The percentage of literate women was about 12 or 13 percent in 1972–73. (Literate is defined as able to read with understanding and to write.) There was a wide discrepancy between rural and urban areas with only 6 percent of the rural and 32 percent of the urban women recorded as literate. The male/female differential in literacy levels has been striking throughout the period. Unlike females, the percentage of literate males increased substantially – from 17 percent in 1951 to 22 percent in 1961 and 34 percent in 1973. The current situation is discussed below in more detail.

Differences in Literacy Rates in 1973

Figure 6.1 shows that there were large differences in the education of males and females, particularly in the rural areas. Some 57 percent of the urban males were literate compared with 32 percent of the urban females; corresponding figures for rural areas were 30 percent and 6 percent. 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 percent) while more of the urban Sindhi women were literate compared with Punjabi women – 35 percent and 33 percent. Urban Baluchi males and females had the lowest literacy among all provinces – 47 percent and 21 percent respectively.

Rural persons and particularly rural females had literacy rates many times smaller than their urban counterparts. Urban Sindhi women had a literacy rate 13 times as high as the rural women, for example; the corresponding figures for Baluchistan, NWFP, and Punjab were ten times,



Source: HED Survey 1973, Pakistan

Figure 6.1 Literacy Rates, Pakistan and Provinces, by Sex and Rural/Urban Residence: HED Survey (1973).

five times, and four 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 later in the chapter. The discrepancy between the literacy of rural and urban males was much less marked and was most pronounced in the province of Baluchistan.

On the average, the country had 390 literate males (age ten or above) per 100 females in 1961 (Table 6.3). This ratio declined to 342 by 1973. The decline suggests a narrowing of the male/female differential in literacy rates. The sex ratio of literates was about three times higher in rural compared to urban areas – 611 and 215 respectively for the country as a whole (Table 6.4). 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 1,239 males per 100 females (Table 6.4).

Decline in Sex Ratios of Literates by Age

The gap between literate males and females has decreased over the years 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 and above to 157 in the age group 10–14 in the urban areas; the corresponding figures for rural areas are 814 and 469 (Table 6.4). Within the rural areas of each of the four provinces, however, the decline was not always consistent and linear as in urban areas. In rural Baluchistan, for example, the sex ratio of literates in the age group 15–19 was about five times higher (2,845) than the sex ratio of those aged 25 and over (566). This differential is perhaps the result of a uniformly low access of older persons to educational institutions combined with a greater access of (younger) males, rather than females, to education in recent years within the province of Baluchistan.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

While the information on literacy provides a 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. Both males and females seem to have attained higher levels of education in

Table 6.3

Sex Ratios of Literate Persons by Education and Age: 1961 and 1973

Age group	Total (M/F × 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	0
15-19	345	222	417	422	250
20-24	383	216	458	672	335
25+	473	321	574	928	1,025
1973					
All ages (10+)	342	237	351	367	432
10-14	266	265	267	222	a
15-19	288	265	307	265	124
20-24	330	282	359	339	222
25+	466	365	486	451	649

a. The figure has not been reported due to the small number of cases

Sources: Home Affairs Division (nd. [b]: vol. 1, table 35, IV: 108-109); Census Organization (n.d.: vol. II, part 1, table 3).

Table 6.4

Sex Ratios of Literate Persons by Age and Rural/Urban Residence:
Pakistan and Provinces, 1973

Residence	All ages				
	10+	10-14	15-19	20-24	25+
Pakistan	342	266	288	330	466
Urban	215	157	169	203	309
Rural	611	469	559	642	814
NWFP					
Urban	290	209	220	284	432
Rural	863	770	862	697	1,073
Punjab					
Urban	214	159	169	204	305
Rural	524	388	464	579	725
Sind					
Urban	204	146	160	191	297
Rural	1,239	970	1,508	1,188	1,369
Baluchistan					
Urban	277	210	217	274	404
Rural	795	1,086	2,845	406	566

Source: Census Organization (n.d.: vol. II, parts 1-5, table 3).

1973 compared to 1961 (Tables 6.6 and 6.5 respectively). For example, 20 percent of all Pakistani males and 7 percent of the females (aged ten and above) had completed up to primary or middle levels of education in 1973 compared to 13 and 3 percent in 1961. Similarly, the percentage of those with matriculation or intermediate and B.A. or higher was notably higher in 1973 than in 1961.

When analysed by age of the educated persons, it is clear that the percentage of educated persons has increased over the years. In 1961, only 5 percent of the females aged 25 or more had some education compared with 10, 13, and 15 percent among those aged 20 to 24, 15 to 19, and 10 to 14 (Table 6.5). The same pattern was true for 1973, when

Table 6.5

Percentage Distribution of Literate Population by Sex, Age, and Education: 1961

Age/sex	Total population (10+)	Total literate	% of population	Informal & below primary ^a		Primary & middle ^b		Matric & intermediate ^c		Degree ^d	
				% of population	% of literate	% of population	% of literate	% of population	% of literate	% of population	% 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											
Both sexes	3,808,462	1,071,901	28.1	16.0	56.7	12.0	42.8	0.1 ^e	0.5 ^e	0	0
Male	2,097,595	812,420	38.7	21.4	55.3	17.2	44.3	0.2	0.5	0	0
Female	1,710,867	259,481	15.2	9.3	61.4	5.8	38.1	0.1	0.5	0	0
15-19											
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											
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

Continued -

Education

Table 6.5 - (Continued)

Age/sex	Total population (10+)	Total literate	% of population	Informal & below primary ^a		Primary & middle ^b		Matric & intermediate ^c		Degree ^d	
				% of population	% of literate	% of population	% of literate	% of population	% of literate	% of population	% of literate
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 4.

b. Grades 5-9

c. Grades 10-13.

d. Includes B.A. or 14 grades of education, postgraduate degree, certificate, diploma and Oriental education.

e. Matriculates only.

Source: Home Affairs Division (n.d. [b] : vol. 1, IV : 108-109).

7 percent of women aged 25 and above had some education compared with 24 percent of those aged 10 to 14 (Table 6.6). Thus the percentage of educated women is higher among younger women and more women have attained 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 aged ten and above, a large proportion (51 percent) in 1961 were either informal literates or had less than a primary level of education. The picture seems to have changed rather dramatically by 1973, when only 23 percent of all literate women had this level of education. One 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 was 37 percent in 1961 and 21 percent in 1973. In 1973, some 52 percent 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 percent (Table 6.6).

For 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 percent of the women had received informal education or completed less than five grades compared with 19 percent of the men. At the highest level, 4 percent of the educated men and 3 percent of the educated women had received a degree or postdegree level of education (Table 6.6). The differences between male and female educational attainment were somewhat larger when rural or urban residence was controlled, as shown in Figure 6.1 and Appendix Tables B.6 and B.7. Within urban areas, 4 percent of the educated females had completed the graduate or postgraduate level compared with about 7 percent of the 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 remarkably different for the two sexes. The proportion of educated males, however, is much higher than the proportion of educated females.

Educational Level by Province

Substantially larger proportions of urban persons had attained degree or higher levels of education than the rural persons in all four

Table 6.6
Percentage Distribution of Literate Population by Age, Sex, and Education: 1973

Age/sex	Total population (10+)	total literate	% of population	Informal & below primary		Primary & middle		Matric & intermediate		Degree	
				% of population	% of literate	% of population	% of literate	% of population	% of literate	% of population	% 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											
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											
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											
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+											
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

Note: A description of the level of education is given in table 6.5.

Source: Census Organization (n.d. vol. II, part 1. table 3)

provinces (Figure 6.2). Of the educated males, Sind had the largest percentage of those with a degree or higher level of education – 9 percent compared to about 6 or 7 percent for the other provinces; the corresponding figures for rural males were about 1 or 2 percent. Among the educated females, roughly 4 to 5 percent of the women in urban areas and 1 to 2 percent 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 – 26 percent of the literate females had attained matriculation or more compared with 12 percent of the literate rural Sindhi males. Moreover, roughly the same proportions of educated urban and rural Sindhi women completed matriculation or more, a finding that 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 (see 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 6.3. 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 finding is also true for all the provinces at almost all levels of education. Baluchistan is one exception; since there were no women at the degree level in rural areas, a sex ratio could not be calculated for rural areas.

Another finding was consistently true for urban areas within all the provinces: Sex ratios were higher at the higher levels of education. To take the example of urban Punjab, the sex ratio 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, NWFP, and Baluchistan all had higher sex ratios at levels up to primary and middle compared with the sex ratios at the matriculation and intermediate level. This finding indicates that in rural areas the male/female discrepancies were greater at lower levels of education than at higher levels. The differences were particularly marked for Sind and Baluchistan. The large differences probably point

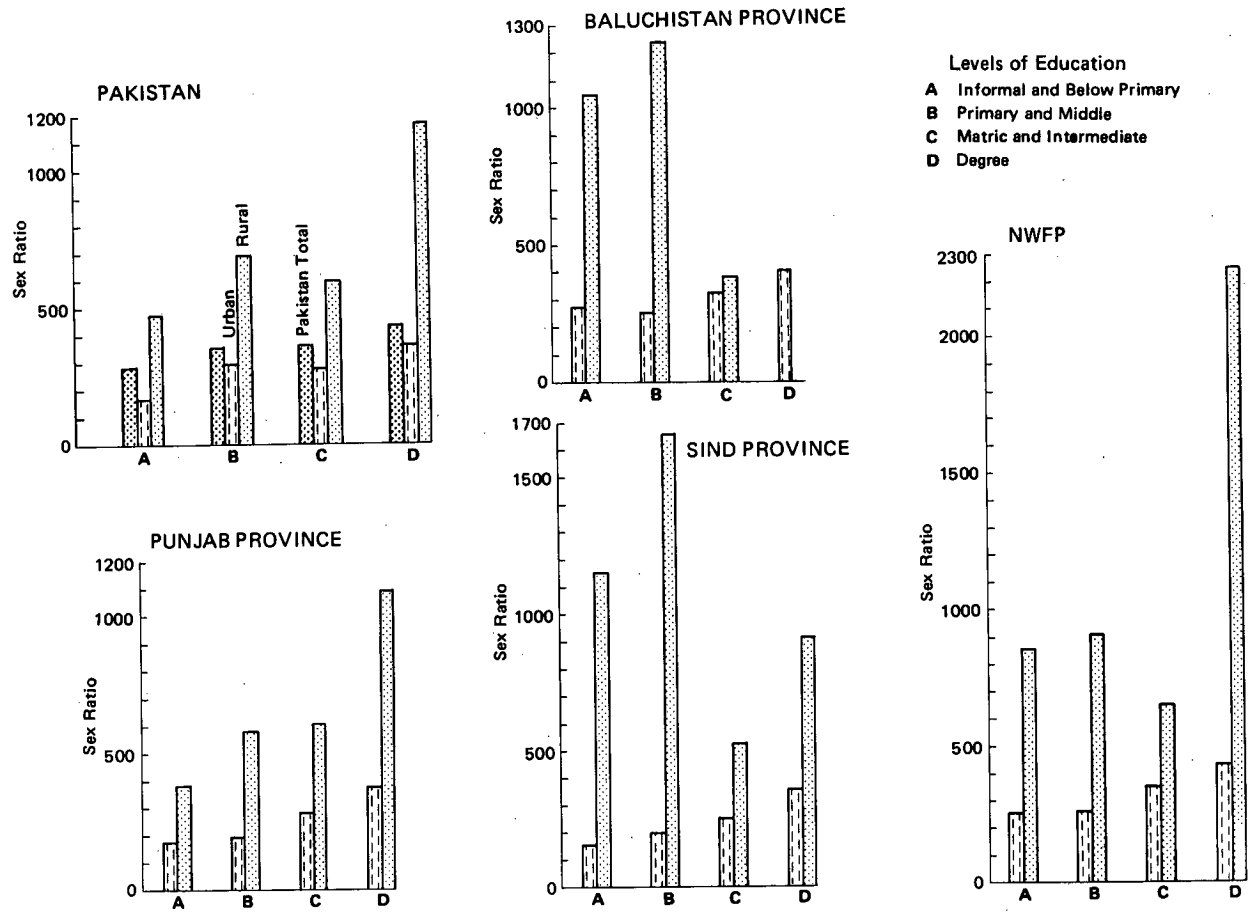
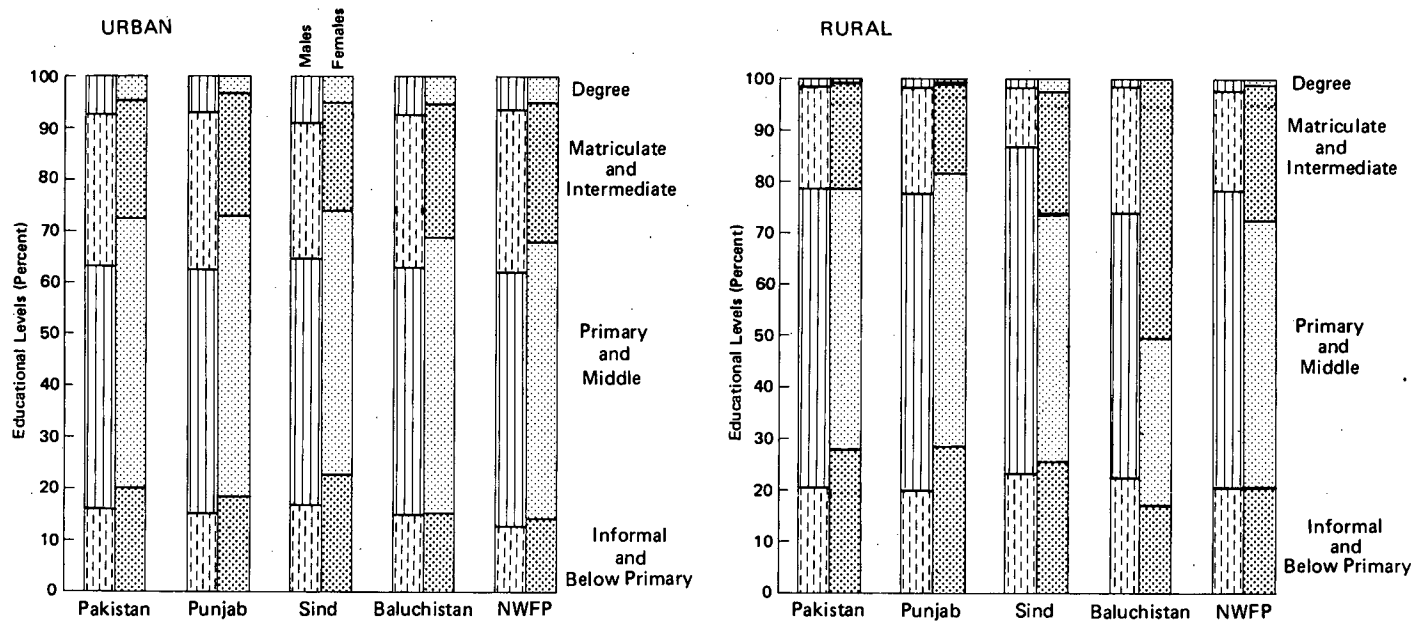


Figure 6.2 Level of Education Attained by Literate Males and Females, Urban and Rural Pakistan and Provinces: HED Survey (1983).



Source: HED Survey 1973, Pakistan

Figure 6.3 Sex Ratios (Males ÷ Females × 100) by Level of Education for Rural and Urban Pakistan and Provinces: (1973).

Education

out the need for a greater emphasis on female education at the primary and middle levels 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 NWFP had the highest sex ratio at the degree or higher level of education – 2,244 compared with 1,088 in rural Punjab and 912 in rural Sind. These figures imply that rural women in Sind and Punjab had a greater opportunity to receive higher education (relative to men) than rural women in NWFP, and the finding is consistent with the conservative traditions of this province. In the urban areas, however, the interprovincial differences were relatively small.²

Age Patterns by Educational Attainment

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 B. 8). For example, the sex ratio of those aged 25 and above who had informal and below primary education in urban Punjab was 243 compared with 154 for those aged 10 to 14; the corresponding sex ratios at the primary and middle levels of education were 237 and 161. Sex ratios at the primary and middle levels for urban Sind were 267 among those aged 25 and above and 148 among those aged 10 to 14. These figures indicate that in recent years an increasingly 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.

ENROLLMENT AND DROPOUTS

Quality of Enrollment Data

The population was enumerated to have 6.3 million students in the 1973 HED Survey, a figure that compares quite closely with the 6.2 million students estimated by the BEPM in 1972–73 (Table 6.7). 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

²We have not been able to analyse women at the postgraduate level separately because of their very small number.

Table 6.7
Distribution of Enrolled Persons Aged 5+ by Grade Level:
Various Sources

Source	Total enrolled	Primary	Middle	Matric	Intermediate degree	Higher degree
1961 census						
Total	2,225,081	76.3	15.8	5.9 ^a	1.9	0.1
Male	1,658,446	74.0	17.3	6.6	2.0	0.1
Female	566,635	82.9	11.5	4.1	1.4	0.1
1972-73 BEPM						
Total	6,191,400	72.0	16.8	7.3	3.0	0.9
Male	4,538,296	70.3	17.8	7.7	3.1	1.1
Female	1,653,104	76.8	14.0	5.9	2.8	0.6
1973 HED						
Total	6,314,893	70.1	11.3	8.2	9.4	1.0
Male	4,617,987	69.3	11.9	8.8	8.8	1.2
Female	1,696,906	72.1	9.8	6.5	11.0	0.7

a. For 1961, Matric includes grade 9 also.

Sources: Home Affairs Division (n.d. [b]: vol. 3, table 23, IV: 206 and table 24: 228); BEPM (1976: 17, 19, 23, 43, 77, and 91); Census Organization (n.d.: vol. II, part 1, table 5: 29).

total enrollees was 25 percent in 1961 and increased to about 27 percent in 1972-73 according to both the sources providing data. While there seems to be a fairly close correspondence between the two data sets that provide enrollment information for the 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 B.9.³ Table 6.7 shows that the percentage of students enrolled at the primary level

³While the 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 NWFP (as shown in Appendix Table B.9). For the females in particular, the HED Survey underestimated female students by 33,000 in Punjab and 16,000 in NWFP while it overestimated the number of female students by 83,000 in Sind and 12,000 in Baluchistan. These numbers represent underreports or overestimates of 3 percent for Punjab, 21 percent for Sind, 14 percent for NWFP, and 49 percent for Baluchistan compared with BEPM figures. Given the large differences for some provinces, the provincial-level figures must be treated as tentative.

has declined in favour of higher grade levels between 1961 and 1973. This finding is consistent with the general improvement in educational attainment discussed earlier.

For the 1972–73 period the HED data seem to underestimate slightly the percentage of students at the primary level, particularly for females. The BEPM data show 77 percent of all female students to be at the primary level compared with 72 percent 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; the HED data show 11 percent of all students to be at the intermediate and degree level compared to only 3 percent shown by the BEPM. The trends in enrollment and the general socioeconomic conditions in the country lead one 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 students' actual levels in the latter survey. The BEPM, however, does not provide separate data for rural and urban areas.

Thus one needs to be cautious when analysing HED Survey data on enrollment, particularly when dealing with grade-level data and provincial data. The HED Survey data for overall enrollment, however, do 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 30 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 percent were girls (Table 6.8). The percentage of girls at this level has doubled over the last 30 years. Similarly, at the middle and high school levels the proportion of girl students has increased notably as a percentage of total enrollment. In 1977–78, girls constituted 22 percent of the middle stage and 20 percent of the secondary school enrollment. The increase in female enrollment has also been quite impressive at the arts and science college level; 27 percent 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 percent of the enrollees at the professional level and 23 percent at the university level. The pattern of enrollment at

Table 6.8

Number of Enrollees and Percentage of Females by Education: 1947-80

Year	All grades		Primary stage (I-V)		Middle stage (VI-VIII)		High stage (IX-X)	
	Total (million)	Female (%)	Total (million)	Female (%)	Total (million)	Female (%)	Total (million)	Female (%)
1947-48	1.07	13.4	0.77	14.3	0.22	9.5	0.06	12.1
1948-49	1.14	13.5	0.83	14.5	0.23	10.7	0.05	14.0
1949-50	1.27	12.9	0.92	13.0	0.25	11.6	0.07	13.4
1950-55	3.15	10.2	1.60	15.5	0.33	13.6	0.11	13.8
1959-60	2.58	18.6	1.90	19.6	0.42	14.9	0.15	15.4
1960-61	2.81	19.6	2.10	20.9	0.45	14.9	0.16	16.9
1961-62	3.03	20.0	2.30	21.2	0.46	16.3	0.16	14.3
1962-63	3.34	20.4	2.50	21.3	0.49	16.7	0.21	18.2
1963-64	3.77	20.5	2.80	20.7	0.58	20.7	0.22	24.9
1964-65	4.12	22.2	3.10	22.9	0.62	20.5	0.22	20.7
1965-66	4.32	23.4	3.20	23.7	0.69	21.6	0.24	20.1
1966-67	4.63	23.0	3.40	23.4	0.76	22.2	0.27	20.2
1967-68	5.17	24.2	3.80	26.4	0.79	20.7	0.28	18.2
1968-69	5.17	25.0	3.80	26.4	0.85	20.1	0.30	18.9
1969-70	5.38	24.7	3.90	26.3	0.89	19.5	0.34	18.4
1970-71	5.56	24.4	4.00	26.3	0.93	19.1	0.34	19.9
1971-72	5.81	25.0	4.20	26.4	0.96	20.4	0.37	19.4
1972-73	6.19	26.7	4.50	28.5	1.00	22.3	0.39	20.8

Continued -

Table 6.8 – (Continued)

Year	All grades		Primary stage (I–V)		Middle stage (VI–VIII)		High stage (IX–X)	
	Total (million)	Female (%)	Total (million)	Female (%)	Total (million)	Female (%)	Total (million)	Female (%)
1973–74	6.62	27.0	4.80	28.5	1.10	22.5	0.42	21.1
1974–75	7.16	26.5	5.00	28.6	1.20	23.3	0.46	21.7
1975–76	7.60	27.4	5.50	28.8	1.30	23.1	0.48	25.0
1976–77	7.70	27.4	5.50	28.8	1.30	23.8	0.50	22.8
1977–78 ^a	8.30	26.6	6.10	27.4	1.30	24.0	0.50	22.6
1978–79 ^a	8.90	25.8	6.50	25.3	1.40	24.1	0.50	22.4
1979–80 ^a	9.50	25.1	7.10	25.4	1.40	24.2	0.50	22.3

Year	Secondary & vocational Institutes		Arts & science colleges		Professional colleges		Universities	
	Total (thousands)	Female (%)	Total (thousands)	Female (%)	Total	Female (%)	Total	Female (%)
1947–48	3.9	41.0	13.5	8.2	4,368	7.5	644	8.7
1948–49	4.2	40.5	16.5	8.5	4,517	7.7	690	9.3
1949–50	5.4	40.7	21.4	10.3	4,925	8.0	737	9.6
1950–55	10.6	31.1	43.3	13.6	8,082	10.3	1,998	2.5
1959–60	13.1	25.9	76.3	15.2	12,434	14.9	4,092	19.0
1960–61	14.5	40.0	71.0	17.3	12,921	14.9	5,084	21.6
1961–62	18.9	40.2	71.9	19.3	13,950	16.2	7,214	18.5
1962–63	20.0	41.0	94.1	19.2	14,906	16.6	9,464	17.7
1963–64	22.6	31.4	118.7	17.4	17,677	15.1	9,094	21.5

Continued –

Table 6.8 – (Continued)

1964–65	21.2	28.3	127.2	18.6	17,372	17.2	13,221	20.7
1965–66	20.7	25.1	139.3	20.2	19,061	15.3	13,420	22.2
1966–67	22.4	29.9	147.9	21.6	19,840	15.7	12,807	19.7
1967–68	24.4	34.4	153.3	22.4	25,000	14.0	15,903	18.8
1968–69	24.0	33.3	159.0	25.2	30,081	12.9	13,087	20.4
1969–70	28.5	31.6	175.0	25.7	33,633	12.5	15,475	21.3
1970–71	34.5	28.9	199.2	25.2	37,245	12.4	17,057	22.0
1971–72	39.9	30.1	186.2	26.3	36,182	13.7	17,507	19.3
1972–73	58.7	28.1	186.4	25.1	37,596	14.5	18,678	22.6
1973–74	40.3	33.5	194.8	27.1	42,483	15.9	19,091	21.9
1974–75	42.1	33.3	208.2	27.6	44,734	18.1	21,395	21.0
1975–76	35.0	25.7	211.6	27.5	47,726	19.6	22,772	22.5
1976–77	32.8	25.6	222.7	29.8	56,932	16.8	24,149	23.8
1977–78 ^a	33.1	24.8	229.0	30.5	62,113	20.7	25,526	24.9
1978–79 ^a	34.2	26.3	235.3	31.2	67,296	17.8	26,903	26.0
1979–80 ^a	35.3	27.8	248.5	31.3	72,479	18.2	28,280	26.9

a. Estimated.

Notes: 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 ministries, we have used the Finance Ministry's estimates. The difference between the two sources are not large, however, and would not cause any problem for the present analysis.

Source: Finance Division (1980–100).

the secondary and vocational level has been somewhat irregular, but women constituted a relatively large proportion (26 percent) of all enrollees at this level in 1975–76.⁴

Age-Specific Enrollment Rates

When we examine enrollment in relation to the appropriate target groups to which most students belong, we find that 15 percent of the children aged 5 to 9 and 23 percent of those aged 10 to 14 were enrolled in school in 1961; the corresponding figures for 1973 were 18 and 35 percent (Table 6.9). The percentage of enrolled females aged 5 to 9 and 10 to 14 was 10 and 13 percent in 1961 and went up to 12 and 20 percent 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. One reason for the higher percentage enrolled at ages 10 to 14 is that many children of primary school age enter the school system considerably later than age five (when they would be theoretically expected to enter school).⁵ Misreporting of ages is, of course, another factor that would affect both the numerator and the 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 percent of the primary school age children were enrolled in school in 1977–78 (Planning Commission 1978: 297). Table 6.9 clearly shows that when age is controlled, the percentage of enrollees is much smaller than the 54 percent assumed by the Planning Commission. According to the census of 1961 and the HED Survey of 1973, only 15 percent of those aged five to nine were in school in 1961 and 18 percent 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 three times as many urban as rural females aged five to nine (21 and 6 percent) were enrolled in school in 1961; the corresponding figures for 1973 were 28 and 6 percent. Note that the proportion of female enrollees aged five

⁴ 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 'special' education apart from the regular school and college levels.

⁵ In the 1973 HED Survey there were 4.4 million children enrolled at the primary and below primary levels. Over half (55 percent) of the 4.4 million children at these levels were in the age group 10–14. Similarly, 52 percent of all girls at the below primary and primary levels were aged 10 to 14.

Table 6.9

Enrollment Rates by Age Group and Sex in Urban and Rural Areas:
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	0.0	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	0.0	0.0	1.8	2.4	1.1

Source: N. Mahmood (1978: 286).

to nine in rural areas had remained unchanged between 1961 and 1973. In the next age group (10-14), however, the percentage of enrolled females did increase from 6 percent in 1961 to 10 percent in 1973 (Table 6.9). Note also that a fairly large proportion (45 percent) of urban females aged 10 to 14 were in school in 1973 compared to only 10 percent of rural females in the same year. The percentage of enrolled urban females aged 10 to 14 and 15 to 19 increased substantially over the 1961-73 period, which indicates the growing educational opportunities for females in urban areas. These trends have resulted in a widening of the enrollment gap for females aged five to nine between urban and rural areas.

In a BEPM study, enrollment rates were found to be 45 percent for school-age boys and 25 percent for school-age girls in a sample of about 400 Pakistani villages in 1976 (BEPM 1977). These enrollment rates are, however, limited to villages that had a boys school as well as a girls school and therefore overestimated the actual rate. The author concludes that on the basis of his experience less than 40 percent of primary school-age boys and less than 15 percent of school-age girls attend school in rural areas of Pakistan.

Data on sex differences in enrollment rates clearly point out that considerably more male children were in school at all ages than female children (Table 6.9). For example, there were about two and a half times as many male children aged 10 to 14 in school than girls in 1973 – 46 and 20 percent. Sex differences were even sharper within rural areas, where the enrollment rate for males aged 10 to 14 was about four times higher than that of females – 39 and 10 percent respectively in 1973.

Provincial Differences

Since a large share 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 (Table 6.10). Among females in urban areas, Sind had the highest enrollment rate with almost half (49 percent) of the girls aged 10 to 14 in school, followed by Punjab with 46 percent in school. NWFP had the lowest enrollment rate for urban girls – 31 percent. Within the rural areas, Baluchistan and Sind had the lowest enrollment rates for girls aged 10 to 14; about 3 percent were in school compared to 6 percent in NWFP and 12 percent in Punjab.

Male/female differences were again very large in all provinces, particularly in rural areas. The enrollment rates among rural males aged 10 to 14, for example, were seven to eight times higher than among females in the provinces of Baluchistan, Sind, and NWFP. Punjab had a somewhat smaller discrepancy with about four times as many enrolled males as females. The male/female discrepancy in enrollment was relatively smaller within the urban areas. Urban Sind had the highest enrollment rates – 65 percent of the males and 49 percent of the females aged 10 to 14 were in school. The corresponding figures for urban Punjab were 63 and 46 percent (Table 6.10).

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

Table 6.10
Enrollment Rates among Persons Aged 5-9 and 10-14 by Sex
and Urban/Rural Residence: Pakistan and Provinces, 1973

Residence	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
NWFP	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, parts 1-5, table 5).

urban areas and between males and females within each area are often large as judged from recent data. It was pointed out in an earlier section (see Figure 6.1) that among the females, the rural/urban discrepancy in literacy rates was the highest in the province of Sind: 33 percent literate women in urban areas and 7 percent in rural. The data on enrollment show that this situation persists; the enrollment rates for females aged 10 to 14 are 49 percent in urban areas and 3 percent in rural.

A word of caution about provincial-level estimates must again be offered. 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 are

quite consistent whereas the HED Survey could have seriously overestimated 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.

Drop-out Rates

It is generally believed by educational planners in Pakistan that at the primary level, at least half of those admitted to grade 1 leave school before reaching grade 5 (Planning Commission 1978: 299). UNESCO estimates show that of every 100 children who enter school only 43 percent are retained in the system up to grade 6 and only 24 percent up to grade 10. Corresponding retention rates for females are 48 and 23 percent up to the sixth and tenth grades (N. Mahmood 1978: 289).

Drop-out rates inferred from school attendance data (cross-sectional) were calculated by the BEPM in its study of rural areas of Pakistan (Table 6.11). It was calculated that 78 percent of the boys and 51 percent of the girls entered the school system (joined grade 1) in 1976. The proportion of boys and girls who were attending school at grade 2 in the same year was only 46 and 27 percent. That is, it appears that a large proportion of those who joined grade 1 the year prior to the BEPM Survey had dropped out by grade 2.⁶ Only 10 percent of the school-age girls were in grade 5, which implies that about 80 percent of the (51 percent) girls who entered the school system in rural areas dropped out before they reached grade 5 — assuming that the rate of entry into the school system has remained constant in the sampled villages. Given the cross-sectional nature of the data, the BEPM figures can only be treated as illustrative of the approximate drop-out rates in rural areas of Pakistan. It seems that drop-out rates are extremely high for girls as well as boys. Some of the reasons for these high drop-out rates are discussed later in the chapter.

FACILITIES FOR FEMALE EDUCATION

Growth of Institutions

At the time of its independence in 1947, Pakistan had 8,413 primary schools of which only 18 percent were for girls. The number of primary schools had increased to 53,162 by 1976–77 and was estimated

⁶This change in attendance level implies a drop-out rate of about 47 percent for girls and about 41 percent for boys between grades 1 and 2. This calculation, however, assumes that the enrolment rate was the same as in the year prior to the one in which BEPM conducted its survey (1976).

Table 6.11

Percentage Attending Schools in Pakistani Villages by Sex and Class:
Pakistan and Provinces, 1976

Class	NWFP	Baluchistan	Punjab	Sind	Islamabad	All Pakistan
Boys						
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
Total classes	45	26	64	50	51	45
Girls						
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
Total classes	16	13	39	22	35	25
Boys and girls						
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
Total classes	31	19	46	36	43	35

Source: Adapted from BEPM (1977: 6).

to have increased to 55,173 by 1978–79 (Table 6.12). The proportion of girls schools (as a percentage of all schools) went up from about 18 to 25 percent in the mid-1960s, to 30 percent by 1973–74, and has stayed around that level up to now. Thus during the last 20 years the number of female primary schools has increased more than five times from about 3,500 in 1959–60 to 16,500 in 1978–79. The overall growth of middle schools has been slower, although the percentage of female schools among all middle schools almost doubled from 14 percent in 1959–60 to 27 percent in 1978–79. At the high school level there was a steady increase in the proportion of female schools from 19 percent in 1959–60 to about 27 percent in 1978–79.

At the university level, the percentage of female colleges seems to have declined slightly. Female colleges comprised 25 percent of all colleges in 1959–60 and the proportion declined to 23 percent in 1978–79. This reduction does not seem to have affected the proportion of female enrollment adversely (see Table 6.8). The most noticeable decline in percentage of female institutions occurred in the secondary and vocational institutions. From 47 percent in 1969–70 the proportion declined to 35 percent in 1978–79. The decline in female enrollment in such institutions is consistent with the overall decline in number of institutions but the specific reasons for the decline of female institutions offering this type of education need to be explored further.

The number of universities increased from 2 in 1947 to 15 in 1978–79. Female enrollment at this level has fluctuated between 19 and 22 percent for the last two decades. University (or M.A.) level education has always been coeducational in Pakistan and continues to remain so. There are a few programmes in women's colleges that grant masters-level degrees, but most of the postgraduate students study in a coeducational setting. A rather heated debate over a separate university for women has been waged for several years. In September 1977 the Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA) proposed the establishment of a separate women's university. Consequently, the National Educational Policy for 1978 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 educators 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-thirds were in

Table 6.12

Female Educational Institutions as a Percentage of Total Educational Institutions by Kind:
1947-48 to 1978-79

Year	Primary schools		Middle schools		High schools		Secondary & vocational institutes		Arts & science colleges		Total universities (both sexes) ^a
	Total	% females	Total	% females	Total	% females	Total	% females	Total	% females	
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 ^b	53,964	30.1	5,026	27.0	3,258	26.9	205	35.1	539	23.0	14
1978-79 ^b	55,173	30.0	5,076	27.4	3,300	27.3	205	35.1	540	23.0	15

a. A recommendation has recently been made by an advisory committee to the University Grants Commission that at least two women's universities be established, in Lahore and Karachi, immediately (UGC 1979).

b. Estimated.

Source: Finance Division (1979: 203).

favour of establishing separate women's universities.⁷ 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 might be set up at Karachi and Peshawar (UGC 1979: 9). The committee also found that a large majority of all the persons they contacted felt that even when the women's universities and postgraduate colleges are set up, the present arrangements for the admission of girl students to the co-educational universities should not be disturbed. The committee therefore recommended that the existing arrangements for women in the universities be allowed to continue (UGC 1979: 28).

Increase in Female Teachers

Because of the practice of purdah, 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 grew substantially over the last 30 years from 2,403 in 1947 to 38,100 in 1975–76. The proportion of female teachers (as a percentage of all teachers) more than doubled over the same time period – from 14 to 30 percent (Table 6.13). The number of middle school and high school teachers increased both proportionately to males and in absolute terms. Over the period 1970–76, for example, the number of female middle and high school teachers increased by more than one and a half times. In proportional terms the percentage of middle school teachers who are female has been increasing steadily – from 15 percent in 1960–61 to 25 percent in 1970–71 and 30 percent in 1975–76. The number of high school teachers has also increased more or less steadily; 31 percent of all high school teachers were female in 1975–76. A comparison in the development of female educational institutions and increase in female teachers

⁷Some of the arguments in favour 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 equal opportunities demands that there should be a separate university for those who do not believe in coeducation 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; a self-sufficient and self-reliant 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 that will restrict job opportunities and human rights, a trend that will result in further exploitation of women (UGC 1979: 4–7).

Table 6.13

Number of Teachers and Percentage of Female Teachers in Educational Institutions by Kind:
1947-48 to 1975-76

Year	Total		Primary schools		Middle schools		High schools		Secondary & vocational		Arts & science colleges		Professional colleges		Universities	
	all	Female (%)	Total (thousands)	Female (%)	Total (thousands)	Female (%)	Total (thousands)	Female (%)	Total	Female (%)	Total	Female (%)	Total	Female (%)	Total	Female (%)
1947-48	36.6	10.9	17.8	13.5	12.0	6.7	6.8	11.8	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
1948-49	36.8	10.6	17.8	12.9	12.0	6.7	7.0	11.4	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
1949-50	40.0	11.5	19.9	12.6	12.1	8.3	8.0	13.8	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
1954-55	58.9	16.3	35.5	16.3	10.7	14.0	12.7	18.1	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
1959-60	76.5	18.6	44.8	18.8	13.0	14.6	18.3	21.3	u	u	u	u	u	u	382	8.1
1960-61	84.9	18.7	50.0	20.0	14.4	14.6	20.0	18.5	u	u	u	u	u	u	452	8.9
1961-62	93.5	19.2	54.8	20.3	16.7	15.6	21.5	19.5	u	u	u	u	u	u	692	5.9
1962-63	106.2	20.2	63.6	20.9	18.7	17.1	23.0	20.9	u	u	u	u	u	u	929	5.5
1963-64	123.1	20.7	69.8	20.9	19.6	19.4	25.0	21.2	1,499	22.5	4,938	25.6	1,137	13.2	1,128	5.5
1964-65	135.1	22.0	75.9	22.0	22.1	21.3	27.7	22.7	1,493	25.1	5,432	26.3	1,239	14.1	1,265	5.7
1965-66	136.2	23.0	74.9	23.2	23.1	22.9	28.4	22.9	1,436	26.4	5,711	26.7	1,370	13.1	1,264	6.7
1966-67	147.3	23.4	80.0	22.9	25.2	23.8	31.6	24.7	1,680	26.2	6,049	26.9	1,405	13.5	1,366	5.5
1967-68	154.2	24.2	83.8	24.2	26.1	24.1	33.4	24.9	1,770	26.6	6,208	27.7	1,435	13.6	1,484	6.2
1968-69	163.3	25.3	88.0	25.6	28.8	24.3	34.5	26.1	1,900	26.8	7,080	28.9	1,684	13.3	1,241	7.3
1969-70	172.2	26.4	92.0	27.2	31.5	24.4	35.5	27.0	2,050	25.4	7,950	29.8	1,737	13.1	1,373	8.7
1970-71	181.4	27.3	96.3	28.2	34.2	25.2	36.4	28.0	2,208	24.1	8,823	30.6	1,868	12.6	1,568	8.7
1971-72	193.8	27.2	105.7	28.0	36.0	25.6	37.9	27.9	2,326	23.9	8,313	27.9	1,879	11.9	1,649	9.1
1972-73	205.2	29.1	108.8	29.9	41.4	27.3	40.7	29.4	2,204	23.5	8,346	31.1	2,060	11.2	1,644	10.4
1973-74	221.6	28.6	115.7	30.3	41.9	27.7	48.3	27.5	2,582	22.4	8,990	27.1	2,315	16.7	1,839	10.1

Continued -

Table 6.13 – (Continued)

Year	Total Female all (%)		Primary schools		Middle schools		High schools		Secondary & vocational		Arts & science colleges		Professional colleges		Universities	
			Total (thousands)	Female (%)	Total (thousands)	Female (%)	Total (thousands)	Female (%)	Total (thousands)	Female (%)	Total (thousands)	Female (%)	Total (thousands)	Female (%)	Total (thousands)	Female (%)
1974–75	233.1	29.4	121.2	30.3	45.3	28.9	49.7	29.9	2,915	22.7	9,490	26.3	2,462	16.3	2,000	10.0
1975–76 ^a	249.1	29.8	127.0	30.0	49.0	30.2	54.6	30.8	3,333	22.4	10,500	30.5	2,559	16.3	2,100	10.7

u – data unavailable.

a. Estimated figures.

Notes: 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 ministries, we have used the Finance Ministry estimates. These estimates are the ones used by the Planning Commission of Pakistan. The differences between the two sources are not large, however, and would not cause any problem for the present analysis.

Source: Ministry of Finance (1976: 104–105).

shows that there has been a fairly close correspondence between the two (Tables 6.12 and 6.13). This finding is not surprising, given 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 whereas the proportion of female 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 whereas 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 conclusion applies more to primary, middle, and high schools than to higher levels. Furthermore, the correspondence between the two is not exact. For example, the proportion of female teachers in arts and science colleges in 1975–76 (30.5 percent) was substantially higher than the proportion of female colleges (23.1 percent) in the same year (Tables 6.13 and 6.12 respectively).

The proportional increase in female teachers at the university level has been the least encouraging finding. During the mid-1970s only about 10 percent of all university teachers were women compared with 9 percent 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 establishment of women's universities might be expected to bring about a proportional increase in the number of female university teachers.

Rural/Urban Distribution of Institutions and Teachers

Long-term data on the trend of rural/urban distribution of schools are not available. Estimates of the number of urban and rural schools are, however, available for 1977–78:

	Primary school		Middle school		High school	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total	38,036	16,452	3,642	1,389	2,333	869
Estimated % rural	84	87	90	78	46	26

Source: Planning Commission (1978: 725).

Of all schools for girls, 87 percent of the primary and 78 percent of the middle schools are estimated to be located in rural areas. This concentration of institutions in rural areas seems very reasonable and should 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 an important consideration in female education.

Although separate tabulations for rural and urban teachers are not available, the Planning Commission has estimated that there is a serious shortage of female teachers in rural areas of NWFP, 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 the requirement that will be met by the current output of teachers varies from 88 percent in Punjab and 84 percent in Sind to only 35 percent in NWFP and 30 percent in Baluchistan (Planning Commission 1978: Table 9). The overall situation seems adequate in the case of Sind, but there is a severe shortage of female teachers in rural Sind and 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 6.14 presents data on the number of institutions and number of teachers for the four provinces for 1973–74. Corresponding data for enrollment levels have also been included to provide a comprehensive idea of the situation. At the primary level, Punjab had the largest number of female schools (as percentage of all schools) – 37 percent compared to 18 percent in Baluchistan and 16 percent in Sind. In federally administered tribal areas (FATA) and northern areas, the percentage of all primary schools that were female was exceptionally low – 9 and 4 percent 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 percent of all primary schools were for females. It is likely that the institutions in Sind are unusually large and can house more students than

Table 6.14

Percentage of Institutions, Enrollees, and Teaching Staff that are Female at Various Levels
of Education: Pakistan and Provinces, 1973-74

Level of education	Percent female							
	Pakistan	NWFP	Punjab	Sind	Baluchistan	Islamabad ^a	FATA	Northern areas
Primary								
Institutions	28	27	37	16	18	c	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	u	9	9
Enrollment	23	11	21	36	18	44	2	5
Teaching staff	28	16	28	43	18	u	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	u	25
Enrollment	27	16	26	31	22	40	u	33
Teaching staff	27	20	28	30	6	46	52	52

Continued -

Table 6.14 – (Continued)

Level of education	Percent female							
	Pakistan	NWFP	Punjab	Sind	Baluchistan	Islamabad ^a	FATA	Northern areas
Professional colleges								
Institutions	10	13	13	9	0	0	0	0
Enrollment	16	12	16	17	8	0	0	0
Teaching staff	17	13	22	14	12	0	0	0
Universities^b								
Enrollment	22	25	26	31	8	29	0	0
Teaching staff	10	8	14	15	7	9	0	0
Professional universities^b								
Agriculture								
Enrollment	1	u	u	u	u	0	0	0
Teaching staff	1	u	u	u	u	0	0	0
Engineering								
Enrollment	1	u	u	u	u	0	0	0
Teaching staff	0	u	u	u	u	0	0	0

u – data unavailable.

a. Data for Islamabad are also included in Punjab except for universities.

b. Universities and professional universities are coeducational.

c. Coeducational schools.

Source: BEPM (1976: tables 11, 14, 17, 30, 42, 50).

other provinces or more of the girls are studying in coeducational schools in Sind than in other provinces. These possibilities cannot be probed further with the present data.

Punjab again had the highest percentage of female schools at the middle level; it had a consistently high proportion of teachers but a 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 percent of the middle school teachers and 36 percent of the enrollees were female whereas only 23 percent of the schools were for females. NWFP 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 mixing of the sexes in the province of Sind – that is, more coeducational schools or more female teachers working in coeducational or boys schools. The pattern of Baluchistan perhaps implies a greater segregation at middle as well as high school levels. One implication, is clear from these findings: The percentage of female institutions (with the total institutions) cannot in many cases be used to predict the percentage of enrolled female students.

It may be noted that NWFP and Baluchistan had lower percentages of female enrollees compared to Punjab and Sind at all levels up to the intermediate and degree. At the high school level, for example, Sind had more than three times the percentage of female students in the NWFP – 33 and 10 percent 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 percent of all institutions were female in both provinces. Some 31 percent of all the enrollees in Sind and 26 percent in Punjab were female. In Baluchistan, only 7 percent of the intermediate and degree colleges were female, but 22 percent of the enrollees were female.

At the professional and university levels, Sind again had the highest enrollment. Many of the professional colleges and all universities to date are coeducational. 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 percent. The imbalance in NWFP seems to be less acute at the university level – 25 percent of all university enrollees were female, a figure that compares very favourably with Punjab (26 percent) and Sind (31 percent).

Thus the province of Sind had the highest enrollment of females (as a percentage of total enrollment) at all levels except primary. On the other hand, NWFP 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 coeducational institutions (if any). In some provinces, there seems to be a fairly close correspondence between the three factors in female education. Baluchistan, for example, 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 proportion of female institutions is also the lowest and generally around 10 percent 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 commitment) are bound to be important factors in school attendance and drop-out rates. Some researchers in Pakistan believe that schoolteachers find themselves in that occupation not because they are committed to the job, but because they had no other choice. Satnam Mahmood (1978) says: '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 true then the education planners need to mobilize more resources and work more actively toward changing deep-rooted 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 education and training of teachers. Table 6.15 shows that since 1965 more than 80 percent of all female teachers had training that qualified them to be teachers at the primary, middle, or high school levels. (Appendix Table B.10 gives a breakdown by level of teacher education.) This was true for all years except 1970-71, when 72 percent of the 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, are analysed closely.

Table 6.15

Trend in Percentage of Trained Teachers among all Teachers at Various Levels of Education by Sex: Various Years

Year	Primary schools		Middle schools		High schools	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1965-66						
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						
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						
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						
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

Notes: The criteria for trained teachers at various stages are as follows: Primary school teacher: Middle + Senior Vernacular (SV)/Oriental Teacher (OT)/Junior Vernacular (JV).

Middle school teacher: F.A./F.Sc. + Certified Teacher (CT)/special diploma course; matric + SV/Junior diploma in physical education (JDP)/JV; diploma or certificate in specializing subject.

High school teacher: B.A./B.Sc. + bachelor's degree in education (B.Ed.); or master's degree in education (M.Ed.); or bachelor's degree in teaching (B.T.)

Sources: Data for 1965-66 and 1966-67 from Institute of Education and Research (1970: 153); data for 1972-73 and 1973-74 from BEPM (1976: tables 21-26).

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 teachers, 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 accommodation for the schools. Such schools often lack boundary walls and sometimes even roofing. Thus many schools 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 corrective measures mainly because of political considerations (Planning Commission 1978: 299). Shortage of female teachers is particularly acute in the rural areas of NWFP, Sind, and Baluchistan. Another weakness in teacher training pointed out by the Planning Commission pertains to its content. The content and techniques of training have remained virtually uninfluenced by advances in teacher education. The general level of facilities – laboratories, scientific equipment, library books – is poor in training institutions at 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 teacher training (Planning Commission 1978: 314). The Fifth Five Year Plan includes several measures related to preservice as well as in-service training designed to improve the quality of teacher training in Pakistan.

SOCIETAL AND PARENTAL ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMALE EDUCATION

While shortage of schools and female teachers remains an important hindrance to the spread of female education, parents' attitudes toward 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 that 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 percent 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 schooling for boys than for girls (Tables 6.16 and 6.17). Some 27 percent of the wives in urban areas and 46 percent in rural areas said that only religious education or

Table 6.16

Percentage of Wives who Considered Various Levels of Education Necessary for Male and Female Children,
Controlling for Selected Socioeconomic Variables: Urban Areas

Characteristic	Male children						Female children					
	Total	≤1 grade or ability to read Quran	Primary	6-9	10-13	≥14	Total	≤1 grade or ability to read Quran	Primary	6-9	10-13	≥14
Family type												
Nuclear	471	0.8	6.6	6.6	45.6	40.3	474	26.6	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
Landownership												
Own land	171	0.0	1.8	1.2	35.7	61.4	170	20.6	15.3	12.4	27.6	24.1
Don't 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	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
<Grade 6	199	0.0	1.5	0.5	29.6	68.3	198	7.6	15.7	8.6	48.0	20.2
≥Grade 6	112	0.0	0.9	0.0	16.1	83.0	112	0.0	2.7	2.7	30.4	64.3
Husband's education												
Illiterate	412	1.2	10.7	8.5	56.8	22.8	420	42.1	24.8	7.6	22.1	3.4
<Grade 6	266	0.4	6.4	6.0	46.2	41.0	274	28.1	27.0	12.4	27.7	4.7
≥Grade 6	450	0.2	1.6	0.9	32.0	65.3	451	11.3	13.7	9.8	40.1	25.1

Continued -

Table 6.16 - (Continued)

Characteristic	Male children						Female children					
	Total	≤ grade or ability to read Quran	Primary	6-9	10-13	≥14	Total	≤ 1 grade or ability to read Quran	Primary	6-9	10-13	≥14
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	0.0	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 tea set, torch, patromax, motor scooter, dressing table with mirror.

Source: National Impact Survey (1968-69).

Table 6.17

Percentage of Wives who Considered Various Levels of Education Necessary for Male and Female Children,
Controlling for Selected Socioeconomic Variables: Rural Areas

Level of education	Male children						Female children					
	Total	≤1 grade or ability to read Quran	Primary	6-9	10-13	≥14	Total	≤1 grade or ability to 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
Landownership												
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	1,581	2.2	22.6	9.2	45.7	20.2	1,602	47.8	30.3	7.9	12.2	1.9
<Grade 6	62	0.0	11.3	1.6	45.2	41.9	62	8.1	46.8	8.1	25.8	11.3
≥Grade 6	12	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	83.3	12	0.0	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
<Grade 6	235	0.4	18.3	11.5	46.0	23.8	242	44.6	34.7	7.0	10.3	3.3
≥Grade 6	302	0.3	4.3	4.0	47.7	43.7	302	21.5	36.4	10.3	26.5	5.3

Continued -

Table 6.17 - (Continued)

Level of education	Male children						Female children					
	Total	≤ 1 grade or ability to read Quran	Primary	6-9	10-13	≥ 14	Total	≤ 1 grade or ability to read Quran	Primary	6-9	10-13	≥ 14
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	0.0	6.9	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 tea set, torch, patromax, motor scooter, dressing table with mirror.

Source: National Impact Survey (1968-69)

about one grade of education was enough for girls compared with only 0.6 and 2 percent 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 in rural areas said that education up to B.A. or more was necessary for boys compared to girls (22 and 2 percent); the corresponding figures for urban areas were 44 and 12 percent.

When the perceived level of education was classified by various measures of socioeconomic status, I found that higher status is 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 six or more grades of education, a large majority expressed the need for education up to B.A. or more, for boys as well as girls (83 and 64 percent respectively). A noticeable proportion (17 percent) of rural wives with six or more grades of education wanted a B.A.-level education (or more) for girls, but a majority of them (58 percent) thought that between 10 and 13 grades would be sufficient.

The point that is perhaps most striking about Tables 6.16 and 6.17 is the large proportions of women who seem to have very low educational aspirations for girls (and by implication their own daughters). This finding 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 perceive their living standard to be inadequate. Among the women who did not own any durable items, for example, 51 percent in urban and 58 percent in rural areas said that religious education or education up to first grade is sufficient for girls. The relatively poor women (families) form a large segment of the rural population, and the question of low aspiration levels is thus crucial from the policy viewpoint.

The data in Tables 6.16 and 6.17 were collected in 1968–69, and the nationwide situation might have changed since then. At least a partial indication of this possibility is provided in a study by Hassan (n.d.) conducted among a national sample of about 1,700 adults and 375 girls aged 6 to 12 in a sample of Pakistani villages in 1977 (Table 6.18). About 20 percent of the men and women in Hassan's study stated that girls should be given religious schooling only or they should just be given

Table 6.18

Distribution of Responses to the Question 'In your Estimation how Much Education should be Imparted to a Girl?' (All Respondents): 1977

Response	No.	%
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 matriculation 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
	1,641	100.0

Source: Recalculated from Hassan (n.d.: 139).

the ability to read and write but no formal schooling. The remaining 80 percent wanted some kind of formal education. It is possible that aspirations may have changed over the eight or nine years since Hassan's study was conducted and that more rural women now have concrete ideas about formal education. This argument is difficult to prove conclusively, however, since a fairly large number (26 percent) in Hassan's study did not provide a quantifiable answer. Furthermore, the other educational categories in the two studies are different and make comparisons difficult. Despite the difficulties in comparing the two studies it is important to note that a large proportion (28 percent) of the respondents in the latter study aspired to only primary-level education for girls and less than 10 percent wanted college or higher education for girls. Thus it seems that at least one-fifth of the rural adults had 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 to which girls should be educated.

The lack of concrete goals was again pointed out clearly in Hassan's study when she interviewed girls aged 6 to 12 in her sample villages. Some 70 percent could not answer the question about the amount of education they planned to receive in any specific fashion. They said they did not know. Twelve percent of the 375 girls interviewed planned

to receive an education up to matriculation; about 5 percent had plans for a college or higher education (Hassan n.d.: 151). The concrete responses were in most cases provided by the 27 percent 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 school. That is, the girl must enter school to develop aspirations to a certain level of education.

In a more recent study on a sample of Punjabi villages, 32 percent of the parents said they desired either no education or only religious education for girls (Anwar and Naeem 1980: 61). Among those who did aspire to formal education for girls, close to half (46 percent) said that up to the primary level of education was sufficient for girls. In the case of boys, however, only 2 percent of the 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 matriculation or ten grades; another 31 percent said that boys should have an education up to college; 22 percent said that boys should be given the maximum possible education. In the case of girls, one-fourth of the respondents said that there is no advantage to educating them (Anwar and Naeem 1980: 64). These findings reaffirm that aspirations of rural parents for their daughter's education are still very low.

Why Girls are Not Sent to School

When asked why they were not in school at the time of the interview, one-third of the non-school-going girls said there was no school for girls while another 5 percent said there was no teacher in school (Table 6.19). Thus at least 38 percent of the girls were not in school because no facility was available. Attitudinal constraints such as relatives being against her education were expressed by 22 percent of the girls while another 18 percent perceived poverty to be the reason for their lack of school attendance. Note that 10 percent of the girls had a negative self-image and felt they were not good enough to be sent to school. Only 8 percent of the girls said they were not sent to school because of work at home. The work argument has been frequently used in the literature as a reason for nonattendance, but according to the empirical data in Hassan's study work seems to pose a constraint for only a small number. Lack of school facilities, relatives' attitudes, and poverty were the most important reasons.

The adults in Hassan's study provided slightly different responses when asked why sons are educated and daughters are not. Unlike the

Table 6.19

Reasons why the Girls thought they were not in School
(for Girls not in School only): 1977

Reason	No.	%
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).

girls' own responses about lack of schools being a major reason, a large proportion of the adults (45 percent) said that girls are not sent to school because there are no financial gains that accrue to parents by sending them (Table 6.20). Since women do not take up jobs like men and since they leave their parents' home after marriage, the parents do not gain financially by educating daughters (Hassan n.d.: 137). About 13 percent of the adults, however, did mention the lack of schools as the reason. One noteworthy point about the data in Table 6.20 is that 8 percent of the adults stated that girls and boys are not equal and the question is therefore irrelevant. In a male-oriented society like Pakistan, careful measurement would probably show that the percentage who do not believe boys and girls to be equal is in fact much larger than 8 percent. A bias toward male rather than female education is also evident from another question about whether sons or daughters would be sent to school if the parents were poor. Half the respondents said that only sons would be sent to school in that case (Hassan n.d.: 141).

Why Girls Drop-out of School

Entry into the school system is only the first step in the education of children. As discussed earlier in this chapter, Pakistan continues to be faced with high drop-out rates. Few studies have looked at the

Table 6.20

Distribution of Responses to the Question 'If Boys and Girls are equal in the eyes of Parents, why do most of the Parents educate their Sons and not the Daughters?' (All Respondents): 1977

Response	No.	%
1. There are no financial gains to the parents.	716	45.2
2. It is not customary to educate girls.	256	16.2
3. There is no proper arrangement for girls' education.	209	13.2
4. Since boys and girls are not equal, there is no question of educating both.	133	8.4
5. Poverty prevent parents from educating daughters.	74	4.7
6. Girls become too independent after getting education.	58	3.7
7. Ignorant parents do not value their children's education.	49	3.1
8. Purdah is the reason for not educating girls.	44	2.8
9. Girls have to do household work.	18	1.1
10. Girls are not intellectually capable of getting an education.	16	1.0
11. Education does not help girls in their future life.	12	0.8
	<u>1,585</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Source: Recalculated from Hassan (n.d.: 136).

problem of drop-outs in an empirical way. The study by the Bureau of Educational Planning and Management (BEPM) probed the reasons for school drop-out and nonattendance in 416 Pakistani villages. In this study, poverty was found to be the single most important reason for pupil drop-out and nonattendance given by various respondents, particularly in the case of boys' 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 beliefs, and distance from school as reasons for pupil drop-out and non-attendance in the case of female students (BEPM 1977: 14). Thus the parent's negative attitude toward female education in the BEPM

study is consistent with the findings from the 1968–69 NIS and Hassan's study discussed above.

In order to explore the reasons for pupil drop-out in more depth, the BEPM conducted a study of matched pairs of stay-ins and dropouts 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 (1) personality and temperament factors such as health, intelligence, and peer relations; (2) on family factors such as parents' attitudes toward education; (3) on school success factors such as attendance, achievements, and aspirations; and (4) on knowledge and skills such as reading and writing (BEPM 1977: 18–19). Mirza (1977), using the BEPM data on matched pairs of drop-outs and stay-ins, further analysed the data on school factors. She analysed ten school factors and compared the stay-ins and drop-outs on those variables.⁸ By scoring the feelings or performance of children on the ten items, she showed that the dropouts 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 were 8.2 and 4.3 (Mirza 1977: 13, 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 dropouts 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 questions about knowledge of political issues and political views.

The BEPM also found that, nationwide, the quality of 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

⁸The ten school factors were feelings about school, educational aspirations, treatment by teachers, knowledge of political issues, political views (asked from the child); distance to school (as assessed by the interviewer); class failure/retardation, attendance record, achievement record (estimated from school records); and relationships with teachers (as reported by the teacher).

that was found to be consistently positively associated with school attendance was a composite measure called 'total village development' (BEPM 1977: 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' (p. 17).

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 does this emphasis vary from the common perceptions about the desirable content of education for women? The first question has been touched upon by Hafeez (1982) and will not be discussed here. The second question vitally concerns the redefinition of the status and roles of women in Pakistan and will determine 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: 39). From this general premise he argued that since the woman's basic role is that of manager of the family, female education should prepare her for this role. This viewpoint about the basic role of women in Pakistani society is representative of the general view about the different (but complementary) roles of the two sexes defined by Islam. In contrast to this conservative viewpoint, radical views were also presented at the seminar. Alys Faiz argued that 'radical reform alone can bring about radical changes in attitudes and values toward 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: 71). She seems to be more concerned with the equal right to education than with the content of education itself.

Another participant at the seminar, a very experienced educator, argued that questions of content need to be scrutinized carefully by education planners. One consideration that should guide female education should be suitability for the job market (S. Mahmood 1978: 73-75). Mahmood's last point about suitability for the job market would perhaps be too radical for those 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 haphazard and vague objectives.

Not much empirical information 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 large proportion (40 percent) felt that the content of education should be such that it makes girls religious and morally good. Another 24 percent said that children should receive religious as well as public education. A considerable proportion (14 percent) said education must teach salable skills or have some economic benefit for girls (Hassan n.d.: 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 that would teach skills to their daughters. This finding suggests that female education might be more acceptable to some parents if it included vocational training rather than only teaching girls to read and write. One disadvantage of female education expressed by the rural adults was that 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 behaviour changes are regarded unfavourably by many rural adults.

Thus it seems that a redefinition of 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 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. Moreover, female education might have greater appeal to many people if it included some element of vocational training.

THE FUTURE OF FEMALE EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN

One of the government's stated policies is to reduce the existing disparity in available facilities for boys' and girls' education by providing an accelerated expansion of girls' education (Planning Commission 1978: 335). Female enrollment at the primary level was to be increased from 1.7 million in 1977-78 to 2.7 million in 1982-83, representing an increase of 58 percent. Similarly, a 65 percent increase in enrollment at the middle level (sixth to eighth grades) and 73 percent at the high school level (ninth and tenth grades) was planned. The government also plans

to supplement the formal education system by introducing especially designed programmes of nonformal education to cater to the needs of certain age groups. Such programmes would be delivered through radio broadcasts. An emphasis is also being placed on programmes of functional literacy that would be particularly suited to the needs of girls and women. The commission expects that with all these efforts the literacy rate for females aged five and above would increase from 11 to 16 percent over the Fifth Plan period (1977–78 to 1982–83); the corresponding rates for males were 36 and 43 percent. (The literacy rate for females aged five and above was 12.6 percent in the 1973 HED Survey.)

Whether the government can achieve its stated goals depends on the availability of female educational institutions and teachers as well as the parents' demand for female education. As we have seen, 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 females get educated they stop doing farm work. Poverty, which continues to affect the lives of most Pakistani families, was reported to be a major reason for school nonattendance 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, however, because of more adequate facilities and greater demand for female education.

SUMMARY

About 13 percent of all females aged ten and above were defined as literate in 1973 compared with 38 percent literate males. There was a large discrepancy in the literacy of females in rural and urban areas – 32 and 6 percent respectively. Provincial differences suggest that female literacy was highest in urban Sind (35 percent) with Punjab following closely (33 percent). NWFP and Baluchistan had only about 21 percent literate females (aged ten and above) 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 had gone up from about 8 percent in

1951 to about 12 or 13 percent around 1972–73. The government estimated the 1977–78 rate for females to be about 11 percent (among those aged five and above) and expected the rate to go up to 16 percent by 1983.

Twelve percent of the girls aged 5 to 9 and 20 percent of those aged 10 to 14 were enrolled in school in 1973; the corresponding percentages for male children were 23 and 46 percent. There are large rural/urban differences with 45 percent of urban and only 10 percent of the rural girls aged 10 to 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 percent of all primary school students, about one-fifth of all middle and high school students, and about 27 percent of all college-level students. While less than 1 percent of all students are receiving university and professional-level education, women comprise 24 percent of university enrollees and about 23 percent of professional college enrollees. Thus the sex ratio continues to be highly biased toward males at all levels, but considerable gains in female education have been made over the years. Female enrollment at the primary level has increased in close correspondence with female primary schools and female primary school teachers. This finding 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. The percentage of female teachers at the university level has increased more modestly than at the primary and secondary levels, and about 10 percent of all university teachers are female. This small percentage is probably related to the coeducational nature of the universities in Pakistan. The government is planning to establish some women's universities; one plan is to upgrade the colleges of home economics to university status.

The educational level of the nation as a whole increased slightly between 1961 and 1973. That is, more of the educated persons had attained higher levels of education in the latter time period – 23 percent of the enrolled females were beyond the primary level in 1972–73 compared with 13 percent in 1961. The percentage of females at the higher levels of education is, however, still very low with less than 1 percent of enrolled females at the postgraduate level.

The number of educational institutions has increased substantially during the last 30 years. Some 87 percent of all primary and 78 percent 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 crucial elements that might help or hinder the spread of education. In Pakistan the demand for education seems to be rather modest, particularly in the rural areas. About 46 percent of the 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 Quran. In a more recent survey, it was found that about 31 percent of the rural adults who were interviewed could not express specific goals (in terms of grade level) with regard to girls' education. Parents' and relatives' negative attitudes have been pointed out as a major factor in school nonattendance of girls.

Because of the shortage of facilities and relatively modest aspirations for girls' education, only one-fifth of all girls aged 10 to 14 were in school in 1973. The rural/urban differentials in enrollment levels were marked. The male/female differentials were large, too, particularly in rural areas where the proportion of enrolled boys was almost four times as high as girls - 39 and 10 percent. Thus more than 90 percent 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 in the near future.

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FEMALE EMPLOYMENT: TRENDS, STRUCTURE, UTILIZATION, AND CONSTRAINTS

Nasra M. Shah

Female employment has been regarded as a central variable related to the improvement in women's status in various countries. Some arguments in favour of female employment use the following lines of reasoning. First, female employment and the income it generates have 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 its salience. Although 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 (see Stycos and Weller 1967; Goldstein 1972; Kupinsky 1977). This argument has also been used by family planning agencies in several countries, including Pakistan, as a 'beyond family planning' measure (see 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 (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 indications of change as a result of their greater participation 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 confidence in their own abilities and lead to a real expansion of roles.

This chapter analyses the trends and structure of the female labour force in Pakistan. First, we shall examine the trends in labour force participation rates and unemployment rates for several years. Then, we shall look at variations in female work participation by certain demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. After analysing the structure of the labour force in terms of the occupational distribution and examining the hours worked, we shall discuss the overall correlates and constraints of female work participation. Data for males are presented in many of the tabulations but are discussed only as deemed necessary.

A few problems inherent in the measurement of female work participation in Pakistan should be specified at the outset. There is no consensus on the percentage of women who are in the labour force since different sources render widely different estimates. There are diverse reasons for the discrepancies: varying degrees of underreporting, exclusion of unpaid family workers in some surveys, and certain definitional and quality differences between data sources. Details of such problems are discussed in Irfan (1981), Abbasi (1982), and Shah *et al.* (1977). Despite the discrepancies, it seems that the incidence of female work participation is captured more accurately by special-purpose household surveys than by the decennial censuses and labour force surveys. A significant problem relates to the use of labour force data from the 1973 HED Survey, which forms one of the major data sources in this chapter. Labour force data on females from the 1973 HED Survey are particularly problematic since they reveal findings that are widely divergent from other sources in the country. Some improvement upon the published HED Survey data has, however, been made in the present report since we have adjusted the data on unemployment as described in note 4 to this chapter.

Apart from data problems, a word about the general nature of female economic activity in Pakistan is in order. Various censuses indicate that more than 70 percent of all working women are employed in agricultural activities. According to the 1961 census, a majority (76 percent) of these women worked as unpaid family helpers. The situation

has not changed substantially since 1961. Thus more than half (53 percent) of the total female labour force in Pakistan is engaged in nonwage employment. Given this preponderance of female work in the unpaid family help category, many problems tend to cloud the measurement of such work. The possibility of such work being underreported is considerable; moreover, the number of hours attributed to it are likely to be inaccurately reported, since the work may be highly seasonal in nature. Small-scale surveys in villages indicate that a much larger percentage of women in rural areas are engaged in economic activities than the typical census or labour force survey reveals.

Of the nonagricultural workers, the majority seem to be engaged in production-related activities as tailors, weavers, and the like. The second major category is that of service workers. The percentage in each of these categories, however, differs widely among various data sources. Professionals, such as teachers, doctors, and nurses, are concentrated mainly in urban areas and constitute roughly 10 percent of the female labour force. Cultural values relating to the segregation of sexes have necessitated the creation of certain jobs whereby women are able to provide services, such as education and health care, to other women. Most of the jobs, however, are of a nonprofessional and nonwage nature.

TRENDS IN PARTICIPATION RATES

Between 1951 and 1961 the number of females in the labour force increased from about 0.3 million to 1.1 million (Table 7.1). This figure implies an increase in the participation rates for females from 3 to 9 percent (Table 7.2).¹ Between 1961 and 1973, however, the number of women in the labour force fell by about 0.14 million; the corresponding participation rate for females in 1973 was 5 percent compared with 9 percent in 1961. The apparent decline in female participation found in the 1973 HED Survey is, however, not supported by data from other sources.

I have argued elsewhere that one of the serious problems in collecting labour force data for women in census-type operations derives from the fact that the household head, usually a male, reports on the female's (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 underreport female economic activity seriously (Shah and Shah 1980; Shah *et al.* 1977; Irfan 1981).

¹ Labour force participation rates are defined as the percentage of all persons aged ten and above who were working or looking for work during the week prior to the census.

Table 7.1

Civilian Labour Force by Employed and Unemployed Status and Percentage of Employed Persons
in Agricultural or Nonagricultural Occupations by Sex: 1951, 1961, and 1973

Sex	Civilian labour force (thousands)	% Employed	% Agriculture	% Nonagriculture ^b	% Unemployed
1951 census ^a					
Both sexes	9,812	96.9	63.3	33.6	3.1 ^c
Males	9,495	97.0	63.0	34.0	3.0 ^c
Females	317	92.4	63.2	29.2	7.6 ^c
1961 census					
Both sexes	12,763	98.3	59.1	39.2	1.7
Males	11,641	98.2	58.1	40.1	1.8
Females	1,122	99.4	70.3	29.1	0.6
1973 HED Survey					
Both sexes	17,866	96.2	54.0	42.1	3.8
Males	16,882	96.8	54.1	42.8	3.2
Females	984	85.1	54.2	30.9	14.9

a. Figures for 1951 includes all persons of age 12 and above while those of 1961 and 1973 are for age 10 and above.

b. Nonagricultural labour force includes persons working in forestry and fishery occupations.

c. Unemployment figures for 1951 were obtained by deducting percentage employed from 100 (civilian labour force), since no direct estimates of unemployment were available.

Sources: Manager of Publications (n.d.: vol. 7, tables 1 and 6); Home Affairs Division (1964: vol. 4, table 1: 176-177); author's tabulations from HED Survey (1973).

Table 7.2
Trend in Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR) for Persons Aged 10+
by Sex: Rural and Urban Areas, Various Years

Sex	Census (1951)	Census (1961)	LFS ^a (1968-69)	NIS ^b (1968-69)	HED (1973)	LFS ^a (1974-75)	PFS ^c (1975)
Pakistan							
Both sexes	44.9	48.1	44.7	u	42.2	43.8	u
Males	79.4	80.8	79.1	u	72.7	76.7	u
Females	3.1	9.3	6.6	18.7	5.1	6.4	17.2
Urban							
Both sexes	u	43.0	39.6	u	37.7	38.8	u
Males	u	72.2	70.1	u	65.3	69.6	u
Females	u	4.1	4.1	9.0	4.2	3.6	15.6
Rural							
Both sexes	u	49.9	46.4	u	43.9	45.9	u
Males	u	83.9	82.1	u	75.6	79.8	u
Females	u	10.9	7.5	22.3	5.5	7.6	17.8

u - data unavailable.

a. LFS stands for Labour Force Survey in this and subsequent tables.

b. Rate for currently married women who were working at the time of the survey.

c. Rates for ever-married women who were working at the time of the survey. These rates are based on the analysis file.

Note: Data refer to the civilian labour force only.

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 (1968-69: 8, 1974-75: 51); and author's tabulations for the NIS (1968-69), PFS (1975), and HED Survey (1973).

At least partial support for this argument is available from other data from Pakistan in which the woman herself responded to the labour force questions. Table 7.2 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 percent in the 1968–69 National Impact Survey (NIS) and 17 percent in the 1975 Pakistan Fertility Survey (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 provide a rather inaccurate picture of the true situation.

The inadequacy of measurement may be illustrated by the data for rural areas. Census data show that only about 6 to 11 percent of the rural women are in the labour force (Table 7.2, last row). In the household surveys 22 percent of the rural women in the NIS and 18 percent in the PFS reported that they were in the labour force. Data from village studies in Pakistan indicate that if the proportion is adequately measured, a much larger percentage of rural women would be counted in the labour 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 percent of all the women who were interviewed did participate in some kind of farm activity. The activity was more intense during the harvesting seasons – for example, 43 percent of the women participated in cutting wheat, 78 percent participated in the binding of sheaves, and 67 percent participated in the threshing. More than four-fifths (84 percent) of the village woman participated in cleaning grains, and about half of them spent more than four hours a day cleaning 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 is sold for profit.³ The level of participation in these activities decreased slightly with education and size of landholding but still remained very high. Participation rates also varied by caste; they were 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 labour force, it is reasonable to conclude that the participation rate is certainly higher

²The comparison between various sources has been presented in greater detail in Shah and Shah (1980).

³Saeed (1966) did not inquire about the amount of produce that was sold for profit.

than the 5 to 10 percent indicated by census data. It is probably close to 20 percent 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 7.2, last column). It is possible that more urban women are taking part in the labour force because of greater pressure on limited family resources or a changing demand structure that has made more jobs available. Data from the 1981 census will help us in estimating the reliability and possible reasons for this apparent change in rural/urban differentials.

Participation Rates in Provinces

Provincial estimates of participation rates can be made from the 1961 census and the 1973 HED Survey as in Table 7.3. While the levels

Table 7.3
Changes in LFPR for Persons Aged 10+
by Sex and Province: 1961 and 1973

Province	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
NWFP						
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

Note: Figures for 1951 are not shown because of definitional differences.

Sources: Home Affairs Division (n.d.: vol. 3, tables 41 and 43); author's tabulations from HED Survey (1973).

of participation differ substantially in the two data sources, both show participation to be highest in the province of Sind, followed by NWFP and Punjab. Baluchistan had the lowest participation rate, about 3 percent in both sources. Some 12 percent of the females in Sind were in the labour force in 1961 compared with 7 percent in 1973; the corresponding rates for rural Sindhi women were 16 and 9 percent. 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 factors contribute to the differentials.

Unemployment Rates

Unemployment rates for both males and females have traditionally been very low: around 1 or 2 percent (Table 7.4). Almost all the persons in the labour force are reported to be currently employed. It has been suggested that such unusually low unemployment rates are likely a result

Table 7.4
Unemployment Rates for Total, Rural, and Urban
Pakistan by Sex: Various Years

Percentage un- employed in Civilian Labour Force	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. Data for the 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*: p. 5); Statistics Division (1968-69: 8; 1974-75: 51); author's tabulations from HED Survey (1973).

of 'disguised unemployment' whereby people may not be employed full time but report themselves to be fully employed (Farooq 1975: 56). This is particularly true in the agricultural sector and in the informal nonagricultural sectors in which labour 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 The differences are particularly large in urban areas, where 22 percent of the females were reported as unemployed in the 1973 HED Survey compared with only 1 percent in the 1974-75 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 problem 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. Provincewise data on unemployment rates show similar discrepancies between the 1961 census and 1973 HED Survey (see Appendix Table B.11).

VARIATIONS IN PARTICIPATION RATES BY SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

Age

When participation rates are analysed by age of employed persons, the curve is fairly flat for female rates for both 1961 and 1973 (Table 7.5). Somewhat fewer of the youngest (10 to 14) and oldest (60 and over) women seem to work compared to those aged 15 to 59. A similar pattern is indicated by data in the 1975 PFS (Shah and Smith 1981: 10). The male rates follow the same general pattern. While it is difficult to draw conclusions that imply a behaviour over the life cycle on the basis of cross-sectional data, a fairly flat curve of participation by age perhaps implies that women who have a need to work continue working throughout most of their lives. Data from the 1975 PFS support the contention that women who need to work and who do enter the labour

⁴Unemployment rates based on the HED Survey in this chapter differ significantly from the published HED Survey figures. The published data render an unemployment rate of about 52 percent for females. We arrived at the lower estimate of about 15 percent after adjusting for apparent inconsistencies. We excluded from the labour 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 labour force in the published data.

Table 7.5

Age-specific Labour Force Participation Rates by Sex:
1961 Census and HED Survey (1973)

Age group	Both sexes		Males		Females	
	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

Sources: Home Affairs Division (n.d.: *Census Bulletin No. 5*, table 3: 80-81); author's tabulations from HED Survey.

force continue working a good part of their lives. Among the employed married women who had been married for 10 to 14 years, for example, 52 percent had worked for almost six or more years. Moreover, among those married for 25 to 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 nine years since marriage, and those who had worked before marriage had worked for an average of five 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 nonagricultural activities. (A similar pattern is present for the total

⁵The average age at marriage for females in the PFS was 16.4 years. Thus these findings imply that those who worked before marriage worked almost all of their teenage years. Note that we excluded seasonal workers before calculating the duration of work for employed women.

labour force, as we shall see.) About 7 percent of the divorced women in the 1961 census and the 1973 HED Survey were employed compared with about 3 and 1 percent of the married women, respectively, as shown here:

Marital status	Percentage of females in non-agricultural labour force	
	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 the widow's number of children, her property, and so forth. Higher participation rates of widowed and divorced women suggest that these women have a greater need for economic support than married women. It is also likely that activity rates for these women are reported more accurately since they themselves may have reported on their own economic activity – especially in the case of female household heads.

Age, Marital Status, and Education

Activity rates are examined in greater detail in Table 7.6, where the 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 widowed and divorced women who have a 'medium' level of education (one to nine grades) and relatively older women (25 and above) who have either medium education or relatively higher education (ten or more grades). For example, 22 percent of all widowed and 38 percent of all divorced women who had medium levels of education were in the labour force. Moreover, 40 percent of the single women aged 45 and above 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

Table 7.6

Labour Force Participation Rates by Sex, Age Group, Marital Status,
and Education: HED Survey (1973)

Age group	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 HED Survey (1973).

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 labour force. It seems that the economic need to participate in the labour force is perhaps unusually high among these groups. Furthermore, many of the women with some education are likely to be in occupations that are regarded as respectable (schoolteachers, for example) and are likely to be 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 7.6). For a description of these patterns by rural and urban areas see Appendix Table B.12. Irfan (1983) has recently completed a report based on a national survey conducted in 1979-80.

Characteristics of Working versus Nonworking 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 nonworking women shows that, on the average, working women are slightly younger and have smaller numbers of living children on the average than nonworking women (Table 7.7). A somewhat larger percentage of the former are illiterate or have illiterate husbands; slightly fewer of them have knowledge of family planning clinics or have used contraceptive methods. Thus the comparison suggests that 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 in urban areas. These data pertain only to the currently married women aged 10 to 49, but a similar analysis of differences between working and nonworking women would be highly desirable for widowed and divorced women.⁶

A comparison of basic characteristics of all women in the labour force with those not in the labour force suggests the following broad patterns according to the 1973 HED Survey. The labour force is composed of relatively older women compared with the nonworking women,

⁶It is not possible to do a similar analysis for the widowed and divorced women from the 1975 PFS because of the small number of such women.

Table 7.7

Socioeconomic and Demographic Characteristics of Working and Nonworking Currently Married Women Aged 15–44 by Specified Characteristics: PFS (1975)

Characteristic	Worked since marriage ^a			Never worked since marriage			Total population
	Urban	Rural	All working women	Urban	Rural	Total non-working women	
\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 ^b	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

Continued –

Table 7.7 – (Continued)

Characteristic	Worked since marriage ^a			Never worked since marriage			Total population
	Urban	Rural	All working women	Urban	Rural	Total non-working women	
\bar{X} number of children born during past 5 years	1.2	1.1	1.1	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	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	805	887	2,508	3,396	4,201

a. Of all the women who had worked since marriage, 90 percent were currently working.

b. Had any schooling.

Source: Shah and Smith (1981:18).

(Table 7.8), which is contrary to the patterns in PFS. Ninety percent of the working women are aged 25 or more compared with 81 percent of the nonworking women. Two-thirds of the labour force consists of married women whereas single women constitute a little over one-fourth of the female labour force. Widowed and divorced women comprise only 11 percent of the labour 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; for example,

Table 7.8
Social and Demographic Characteristics of Working
and Nonworking Females Aged 10+: HED Survey (1973)

Characteristic	% labour force ^a	% not in labour force ^a
Total	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 ^c	2.6
Nonmigrant	98.3	97.4

a. Currently working or looking for work.

b. Includes those who moved to current place of residence between 1965 and 1973.

c. Includes currently employed women only.

Source: Author's tabulations from HED Survey (1973).

the labour force has 10 percent widowed women compared with 7 percent in the remaining population. Women in the labour force have a somewhat higher literacy rate than the rest of the population – 16 percent of the former are literate compared with 13 percent of the latter. Finally, the labour force has slightly fewer recent migrants than the rest of the population (Table 7.8).⁷ Specific subgroups within the migrant females, however, have unusually high participation rates as discussed in Chapter 4 on migration.

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

More than 70 percent of the females in Pakistan were engaged in agricultural occupations as reported in the 1951 and 1961 censuses and the 1973 HED Survey (Table 7.9). Since LFS data are not available separately for males and females, we cannot compare the occupational structure from the censuses and other surveys with the LFS. About 27 percent of the total female labour force was engaged in nonagricultural activities in 1961 and 1973. Note that the structure of the male labour force has changed considerably – the proportion of males in non-agricultural activities seems to have increased from 34 percent in 1951 to 42 percent 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 7.10. According to the PFS, about 38 percent of the rural working women were employed in agricultural activities and another 5 percent were employed as unskilled labourers, probably on the farm; the remaining 57 percent women were engaged in nonagricultural work. 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 affect the occupational structure, thus reducing the comparability between sources.

Within the nonagricultural labour force, women are concentrated in three major occupations: professional and technical work, services, and production. 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 percent in 1961, the proportion of women in professional and technical occupations seems to have

⁷Recent migrants are defined as those who migrated to their current place of residence no more than eight years prior to the survey.

Table 7.9

Trends in Occupational Structure of the Nonagricultural Labour Force by Sex: 1961 and 1973

Occupation	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 labour force (thousands)	9,812	9,495	317	12,763	11,691	1,122	17,866	16,882	984
% of nonagricultural labour force	33.6	33.8	29.1	38.5	39.6	26.7	41.3	42.1	26.6
Professional and technical	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	3.8
Professors, 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.	u	u	u	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

Female Employment

Continued -

Table 7.9 – (Continued)

Occupation	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
Production, transport, mining, 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, upholsterers	u	u	u	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
Others	19.5	15.8	23.3	22.0	22.6	13.2	23.0	23.5	8.4

u – data unavailable.

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, 5; pp. 176–212); author's tabulations from HED Survey (1973).

Table 7.10
 Percentage Changes in the Occupational Structure of Selected Subgroups
 of Rural and Urban Females: Various Years

Occupational structure	1961 census ^a nonagricultural labour force	NIS 1968: currently married women aged 10-49		HED 1973: ^b currently married women aged 10-44		PFS 1975: currently married women aged 15-49	
		Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Nurses, teachers	10.1	0.6	10.2	1.4	28.9	1.2	8.2
Technical, sales, administration, clerical	2.5	1.0	2.6	2.3	12.9	2.1	2.1
Farm workers, agricultural labourers, fishermen	1.5	49.1	7.7	89.4	9.5	37.7	1.8
Housekeepers, domestic servants, caretakers	28.8 ^c	3.2	13.5	2.6	29.6	6.7	14.8
Spinners, weavers	32.0 ^d	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 ^e	12.1	16.7	1.1	3.5	4.8	3.0
Unpaid family, helpers	u	17.9	0.6	u	u	u	u
Total number	299,550	470	156	316,789	54,550	565	330

u - data unavailable.

a. Excludes workers not clarified by occupation and those who were not employed but were looking for work. A breakdown by occupations for rural and urban areas is not available from the 1961 census. These data are restricted to all women (10+) in nonagricultural occupations.

b. Excludes workers not classified by occupation.

c. Domestic service workers and caretakers.

d. Textiles, textile goods, and weaving apparel.

e. Labourers, street vendors, stall holders.

Sources: Author's tabulation from the PFS, NIS, and HED Survey; Home Affairs Division (1964: vol. 6, part 1, table 2, pp. 24-29).

increased to 31 percent in 1973. While such an increase would indeed be a welcome change in the occupational structure, it seems 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*, traditional midwives). Given the rather slow change in the health infrastructure and the schooling levels discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 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 and the 1975 PFS that also show the proportion of (married, urban) women in professional occupations to be around 8 to 10 percent (Table 7.10). Since the various data sources have used similar coding schemes, these differences 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 percent (Table 7.9). 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 7.10). It is hard to explain these differences between data sources. Nevertheless, the services category seems to be one of the three most important sectors employing women.

With regard to the production sector, more than half of all women in nonagricultural work were in this sector as reported in the 1951 and 1961 censuses (Table 7.9).⁸ The percentage of women in similar activities was equally large among the urban, married women in the NIS and PFS – 49 and 70 percent (Table 7.10).⁹ In 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 show that enterprises such as the production of ready-made garments and rugs and carpets have received a considerable boost. These industries have traditionally employed many females and continue to do so. More women than before seem to be taking up weaving and tailoring as indicated by data in the 1975 PFS – 40 percent of the rural working (married) women and 58 percent of the urban women were employed as

⁸The percentage of females in this sector is only 28 percent 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.

⁹These figures for the NIS and PFS are based on a summation of the spinners, weavers, tailors, and other skilled categories in table 7.10.

tailors or weavers. One reason for the possible increase in participation in such occupations is related to the flexibility that such work probably provides in terms of the place of work.

Further analysis of the women engaged in weaving and tailoring shows that almost all of the women in these occupations work at home in both rural and urban areas (Table 7.11). Furthermore, many of them are self-employed. Some 96 percent of the spinners and weavers and 98 percent of the tailors in urban areas reported that they worked at home; the corresponding figures for rural areas were 99 and 93 percent. 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 labourers, 57 percent in urban and 84 percent in rural areas worked outside the home. Movement outside the house is one of the constraints on female work participation, as discussed later, and the women's ability to work at home seems to be one reason for their high concentration in cottage industries such as weaving and tailoring.

Sex ratios in major occupations are shown in Appendix Table B. 13. The number of males per 100 females is many times higher for each of the occupation groups. This finding 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 though they are still dominated by males. Note that none of the occupations has a sex ratio less than 100 – that is, the ratio of males to females is consistently higher.

Occupational Structure among Sociodemographic Groups

An analysis of the variations in the three major categories of female occupations (professional and technical, services, and production) in the nonagricultural sector after controlling for selected demographic and social variables is presented in Table 7.12. 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 percent in 1961 to about 14 percent in 1973. When age is controlled, older women (45 and above) seem to be somewhat more highly concentrated in service occupations, particularly so in the 1973 HED Survey. Moreover, more of the younger women were in professional occupations in 1973 – 33 percent of those less than 45 years old compared with 24 percent of those aged 45 and

Table 7.11
 Current Occupation by Place of Work and Working Status, Urban and Rural Currently Married Women:
 PFS (Percentage) 1975

Occupation	Urban					Rural				
	Work at home		Work outside home		No.	Work at home		Work outside home		No.
	Employee	Self-employed	Employee	Self-employed		Employee	Self-employed	Employee	Self-employed	
Professionals (nurses, teachers, others)	0	13	79	8	(24)	0	0	67	33	(6)
Clerical, administrative, sales	0	80	20	0	(7)	0	40	0	60	(10)
Farm workers	0	17	83	0	(6)	0	0 ^a	75	25	(203)
Service (housekeepers, domestics)	0	2	94	4	(53)	3	0	83	13	(30)
Spinners, weavers	28	68	4	0	(50)	8	91	0	1	(79)
Tailors	7	91	2	0	(102)	11	82	2	5	(131)
Other craftsmen	3	60	34	3	(25)	5	73	2	20	(37)
Unskilled workers and labourers	29	14	43	14	(7)	0	16	36	48	(25)
All occupations	9	58	30	2	(274)	5	42	37	16	(521)

a. Less than 1 percent.

Table 7.12

Major Nonagricultural Occupations Employing Females, by Selected Background Variables:
1961 Census and HED Survey (1973)

Characteristic	1961 Census				1973 HED Survey			
	Professional, technical, and related	Services	Production, transport, construction, etc.	All others	Professional, technical, and related	Services	Production, transport, construction, etc.	All others
Total	10.6	30.3	52.5	6.6	30.7	28.2	27.6	13.5
Age								
10-24	10.6	29.4	54.9	5.1	32.7	20.5	33.9	12.9
25-44	10.6	29.3	53.6	6.5	33.5	27.6	25.2	13.7
45+	9.7	32.9	48.4	9.0	23.8	37.1	24.3	14.8
Marital status								
Single	22.1	30.3	42.1	5.5	44.7	16.6	27.0	11.7
Married	7.9	29.1	57.2	5.8	26.1	31.9	29.6	12.4
Widowed	10.3	35.1	43.6	11.0	14.7	44.8	24.7	15.8
Divorced	10.2	32.9	48.7	8.2	30.1	24.2	29.1	16.6
Education								
None or <5 grades	4.1	33.1	56.8	6.0	11.4	40.3	33.9	14.4
5-7 grades	28.6	16.4	45.1	9.9	22.6	12.2	42.3	22.9
8-9 grades	83.0	3.1	7.2	6.7	46.4	3.2	41.6	8.8
10-13 grades	80.5	1.2	2.5	15.8	81.4	2.8	4.9	10.9
14+ grades	87.8	0.7	1.1	10.4	86.5	0.1	3.0	10.4
Employment status								
Employers	23.3	4.8	20.3	51.6	45.7	17.6	15.3	21.4
Employees	24.9	59.9	9.7	5.5	42.9	38.2	11.1	7.8
Self-employed	5.1	19.4	68.8	6.7	12.7	17.0	50.5	19.2
Unpaid family helpers	1.2	11.7	79.8	7.3	20.1	22.1	41.5	16.3

Female Employment

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Sources: Home Affairs Division (1964: vol. 4, table 4, pp. 109-203); author's tabulations from HED Survey (1973).

over. While the overall level of professional women in the HED Survey seems too high, as discussed above, the general pattern of a large proportion of younger women 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. Some 22 percent of the single women were in professional occupations compared with 8 percent of the married women in 1961; corresponding figures for 1973 were 45 and 26 percent. Many of the single working women belong to the younger and better educated groups, and it is reasonable to find more of them in professional occupations. As expected, education has a strong positive relationship with participation in professional occupations (Table 7.12, second column). Some 88 percent of the employed women with 14 or more grades of education were engaged in professional occupations compared with 29 percent of those with five to seven 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 surveys. Illiterate women constitute more than eight-tenths of the labour force and are therefore a significant element in determining the overall structure of female occupations.

Among the few women who work as employers,¹⁰ there seems to be a wide 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 7.11.

Provincial Occupational Structures

Census data show that more than two-thirds of the Pakistani female labour force is engaged in agricultural activities. According to the HED Survey data, the preponderance of Sindhi females in agricultural activities is particularly large – 73 percent of whom were involved in agricultural pursuits compared with 64 percent of the Punjabi, 68

¹⁰The proportion of women who were working as employers (in the nonagricultural labour force) was 0.13 percent in 1961 and 6.6 percent in 1973. For a description of the employment status of the females by rural and urban areas see Appendix Table B.14.

percent of the NWFP, and 50 percent of the Baluchi women (Table 7.13). In the nonagricultural sector, professional, services, and production occupations are again the three most significant categories for each of the provinces, although the relative concentration within each of these categories varies considerably among provinces. Baluchistan, for example, seems to have many more women in the production sector and relatively fewer women in the services sector compared with the other provinces. Since an evaluation of these apparent differentials requires a comparison with similar data from other sources and some judgment about the relative accuracy of reporting, it is beyond the scope of this analysis.

UTILIZATION OF THE LABOUR FORCE

The number of hours an individual works is one aspect that indicates whether his or her labour is being adequately utilized. Other aspects that have been suggested by Hauser (1974) to measure the adequacy of labour utilization consist of whether a worker earns 'adequate' income and has a job consistent with his or her education. An analysis based on Hauser's framework is available in Shah and Mirza (1983). The present chapter analyses labour utilization only in terms of the number of hours worked.

Separate data on the amount of work that employed females perform during a week are not available in the Labour Force Surveys. The total labour 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 show a remarkably similar pattern of work – 49 hours per week (Table 7.14). The average hours of work for females is, however, much lower – 35.5. It should be recalled that female activity is generally reported by the male household head and may suffer from serious underreporting of the time that females actually spend at their work. Measurement of time spent on economic activity by females is particularly difficult considering that the majority of jobs are informal.

Small-scale studies of villages in Pakistan suggest that women spend a considerable amount of time in farm activities that in many cases probably do contribute to family income, as discussed earlier (Saeed 1966). We do not have much information on the time that women spend on remunerative activities during the week. A village study based on the observation of everyday activities of rural women in a Punjabi village showed that on an average day women spent about 14.5 hours

Table 7.13
Occupational Distribution of Employed Persons by Sex and Province: HED Survey (1973)

Occupation	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
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 ^a
Nurses, midwives, etc.	0.3	1.3	0.4	1.5	0.3	0.9	0.1	1.2	0.1	2.2 ^a
Professors, 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 and related managerial	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.4	0.6	0.9	0.8	2.4 ^a
Clerical and related	3.5	1.2	3.0	1.1	4.7	1.3	3.8	1.1	2.1	1.5 ^a
Sales and related	8.8	2.4	8.4	2.4	10.0	2.0	8.4	3.9	9.4	2.9 ^a
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	u
Maids, 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 ^a

Continued -

Table 7.13 – (Continued)

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 ^a	u
Tailors, upholsterers, etc.	0.9	2.3	0.9	2.6	1.3	2.2	0.7	1.7	0.5	1.4 ^a
Construction workers	6.3	2.0	6.7	2.5	5.1	1.0	5.5	1.1	8.2	12.9
Others	11.6	3.2	12.8	3.7	9.9	2.1	11.1	2.3	6.0	9.0

u – data unavailable.

a. Fewer than 500 weighted cases in the cell.

Note: All persons with unclassified occupations were excluded.

Source: Author's tabulations from HED Survey (1973)

Table 7.14
 Mean Number of Hours (per week) Worked by Males and Females
 by Selected Socioeconomic and Demographic Variables: 1973

Variable	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+	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 HED Survey (1973).

in household activities such as collecting, carrying, and preparing fodder, cooking, carrying water, caring for animals, and other domestic chores (Khan and Bilquees 1976). Based on their observation of village life, these authors conclude that the life of a village woman is a continuous struggle that increases in intensity at lower levels of socioeconomic status. Abbasi (1980), from his study of women in rural Sind, concludes that women spend a considerable amount of time in carrying water and tending livestock as well as working for wages. Alauddin (n.d.) shows on the basis of a study of women in Lahore city that housewives spent about 9.5 hours daily on meal preparation, child care, housecleaning, and laundry.

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 7.14). 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 widows. Moreover, women who had completed one to nine 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 really know the amount of time women spend in income-generating activities during a workday or workweek. It seems reasonable to argue that employed women probably spend about the same amount of time in their jobs as do men. This is likely to be so in view of the lack of mechanization of most work in the agricultural as well as nonagricultural sectors. The three major categories of female occupation (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 accurate measurement.

CONSTRAINTS ON 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 as less prestigious is the sex-segregated nature of Pakistani society. Korson (1970) found that occupations that require contact between the sexes are often regarded as less desirable. Analysis of data from the 1961 census shows that non-Muslim women aged ten and over had participation rates twice as high as Muslim women – 18 and 9 percent (Helbock 1975: 40). Helbock, however, did not control for the socioeconomic background of women.

The specific constraints I have discussed in earlier work (Shah and Bulatao 1981; Shah and Shah 1980; Shah 1975b) consist of purdah norms and the socioeconomic aspects of work participation.¹¹ Observance of purdah is positively associated with a woman's socioeconomic status

¹¹For the Islamic prescription regarding purdah (veiling) and current practices in various socioeconomic groups see Chapter 1.

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 of working and nonworking women is compared, 29 percent of the former are found to be purdah observers compared with 54 percent of the latter in rural areas; the corresponding figures in urban areas are 62 and 85 percent. These findings are based on a multivariate analysis that takes into account the relevant background and demographic factors (Shah and Bulatao 1981: 35). Although the causal direction of the relationship between purdah observance and work participation is not clear, the two are highly correlated. Empirical data thus support the findings from earlier studies mentioned above. Purdah observance does seem to constitute a serious constraint on female work participation in Pakistan. In some cases, however, the existence of purdah values themselves has been instrumental in creating a demand for female jobs, such as those of female teachers and female doctors. Such professionals, however, constitute a fairly small proportion of the total female labour force.

The second major constraint consists of socioeconomic forces that discourage work participation. One variable that appears to be particularly strong is the husband's education. The higher his education, the lower the wife's work participation, as indicated by analysis of the 1968 NIS and the 1975 PFS (Shah 1975b; Shah and Shah 1980). In urban areas, for example, 22 percent of the wives of illiterate husbands were in the labour force compared with 13 percent of the wives of those husbands who had ten or more grades of education; corresponding figures for rural areas were 19 and 16 percent (Shah and Shah 1980: 117).¹²

Another indicator of socioeconomic status that is negatively associated with work participation is ownership of durable items (bicycle, radio, sewing machine, and the like), as indicated by the 1968 NIS data. In rural areas, 32 percent of the women who did not own any durable goods were in the labour force compared with only 6 percent among those who owned four or more items; corresponding figures for urban areas were 19 and 9 percent respectively (Shah 1975b: 481). Similar evidence showing a negative correlation between socioeconomic status and work participation has been pointed out by Saeed (1966) and Khan and Bilquees (1976).

¹² 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.

Analysis of the 1975 PFS data shows that the wife's education does not have a statistically significant association with her work participation in urban or rural areas after controlling for age and other relevant factors (Shah and Shah 1980: 117). While highly educated women are currently participating in many occupations in the urban areas, cross-sectional data do not indicate that the participation rates of these women are any higher than those of illiterate or less educated women.

Attitudes toward female work participation are changing slowly. The participation of young girls in weaving occupations seems to have increased in recent years in response to an increased demand for hand-woven rugs. In one Lyallpur village that was studied by M. Shah (1982) about 28 percent of the unmarried girls aged 7 to 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 percent of the girls were reported to be in the labour force. Whether this relatively new phenomenon of large-scale rug weaving 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 these activities since handicrafts are an acceptable occupation and may offer additional opportunities for organizing the female labour force around such activities.

Among the female college students, about 80 percent of the arts students and all the science students indicated that they planned to work after completing their master's degree in a college in Lahore (Kazi 1977: 143-44).¹³ In a study of university graduates in Lahore and Karachi, Korson (1970) found that 80 percent of the Karachi graduates and 65 percent of the Lahore graduates were either employed or looking for work. Among the total female graduates of 1966, some 16 percent in Karachi and 32 percent in Lahore were not currently employed but were looking for work while 64 percent in Karachi and 33 percent in Lahore were actually employed at the time of the survey in 1968. Korson found that the parents' purdah values are a constraint on the occupations their daughters are allowed to take up.

Despite these constraints, women are now entering nontraditional fields such as television where male/female contact is usually present. In an attempt to study female participation in the organized sector in

¹³In an interview with me in December 1979, Kazi indicated that very few (only about 5 percent) of the B.A. students actually had serious career orientations among the arts students. In an interview in November 1983 Santosh Singha, project manager of the Pakistan Women's Institute, told me that the situation had not changed since 1979. Few college graduates seem to have a high career motivation.

1977, I found that 12 percent of all the regular employees of the Pakistan Television Corporation were female (Shah 1977: Table 6). Moreover, 24 percent of all registered doctors – 3 percent of all government servants in grade level 16 or above, about one-third of all primary school teachers, and about 20 percent 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 percent of the office staff in grade level 16 or above were female.

Some government and voluntary agencies are making an attempt to increase and facilitate female work participation. The Pakistan Women's Institute at Kinnaird College, Lahore, for example, 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 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 (Chapter 1). If such opportunities are attractive enough, it is likely that more women will join the labour force despite the society's negative attitudes toward female work.

SUMMARY

Measurement of female labour 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 to 10 percent of women aged ten and over are in the labour force. Household surveys, however, have shown the participation rate to be about twice as high as that reported in censuses. One possible reason for this difference is related to the respondent who provides information on economic activity. The male household head or other male adult is usually the respondent in a typical census interview whereas the woman herself was the respondent in the household surveys we analysed. It seems that male respondents tend to underreport (female) economic activity more frequently than female respondents. There also exist definitional problems and such factors as the exclusion of unpaid family helpers that result in the underreporting of female economic activity. It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that, in reality, at least one-fifth of the adult Pakistani women (aged ten and above) are in the labour force.

Data on the occupational structure of females vary from source to source. The three censuses have shown that about 70 percent of the total female labour force is in agricultural activity, but a household survey (1975 PFS) indicated that concentration in agricultural activity is not so intense. In fact, 57 percent of the rural women in the PFS were engaged in nonagricultural activities. About 10 percent 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. Most of the working women carry out their jobs at home, particularly if they are working as tailors, weavers, or in other handicrafts. 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. While participation in the professional category may be on the increase and while more women are entering nontraditional occupations there are still many constraints on female work participation. Two of the strong correlates of work participation are the family's socioeconomic status and observance of *pardah*. Participation is significantly lower among women whose families have a high socioeconomic status and among women who observe *pardah*. 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 labour force do so. The educated professional woman may of course represent an exception to this general pattern.

There are signs of change, however, symbolized by an increased participation by young village girls in activities such as carpet weaving. Several government and voluntary agencies are taking steps to promote female employment. If the new opportunities are attractive enough, it is likely that more women will join the labour force despite the society's negative attitudes toward female work. For the opportunities to be attractive, however, 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 toward female

work. But, in my opinion, these changes can be accomplished best by incorporating programmes that the people themselves want, accept, and regard as desirable.

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CONTRACEPTIVE KNOWLEDGE, ATTITUDES, AND PRACTICE

Nasra M. Shah

Knowledge about methods to prevent or delay pregnancy is essential in order for a woman to even consider the possibility of controlling the number of children she is likely to have. Most populations have had some traditional means of controlling fertility. Knowledge and availability of contraceptive methods is, however, not itself sufficient in initiating the use of contraception. The couple's desired family size, their attitudes toward contraception, the family's as well as the general community's attitudes toward contraception are all significant factors that 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 unfortunate and has been the cause of divorce or second marriage for the husband in many cases. Yet there does seem to be an ideal family size that in national surveys has been reported to be around four children. The actual fertility is much higher than the expressed ideal, however. The apparent gap between the ideal and actual fertility suggests perhaps that couples on the average are in fact producing more children than they desire — that those couples would accept contraception if they had easy access to it, considered it safe, and had favourable attitudes toward it. The bridging of this gap between the ideal family size and actual (high fertility) behaviour has in fact proved to be a very big challenge for population planners in Pakistan. Availability of a national Family Planning Programme 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 of Pakistani couples. The empirical data for this analysis are based on two national surveys: the 1968–69 National Impact Survey (NIS) and the 1975 Pakistan Fertility Survey (PFS). The chapter begins

with a brief description of the Family Planning Programme, which through its historical growth has come to be known as the Population Planning Programme and, more recently, as the Population Welfare Planning Programme (Population Division 1981). We then focus on the contraceptive knowledge, attitudes, and practice of married women and couples. Finally, we shall examine the desired family size and its effect on contraceptive use.

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 Programme was essential for a reduction in the birth rate. A national programme was therefore launched in 1965. Married women of reproductive age have been the target group since then. The initial programme 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 programme was based on field distribution of contraceptives as well as clinics providing a range of methods. Intrauterine contraceptive devices (IUDs) 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 made available. *Dais* (local midwives) were an essential feature of the programme.

A knowledge, attitude, and practice (KAP) survey conducted in 1968-69, the National Impact Survey (NIS), showed that the programme had met with only limited success. The strategy of the programme was therefore replaced by another system that 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 Continuous Motivation System (CMS). It involved regular home visits by a team of male and female staff who attempted to provide continuous motivation as well as supplies to all eligible couples.

The second national 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. Recent results from the latest national survey, the Population, Labour Force, and Migration (PLM) Survey, show that contraceptive practice continues to be limited (Soomro and Ali 1983). Field activities of the programme were suspended in September 1977 because of political disturbances and were begun

again in late 1978. As part of a restructuring process, in 1980 the Population Planning Programme was placed within the Ministry of Planning and Development with a dynamic woman, Dr Attiya Inayatullah, as its head. A basic feature of the new programme 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: 8).

The various administrative changes that the programme has gone through are beyond the scope of this chapter. For a comprehensive discussion of the programme's history, structure, and strategies the reader is referred to the Ministry of Health (n.d.), Ahmad (1971), Population Planning Council (1976), Robinson (1978), Population Division (1981), and Robinson *et al.* (1981). The foregoing brief review is intended to provide a perspective within which the family planning behaviour of Pakistani women may be analysed.

KNOWLEDGE OF FAMILY PLANNING

Knowledge of family planning has several dimensions, ranging from a fairly general knowledge about the concept to highly specific knowledge of how a 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 the level of knowledge about methods improved with adequate probing - that is, only 37 percent of the rural respondents said they had heard of some method to delay or prevent pregnancy, but the knowledge level increased to 83 percent when the names of specific modern (or programme) methods were read out to the women and they were asked to report whether they had heard of them. In the 1975 PFS, which did not use in-depth probing, 75 percent of the women said they knew of some programme method (Table 8.1). Thus it seems fair to conclude that at least three-fourths of the Pakistani women know about a programme method,¹ even though the data from the PLM Survey suggest that the

¹ For a comprehensive discussion of the differences between the NIS and PFS see Shah (1979).

Table 8.1

Percentage of Currently Married Women who had Knowledge of Contraception,
by Method and Urban/Rural Residence: 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	na	97.4	75.6	na	98.1	82.7	na	97.2	73.1
Programme method	na	83.1	75.1	na	91.1	81.9	na	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	6.6	14.2	15.3	11.9	8.3	10.4	4.7
Diaphragm	1.5	9.4		3.9	13.8		0.7	7.7	
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

na – not applicable.

a. Percentages for the total country in this and subsequent tables are based on weighted data. Those for rural and urban areas are based on un-weighted data for both surveys.

b. Knowledge before interviewer read list of methods.

c. Knowledge after interviewer read list of methods.

knowledge level may have in fact decreased. According to the PFS, the pill seems to be the most widely known method (64 percent) followed by the IUD and condom (49 percent and 14 percent).

Programme planners have argued that the mere knowledge of a method is not sufficient for the adoption of contraceptive use. 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 places where a person may get such advice or help (TREC, n.d.). Table 8.2 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 were 24 and 12 percent respectively. Such knowledge had increased considerably in urban areas from 18 percent in 1968–69 to 24 percent in 1975, but the situation in rural

Table 8.2
Currently Married Women’s Knowledge about the Family
Planning Delivery System: NIS and PFS (Percentages)

Knowledge	Total		Urban		Rural	
	NIS	PFS	NIS	PFS	NIS	PFS
Know a facility	32	33	40	55	29	26
Visited a facility ^a	5	u	5	u	7	u
Met a person	22	29	21	39	24	26
Know a facility as well as a person ^a	22	u	25	u	21	u
Know a facility and met a person (effective knowledge)	14	15	18	24	12	12
Duration since met a person (\bar{x} months)	u	18	u	14	u	21
Met a person during preceding 6 months	u	44	u	50	u	39

u – data unavailable in survey.

a. From Sirageldin *et al.* (1976).

areas was essentially the same as before. Half of the urban and 39 percent of the rural respondents had met some family planning personnel during the six months prior to the 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 percent 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 husband 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 radio has increased in importance as a source of family planning communication (Table 8.3). About half of the rural women and almost 70 percent of the urban women in the PFS said they had heard about family planning from the radio. More than one-fifth (21 percent) of the urban women in the PFS said they had heard about family planning from 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

Table 8.3

Source of Family Planning Knowledge for Currently Married Women
by Urban/Rural Residence: 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	u	7.8	u	21.0	u	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

u – separate data on television unavailable.

a. Includes both radio and television.

noteworthy in view of the large budget outlays for this medium. (For further discussion see Robinson *et al.* 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 8.4 indicates that when matched responses of husbands and wives were used, among 10 percent of the rural couples both spouses said they had talked about family planning with each other; the percentage rose to 32 percent for couples living in large urban areas. In cities of 200,000 or more, among three-fourths of the couples at least one of the spouses reported that they had talked about family planning. 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 greater communication than illiterate couples. Moreover, couples who were educated and also had higher incomes had the highest communication levels (Shah 1974). The effect of interspousal communication on contraceptive use is discussed further later in the chapter.

ATTITUDES TOWARD FAMILY PLANNING

Knowledge of family planning methods, personnel, or clinics is unlikely to be translated into family planning practice unless wives and husbands have favourable attitudes toward the concept itself. Data from the NIS show that 27 percent of the wives and 15 percent of the husbands said they were against family planning (TREC, n.d.: 81). Among the subsample of matched couples in the NIS, 15 percent of the couples (that is one or both spouses) in rural areas and 18 percent in urban areas expressed negative attitudes toward family planning (Table 8.5). Among 60 percent of the rural couples and almost 80 percent of the urban couples, however, at least one (or both) spouses expressed favourable opinions toward family planning. Table 8.5 also shows that there is a strong positive (bivariate) association between favourable attitudes and interspousal communication about family planning. Furthermore, interspousal communication about family planning was significantly higher among couples in which both spouses

Table 8.4

Percentage Distribution of Interspousal Communication
by Urban/Rural Status and Size of Urban Locality: Pakistani 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	167
Total					<u>1,021</u>

Table 8.5
 Percentage Distribution of Interspousal Communication
 by Couple's Attitudes toward Family Planning: Pakistani Couples, NIS (1968)

Attitude toward family planning	Both spouses report talking	Only wife reports talking	Only husband reports talking	Neither reports talking	Total
Neither heard of it					
Rural	2.0	12.8	4.7	80.4	148
Urban	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	13 ^a
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

a. Refers to N less than 25.

Notes: X^2 rural = 87.218 significant at $p < 0.01$; X^2 urban = 68.285 significant at $p < 0.01$.

expressed favourable attitudes. Among one-fourth of the rural and about 41 percent of the urban couples, where both spouses had favourable attitudes both spouses also said 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 8.6). About three-fourths of rural couples and four-fifths of urban couples said they had talked to each other about family planning when both knew that the other approved. Many fewer reported communication when both recognized that the other disapproved. Multivariate analysis of these responses shows that knowledge of the spouse's opinion was extremely important in interspousal communication after the relevant background and socioeconomic factors were controlled (Shah 1974). It should be noted that the causal connection between communication and knowledge of spouse's 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 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 behaviour of couples in Pakistan since the spouse's attitude can be a significant positive or negative force in actual adoption of family planning.

Recent national data on attitudes toward family planning are not available since neither the 1975 PFS nor the 1979–80 PLM included questions on attitudes. The only attitudinal data in the last two surveys pertain to future intentions about family planning use. In the PFS, women who had never used a family planning method were asked whether they would use it in the future. Some 47 percent of the urban and 41 percent of the rural women said they would not use any method in the future. When these women were asked to provide a reason why they would not use a method, almost half of the urban and rural women cited religious beliefs (Table 8.7). Moreover, the husband's or family's objection was reported to be the reason for 18 percent of the urban and 9 percent of the rural women. These findings are very important, since this subgroup of apparent future nonusers 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 attitude must be taken into account by programme planners. The latest plan for 1980–83 does seem to take attitudinal constraints into account when it states that the specific aim of the programme is firstly to change attitudes and secondly to provide

Table 8.6
Percentage Distribution of Interspousal Communication
by Knowledge of Spouse's Opinion about Family Planning: Pakistani 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 ^a
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

Continued—

Table 8.6 - (Continued)

Total						
Rural	14.4	29.8	19.3	36.4	307	
Urban	26.1	36.2	18.1	19.5	285	

a. Refers to N less than 25.

Notes: This table excludes cases where neither spouse knew the other's opinion. χ^2 rural = 290.578 significant at $p < 0.01$; χ^2 urban = 305.95 significant at $p < 0.01$.

Table 8.7

Reasons Given by Women who have Never used
and do not Intend to use Contraception in Future:
Currently Married Urban and Rural Women, PFS (1975)

Reason for not using contraception	Urban		Rural	
	No.	%	No.	%
Religious beliefs	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
Total	443	100.0	764	100.0

information, supplies, and clinical facilities (Population Division 1981). If those who stated in 1975 that they would not use any method in the future actually conform to their intentions, their behaviour has serious implications for the success of the programme and calls for intensive educational campaigns for this subgroup. The PLM Survey findings suggest that the situation had not changed favourably until 1979–80, since an even larger percentage of the nonusers (77 percent) said they did not intend to use contraception in the future (Soomro and Ali 1983).

CONTRACEPTIVE USE

The 1968–69 NIS found that only about 5 percent of all eligible women were currently using any contraceptive at the time of the survey. This percentage had not changed by 1975 (Table 8.8) and seems to have declined somewhat according to the 1979–80 PLM Survey (Soomro and Ali 1983). 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 percent in 1968 to 22 percent in 1975 while the percentage of current users rose from 10 to 12 percent.

Table 8.8
 Past and Current Contraceptive use of Currently Married Women
 by Urban/Rural Residence: NIS and PFS, 1968 and 1975
 (Percentages)

Contraceptive use	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
Programme 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.

Larger proportions of nonuser women said they intended to use contraception in the future in the PFS than in the NIS (Table 8.8). Some 53 percent of the nonusers in urban areas and 59 percent in rural areas said 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 first glance, closer examination of the data 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 (that is, with fewer living children), about 63 percent of whom want additional children. They are somewhat more educated than the nonusers who do not intend future use (Table 8.9). A multivariate analysis of future intentions shows that the intention to use in the future is not systematically related to desires about additional children after controlling for the relevant background variables. (For details of this multivariate analysis, see Shah and Shah 1984.) We conclude from our analysis of PFS data on future intentions that programme planners should be very cautious in interpreting the high percentage of those intending to use as true potential users. 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 8.9

Characteristics of Users and Nonusers by Type of use and Intentions for Future use: Currently Married Urban and Rural Women, PFS (1975)

Respondent characteristics ^a	Contin- uous ^b	New user ^c	Drop-out ^d	Never used, will use	Never used, will not use	All women
<i>Urban</i> (number)	80	95	95	736	653	1,659
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	41.8	47.8
% heard FP radio ^e	86.1	85.1	79.8	73.8	59.6	69.9
% heard FP movie ^e	31.6	25.0	27.1	17.3	9.2	17.9
% seen FP TV ^e	64.8	52.9	52.2	36.0	30.0	39.1

Continued -

Table 8.9 – (Continued)

% read FP						
newspaper ^c	60.0	62.1	62.2	43.4	31.5	45.8
% met FP person	70.5	50.6	62.7	30.2	29.7	34.0
Months since met						
FP person ^c	15.7	10.1	21.4	11.6	14.4	13.6
Rural (number)	19	47	45	1,589	1,114	2,814
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	54.8
% heard FP radio ^c	73.7	47.8	56.8	56.7	39.4	49.8
% heard FP movie ^c	25.0	25.0	14.3	14.7	6.4	12.3
% seen FP TV ^c	50.0	25.0	35.7	23.3	19.1	22.8
% read FP						
newspaper ^c	0.0	0.0	16.7	33.3	25.0	29.3
% met FP person	64.3	63.9	68.8	22.8	20.7	23.3
Months since met						
FP person ^c	24.6	23.6	42.9	18.7	20.0	20.2

a. Unless otherwise indicated, number shown is the mean.

b. Used in last closed interval and are currently using.

c. Refined 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.

e. Only for persons who were exposed to this media or person; FP means family planning.

Table 8.9 also shows data on the basic socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of continuous users, new users, and drop-outs. It may be noted that the average new acceptor 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 users is 6.1 in rural and 5.9 in urban areas. Nonuser 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 the NIS and PFS), but current users in rural areas were four years older in the PFS than they were in the NIS (35.2 versus 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 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, the 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 8.10). A multiple classification analysis (MCA) of contraceptive use from the PFS data shows 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 percent, respectively).² The importance of the contact with a channel of family planning information and supplies is illustrated by the differential use among those who had met a family planning person in rural areas and those who had not – 12 and 2 percent. Another variable that 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 do not want more children, almost one-third in urban areas and 10 percent 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 percent for urban and rural areas (Table 8.10). Variation in contraceptive use by ideal family size is discussed further later in the chapter.

²Multiple classification analysis (MCA) 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.) MCA 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, MCA 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.

Table 8.10

Unadjusted and Adjusted Percentages of Ever-use of Contraceptive Methods: Currently Married Urban and Rural Women, PFS (1975)

Characteristic	Urban			Rural		
	Unadjusted (%)	Adjusted (%)	No.	Unadjusted (%)	Adjusted (%)	No.
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						
≤	8.8	15.6	863	2.1	4.2	1,613
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	1,163	4.4	4.5	2,541
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	1,735
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+	26.0	22.8	415	5.8	6.3	175
Met FP person						
Yes	29.7	25.9	566	13.3	12.4	649
No	10.7	12.9	1,014	1.7	1.9	2,030
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	1,409
$R^2 \times 100$	17.3			9.0		
Grand mean	17.5			4.5		
N	1,580			2,679		

Multivariate analysis from the NIS matched couples' data also shows that literacy and schooling exert the most significant impact on contraceptive use among several socioeconomic variables. In an analysis using the automatic interaction detection (AID) technique,³ I found that the couple's literacy independently explained the largest amount of variance (8.6 percent) in ever-use compared with number of living sons (5.6 percent), monthly income (5.4 percent), rural/urban residence (4.1 percent), age of wife (2.3 percent), and family type (0.1 percent). Figure 8.1 shows the summary results from the AID analysis. Couples among whom both spouses were literate or had schooling and the monthly income was Rs. 200 (\$20) or more had a mean score on ever-use of 2.03 compared with the overall average score of 1.30.⁴ On the other hand, couples who had no literacy (or lower literacy), were living in a 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 8.1).

In addition to the socioeconomic variables, I found that inter-spousal communication represents 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 percent of rural and 70 percent of urban cases at least one spouse (or both) reported the use of a family planning method (Shah 1974: 111). On the other hand, use was reported by

³ Automatic interaction detector (AID) is a multivariate technique that 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 against 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 programme divides the total sample on the basis of the one that 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 and Sonquist *et al.*, 1971.) The analysis shown in Figures: 8.1 and 8.2 used the following criteria in order for a parent group to split: (1) the division must explain at least 0.2 percent of the total sum of squares; (2) the minimum number of observations in a group must be 25; and (3) the number of end groups must not exceed 30.

⁴ The score on ever-use was calculated according to the following scale:

Neither spouse 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

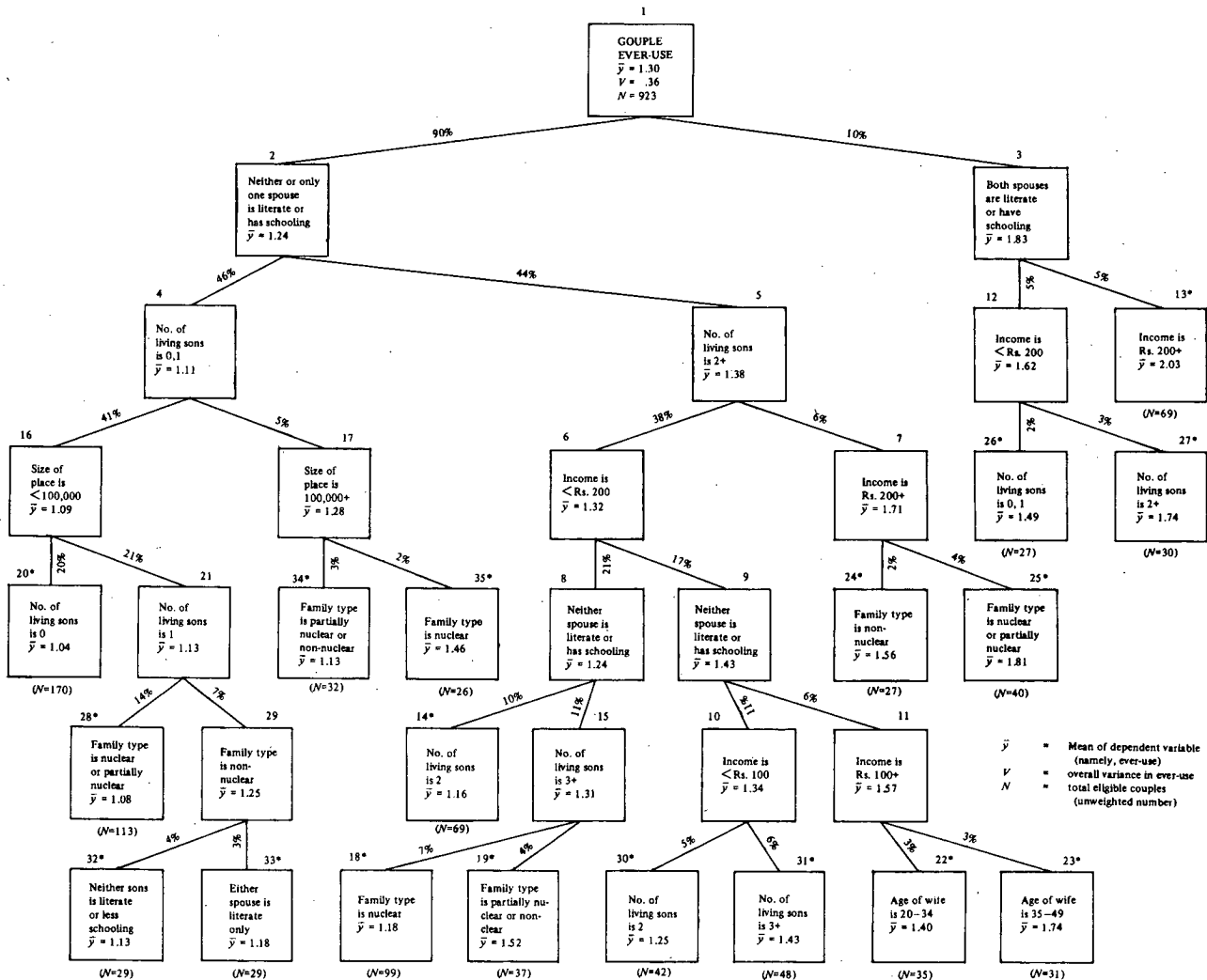


Figure 8.1 Ever-use Reported by Couples using Selected Demographic and Socioeconomic Status Variables as Predictors: West Pakistani Couples (1968).

less than 10 percent of the rural and 13 percent of the urban couples among respondents where neither spouse reported having talked to the other.

In the preceding section we saw that couples in which both spouses recognized each other's positive attitude had a very high communication level. Table 8.11 shows that ever-use of contraception is highly associated with mutual recognition of each other's approval. In 34 percent of the rural and 44 percent of the urban couples among whom both spouses agreed that the other one approved, both spouses reported the use of family planning. Moreover, at least one (or both) of the spouses reported use in 55 percent of the rural and as high as 80 percent 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 in which the wives had knowledge of husband's approval compared with couples among whom the husband disapproved.

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 percent of the variance in ever-use. The AID analysis of residuals in ever-use showed that the spouse's knowledge of approval of family planning is the most important variable in explaining additional variance in ever-use among all the variables shown in Figure 8.2. Among couples in which one or both spouses recognized the approval of the other, the mean score on ever-use was much higher (0.33) than among couples where neither or only one of the spouses knew the other's opinion or disapproved of family planning (-0.08). One of the highest ever-use groups, with a mean score of 0.62, consisted of couples who approved of, had communicated about, and knew other people using family planning (group 13 in Figure 8.2). This represents a group that has highly effective knowledge available to it. In general, mutual recognition of spouse's approval and mutual inter-spousal 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).

Table 8.11
 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	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 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

Continued -

Table 8:11 – (Continued)

Knowledge of spouse's opinion	Both spouses report use	Only wife reports use	Only husband reports use	Neither reports use	Total
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	8.3	7.5	7.5	76.7	348
Urban	16.3	8.3	16.3	59.1	337

Notes: This table excludes cases where neither spouse reported knowledge of the other's opinion. χ^2 rural = 147.1 significant at $p < 0.01$; χ^2 urban = 149.9 significant at $p < 0.01$.

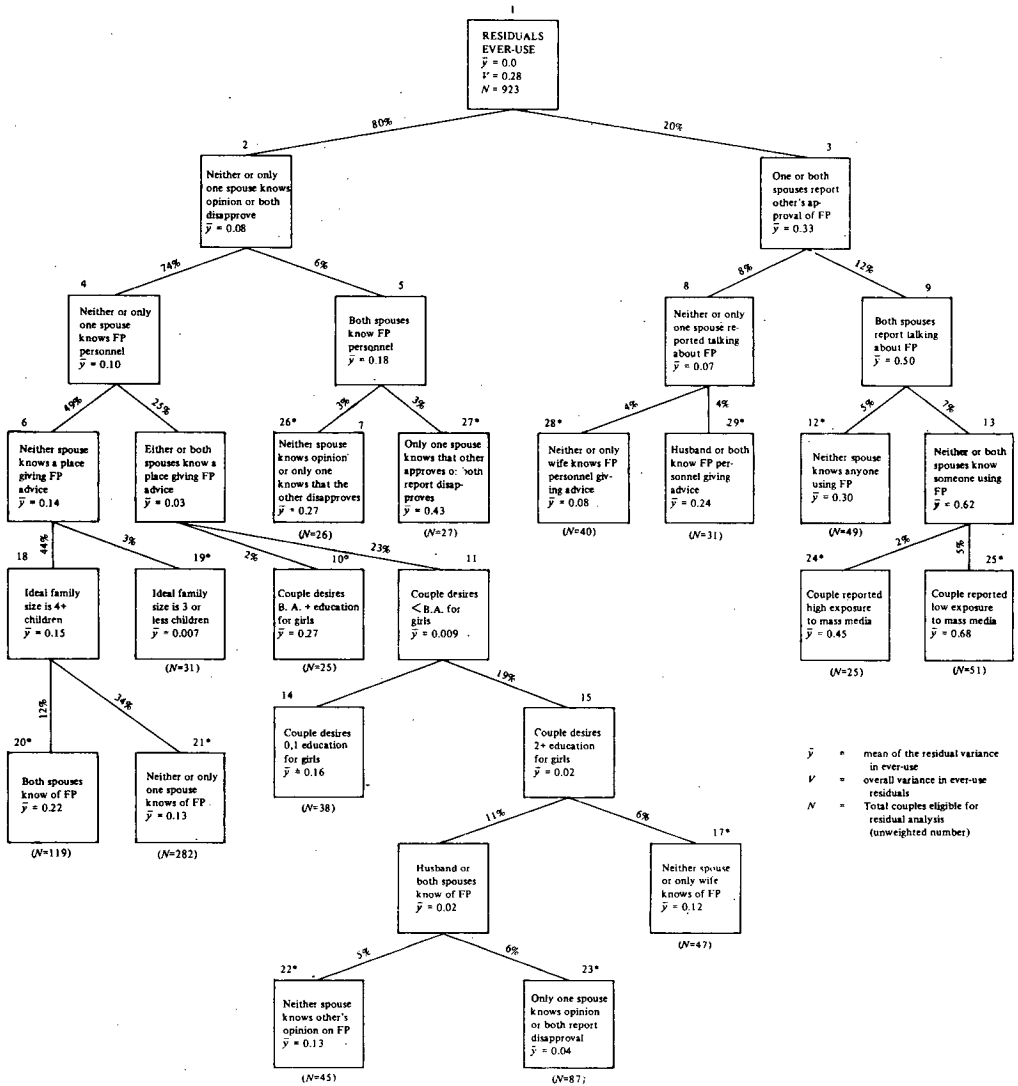


Figure 8.2 Analysis of Residual Variance in Ever-use Reported by Couples using Interspousal Communication (ISC) and other Selected Intervening Variables as Predictors: West Pakistani Couples (1968).

Communication Channels and Contraceptive Use

Research studies aimed at evaluating the effectiveness of various communication media have been conducted from the data available in the NIS as well as the PFS. Shah and Kazi (1977) analysed the relative effects of interpersonal and mass media channels on contraceptive use and fertility 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 toward 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 include any questions about information from interpersonal sources such as friends and relatives.) She found that for young age (20 to 29) urban women, exposure to family planning messages via television was positively associated with ever-use of contraception. Among the relatively older (35 and above) urban women, and among younger as well as older rural women, however, contact with a family planning person was a very important influence on ever-use. My analysis from the PFS data shown in Table 8.10 also points out the significance of contact with a family planning person.

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 the PFS.⁵ Analysis of these responses shows remarkable similarity in the two surveys (Table 8.12). The average ideal family size of respondents in the NIS was 4.4, a figure that declined slightly to 4.2 among PFS respondents. Rural women in the 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 size increases, women revise their ideal upward to conform to their actual fertility. This finding does not

⁵The 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?'

Table 8.12
 Mean and Standard Deviation of Ideal Number of Children by Living
 Number of Children for All Currently Married Women: NIS (1968)
 and PFS (1975)

Living children	NIS ^a			PFS ^b		
	\bar{X} Ideal children	Standard deviation	No. ^c	\bar{X} Ideal children	Standard deviation	No. ^c
0	4.1	1.6	1,091	3.9	1.45	571
1	4.2	1.8	1,086	3.9	1.27	673
2	4.1	1.6	1,087	4.0	1.38	632
3	4.4	1.7	1,057	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	7,154	4.2	1.45	4,524

a. Personal ideal.

b. Generalized ideal.

c. Excluding women who did not provide numerical responses to the question on ideal family size.

Sources: Population Planning Council (1976: table 3.4.3 (a), p. A-11-47); NIS data.

seem to hold true in Pakistan. Table 8.12 shows that the mean ideal family size falls within a narrow range of four or five children regardless of the actual family size. Perhaps this finding suggests that respondents have recognized the government's ideal of a smaller family size (the government's ideal is now cited as two or three children on family planning posters and jingles) but have not yet internalized it and altered their own family planning behaviour.

Not all respondents, however, provide a numerical answer once they are presented with such questions. In the NIS, as shown here, 10 percent of the women provided non-numerical responses such as '*It is up to God*':

Response	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 percent) 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 percent among all currently married women and 88 percent among exposed fecund women according to PFS data (Shah and Palmore 1979: 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 the PFS data, various measures of desired fertility were used as predictors of contraceptive use. The results are shown in Table 8.13. The three measures of desired fertility were (1) whether respondents wanted more children, (2) a comparison of ideal with actual family size, and (3) a combination of these two.

Table 8.13

Unadjusted and Adjusted Percentages of Contraceptive use by Various Measures of Desired Fertility: All Currently Married Women: PFS (1975)

Predictor	Equation 1			Equation 2			Equation 3		
	Unad-justed (%)	Ad-justed (%)	No.	Unad-justed (%)	Ad-justed (%)	No.	Unad-justed (%)	Ad-justed (%)	No.
Want more children									
No	17	13	2,098						
Yes	3	6	2,251						
Ideal vs. living									
Ideal < living				23	18	1,082			
Ideal = living				13	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

Continued -

Table 8.13 – (Continued)

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 FP 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
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: 147).

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 or had exceeded their ideal family size had relatively 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 percent). It should be noted that these differences take into account the effects of demographic and socioeconomic variables listed in Table 8.13. It was shown in Table 8.10 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 widespread in Pakistan; more than three-fourths of currently married women know about some programme method. Knowledge about clinics and family planning personnel is, however, not equally high. Only 12 percent of the women in rural areas and 24 percent in urban areas knew of a family planning place and had met a person providing contraceptive advice and supplies. Almost half of the currently married women do not want another child, but only about 5 or 6 percent are currently using a contraceptive method. Substantial proportions (about 40 percent) of the never-users say that they do not intend to use any family planning method in the future. Their major reasons for this decision are religious beliefs, disapproval by the husband or family, and fear of side effects. Recent data from the PLM Survey indicate that knowledge as well as use may have actually declined somewhat by 1979–80.

Multivariate analysis of data from two national surveys, the 1968–69 NIS and the 1975 PFS, shows that literacy and education are the strongest correlates of contraceptive use. According to the NIS data, 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. Data from the PFS also show that the wife's education is highly associated with contraceptive use. Furthermore, interspousal communication and mutual recognition

of the spouse's approval (of family planning) are found to be highly significant in explaining additional variance in ever-use after the socioeconomic variables have been controlled, based on the NIS data. Attitudes toward future childbearing are also found to be significant in the PFS — 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.

Although population planners and demographers are concerned about the high population growth rate and the government has had an official Family Planning Programme 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 programme 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.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
CENSUSES AND
SURVEYS USED

POPULATION CENSUSES

Appendix A contains a brief description of the censuses and surveys that form the data base for the present volume. The geographic and subject coverage is outlined for each source. This information should not only be useful to readers of this book but also serve as a general reference to demographic and social data available within Pakistan.

1951 Census

The first census of Pakistan was conducted in February 1951. Certain areas like Gilgit, Baltistan, Jammu, and Kashmir were not included in the census; an estimated 2.6 million people in frontier regions and all foreign nationals residing in Pakistan were also omitted. Information on the following characteristics was gathered for each individual: sex, language, age, education, religion, marital status, district of birth, whether employed (self-supporting) in January 1951 (aged 12 and above), duration of looking for job if unemployed, occupation, industrial status, agricultural status, and employment status. In addition, the following information was gathered for married women: duration of marriage, number of children born, and deaths of children under the age of one. 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 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, and ownership of agricultural land in Pakistan. For persons aged ten 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: Household Listing; Big Count; and Housing, Economic, and Demographic (HED) Survey. The Big Count enumerated every person in the second and third weeks of September 1972, excluding all foreign nationals and their families. The census covered the whole country except Malakand division and federally administered tribal areas (FATA) estimated to contain about 6.7 percent of the total population. 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, 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.

1981 Census

The 1981 census was conducted from 1 to 15 March 1981 under the auspices of the Pakistan Population Census Organization. This is the first census that included FATA. Prior to this, the population of FATA had always been estimated with the help of local elders. Provisional tables on the district-wise population as well as on the population of the 12 largest cities have been published. Advanced tabulations of the age and marital distributions became available in November 1983. Results of the 1980 Housing Census, which was conducted to enumerate the characteristics of households within the country, have been published.

NATIONAL SURVEYS STATISTICS

1973 Housing, Economic, and Demographic (HED) Survey

As 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 – that is, it excluded about 6.5 percent of the total population of Pakistan. The following information was

collected as part of the HED Survey: age, sex, marital status, fertility, disability, internal migration, literacy and educational status, various aspects of the labour force (for persons aged ten and above), and housing conditions. The data of this survey have been published for Pakistan and provinces.

Labour Force Surveys (LFS): 1963–64 to 1978–79

The LFS is a sample enquiry that was initiated in July 1963 and carried on yearly (except 1972–73) until 1974–75. The latest LFS was conducted in 1978–79; the results were published in May 1982. 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 1978–79 LFS covered about 22,000 households. 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 the 1974–75 LFS, special areas within Malakand division in NWFP were also excluded. The 1978–79 LFS excluded the same areas as the 1972 census. The survey provides information on such variables as age, sex, marital status, literacy, level of education, civilian labour 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 people aged ten and above.

Population Growth Estimation (PGE) Experiment: 1962–65

In order to understand the rapid population growth and to implement and evaluate developmental and family planning programmes, the PGE experiment was launched by the 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 percent, were excluded. The PGE was based on a system of dual data collection – that is, longitudinal registration (LR) and cross-sectional (CS) enumeration in which data on births to married females during the year prior to the survey and deaths during the previous year were collected. Moreover, data on demographic and socioeconomic 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 adjustment are available in published form for 1962–65.

Population Growth Survey (PGS): 1968–71 and 1976

The PGS, a sample enquiry designed to collect data on various demographic characteristics and to estimate vital rates, was initiated in January 1968 on an annual basis. PGS 1976 is the latest survey available in this series. The PGS 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, causes of death, age, sex, marital status, and duration of marriage.

National Impact Survey (NIS): 1968–69

The 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, all 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 the survey. Information was collected from each of the respondents on their educational and occupational background, maternity and marriage history, contraceptive knowledge and use, and exposure to mass media. The NIS also collected information on the respondents' attitudes toward family planning, perceived adequacy of living, savings behaviour, ownership of durable goods and land, and observance of purdah (veiling). Similar information was also gathered from half of the respondents' husbands.

Pakistan Fertility Survey (PFS): 1975

The PFS was conducted in 1975 as part of the World Fertility Survey. A total of 4,949 ever-married women up to age 49 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 represent 9.2 percent of the 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 history, her contraceptive knowledge and use, and her exposure to mass media.

Population, Labour Force, and Migration (PLM) Survey: 1979–80

This national survey, which was housed at the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE), Islamabad, studied the linkages between the following decision-making processes: fertility, migration, labour force participation, income, and expenditure. About 11,288 households were interviewed on each of these aspects. For labour force, income, and expenditures, the regular interviewing instruments of the Statistics Division were used. For fertility, the 1975 Pakistan Fertility Survey (PFS) instrument was administered without changes. The migration interview schedule was developed by a team of experts at ILO and PIDE. Seven initial reports based on this project were completed by the PIDE staff in October 1983 and are available in mimeographed form. Additional work on the analysis of this survey is currently in progress.

Pakistan Educational Statistics (BEPM): 1970–71 to 1975–76

This sector report on education presents 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, the number of teachers 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.

BEPM Survey on Rural Primary School Education: 1976–77

A multiphase project on primary education was launched in February 1976. At the first stage, a model village action programme was successfully developed and tested in four villages in early 1976. The second phase comprised the collection of comprehensive school/community baseline information from 416 randomly selected villages of 25 districts and federal capital areas of Pakistan. The information collected attempted first to document the causes of drop-outs in the primary schools in all

provinces of Pakistan and second to examine the relationship between pupil dropout and such factors as curricula, learning environment, building facilities, and school management. The data were gathered on various aspects from different persons: village leaders, parents, teachers, primary school pupils, drop-outs, and truants.

National Institute of Psychology Survey on 'Attitudes of Rural Population toward Female Education': 1977

In order to supplement the study on primary education by the Bureau of Educational Planning and Management (BEPM) in rural areas, this survey was conducted at the national level to examine the rural population's attitude toward female education. About 1,700 adult males and females and 377 girls were interviewed; they 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 toward girls' education with respect to her work participation, marriage, and so forth from parents as well as young girls.

Public Health and Well-Being Survey: 1980

This survey was conducted in a selected village in Faisalabad district by Makhdoom A. Shah, Faculty of Public Health, University of Hawaii, to collect baseline information regarding various demographic, public health, and socioeconomic characteristics of the population. Another objective was to study the perception of household needs related to health, child care, sanitation, and other issues. About 50 percent of all households were interviewed. The data were collected in January 1980 and are currently being analysed.

Basic Needs Survey (Lahore *Katchi Abadis*): 1982

The Basic Needs Survey was conducted in the summer of 1982 in the squatter areas (*Katchi Abadis*) of Lahore city. The objective was to assess the availability of certain household items that we defined as basic and to ascertain the respondents' definitions of their basic needs. A comparison between needs as seen by respondents and as viewed by local policy makers was also made. A draft report based on this survey is available from Nasra M. Shah, East-West Population Institute, Honolulu.

APPENDIX B

TABLES

Table B.1
 Percentage Distribution of Recent Migrants by Sex, Migration Stream, and Percentage
 of Population in Urban Areas by Provinces and Districts: 1973

Province/district	Population aged 10+ in 1973 (thousands)	% recent migrants in population	Urban to urban	Rural to rural	Urban to rural	Rural to urban	% urban population in district ^a
Punjab	26,084	4.8	32.7	40.2	11.7	15.4	25.3
Male	14,437	4.6	33.1	37.9	13.0	16.0	25.3
Female	11,647	5.1	32.2	42.7	10.3	14.8	25.3
Sind	9,494	5.6	58.0	14.0	5.6	22.4	45.8
Male	5,459	5.7	57.2	12.9	5.6	24.3	43.0
Female	4,035	5.5	59.1	15.5	5.6	19.8	49.7
NWFP	4,211	4.4	28.3	34.6	21.9	15.2	17.9
Male	2,241	4.9	27.4	31.4	26.0	15.2	18.1
Female	1,970	3.8	29.5	39.5	15.8	15.2	17.6
Baluchistan	1,926	3.6	28.3	33.8	21.4	16.5	15.8
Male	1,072	3.7	27.9	34.5	27.4	10.2	16.1
Female	854	3.5	28.8	32.9	13.3	25.0	15.6

Continued —

Table B.1 – (Continued)

Province/district	Population aged 10+ in 1973 (thousands)	% recent migrants in population	Urban to urban	Rural to rural	Urban to rural	Rural to urban	% urban population in district ^a
Karachi	2,742	12.5	69.2	2.4	1.1	27.2	97
Male	1,512	13.5	67.8	2.0	1.2	29.0	97
Female	1,230	11.1	71.1	3.0	1.2	24.7	97
Islamabad/Rawalpindi	1,462	9.8	56.0	6.0	7.2	30.8	45
Male	796	10.5	54.4	6.6	9.2	29.8	46
Female	666	8.9	58.3	5.5	4.0	32.2	44
Gujranwala	1,525	7.3	25.1	34.9	22.9	17.0	28
Male	824	6.5	27.0	30.9	24.5	17.6	28
Female	701	8.2	23.4	38.6	21.5	16.4	28
Sheikhupura	1,206	6.7	12.9	61.0	12.9	13.1	16
Male	670	7.2	11.5	63.2	11.4	13.9	16
Female	535	6.0	15.1	58.0	14.9	12.0	16
Las Bela	107	6.7	11.9	2.1	81.8	4.2	9
Male	57	11.2	7.6	2.3	87.1	2.9	9
Female	50	1.6	47.0	0.0	38.3	14.7	10

Continued –

Table B.1 – (Continued)

Peshawar	1,129	5.9	28.6	45.6	9.3	16.5	27
Male	667	6.0	29.3	41.2	10.5	18.9	27
Female	562	5.7	27.7	51.0	7.7	13.6	27
Quetta	500	5.5	40.3	31.9	10.0	17.7	31
Male	274	5.6	39.1	32.4	10.6	17.9	32
Female	226	5.3	41.8	31.4	9.4	17.4	31
Lahore	2,674	5.4	63.4	9.0	2.4	25.1	60
Male	1,487	5.4	64.4	8.2	2.2	25.2	60
Female	1,187	5.5	62.1	9.9	2.3	25.6	60
Jhelum	808	5.4	24.0	29.9	39.9	6.2	15
Male	431	7.4	19.0	28.7	46.8	5.4	16
Female	377	3.1	37.4	33.0	21.4	8.2	15
Bahawalnagar	718	5.2	21.0	69.8	3.2	5.9	17
Male	395	4.8	21.3	69.7	3.5	5.4	17
Female	324	5.8	20.8	69.9	2.9	6.4	17
Kohat	363	4.9	25.5	39.9	23.5	11.0	16
Male	187	7.3	20.1	42.1	27.6	10.2	16
Female	176	2.4	43.0	32.8	10.5	13.7	15

Continued –

Table B.1 – (Continued)

Province/district	Population aged 10+ in 1973 (thousands)	% recent migrants in population	Urban to urban	Rural to rural	Urban to rural	Rural to urban	% urban population in district ^a
Rahimyar Khan	749	4.8	19.3	52.7	9.9	18.0	16
Male	415	4.4	18.9	51.2	11.7	18.2	16
Female	333	5.2	19.9	54.5	7.8	17.8	16
Multan	2,817	4.7	26.5	53.2	11.5	8.8	20
Male	1,542	4.4	26.4	51.6	12.3	9.6	20
Female	1,275	5.1	26.5	54.8	10.7	8.0	20
Muzaffargarh	999	4.6	10.8	75.1	10.8	3.3	9
Male	555	4.8	10.9	74.9	10.6	3.5	9
Female	444	4.4	10.9	75.1	11.3	2.7	9
Hazara	1,035	4.6	32.0	10.7	49.6	7.6	10
Male	549	5.7	29.3	10.2	53.4	7.1	10
Female	486	3.4	37.0	11.8	42.6	8.6	10
Lyallpur ^b	2,845	4.4	35.4	38.7	7.4	18.5	26
Male	1,551	4.0	37.5	35.0	7.5	20.0	26
Female	1,294	5.0	34.0	42.0	8.0	16.0	26

Continued –

Table B.1 – (Continued)

Sahiwal	2,214	3.9	20.0	57.5	14.0	8.5	14
Male	1,199	3.2	22.6	54.4	13.8	9.1	14
Female	1,015	4.7	17.8	59.8	14.2	8.2	14
Kharan	62	3.9	55.3	27.9	15.5	1.2	22
Male	32	4.9	51.0	33.3	14.3	1.4	22
Female	30	2.8	64.0	18.0	18.0	0.0	23
Kacchi	261	3.9	7.7	41.0	48.7	2.6	5
Male	154	3.9	7.7	41.0	48.7	2.6	5
Female	107	3.9	5.1	41.0	48.7	5.1	5
Mardan	911	3.8	20.8	43.7	12.1	23.4	17
Male	474	3.9	22.5	38.5	16.3	22.7	17
Female	437	3.8	18.8	49.6	7.7	23.9	17
Hyderabad	1,536	3.5	57.3	18.9	2.9	20.9	41
Male	849	3.4	55.9	17.8	3.2	22.1	40
Female	687	3.5	57.8	20.3	2.6	19.3	42
Gujrat	1,295	3.5	26.8	46.1	15.4	11.7	15
Male	703	3.3	27.3	45.4	15.2	12.1	15
Female	592	3.8	26.3	47.4	15.8	10.5	15

Continued –

Table B.1 – (Continued)

Province/district	Population aged 10+ in 1973 (thousands)	% recent migrants in population	Urban to urban	Rural to rural	Urban to rural	Rural to urban	% urban population in district ^a
Sargodha	1,520	3.4	25.2	50.4	9.6	14.8	21
Male	826	3.0	27.4	46.0	12.1	14.5	21
Female	694	3.8	23.3	54.4	7.2	15.1	21
Sukkur	946	3.3	24.2	51.5	15.2	12.1	25
Male	529	3.4	20.6	55.9	14.7	11.8	25
Female	417	3.2	28.1	45.9	12.5	12.5	25
Sanghar	508	3.3	33.9	48.7	8.1	9.3	20
Male	282	2.7	30.5	51.6	8.1	9.9	20
Female	226	4.1	36.8	46.2	8.2	8.8	20
Jhang	1,165	3.1	23.6	54.7	7.9	13.8	16
Male	642	2.9	22.2	56.6	9.7	11.5	16
Female	523	3.3	25.0	52.6	5.9	16.4	17
Nawabshah	732	3.0	41.5	28.6	25.6	3.3	17
Male	405	2.7	40.7	27.1	27.7	4.5	17
Female	327	3.4	44.1	29.4	23.5	2.9	17

Continued –

Table B.1 – (Continued)

Tharparkar	645	3.0	13.2	61.1	20.6	5.1	20
Male	364	3.0	12.8	63.4	18.4	5.3	19
Female	281	3.1	12.9	58.1	22.6	6.4	21
Sibi	267	3.0	23.3	60.0	6.7	10.0	6
Male	151	3.1	22.6	58.1	9.6	9.7	6
Female	116	3.0	23.3	60.0	6.7	10.0	6
Thatta	412	3.0	43.8	21.2	3.7	31.3	14
Male	239	4.2	43.7	16.7	3.8	35.8	14
Female	173	1.3	44.5	42.2	3.1	10.2	14
Sialkot	1,392	2.9	44.8	34.5	10.3	10.3	20
Male	760	2.4	49.8	27.2	10.7	12.3	20
Female	632	3.5	38.9	40.6	11.2	9.2	20
Mianwali	807	2.9	21.5	47.1	20.0	11.4	22
Male	437	3.1	22.4	47.7	18.2	11.7	22
Female	370	2.6	20.1	46.3	22.4	11.2	22
Campbellpur	783	2.5	20.0	44.0	24.0	12.0	13
Male	411	3.0	20.0	43.3	26.7	10.0	13
Female	372	2.1	19.0	47.6	19.1	14.3	13

Continued –

Table B.1 – (Continued)

Province/district	Population aged 10+ in 1973 (thousands)	% recent migrants in population	Urban to urban	Rural to rural	Urban to rural	Rural to urban	% urban population in district ^a
Chagai ^c	65	2.4	79.2	4.2	0.0	16.6	32
Male	34	2.1	76.2	0.0	0.0	23.8	32
Female	31	2.8	78.6	7.1	0.0	18.2	32
D.I. Khan	355	2.1	40.5	27.1	11.9	20.5	18
Male	195	2.2	39.8	27.5	11.8	20.9	18
Female	160	2.0	40.0	30.0	10.0	20.0	18
Jacobabad	503	2.0	28.1	23.6	43.7	4.5	15
Male	283	2.2	22.7	22.7	50.0	4.6	15
Female	220	1.8	36.2	22.0	36.7	5.1	15
Zhob	122	2.0	65.0	30.0	0.0	5.0	15
Male	69	2.0	70.0	25.0	0.0	5.0	15
Female	53	1.9	68.4	31.6	0.0	0.0	15
Khairpur	555	1.9	38.0	39.0	8.6	14.4	14
Male	312	2.0	41.0	31.3	7.1	20.6	15
Female	243	1.7	33.0	50.5	10.4	6.1	14

Continued –

Table B.1 – (Continued)

Larkana	611	1.6	37.5	25.0	18.7	18.7	19
Male	339	1.8	38.9	22.2	22.2	16.7	19
Female	272	1.5	38.7	30.7	12.3	18.2	19
Kalat	209	1.6	18.7	82.1	2.2	0.0	6
Male	116	1.6	12.7	83.1	4.2	0.0	6
Female	93	1.7	18.8	81.2	0.0	0.0	6
Dadu	631	1.4	34.6	32.1	16.8	17.5	12
Male	345	1.4	35.6	29.4	17.1	17.8	12
Female	286	1.3	31.0	36.5	15.9	17.5	12
Bannu	318	1.4	28.6	35.7	14.3	21.4	11
Male	169	1.8	29.6	35.2	16.5	18.7	12
Female	149	0.9	37.6	28.0	11.8	22.6	11
D.G. Khan	701	1.2	38.7	42.9	14.3	4.1	13
Male	388	1.3	36.8	45.1	15.0	3.0	13
Female	313	1.0	41.3	38.5	12.5	6.7	13
Loralai	147	1.2	16.0	26.1	21.8	36.1	6
Male	83	1.3	17.8	36.4	14.5	31.2	6
Female	64	1.1	13.3	10.8	32.6	43.3	6

Continued –

Table B.1 – (Continued)

Province/district	Population aged 10+ in 1973 (thousands)	% recent migrants in population	Urban to urban	Rural to rural	Urban to rural	Rural to urban	% urban population in district ^a
Mekran	186	0.5	3.6	80.0	0.0	16.4	16
Male	102	0.6	7.0	77.2	0.0	15.8	16
Female	84	0.5	0.0	84.9	0.0	15.1	16

a. The HED figures are fairly close to the 1972 census figures for all districts except Chagai, Kharan, and Mekran and Quetta.

b. Now Faisalabad.

c. According to the 1972 census only 18 percent males and 7 percent females in Chagai were in urban areas.

Source: Author's tabulation from HED Survey.

Table B.2

Place of Birth of Persons who Moved before 1965 by District
of Residence in 1965 and Sex: HED Survey (1973)

Residence in 1965	Place of birth						
	No.	Punjab	Sind	NWFP	Baluchistan	India	Others ^a
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^b	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

Continued -

Table B. 2 – (Continued)

Residence in 1965	Place of birth						
	No.	Punjab	Sind	NWFP	Baluchistan	India	Others ^a
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	45.5	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

Continued –

Table B. 2 – (Continued)

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/Rawalpindi	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

Continued –

Table B. 2 – (Continued)

Residence in 1965	Place of birth						
	No.	Punjab	Sind	NWFP	Baluchistan	India	Others ^a
Muzaffargarh	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

Continued –

Table B. 2 – (Continued)

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
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	44,497	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

Continued –

Table B. 2 – (Continued)

Residence in 1965	Place of birth						
	No.	Punjab	Sind	NWFP	Baluchistan	India	Others ^a
Sibi	17,076	12.8	7.2	0.3	68.6	4.6	6.6
Male	10,730	13.2	5.7	0.0	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	0.0	46.6	3.2	6.3
Kharan	2,774	14.4	3.5	12.5	59.9	0.0	9.8
Male	1,713	14.5	5.7	5.7	64.0	0.0	10.1
Female	1,061	14.1	0.0	23.4	53.3	0.0	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	0.0	78.8	0.5	13.3

Continued –

Table B. 2 – (Continued)

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
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

Continued –

Table B. 2 – (Continued)

Residence in 1965	Place of birth						
	No.	Punjab	Sind	NWFP	Baluchistan	India	Others ^a
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
Las Bela	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	0.0	21.0
Male	2,094	1.1	14.3	3.6	60.9	0.0	19.9
Female	1,096	6.8	6.8	0.0	63.7	0.0	22.6

a. 'Others' include FATA, Muzaffarabad, Occupied Kashmir, and other countries.

b. Now Faisalabad.

Note: Districts are ranked according to percentage of migrants in the population in 1965.

Source: Author's tabulation from HED Survey (1973).

Table B. 3
Place of Residence in 1965 (for Persons who Moved after 1975) by District
of Residence in 1973, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence: HED Survey (1973)

Residence in 1973 ^a	Residence in 1965										
	No. of migrants	Punjab		Sind		NWFP		Baluchistan		Others ^b	
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
<i>Total</i>											
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
<i>Karachi</i>											
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	0.0	2.0	5.5	5.5	0.0
Male	6,510	4.8	0.9	0.9	55.2	20.9	0.0	1.9	7.6	7.6	0.0
Female	5,766	5.4	0.0	0.0	68.2	17.2	0.0	2.1	3.2	3.2	0.0

Continued -

Table B.3 – (Continued)

Residence in 1973 ^a	No. of migrants	Residence in 1965									
		Punjab		Sind		NWFP		Baluchistan		Others ^b	
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
<i>Islamabad/Rawalpindi</i>											
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	0.0	1.1	7.4	1.1	1.1	5.3	14.9
<i>Bahawalpur</i>											
Urban	16,583	53.3	31.2	2.5	0.8	6.1	0.8	0.1	0.0	5.1	0.0
Male	8,671	54.6	32.1	2.1	1.1	3.2	1.1	0.3	0.0	5.6	0.0
Female	7,912	51.7	30.2	2.9	0.6	9.3	0.6	0.0	0.0	4.7	0.0
Rural	36,300	8.8	68.4	0.2	1.6	0.0	10.6	0.2	0.0	4.5	5.8
Male	18,180	8.2	63.7	0.0	2.0	0.0	12.5	0.0	0.0	8.2	5.3
Female	18,120	9.3	73.2	0.3	1.3	0.0	8.6	0.3	0.0	0.7	6.3
<i>Gujranwala</i>											
Urban	46,782	42.1	36.2	3.4	1.0	3.1	1.1	3.1	0.0	7.8	2.1
Male	23,805	38.6	35.0	3.4	1.2	3.7	0.9	3.9	0.0	8.9	2.5
Female	22,977	45.6	37.5	3.4	0.8	2.6	1.3	2.4	0.0	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	0.0	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

Continued –

Table B.3 – (Continued)

<i>Las Bela</i>											
Urban	1,150	4.0	0.0	34.0	4.0	8.0	2.0	22.0	20.0	6.0	0.0
Male	667	6.9	0.0	31.0	3.4	10.3	3.4	20.7	20.7	3.4	0.0
Female	483	0.0	0.0	38.1	4.8	4.8	0.0	23.8	19.5	9.5	0.0
Rural	6,000	13.7	0.0	1.2	0.0	28.7	2.5	36.2	0.0	17.4	0.0
Male	5,700	13.2	0.0	1.3	0.0	29.0	2.6	36.8	0.0	17.1	0.0
Female	300	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	25.0	0.0
<i>Sheikhupura</i>											
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	0.0	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	0.0	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
<i>Peshawar</i>											
Urban	32,538	33.3	11.2	3.4	0.5	22.4	17.6	1.2	0.0	3.0	7.3
Male	19,250	31.1	12.3	3.0	0.2	21.9	19.7	1.1	0.0	3.5	7.1
Female	13,288	36.4	9.6	4.1	0.8	23.2	14.7	1.3	0.0	2.2	7.6
Rural	39,600	4.4	47.9	0.3	0.0	8.1	20.0	0.1	0.0	4.1	15.4
Male	20,680	6.1	46.0	0.5	0.0	9.6	18.6	0.3	0.0	4.3	15.5
Female	18,920	2.6	50.0	0.0	0.0	6.4	21.5	0.0	0.0	4.1	15.4

Continued –

Table B.3 – (Continued)

Residence in 1973 ^a	No. of migrants	Residence in 1965									
		Punjab		Sind		NWFP		Baluchistan		Others ^b	
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
<i>Quetta</i>											
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	0.0	3.1	4.6	36.9	5.8	2.6
<i>Lahore</i>											
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	0.0	1.5	0.7	0.0	0.7	1.5	1.4
<i>Jhelum</i>											
Urban	13,202	51.0	17.6	6.4	0.2	7.8	2.4	1.0	0.0	12.3	1.8
Male	7,820	50.3	20.0	5.9	0.0	7.9	2.1	1.2	0.0	12.3	2.0
Female	5,382	52.1	14.1	7.3	0.4	7.7	3.0	0.8	0.0	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	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.9	4.3	14.0

Continued –

Table B.3 – (Continued)

<i>Bahawalnagar</i>											
Urban	10,143	64.4	21.8	3.0	0.0	6.1	0.2	0.7	0.0	3.8	0.0
Male	5,060	64.1	20.0	3.2	0.0	6.4	0.4	1.4	0.0	4.5	0.0
Female	5,083	64.7	23.5	2.7	0.0	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.2	0.0
Rural	27,480	3.3	73.4	0.4	0.7	0.2	6.3	0.0	0.0	0.4	15.2
Male	13,860	3.0	70.6	0.4	0.4	0.4	7.8	0.0	0.0	0.9	16.4
Female	13,620	3.5	76.2	0.4	0.9	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.1
<i>Kohat</i>											
Urban	6,490	31.5	11.5	3.0	0.0	21.7	13.6	3.4	0.0	10.3	5.1
Male	4,114	29.4	11.2	3.2	0.0	20.3	16.0	3.2	0.0	11.1	6.3
Female	2,376	35.2	12.0	2.8	0.0	24.1	9.3	3.7	0.0	1.8	2.8
Rural	11,275	6.8	25.4	10.7	3.4	14.1	20.0	0.0	1.9	5.4	11.3
Male	9,460	8.1	20.9	12.2	3.5	12.8	19.2	0.0	2.3	6.4	14.5
Female	1,815	0.0	48.5	3.0	3.0	21.2	24.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
<i>Rahimyar Khan</i>											
Urban	13,386	10.4	65.2	13.2	7.4	6.2	2.7	2.2	0.0	3.1	1.0
Male	6,831	10.9	63.2	10.4	8.4	6.1	3.0	1.7	0.0	3.7	1.3
Female	6,555	9.9	67.4	16.1	6.3	6.3	2.5	2.8	0.0	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

Continued –

Table B.3 – (Continued)

Residence in 1973 ^a	No. of migrants	Residence in 1965									
		Punjab		Sind		NWFP		Baluchistan		Others ^b	
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
<i>Multan</i>											
Urban	47,012	52.8	22.3	5.5	0.7	7.1	1.2	4.3	0.0	5.4	0.8
Male	24,426	49.3	23.2	4.8	0.7	8.5	1.4	4.8	0.0	5.8	1.2
Female	22,586	56.6	21.3	6.2	0.6	5.6	0.9	3.7	0.0	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	0.0	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
<i>Muzaffargarh</i>											
Urban	6,532	52.8	18.3	9.9	1.1	7.0	3.2	2.8	0.0	4.2	0.7
Male	3,864	48.2	17.9	11.3	1.2	7.7	4.7	3.0	0.0	5.3	1.2
Female	2,668	59.5	19.0	7.8	0.9	6.0	0.9	2.6	0.0	3.5	0.0
Rural	39,900	9.5	61.9	0.0	0.0	0.9	10.5	1.8	2.6	0.3	12.3
Male	22,920	8.9	61.8	0.0	0.0	0.5	12.3	2.4	3.1	0.6	10.4
Female	16,980	10.2	62.2	0.0	0.0	1.4	8.1	1.1	1.8	0.3	14.8
<i>Hazara</i>											
Urban	18,942	48.3	11.1	9.3	0.1	13.4	4.4	0.7	0.0	9.0	3.7
Male	11,418	45.7	11.0	9.6	0.0	13.3	3.1	0.8	0.0	11.2	5.4
Female	7,524	52.3	11.4	8.8	0.3	13.4	6.4	0.6	0.0	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	0.0	11.7	7.4	6.2	0.6	24.1	4.9

Continued –

Table B.3 – (Continued)

<i>Lyallpur</i>											
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	0.0	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

Table B.4
 Percentage Distribution of Education Level for Women Aged 10+ by Marital Status,
 Urban/Rural Residence, and Migration Status: HED Survey (1973)

Education	Single		Married		Widowed		Divorced		Total	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Never moved										
No grades	48	88	85	98	94	99	84	95	66	95
1-9 grades	41	11	11	2	4	a	12	4	26	5
10+ grades	11	1	4	a	1	a	5	1	8	a
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

a. Less than 1 percent in cell.

Source: Author's tabulation from HED Survey (1973).

Table B.5
Occupational Structure of Nonmigrant and Recent Migrant Women Aged 10+
in Urban and Rural Areas: Pakistan (1973) and Karachi City (1959)

Occupation	Women in urban areas			Women in rural areas	
	Non-migrant	Recent migrant	Migrant in Karachi City (1959)	Non-migrant	Recent migrant
Number (weighted)	77,804	16,714	(13,125)	556,750	14,682
Professional, technical, and related	31	42	(21)	2	24
Doctors, nurses, midwives, related medical	5	9	(5)	0 ^a	2
Teachers	23	23	(14)	1	4
Other	4	11	(2)	1	18
Administrative and managerial	1	2	(3)	0 ^a	2
Clerical and related	4	7	(2)	0 ^a	2
Sales and related	5	4	(3)	1	2
Agriculture	12	3	(0) ^a	86	54
General farmers	7	0 ^a	0	58	35

Continued -

Table B.5 – (Continued)

Occupation	Women in urban areas			Women in rural areas	
	Non-migrant	Recent migrant	Migrant in Karachi City (1959)	Non-migrant	Recent migrant
Services	28	29	(47)	4	5
Cooks, chefs, waitresses	2	2	(0) ^a	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, upholsterers, etc.	7	4	(8)	1	1
Construction workers	4	2	(13)	2	3
Other workers	8	5	(3)	2	6

a. Less than 0.5 percent.

Sources: Author's tabulation from HED Survey (1973); Hashmi (1965:208–209).

Table B. 6
Percentage of Literate Population Aged 10+ by Education:
Urban Areas of Pakistan and Provinces (1973)

Province	Total population aged 10+	Total literate	% of population	Informal & below primary		Primary & middle		Matric & intermediate		Degree	
				% of population	% of literate	% of population	% of literate	% of population	% of literate	% of population	% 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

Note: For a description of the level of education see table 6.5.
Source: Census Organization (n.d.: vol. 11, pts. 1-5, table 3).

Table B. 7
Percentage of Literate Population Aged 10+ by Education:
Rural Areas of Pakistan and Provinces (1973)

Province	Total population aged 10+	Total literate	% of population	Informal & below primary		Primary & Middle		Matric & intermediate		Degree	
				% of population	% of literate	% of population	% of literate	% of population	% of literate	% of population	% 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	19,934,160	4,249,020	21.3	4.8	22.4	12.0	56.4	4.2	19.8	0.3	1.4
Male	10,887,660	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											
Both sexes	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	33.0	1.0	49.2	0.0	0.0

Note: For a description of the level of education see Table 6.5.

Source: Census Organization (n.d.: vol. 11, pts. 1-5, table 3).

Table B.8
Sex Ratios of Literates by Age, Education, and Urban/Rural Residence:
Pakistan and Provinces (1973)

Age group	Urban				Rural			
	Informal & below primary	Primary & middle	Matric & intermediate	Degree	Informal & below primary	Primary & middle	Matric & intermediate	Degree
Pakistan								
All ages	168	194	275	367	471	686	590	1,163
10-14	153	160	145	0 ^a	418	515	446	0 ^a
15-19	154	173	169	94	417	539	827	353
20-24	166	188	234	179	485	669	647	833
25+	212	253	402	561	751	1,069	524	1,617
NWFP								
All ages	253	262	347	431	857	952	649	2,244
10-14	205	208	358	0	843	726	767	0 ^a
15-19	174	227	220	125	606	862	1,097	700
20-24	328	269	315	202	387	934	581	1,433
25+	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	0 ^a	353	433	331	0
15-19	168	167	174	117	325	442	734	389
20-24	174	182	234	195	372	543	722	830
25+	243	237	409	552	578	894	544	1,367

Continued -

Table B. 8 - (Continued)

Age group	Urban				Rural			
	Informal & below primary	Primary & middle	Matric & intermediate	Degree	Informal & below primary	Primary & middle	Matric & intermediate	Degree
Sind								
All ages	153	192	252	354	1,143	1,669	526	912
10-14	146	148	90	0 ^a	1,025	952	875	0 ^a
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+	175	267	379	558	1,394	2,423	423	1,750
Baluchistan								
All ages	275	246	322	391	1,043	1,232	384	0
10-14	231	205	146	0	1,177	1,130	667	0
15-19	236	282	169	40	2,850	5,367	1,550	0
20-24	259	279	300	200	733	800	225	0
25+	398	285	539	696	782	980	305	0

a. The figure has not been reported due to the small number of cases (<10 unweighted) and the inconsistent responses.

Source: Census Organization (n.d.: vol. II. pt. 1, table 3).

Table B. 9
Percentage of Enrollees Aged 5+ by Grade Level Passed:
HED (1973) and BEPM (1972-73)

Province	Total enrolled (No.)		Primary I-V		Middle VI-VIII		High IX-X		Intermediate & degree		Post-graduation ^a	
	HED 1973	BEPM 1972-73	HED 1973	BEPM 1972-73	HED 1973	BEPM 1972-73	HED 1973	BEPM 1972-73	HED 1973	BEPM 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	15.0	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	13.6	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

Continued -

Table B. 9. - (Continued)

Province	Total enrolled (No.)		Primary I-V		Middle VI-VIII		High IX-X		Intermediate & degree		Post-graduation ^a	
	HED	BEPM	HED	BEPM	HED	BEPM	HED	BEPM	HED	BEPM	HED	BEPM
	1973	1972-73	1973	1972-73	1973	1972-73	1973	1972-73	1973	1972-73	1973	1972-73
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	u	83,515	u	85.6	u	11.3	u	3.4	u	0.4	u	u
Males	u	81,877	u	86.0	u	11.2	u	3.1	u	0.4	u	u
Females	u	1,638	u	75.5	u	16.7	u	7.8	u	-	u	u

u - data unavailable.

a. Includes specialized education degrees, diplomas, certificates, and Oriental education.

Sources: Census Organization (n.d.: vol. II, pts. 1-5, table 5); BEPM (1976:17, 19, 23, 43, 77, 91).

Table B. 10

Number of Teachers at Various Grades by Level of Training: Pakistan and Provinces (1973-74)

Province	Total	Primary					Middle					High						
		PTC/ JV	CT/ SAV	M.Ed/ B.Ed	Other ^a	Un- trained	PTC/ JV	CT/ SAV	M.Ed/ B.Ed	Other ^a	Un- trained	PTC/ JV	CT/ SAV	M.Ed/ B.Ed	Other ^a	Un- trained		
		(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)		
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
Male	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
Female	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	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6,279	38.1	14.6	7.9	39.4	0.0	5,728	6.9	24.1	30.7	38.3	0.0
Male	7,736	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5,274	35.9	14.4	7.7	41.9	0.0	4,892	3.9	24.7	31.0	40.4	0.0
Female	2,677	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1,005	49.8	15.3	8.9	26.1	0.0	836	24.5	20.2	29.0	26.3	0.0
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
Male	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
Female	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 ^b	3.0	29.5	19.4	4,812	0.2	19.8 ^b	21.8	31.9	26.4	11,255	0.8	19.2 ^b	41.8	19.2	19.0
Male	25,158	40.9	1.9	1.5	36.8	19.0	2,724	u	17.0	21.6	41.4	20.1	6,678	0.3	18.4	40.1	23.2	18.0
Female	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	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1,704	30.8	12.2	14.1	42.9	0.0	1,524	33.0	8.5	30.2	28.3	0.0
Male	2,261	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1,400	30.4	11.9	14.4	43.3	0.0	1,187	32.8	8.0	30.7	25.7	0.0
Female	413	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	304	32.9	13.2	12.8	41.1	0.0	337	33.8	10.4	28.5	27.3	0.0

Continued -

Table B.10 —(Continued)

Province	Total	Primary					Total	Middle					Total	High				
		PTC/ JV	CT/ SAV	M.Ed/ B.Ed	Other ^a	Un- trained		PTC/ JV	CT/ SAV	M.Ed/ B.Ed	Other ^a	Un- trained		PTC/ JV	CT/ SAV	M.Ed/ B.Ed	Other ^a	Un- trained
		(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)		(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)		(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Islamabad	334	2.1	43.1	15.3	37.7	1.5	u	u	u	u	u	u	389	2.1	21.6	57.1	13.1	6.2
Male	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	u	u	u	u	u	u	182	3.6	20.3	50.6	17.0	8.3
Female	334	2.1	43.1	15.3	37.7	1.5	u	u	u	u	u	u	207	0.5	22.7	62.8	10.0	4.4
FATA	1,042	72.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	27.2	362	9.9	11.6	8.6	37.9	32.0	389	5.9	20.1	23.4	29.1	21.6
Male	1,322	73.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	26.5	329	9.1	10.9	8.8	38.9	32.2	349	5.4	20.1	24.4	29.5	20.6
Female	.80	60.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	40.0	33	18.2	18.2	6.1	27.3	30.3	40	10.0	20.0	15.0	25.0	30.0

u — data unavailable.

a. Other includes Senior Vernacular (SV), Drawing Master (DM), OT, Physical Training instructor (PTI), Agricultural Work Instructor (AWI), etc.

b. Includes Oriental teaching (OT).

Notes: PTC = Primary Teachers Certificate; JV/Junior Vernacular; CT/Certificate in Teaching; M.Ed./B.Ed./Masters/Bachelors in Education.

Source: BEPM (1976: 30–32).

Table B. 11
 Unemployment Rates for Provinces by Sex
 and Rural/Urban Areas: 1961 and 1973

Province	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. Data for the 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.:vol. 3, tables 41 and 43); author's tabulations from HED Survey (1973).

Table B. 12
Labour-Force Participation Rates by Sex, Age Groups, Marital Status, and Education:
Urban and Rural Areas (1973)

Age group	Males										Females									
	Total		Single		Married		Widowed		Divorced		Total		Single		Married		Widowed		Divorced	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
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+																				
(all)	65	62	41	43	86	77	66	74	71	74	11	10	11	15	10	9	16	4	7	3
10-24	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+																				
(all)	36	41	31	37	75	60	61	67	54	62	7	11	7	13	5	9	5	8	5	3
25-44	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

Source: Author's tabulations from HED Survey (1973).

Table B. 13
Sex Ratios (Males per 100 Females) in Major Occupational Groups:
1961 Census, HED Survey (1973), and PFS (1975)

Occupation	1961 census	1973 HED Survey	1975 PFS ^a
Total	1,533	2,708	393
Professional, technical, related	613	991	530
Medical doctors, surgeon's assistants, etc.	752	902	0 ^b
Nurses, midwives, etc.	285	490	2
Professors, teachers	383	513	459
Others	13,898	2,198	4,100
Administrative and managerial	19,136	2,450	0 ^b
Clerical and related	9,040	5,986	18,600
Sales and related	7,440	7,393	3,313
Agriculture	1,817	2,244	0 ^b
Services	688	896	386
Cooks, chefs, waiters, maids, housekeepers, etc.	367	1,190	15
Others	1,591	1,982	150
	1,591	1,982	1,388

Continued -

Table B. 13 – (Continued)

Occupation	1961 census	1973 HED Survey	1975 PFS ^a
Production, transport, mining, construction, etc.	1,571	4,811	238
Textile workers	838	3,299	96
Tailors, upholsterers, etc.	233	816	22
Construction workers	2,927	6,435	4,167
Others	3,266	7,634	909

a Data from PFS pertain only to married couples and are therefore not strictly comparable with the other sources.

b. In 1975 PFS, sex ratios that are zero refer to zero in the denominator.

Note: Unemployed and unclassified occupations have been excluded.

Sources: Home Affairs Division (1964: vol. 4, table 4: 28–41); author's tabulations from HED Survey (1973) and PFS (1975).

Table B. 14

Employment Status of Females by Province and Urban/Rural Residence:
1961 Census and HED Survey (1973)

Province	Employers	Employees	Self-employed	Unpaid family helpers
1961 total ^a	0.13	27.7	51.3	19.5
1973 total	8.0	20.4	16.6	55.0
Urban	10.7	54.6	20.4	14.3
Rural	7.3	11.4	15.6	65.7
Punjab				
Urban	13.1	50.3	20.6	16.0
Rural	7.6	8.4	15.4	68.6
Sind				
Urban	7.5	59.2	20.5	12.8
Rural	18.5	3.6	12.9	65.0
NWFP				
Urban	11.2	58.1	17.4	13.3
Rural	9.7	9.5	21.5	59.3
Baluchistan				
Urban	19.0	48.2	24.8	8.0
Rural	14.4	25.0	35.6	25.0

a. Nonagricultural labour force only.

Sources: Home Affairs Division (1964: vol. 4, table 4: 28-41); Census Organization (n.d.: vol. II, parts I-V, table 17).

APPENDIX C
ADDITIONAL
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