

Khawar Mumtaz

WOMEN, ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT



A Pakistan
National
Conservation
Strategy
Sector Paper

10

WOMEN, ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT



Khawar Mumtaz



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CONTENTS



| | |
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| Author's Note | v |
| Preface | vii |
| 1. Introduction | 1 |
| 2. Women's Status | 2 |
| Women and Conservation | 2 |
| Women in Development | 6 |
| Women and Population | 8 |
| 3. Barriers to Women Achieving Their Potential | 9 |
| Existing Restrictions | 9 |
| The Effect of Constraints | 12 |
| 4. Women's Potential Role in Sustainable Development | 14 |
| Trends | 14 |
| Potential | 16 |
| 5. Programmes to Remove Obstacles and Achieve Objectives | 18 |
| By Economic Activity | 18 |
| Environmental Concerns | 19 |
| Programmes | 20 |

| | |
|---|----|
| 6. Linkages with Conventional Policies and Programmes | 20 |
| Women and Conventional Programmes | 20 |
| Integrating Women in Development | 22 |
| 7. Executive Summary | 24 |
| Annexures | |
| Annex 1: Women in the Labour Force | 27 |
| Annex 2: Education | 35 |
| References | 39 |
| Tables | |
| 1. Workload of Rural Women over the Year | 4 |
| 2. Integrating Women in Development | 23 |

AUTHOR'S NOTE



This paper, written in 1989, marked my formal induction into the National Conservation Strategy development process and a deeper involvement in environmental issues. The numerous workshops, discussions and meetings that followed enriched my perspective and offered new insights into the complexities of these issues and of the delicate relationship between the environment and people, particularly women.

A few changes have been made in the paper since it was written although much more could, perhaps, have been added. But despite the passage of time, it is felt that the broad underlying issues regarding women, environment and development have remained essentially the same and the basic premise of the study holds even now.

Khawar Mumtaz

PREFACE



This monograph is one of the 29 sectoral and programme papers produced to support the preparation of the Pakistan National Conservation Strategy. The NCS is a comprehensive review of the state of the country's environment, and of government and corporate policies, the voluntary sector, community and individual practices, which support or hinder sustainable development. The objective of the NCS is to identify strategic initiatives to conserve the country's natural resources which are the base for lasting improvements in the quality of life.

Environmental impacts do not respect sectoral or administrative boundaries. Yet, conventional development planning is frequently focused on narrow performance criteria and associated financial requirements, ignoring huge costs on downstream ecosystems and economic activities dependent on them. These costs cannot be avoided and must be paid by society, the only questions are when and by which group.

To facilitate an understanding of such 'externalities', one of the first steps of the National Conservation Strategy was to undertake assessments of cross-sectoral impacts from the point of view of each major activity sector. In order to facilitate comparison, the reports were prepared according to common terms of reference. Subsequently, major programme areas that must be given priority in the transition to a sustainable society were identified. The list of economic, environment and programme areas is given overleaf.

A paper on each sector was produced by a well recognized expert supported by peer reviewers in related specialities. The key insights have been incorporated into the Strategy. Since the papers are the reference base of the strategy and contain special interest material, a decision was taken to publish them serially in the form of monographs. It is hoped they will be found useful by researchers of sustainable development in various facets of national life as well as by the interested lay reader.

The sectors are:

1. Economic sectors:

- Agriculture, forestry, livestock, fisheries.

-
- Mining, energy, industries, transport.
 - Human settlements and recreation.

2. Environmental impact sectors:

- Soil degradation, loss of biodiversity, and over harvesting of renewable resources.
- Municipal and industrial discharges, environmental health effects, and misuse of water resources.
- Destruction of cultural heritage.

3. Programme areas:

- Incorporation of environment in education, communication, and research; enforcement of laws and regulations; improved administration; use of economic instruments to align market forces with sustainability; promotion of conservation ethics.
- Programmes to promote population planning, women in development, and regional equity.
- Creation of grassroots institutions, with participative management.

WOMEN, ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT



1. INTRODUCTION

The fact that women in development has been an area of neglect is a reflection on our planners and policy-makers, who have failed to recognise women as essential components of the development process. Instead there has been a tendency to view women in a fragmented manner, through the isolated social sectors of education, health and population rather than seeing them as an integral part of the socio-economic scene.

For instance, since 1955 there have been a series of plans to improve education for women. These have included specific recommendations for the establishment of new schools, the provision of scholarships and the expansion of existing facilities. But they have not met with much success. The enrollment rate for girls continues to remain abysmally low, while the drop-out rate is high. It was not until the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1983-88) was formulated, that the government officially endorsed the need to integrate women into national development plans and to improve their status.

The Seventh Plan (1988-93) goes a step further. It emphasises that attitudinal changes are necessary if women are to get their due share in

development. It recognises that data on women is outdated and incomplete, and confirms that the status of women is low.

The 'environment' issue also has caught the attention of policy-makers late. The Sixth Plan is silent on this topic, while the Seventh Plan alluded to it only indirectly. After this, environmental issues began to receive more attention at the official level. The National Conservation Strategy is a reflection of this awareness.

Yet recognition alone does not guarantee the incorporation of these concerns into the development process. There is the ever-present danger of the concerns being relegated to official files; or of being superficially dealt with and then pushed on the back burner. Therefore it is imperative to take a critical look at the development models that have been, and are being, adopted and to see which of these have the capacity to absorb issues relating to women and the environment, instead of marginalising both.

Like most Third World countries, Pakistan has experienced uneven development and has, as a consequence, suffered its share of pollution and mass degradation of land, soils, plants and wildlife. These in turn have served to exacerbate poverty and deprivation and have led to rural-urban migration, involving massive displace-

ment of populations and their concentration in urban katchi abadis or squatter settlements. In 1988, 32.5% of Karachi's and 25.2% of Lahore's population lived in these settlements; at "much below acceptable standards" according to Dawn's 15 April 1989 issue.

The burden of displacement as well as of dwindling resources is invariably borne by women, because of their role as family sustainers and nurturers. It is, therefore, logical to conceptualise women, environment and development as linked in a tri-cornered relationship. Just as environment and development are inseparable (a concept promoted by the Brundtland Commission), so too are women and development. Thus planners, policy-makers as well as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), citizens and above all, women themselves need to reorient their attitudes and perspectives to recognise:

- The organic link between environment, women and development.
- The integration of these three issues for the evolution of a successful, sustainable development policy.
- Women's potential as active agents of change.

It is equally important to recognise the fact that women in Pakistan occupy an under-privileged position in society. The majority of Pakistani women live in rural areas and are illiterate. Usually, they are married off early, bear innumerable children, suffer from anaemia, and have little or no control over their lives. Along with their urban counterparts they are viewed not as producers but as dependant consumers. Consequently, they find themselves inextricably linked to a vicious circle of poverty, depletion of resources and a deteriorating quality of life.

Conversely, it is also true that Pakistani society is in a state of transition, and the ensuing stresses and pressures have led to the emergence of a strident women's movement spearheaded by the Women's Action Forum. This movement has challenged the derogatory aspects of existing social norms, has resisted moves to restrict women's activities and placed women's issues on the

agenda of national concerns.

Increasing consciousness regarding women and their role in development, combined with the fact that a large number of NGOs are women-initiated, has increased the chances of integrating women into the development process. Official receptivity to the experiences of innovative and progressive NGOs can provide the much needed women's perspective in development programmes, which to be sustainable will have to adopt a holistic approach involving political, economic, cultural, demographic and ecological factors.

This paper will attempt to review women's role in conservation and development and will identify the pervasive constraints, including cultural, that prevent women from fulfilling their potential. In addition, this paper will examine trends that indicate a more active and positive role for women in the future and will suggest programmes and projects that would involve women in specific areas. The emphasis will be on approaches that maximise women's participation in development, conservation and population control activities. Growing evidence from experiences in other countries, as well as from within Pakistan, show that programmes which do not take direction from women or which fail to take into account women-related issues, rarely succeed. Therefore, if there is to be genuine integration of women into sustainable development plans, then there is the need to involve women from the beginning of a project through to the end of a programme.

2. WOMEN'S STATUS

WOMEN AND CONSERVATION

Users of Natural Resources

Vandana Shiva has called women "the traditional natural scientists". This is in recognition of their role as managers of water resources, forests and subsistence agriculture. As elsewhere, women in Pakistan have, since time immemorial, fulfilled the essential tasks of grow-

ing crops, fetching water and gathering fuel. In addition, they have been responsible for preparing meals, caring for the household and contributing to the family budget through cotton-picking, producing handicrafts, processing food surpluses, etc.

Women are still playing this role. While there is a paucity of data and statistics relating to women and the variegated nature of their work, there is enough to substantiate what is generally believed to be true here as in other Third World countries. A time-frame study of a Punjabi village conducted by Khan and Bilquees records the range of women's activities and the extent to which they remain the primary natural resource users. In an average 16-hour day, as given in Table 1, the list of activities, monitored over a period of one year, included seasonal repairs of homes with specially prepared loam (twice a year), participation in all agricultural production, besides cotton-picking and harvesting of vegetables, organising fodder and fuel and producing handicrafts from local materials. These tasks are in addition to those of looking after the animals, childcare, cooking, washing and cleaning, as recorded by Klein and Nestvogel.

Keeping in view the general pattern of division of work along gender lines in the sub-continent and information from case studies in Pakistan, it is safe to conclude that the workload mentioned in the Khan and Bilquees study is the lot of the majority of poor, rural women in Pakistan. There are, of course, regional variations — sometimes defined by cultural/customary norms — in the specific nature of the tasks done by women. In urban Pakistan, too, a woman's basic responsibility remains the same. Women's immediate concerns are cooking, fetching water, looking after children and the home, and, wherever possible, generating income.

Problems Caused by Dwindling Resources

The natural linkage that has historically existed between nature and women has been gravely

disturbed by development policies that are tied to market economies, and which measure success in terms of growth in commodity production and consumption. The negative effect of development on the environment was highlighted at a seminar on 'Management and Control of Air Pollution in Pakistan' in Lahore. The 15 April 1989 issue of Dawn reported that a review of past policies showed that accelerated industrial and economic growth was achieved at the cost of a degraded environment and a fall in the quality of life. Development policies, largely unregulated and often ad hoc, involved large-scale exploitation of natural resources for short-term gains. The building of large dams, indiscriminate use of chemicals in agriculture and rapid industrialization have all contributed to this situation. Preliminary work on the Pakistan National Conservation Strategy has revealed that with only 4.5% land under forests, the rapid rate of deforestation can have far reaching consequences.

Women, as primary users of natural resources, are the direct victims of these policies and the first to be affected by dwindling resources. In rural Pakistan, where the overwhelming majority of the population lives, women are engaged in agricultural work on a very large scale. However the use of modern technology in the agricultural sector has, in many instances, resulted in the displacement of labour, often putting the burden of adjustment on women. Mohiuddin's study of family and hired labour patterns in central and southern Sindh and southern Punjab found that a net decrease in the total use of female labour had occurred with mechanization and the introduction of high yielding varieties of wheat. This has affected women in two ways. On the one hand, it has meant a reduction in women's income. On the other, natural/agricultural vegetation and wastes that were traditionally used by women as fuel and fodder have become less easily available. Women now have to expend more energy in the search for cost-free fuel and fodder. As a result, their reliance on natural resources has increased. For example, the September 1986 issue of Herald reported that the depletion of

WORKLOAD OF RURAL WOMEN OVER THE YEAR

MID-MARCH TO MID-APRIL

- Preparations for heavy agricultural work, heralded by a 5-day *mela* (feast) with a great deal of eating and drinking.
- Repair work and cleaning of houses/household articles (some women earn some extra income by cleaning houses).
- Manufacture or repair of earthenware pots for cereal storage (3-6 feet high) and the repair of stalls and cages.
- Continued sowing of sugar cane (the wives of farm workers and tenant farmers help).
- Harvest of barley, which is dried and husked in the home and then milled to produce *sattoo* (a beverage).

MID-APRIL TO MID-MAY

- Wheat harvest with work beginning early in the morning and ending at dusk, in which all women help, with the exception of the wives of landowners.
- Women cook three times a day (7.30, 12.30, 17.00) and bring two meals, ground chillies, curry (vegetable mixture) and yogurt out into the fields; the rest of the time is spent caring for the animals and performing other household chores.
- The women help the men to winnow the wheat; as their share increases with the total harvest, they work as hard as possible; the work of tenant farmers' wives is complete after the bundling of the wheat.

MID-MAY TO MID-JUNE

- The women harvest their own share of the wheat and prepare it with the help of the men (farm workers).
- Storage of wheat in earthenware pots.
- Purchase and preservation of vegetables.

MID-JUNE TO MID-JULY

- Smaller workload than in the previous months.
- Preservation of fruit, particularly mangoes, and vegetables.
- Stitching and crochet, some sew, also for others.
- With the beginning of the rainy season, in July, dung spreading and the sowing of rice (few women).

MID-JULY TO MID-AUGUST (HEAVY RAINFALL)

- Preparation of straw and manufacture of baskets, also used to decorate homes.
- Manufacture of mats out of old clothing (amongst other things as dowry).
- Planting out of rice seedling, for which the wives of farm workers and casual workers receive money; the wives of tenant farmers receive only half this sum as the tenant has to pay the other half: the wives of tenants are thus partly unpaid family workers.
- The wives of farm workers also take part in the sowing of corn seed together with the men.

MID-AUGUST TO MID-SEPTEMBER (LESS INTENSE RAINFALL, HIGH HUMIDITY)

- Gathering of feed.
- Continued straw and matwork and planting of rice.
- Wheat is spread out in the sun as a protection against worms and parasites.
- Visiting friends and relatives.

MID-SEPTEMBER TO MID-OCTOBER

- House repairs (see March).
- The women watch over the fields helped by the children (with the exception of farm and landless workers' wives).
- In October: rice harvest (the stems are used as feedstuff, the men help with the sorting); the rice is laid out in the sun to dry during the day and gathered in the evening; treading of the rice to remove the husks (men and women); separating of chaff; wives of wealthier tenant farmers have the rice prepared in rice mills.

MID-OCTOBER TO MID-NOVEMBER

- Continuation of the rice harvest.
- Commencement of the wheat harvest, production of flour.
- Vegetable harvest and preservation begins (in some cases for others against payment, retaining one-twentieth of the harvest).

MID-NOVEMBER TO MID-DECEMBER

- Cotton harvest (all women irrespective of economic status; in some cases against payment); sorting of cotton and seed, which is sold or fed to the animals.
- Spinning of cotton (processing done by weavers).
- In December: wheat sowing by wives of tenant farmers (farm workers regard this as men's work).
- Sugar cane harvest (men).
- Vegetable harvest (exclusively women).

MID-DECEMBER TO MID-JANUARY (WINTER)

- In payment for work (bundling of sugar cane and loading onto lorries) for the owners of large estates, the wives of farm workers are allowed to pare the sugar cane and use the parings as feed.
- Continued sowing of the wheat, harvesting of vegetables and cotton spinning.

MID-JANUARY TO MID-FEBRUARY (WINTER)

- Mainly household chores except for the gathering of feed.
- Vegetable preservation, production of flour and popcorn.

MID-FEBRUARY TO MID-MARCH

- Sowing of sugar cane (amongst others, the wives of tenant farmers take part).
- The month for family visits and related preparations.
- Preparations for house repairs (collection and preparation of loam).

Sources: Compiled on the basis of information in the study by Khan, S.A., and F. Bilquees. 1976. The Environment, Attitudes and Activities of Rural Women: A Case Study of A Village in the Punjab. *Pakistan Development Review* 15, no. 3: 237-69; Klein, G., and R. Nestvogel. 1986. *Women in Pakistan: General Condition, Approaches and Project Proposals for the Development and Vocational Qualification of Women in the Province of the Punjab*. Eschborn: GTZ. pp. 116-117.

water sources in Thar has meant that women have to walk up to 10 miles to fetch water. Such instances abound. In the coastal areas of Karachi, M. Marker found that women have to spend more time collecting fuel from the overused and fast shrinking mangrove forests. Recently there have been reports of women cotton-pickers having suffered skin disorders and blisters as a result of the extensive use of pesticides in the Bahawalpur region.

Despite the apparent positive results of modern development practices — Pakistan's per capita gross national product at US\$ 390 is the highest in South Asia — a large section of the population has not benefited from the various development policies. According to the Seventh Plan, income inequalities widened between 1970-85 and this was particularly true of the rural areas. These conditions have forced the rural poor to migrate to urban areas: the population of Karachi and Lahore doubles every 10 years. The Seventh Plan also stated that almost half of rural and one-fourth of the urban population cannot meet their basic requirements. The continuing decline in real income and loss of access to means of production has resulted in a general pauperization of large sections of the population. The poverty, thus generated, has specific implications for women as it is their spheres and areas of work that are directly affected. In this manner the vicious cycle of depletion of resources, poverty and exacerbation of women's problems gets perpetuated. One other adverse impact of poverty is that the quality and quantity of people's diet is affected. This means that women's share of food and their protein intake is lowered even further, as in most cases women eat last, feeding on leftovers.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

Women's Contribution to Development

Women in Pakistan contribute to the development process as agricultural workers, industrial labour and in the informal sector. In the service

sector, they serve as important members of the technical, professional and administrative workforce. The Seventh Plan gives the female labour force participation rate (FLPR) as 4.8%, which is very low in comparison with countries such as Malaysia at 36.6%, Indonesia at 37.6%, and India at 12%. But officials concede that the FLPR is underestimated, and this is reflected by the conflicting numbers given by different surveys, e.g., Housing, Economic and Demographic Survey 1973 at 6%, the Population Census 1981 at 3.2%, and the Labour Force Survey 1986-87 at 5.6%.

The largest number of women are employed in the agriculture sector. According to the agriculture census 1980, 42.5% of all owner-cultivators are women, and they constitute 25% of all full-time and 76% of all part-time workers. While data on landless labour is not available, the census includes women from farm households with less than 7.5 acres of land, who work for wages for other households/agencies, doing agricultural and non-agricultural work. (See Annex 1, Table 1). This establishes the fact that there is female wage labour in the rural areas.

Women's labour in the informal sector and within households is generally ignored, although it has been established beyond doubt that they form a large part of the workforce. Unacknowledged are the thousands of brick kiln workers (estimated at 100,000 in the Punjab alone) who get subsumed as unpaid family workers. In the urban areas they are both visible as vegetable/bangle/fruit vendors, and invisible as piece-rate workers and self-employed home-based workers. Though engaged productively in economic activity, they are bypassed in censuses and surveys, remaining unrecognised and unrecorded, invisible to policy-makers. They, therefore, continue to remain vulnerable and disadvantaged relying on contractors, complex market forces and limited information.

In the health and education sectors, one-third of all teachers, about one-quarter of all doctors and almost all nurses are women. In addition, the Seventh Plan states that there are 30,000 dais (trained birth attendants). In large-scale

manufacturing, women are employed in the food processing, ready-made garments and electronics sectors. Female employment in the non-agricultural sector is largely in manufacturing — which represents 13% of Pakistan's overall labour force and 25.98% of the non-agricultural labour force. Women, in 1977, formed only 12.21% of this labour force. (See Annex 1, Table 2). More recent disaggregated data unfortunately is not available. Most are employed at the low-skill level — packaging, labelling, stitching. The exception is in the electronics industry where the nimble fingers and sharper eyesight of women combined with their longer concentration span makes them the preferred workers.

The largest category within the recognised urban female workforce is professionals. Besides teachers and doctors, these include women in the fields of ticketing, business, journalism, administration, banking, computers, engineering and architecture.

Economic and Social Benefits

Social approval of women's employment is determined by the nature of their activity and the quantum of remuneration. The health and education sectors are socially acceptable, but even within these there are gradations. Thus the medical profession is more prestigious than nursing; a college or university teacher has higher status than a school teacher, and private school employment has an edge over government/municipal schools jobs. Women employed in urban low status jobs, i.e., as service workers (maids/sweepers), factory workers, etc., do not enjoy the same level of social approbation. At the socio-psychological plane. In a 1981 report, Shaheed and Mumtaz found that women feel positive about their work and recognise it as such when they receive payment for it. Those women who form part of the family workforce, and hence are unpaid, e.g., agricultural and brick kiln workers, do not appreciate their work and have negative attitudes towards women's work generally.

Direct benefits of work accrue to those work-

ing as professionals and teachers who, according to Sathar and Kazi, enter employment for career or personal fulfillment. At this level a woman's income contributes towards 'status production', i.e., a higher standard of living. At other levels, in both the formal and the informal sectors, financial necessity is the determining factor with most of the earnings being spent on the household and forming an essential component of family survival income. The family, rather than the person, benefits.

Support Structures

Support structures in the public sector have existed in the form of social welfare departments and skill development centres. The efficacy of the social welfare departments is, however, questionable. It is now officially accepted that these were not commensurate with women's needs. A more institutionalised strategy for women's development was initiated in the 1970s, leading to the establishment of the Women's Division in 1979. Its specific role is to act as a catalyst for women's development and initially it commissioned research to fill the information gap regarding women, their activities and economic condition. Open to innovation and experimentation, the Women's Division has been more effective in reaching out to women than any other government department. Not only has it provided financial, technical and institutional assistance to line departments, it has also sponsored and executed projects directly. However, the Women's Division has not followed up on its innumerable field projects and without adequate monitoring it is difficult to assess the actual impact of these on women.

More successful in their access to the neediest are women's organizations in the NGO sector. The All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) established in 1949, was the first women's group to span the entire country. Assigning itself the work of rehabilitating women displaced during the upheaval of Independence, it established a network of industrial homes, schools and clinics, providing education, health and earning skills

and opportunities to women who otherwise had limited options. To date, APWA is perhaps the largest NGO in the country. Other NGOs with the same approach have been operating at the local level, but on more modest scales, providing service and relief to underprivileged women.

NGOs focusing on development work were later arrivals on the scene. Shirkat Gah-Women's Resource Centre, was perhaps one of the earliest of development NGOs emphasising empowerment of women and advocating an attitudinal change that would view women as a valuable human resource. It has conducted research to highlight women's situation and embarked on concrete projects such as the setting up of a working women's hostel in Islamabad. The Family Planning Association of Pakistan is a leading NGO in the population planning field, using the approach of development to help women limit their children. NGO initiatives, however, are limited in extent by the financial and physical resources available to them.

WOMEN AND POPULATION

With an estimated population of 117.32 million in January 1992, Pakistan is the ninth most populous country in the world. The growth rate for the last decade, 1981-91, has remained static at 3.1%. A number of factors have contributed to this situation, not least the perception of the role of women. Viewed primarily as child bearers and rearers, on average, women in Pakistan go through 6.5 live births. As a person, a woman is denied an identity in her own right and is seen as someone whose stay in her parents' home is transitory. From birth a girl is conditioned to think of her husband's house as her real home and she looks forward to being married — marriage being her sole purpose in life.

Being defined exclusively in terms of reproduction has its own repercussions. A woman is considered non-productive and is, therefore, expected to help out in unacknowledged household tasks. She has poorer health, eats less well, has a higher mortality rate, and a lower life

expectancy. In short, she suffers from an overall inferior status in society. Living with daughters is socially unacceptable and sons, therefore, are seen as security for old age. In popular perception more children means more earning members in a family. On the other hand, poverty and poor healthcare are factors that increase the risk of child mortality. This has an impact on couples desiring a large number of children, to ensure that a minimum reach adulthood and that at least one or two of these are males. In addition since women have no power in society their only hope of achieving any prestige is through sons. It is only natural that women have a strong preference for male children. It is not surprising then that an average woman undergoes innumerable pregnancies, the large number of children she bears being perhaps a logical choice under the circumstances.

Role of Women in Changing Women's Status

The transformation of women from objects of reproduction to autonomous persons in their own right, will entail a fundamental change in perceptions and attitudes. The role women play in this process is critical. There is evidence to suggest some change is already taking place and two factors have contributed to this. The first impetus has come from women at the upper end of the social structure, who by proving their capabilities in whatever field they have entered have helped change attitudes towards women in general. Indirectly, they have lent respectability to the idea of women leaving home for education or work. The second factor relates to economic conditions which are forcing an ever-growing number of women, from all classes, to work for wages. This has led to more women seeking education. Gaining access to information and earning money on their own contributes to building confidence in their abilities.

While a change in the role of women is an evolutionary process, occurring at its own pace, an acceleration is imperative if a more rapid change in women's status is desired. Extensive

government interventions are needed, making available opportunities for education, employment, skill development, healthcare and information to enhance women's participation in all spheres. Women's organizations would need to spread awareness about women's rights, destroy myths about women's non-productivity and act as catalysts in creating women's groups organised around their specific needs and activities. Only when greater confidence, autonomy and self-reliance is achieved will women be recognised as having identities of their own, and concomitantly, move towards having fewer children.

3. BARRIERS TO WOMEN ACHIEVING THEIR POTENTIAL

EXISTING RESTRICTIONS

Socio-Cultural Constraints

Constraints on women emanate from cultural beliefs and practices. Patriarchal controls are exercised and justified on the basis of culture — a composite of tradition, custom, and religion — which defines and determines the prescribed role of women in society, their mobility and their access to economic assets, and social and political power.

Usually a woman's class background, her ethnic identity and where she lives can often determine the parameters of her activities. Differences occur in each of the four provinces of Pakistan. In the less populated provinces of Balochistan and the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) life is strictly governed by a rigid code of tribal beliefs and set patterns of behaviour. The slightest deviation from this code can have disastrous consequences. An indiscreet word with a member of the opposite sex to whom one is neither married nor betrothed, for instance, can result in the swift death of both the man and the woman. A woman has no say in any aspect of her life, including her own marriage. Once betrothed, she belongs exclusively to her husband's family. To all extents and purposes she is alienable

property, and once the bride-price has been paid, she cannot return to her paternal house even if she is divorced, separated or widowed.

The stringent tribal laws make Baloch and Pathan women the least visible in the country. Not only are they ignored by scholars and overlooked in statistics, but rarely is a girl of over six or seven years seen either in the countryside or in urban centres. Paucity of educational facilities for girls, the low level of industrial development and the few urban centres all combine to diminish the possibility of change for women.

In Sindh and the Punjab, social mores are less drastic. Here, women retain links with their own families even after marriage and depend on their brothers or fathers for support in the event of separation or divorce. Marriage is not arranged through a bride-price but on the basis of a dowry, and separations and divorces are acceptable. In these agro-based economies women are visible in the countryside, where they are to be seen working in the fields, collecting fodder or fuel and, in some cases, working on construction sites. Both these provinces have a higher number of urban centres, and educational facilities, though still inadequate, reach a greater number of rural women. Accounting for 53% of the country's population, the Punjab has seen the most industrial development and has the largest concentration of urban centres.

Generally speaking, restrictions on the movement of women are greater in smaller towns. Similarly, women of upwardly mobile classes in the rural and of the middle classes in the urban areas are among the most cloistered. Whereas, in both urban and rural settings, the poorest women enjoy the greatest freedom of movement, it is the women of the upper middle classes who appear to have broken traditional norms and taken initiatives in areas traditionally considered out of bounds for women. According to Mumtaz and Shaheed's 1987 book *Women of Pakistan — Two Steps Forward, One Step Back?* "to talk of Pakistani women is in fact to talk of groups of women — of clusters of similarity in a disparate reality".

Though some women may have advantages

not enjoyed by others, women are bound together by the negative attitudes and conditions they share.

This attitude of women as inferior beings is visible from birth. Unlike a boy, the birth of a girl is rarely an occasion for rejoicing in any of the classes and in any of the regions of the country. This is because a girl is viewed as a liability and a social burden. Viewed only in terms of their power of reproduction, young girls are under constant surveillance from birth and marriage is presented as the only goal to aim for.

The concept of *izzat* (honour) also comes into play here. A family's honour is viewed as closely linked to women's chastity. Thus, the slightest misbehaviour on the part of a woman is seen as bringing dishonour to the family. Decency and decent behaviour thus become identified with women remaining inside their homes. Any woman who moves out is seen as contravening social norms and thus considered available and unprotected. As guarantors of family honour, brothers and fathers feel duty bound to minimise the chances of women encountering a member of the opposite sex.

Reinforcing this attitude is the transitory position of women in their maternal homes which implies that within the family structure she is not seen as having a long-term role to play; rather she is viewed as being kept in trust until claimed by a husband. Consequently, the emphasis is on keeping her 'protected' from the outside world. The mechanism for doing this has been institutionalised in the *pardah* system.

Pardah in this context, does not mean only the use of the veil as a protective covering, but an all-pervasive ideology whereby segregation of the sexes is effected and women are secluded from the public spheres of life. The women's sphere is defined as the private (*zenana*, indoors), and men's as the public. In reality the community well or tap is considered as part of the woman's realm. A further extension of public/private space is the demarcation of work into male and female tasks, with looking after family needs seen as female work. *Pardah* is associated with the economically better-off social classes.

The poor, particularly the rural poor, cannot afford to lose female labour especially in the fields. *Pardah* has thus become synonymous with social status — something to be aspired for by women themselves. The share of work falling within the sphere of male activities involve monetary transactions, participation in politics and making decisions. As a result, men have maintained their positions of control vis-a-vis the household, which would include all the women of the family — mothers, wives and daughters.

Economic, Political and Legal Constraints

Translated into operational terms, this means the exclusion of women from markets to an extent that even when women work as part of paid family labour, they receive nothing, as payments are made to the male head of the household. This is particularly true of agricultural households. The few exceptions are tasks involving cotton-picking and some other agricultural chores that men do not perform and where women are paid directly. Similarly, male members of families belonging to the Odh gypsy tribe conduct negotiations for working on road/construction sites and receive payments, despite the fact that the heavy work of crushing bricks, breaking stones and the carrying of construction material is all done by women.

Female exclusion from the economic sector is maintained not only by the males of the household but also by other societal forces. For instance, brick kiln owners are reluctant to admit that women work for them, acknowledging instead only the male head of the family who is registered in their books. If, for some reason the family has no adult male, owners would rather enter a male child's name (who in fact can bear no responsibility for fulfilling commitments) rather than register a woman in their rosters. Segregation norms in the urban industrial sector have led to the allocation of low-paid, low-skill jobs like packaging, labelling and hand-finishing, to women, defining these as female specific. The more skilled and supervisory jobs are

reserved for men. In the informal sector, seclusion places women at a disadvantage — they are not aware of rates and of laws. They have no experience of interaction with males outside the family and, therefore, lack the confidence to deal with alien male contractors who in turn exploit the women's lack of experience and information to their advantage according to a 1981 report by Shaheed and Mumtaz.

In education, the segregation of sexes necessitates separate schools for girls and boys. While coeducation is acceptable at the primary level (the 5 to 10-year age group), this is no longer true by the middle level (the 10 to 12-year age group). Girls are removed from coeducational schools. This means only one out of 14 girls enrolled in primary school has a chance of reaching middle school in rural areas. Distance between home and school is a further deterrent to female attendance — the greater the distance the less control families feel they have over girls, and the greater the likelihood of their not being sent to school at all. Given the fact that the system is heavily weighted against women it is not surprising, that out of the 30% of the Pakistani population that is literate — one of the lowest literacy rates in the world — only 16% are females. Rural-urban imbalances are even sharper — the Seventh Plan states that only 9.6% of rural women are literate compared with 39.2% of urban women. According to the 1981 Census the literacy rate among rural women in the Punjab was 9.4%, in Sindh 5.2%, in the NWFP, 3.8% and in Balochistan only 1.8%.

Statistics on male-female enrollment and drop-out rates again reflect the general state of affairs. At the primary level, for every girl there are roughly two boys in school — an improvement over 1:3 ratio of the 1981 Census. The drop-out rate for girls is 58% compared to 41% for boys. (For more details on education, see tables in Annex 2).

The constraints that restrict women, work against women's participation in the political field too. Politics is seen as an exclusively male domain automatically rendering women, especially the rural majority, to a peripheral role in

this sphere. Pakistan's troubled political development has not helped either, and women's representation in political institutions has remained nominal. More often than not, at election time women are herded to fill the ballot boxes for the landlord, local notable or employer. The sole exception to the rule, given in Mumtaz and Shaheed's 1987 book, is believed to be the elections of 1970 when women broke the age-old tradition of obeying their men by voting for Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

This is not to say that there are no women in politics. The existing social order is such that some women have managed to break the gender barrier to enter the political mainstream. These women, however, have generally belonged to the privileged classes. Some outstanding examples are Ms Benazir Bhutto, Syeda Abida Hussain and Begum Nasim Wali Khan. Changing material conditions in urban areas have produced new patterns of socially acceptable behaviour, allowing women to challenge traditional norms and break new ground.

Over the years Pakistani women have acquired a number of fundamental rights under the law. At the time of Pakistan's creation in 1947, they already had the right to education and to vote. The Muslim Personal Law of Shariat passed in 1948 recognised, among other things, a woman's right to inherit property. In 1961, the Family Laws Ordinance legally eliminated the customary and much-abused practice of divorce by repudiation. The Ordinance was the first attempt to discourage polygamy and to regulate divorce. The question of child custody and maintenance issues were also dealt with. It provided for the registration of all marriages and a standard nikahnama (marriage contract) containing protective clauses for women. Two clauses, in particular, were very beneficial: talaq-e-tafwiz — the right to divorce — which could be delegated to the wife; and the amount for haq mehr could be specified. The minimum age for marriage was fixed at 16 years for women and 21 years for men. The Constitution of 1973 guaranteed equality before the law and equal protection of the law (Article 25); and the

end of discrimination on the basis of race, religion, caste or sex for appointment in the services of Pakistan (Article 27). All government services were opened to women in 1972, including the office of the Prime Minister and the head of state.

However, having rights and guarantees of equal status, equal opportunity and equal pay for equal work in the statute books does not necessarily mean that women actually enjoy these rights. The deep-rooted negative perceptions about women render most of these rights ineffective. Denied the right to air their views or assert their will, women remain untouched by the laws. Many of the laws are just ignored. For instance, even urban educated women rarely read the nikahnama they sign at the time of marriage, leaving some of the most important decisions of their life to the men of the family.

Two factors — illiteracy and ignorance — further compound the situation. Most women, even those who are educated, are unaware of the prevailing laws and the protection these offer. Moreover, the impediments in actually seeking legal relief are formidable. Cultural constraints immobilise women and create obstacles in their getting to the police station, government departments or law courts. The procedures are cumbersome, legalities complex and the reach of those wishing to preserve the status quo, longer. What has even more serious consequences for women is the tendency to portray tradition as being religiously sanctioned. A number of cultural practices, e.g., the denial of choice to women in marriage have no basis in Islam but have been shaped by particular historical processes and practices of specific regions. Yet, efforts to exploit religion and preserve derogatory and discriminatory attitudes at the legal level continue to pose grave problems. One such attempt was made through the so-called Islamization programme between 1977 to 1985. The Hudood Ordinances 1979, the Law of Evidence 1984, and the Law of Qisas and Diyat as passed by the Majlis-e-Shoora (August 1984) justified discrimination against women through controversial interpretations of

Islam (for detailed discussion see Mumtaz and Shaheed, 1987: 99-120). The Law of Qisas and Diyat was finally promulgated in October 1990 through a Presidential Ordinance with most of the gender discriminatory clauses eliminated — in great part due to protests from women and human rights organizations. Officially sponsored negative legislation and orders serve to reinforce society's discriminatory attitudes towards women.

THE EFFECT OF CONSTRAINTS

A low level of education, early marriage, a large number of children and a subordinate economic role for women are the direct consequences of the cultural and socio-economic barriers detailed above. Operationally, these are manifested in the kind of skills women can acquire, the number and quality of educational/training institutions available to them, physical mobility, information and financial resources. As a corollary, women's entry into professions, their access to markets and credit facilities is restricted.

Women's skills are limited to the traditionally taught ones, i.e., embroidery, sewing, knitting and crafts. Nowadays, industrially produced goods are fast replacing traditionally produced items. Plastic goods have penetrated the remotest of villages, replacing clay pots and pitchers with aluminum and plastic water coolers, straw mats and baskets with synthetic mats, plastic containers and handlooms with rayon. The earlier items were produced either entirely by women or were the result of women's efforts one way or another. While men have moved to towns and cities to find new avenues of employment as the old systems of working rapidly change, women have stayed back in the villages, their skills gradually becoming redundant.

Some implications of the constraints on women's education have already been discussed earlier. The same biases affect two other education related issues. First, the tendency to view women wholly as home-bound has led to the formulation of courses for girls' education, emphasising domestic science and home eco-

nomics, as opposed to those for boys which emphasise science subjects and technical education. Secondly, cultural constraints inhibit female teachers from moving away from their homes to unfamiliar locations. Thus, if a school is located a short distance away from the home, even in a town nearby, a female teacher would be unwilling to traverse the distance. This has not so much to do with transport difficulties, as with social approbation.

Man, as the provider, is expected to migrate. Women can do so to accompany him but not on their own or for professional reasons. Instances of the family moving with a woman in search of, or following, a job are rare. The non-availability of residential facilities for outsiders, particularly women, in the smaller towns and villages is also inhibiting. Even in cities single women have problems finding accommodation for themselves. In such situations women have no option but to stay with a local family, which carries the risks of other social implications — moral aspersions, criticism from family and friends, being considered easy game, etc. This explains why there are fewer schools for girls and why many of these are subject to frequent closures, besides accounting for the inferior quality of education offered by these schools. Thus, according to the Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women report, there are only 1,407 middle schools for girls in rural areas in the entire country.

As far as training opportunities go, the male bias in technical education is strongly visible in official policies. Till recently, out of a total of 3,786 seats for industrial training programmes in the NWFP, only 500 were reserved for women. F. Shaheed (1987) found that in the Technical Training Centres (TTCs) and Apprenticeship Training Centres of Sindh, 60 out of approximately 3,000 seats are for women, while in the Punjab not a single seat was allocated for women from out of a total of 5,169 seats in the different TTCs.

The nine polytechnics and 107 government vocational institutes for girls that have introduced some non-traditional courses for women

— architectural drafting, radio/TV electronics, commerce, etc., — can only be viewed as a first step towards broadening the options for women. That these are run by Boards of Technical Education instead of the Labour Departments which run the male technical institutions, is simply another manifestation of different approaches towards male and female education.

The combined impact of all the above, i.e., inadequate skills (in terms of contemporary markets and needs), education and training affects the productivity and earning power of women. An average Pakistani woman rarely knows how to open a bank account, get her identity card made, admit a child in school, market what she produces, find employment and file an official complaint. On a personal level, she is equally ignorant of vital knowledge, such as the minimum age of marriage, contraceptive options, civic rights, etc.

Added to all these disadvantages is the fact that women seldom have cash or savings of any kind, with the exception of pieces of jewelry. Even these are viewed more as family assets rather than personal belongings. In Sathar and Kazi's study, individual earnings in the low and middle income groups — from cotton-picking, to home-based piece-rate work — is invariably spent on the household. Similarly, despite the fact that women can inherit property, they hardly ever do so. This lack of assets acts as a handicap, limiting a woman's efforts to take on an income generating initiative. Instead women have to rely on their limited skills alone. In a 1988 study by Mumtaz at Kot Lakhpat, it was found that the lack of capital restricts women's enterprises to such a small size that the ratio of labour input to income remains absurdly inequitable.

Thus, cumulatively speaking, we find that women are prevented from playing their full role in the development process and consequently in conservation and population activities. A significant factor in this state of affairs has been the lack of will to overcome entrenched attitudes and constraints operating against women.

4. WOMEN'S POTENTIAL ROLE IN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

TRENDS

Industrial development in Pakistan has been achieved at the cost of increased poverty and environmental degradation. Given the role women play as daily finance and home managers, it is logical to encourage and ensure women's participation in conservation efforts. Achieving this, however, is not so simple. Subsistence societies, where nature and human beings co-exist in harmony, have been shattered, partly by the colonial experience this region underwent, and partly by the subsequent adoption of development policies concerned more with growth and commercial gains than with environmental issues and the quality of life. The aggressive marketing of goods has led people to aspire to a consumer-oriented lifestyle. Even those who until recently were major actors in sustaining the subsistence economy have succumbed to the dazzling enticement of modern advertising. Thus, there is a growing tendency to replace mother's milk with powdered milk, to go for quick-acting allopathic medicines instead of traditional herbal remedies, and for bottled cold drinks rather than home-brewed ones. The list is unending, but it serves to strengthen the argument that more and more people are eschewing self-sustaining strategies. The dangers inherent in such a trend are alarming. There is a need for refocusing priorities and reversing such trends.

In this context the task of mobilising women becomes urgent. It will have to be borne in mind that such a role entails a sensitive approach to ensure the wide participation of women from all levels, besides challenging certain of the existing social mores.

In spite of the fact that women have fared badly in education, health, employment, etc., if the present situation is compared with that of the early years of Pakistan's existence, then the general trend is favourable. In percentage terms the improvement in women's condition may not

seem remarkable, but the actual increase in numbers has been substantial. For instance, primary school enrollment went up from 90,858 in 1947-48 to 3.2 million in 1987-88; at the middle stage from 0.22 million to 0.73 million and from 0.06 million to 0.2 million at high school level in the same period.

Similarly, the number of primary and secondary school female teachers registered a dramatic rise — from 3,961 in 1947-48 to approximately 100,000 in 1987-88. In medicine, there were only 56 female students in 1950; in the period 1983-88, a total of 7,000 female doctors graduated, which in itself is a hundred per cent increase from the 6,000 mentioned in the Sixth Plan. In 1950, there was not a single women's polytechnic; there are now nine in the country. Overall female literacy, although abominably low compared to other middle income countries of the world, almost doubled from 8.2% in 1961 to 16% in 1981.

In secondary vocational institutions, however, the percentage of female participation declined from 41% in 1947-48 to 27.8% in 1980. But Shah's 1986 study recorded a net increase in numbers — from 3,900 to 35,300. One reason for this negative trend is that a larger number of institutions were opened for men rather than for women.

In the field of health, unfortunately, not much headway has been made and the status of women continues to be poor. The Seventh Plan points out that early marriage, frequent pregnancies, malnutrition and anaemia (80% in expectant and lactating mothers), are the basic problems. While life expectancy has gone up to 61 years and the crude death rate has declined to 11 per 1000, neither maternal mortality rates nor disaggregated figures for women are currently available.

The number of women employed recorded an increase — from 3.2% in 1981 to 4.8% in 1987-88. But this figure is an under-representation of women's actual participation — a fact acknowledged by policy-makers and researchers alike. The bulk of the garment industry, for instance, is staffed by women. This fact is, how-

ever, hidden by practices of contract work and 'putting-out' systems. Economic pressures are forcing women to work and evidence of this is provided by the large number of women in the market place, specially in urban areas; and the proliferation of production activity in the non-formal sector. Shaheed and Mumtaz's 1981 study in Lahore identified 41 kinds of items produced by women in a single neighbourhood and Sathar and Kazi's discovered 300 in Karachi.

An interesting indicator of trends for women's employment was the advertisement page in the Friday 21 April 1989 issue of the daily Jang Lahore: 14 of the 17 posts advertised for primary to madrasah to college level teachers were for women. In the category of office assistants, receptionists, secretaries, garment factory workers, surveys and packaging, 22 of the 35 jobs were for women. Of the advertisements for technical/skilled staff in garment factories, commercial tailoring/cutting, 3 out of 7 were for women. Even more interesting is the fact that purdah norms, at least in urban Pakistan, are breaking down under economic pressure. As education spreads and employment opportunities widen, purdah restrictions have weakened and there has been a growing acceptance of women earning independently.

Given these trends the critical question relates to the change that may be expected in women's role in development, conservation and population control. In Pakistan, as in a number of other developing countries, Shah as well as Sathar and Kazi have found that women's work does not necessarily have a negative influence on fertility. According to Shah, there may be a positive impact on the age of marriage (i.e., later rather than earlier) which in turn may affect female fertility; but there is not much evidence to support this hypothesis yet. It appears that as long as education, employment, health, etc., are viewed in a fragmented manner, positive changes are not likely to take place. Until development is seen as a process that allows women to fully express their potential and gives them the skills to control their own lives and the environment around them, a transformation in women's status cannot

be anticipated. The challenge, therefore, is to link various social sectors with development.

A step in this direction has been taken at the policy-making level in the government's Seventh Plan. The Plan's realization that the low status of women is due to structural and planning weaknesses records a radical departure in perspective. This shift may be attributed in no small measure to pressure from women professionals, who have carried out independent research for over a decade to highlight the stark gender disparities and passing over of women's aspirations and needs. The persistence of women professionals and activists in pursuing issues related to their status and the resulting injustices have compelled policy-makers to review their positions — no mean achievement, particularly in an era otherwise marked by retrogressive actions against women.

The Seventh Plan:

1. Acknowledges that women have been neglected and that the cost of this neglect is unacceptable, both morally and economically.
2. Calls for the full integration of women into society through a policy that encompasses all spheres of national life, rather than through the "separate but equal approach".
3. Acknowledges the need for the creation of awareness among policy-makers and the public at large, of the discrimination existing against women and of the social and economic cost of this discrimination. The emphasis is on convincing people that women's subjugation is not natural.

With this policy perspective, the Plan has suggested a number of sectoral targets. Significant among these is the recognition of NGOs as valuable social agents of change and the commitment to support their development work through increased financial grants. Women's co-operatives and societies, women development workers as the cadre for implementing development programmes and legal aid societies for women, are included as special focus areas with an exclusive allocation of Rs. 0.7 billion.

Concomitantly, NGO activity has accelerated over the years. With official plans and pro-

grammes bypassing the poorest of the poor, NGOs have stepped in to fill the gap. Women NGOs are doing invaluable work and some have played a dynamic role in promoting women's welfare and development. With government policy now coinciding with what women have been clamouring for, NGOs have the space to play a more innovative role in community development work and in raising women's awareness.

POTENTIAL

Short- and Medium-Term Potential

This paper's contention is that women, development and environment are organically linked and that these have to be integrated for sustainable development to occur. Recognising that women have the potential of being active agents of change and given the trends discussed in the preceding sections, it appears that women can play a positive role in development, conservation and population welfare activities. This role can be visualised at two levels, formal and informal.

At the formal level this would require an immediate consolidation and expansion of the education base for women. The Seventh Plan's target of achieving 100% primary education and a school within a 1.5-kilometre radius of dwellings in a village, to overcome cultural constraints towards females, is a move in the right direction. In the short run, the proposal to abolish age limits for teachers and to give preference to local candidates, in order to mobilise female teachers, also seems to be a step in the right direction. This will enhance the spread of female education and will also boost employment opportunities for those already educated.

Literacy is an important prerequisite for conservation and population welfare activities. It has been found that poverty exerts pressures on natural resources and induces higher fertility. If education is to be made a vehicle for improving economic status, and if women's inputs are considered significant in this process, then education has to be made relevant to women's lives.

Unless it is linked to their day-to-day needs and aspirations, it will be neither a mobilising nor an empowering experience.

To achieve this goal, the course contents of schools will have to be restructured to reflect regional and local issues, emphasising conservation and population welfare perspectives. Such initiatives have been successful in other areas. In the central Himalayan Garhwal-Kumaon region in India — the scene of the famous Chipko (embrace the trees) movement — the concept of ecosystems, conservation and regeneration has been incorporated into the school curricula. Songs have been written venerating the trees, the rivers and the mountains, urging people to nurture them. Tree care, basic knowledge about different species and their usefulness and sericulture are part of the curriculum. Practical work for students involves setting up plant nurseries and mothers are encouraged, through their children, to plant saplings provided by the school nurseries. In East Africa and Indonesia, women and women's organizations have been the key elements in promoting environmental education, afforestation, community development, social development and education. Such efforts have a two-pronged impact. One is that there is greater awareness of the worth of natural resources and their conservation and two, action towards rectifying the problem is simultaneously taken.

An additional factor which favours including women in conservation, population and development efforts is the fact that they are carriers of experiential knowledge — knowledge passed down through the generations which enables them in their struggle for survival. This experience and knowledge is often ignored or overlooked. A concerted effort to listen to what women are saying, to retrieve dying and neglected knowledge about plants, animals and ecological processes, and to adapt these to new conditions and challenges is one way of tapping women's potential. Such programmes in other countries have been successful largely because they have been built upon local traditional work patterns and the residual information/knowledge bank of women in the area.

Other initiatives to realise women's potential in the short- and medium-term and integral to poverty alleviation is employment. This will entail an increase in the number of skill development institutions offering non-traditional courses to enhance women's employment opportunities; providing specialised skills such as assessing market needs, market products and technical information to start small businesses; and making credit facilities available to women, especially to the most deprived sections. These initiatives can be made at both the official and the NGO level. One has to recognise the fact that government created institutions may not always be accessible to the neediest women and that there are limits to the effectiveness of government departments in implementing programmes. Hence women NGOs, particularly those working with communities, can have a more significant role to play in mobilising women around development activities and giving direction towards conservation and population welfare activities.

Potential for Long-Term Impact

Women have been victims of:

1. Negative effects of environmental degradation;
2. Restrictive social norms; and
3. Development policies which have marginalised them.

Despite this it has been established that women have the potential and the resilience to confront adverse situations. But this potential is closely related to their level of development — development which makes it possible for them to participate and express themselves. Since women's role is particularly crucial for environmental work, the aim should be to listen to what women say, to examine how they become victims and their response.

When we talk of the long-term potential of women in the conservation and development sectors, it is essential to keep in mind that a rise in their social and economic status may maximise their ability to play positive, far-reaching roles. But the danger of their being circumscribed will be

ever present, unless women's pressure groups are formed to resist such policies. In India, women have taken the lead in resisting the destruction of their forests by commercial concerns, by forcing the closure of quarries which were destroying the natural cover. In some of these areas, women's committees are responsible for the management of the forests and plant nurseries. They were joined by their men much later.

Pakistani women's experience regarding women's issues has shown that creating general awareness, lobbying policy-makers and mobilising public action has had an all-round impact on planners, social activists and women subjects/actors of change. Such actions are reinforced by collecting information and generating empirical data to substantiate arguments. Not that acceptance comes readily, or that opposition ceases, or for that matter, no resistance is offered. What is important is to remember that conservation problems, as those of women in development, are closely related to complex social, economic and political issues. A whole range of measures are needed to deal with these — from poverty alleviation and equitable distribution of essential resources, to addressing women as individuals within families, to creating awareness and mobilising public action. Significant therefore, are state policies that support efforts and collective action from grassroots organizations as well as NGOs and women's activist groups. It is through interaction between these groups that long-term changes can take place.

The Seventh Plan's proposal to increase women's polytechnics to 13, to train 3,160 women by 1993, to actively encourage women's co-operatives, to help NGOs in project formulation and implementation, and to view NGOs as being useful in organising community groups, co-operatives and legal aid societies is an encouraging development. In addition, the Plan proposes training 6,000 women development workers — one for each of the 4,200 union councils and for each municipality — in community organization, public health, home economics and human ecology. This, too, portends an optimistic future for Pakistani women.

5. PROGRAMMES TO REMOVE OBSTACLES AND ACHIEVE OBJECTIVES

BY ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

It has to be reiterated that for development programmes and policies to be effective it is essential to draw women into the mainstream of the development process. For this to occur it is not only necessary that a change in perception be brought about, but also that pragmatic programmes be drawn up. It is clear that top-down approaches rarely succeed. Involving the beneficiary in the project is essential — particularly in the case of innovations in implements such as stoves, etc. Yet another prerequisite for favourable results is an understanding of the needs, requirements and genius of the women concerned. All programmes should be carried out after a preliminary survey to identify the needs and inclinations of the targeted women. Provision should also be made, at the planning stage, to change and reformulate the programmes in accordance with the recommendations of the surveys.

Another important point to remember is that programmes should pay women themselves for the work done by them. Women's self-perceptions become negatively affected if their work is subsumed as unpaid family labour. Thus, if the objective is to remove structural constraints then the biggest obstacle to be tackled is a woman's lack of assets and her failure to control the little she has.

Recommendations based on the framework of these general principles are being made below, with special reference to the Seventh Plan's sectoral strategies.

One recommendation is being emphasised: NGOs should be allowed to play a major role in various programmes. Established NGOs can be directed and supported to pick up projects that fall within the ambit of their activities. New grassroots NGOs should be encouraged, per-

haps by the Women's Division, to operate at the community level.

Agriculture

A large percentage of rural women participate in agricultural activities despite the fact that they are marginalised. This, together with the Seventh Plan's emphasis on modernization to generate agricultural surpluses (which is likely to accelerate the marginalization process) gives programmes in this sector an added urgency.

The Seventh Plan proposes diversifying agricultural production to create employment opportunities through high value products like fruits, vegetables, oil-seeds, meat, milk and poultry. This diversification is proposed on the basis of the ecology of each region e.g. vegetable and fruit production in Sindh, apples, peaches and apricots in Balochistan, coconut along the coastal region, floriculture and herbs in Swat and Abbotabad, timber in the NWFP, etc. In both these, i.e., vegetable/fruit/herb production and milk and poultry activity, the possibility of involving women is high. Looking after cattle and poultry has always been a woman's task. If modernization is being planned in this sector, women should be given the technical skills to improve production. This will allow them to continue their traditional activity. Women's co-operatives in dairy, food processing, crafts, etc. may be encouraged and set up.

Similarly with fruit and vegetable production. Training women in new methods and techniques will allow them to be productively employed without drastic disturbance to their work patterns.

A very important consideration for the rural areas is a supply of clean water. Having to walk long distances for water means both drudgery and a loss of time. Poor sanitation and a lack of latrines is a source of distress for women and creates unhygienic conditions.

Forestry

Although women do not have much to do with the formal forestry sector, they are the natural

managers of wood for fuel, fodder and timber, and can be inducted into this sector as valuable allies. Clark, in 1988, reported that the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme and the Austrian Relief Agency have conducted two successful extension-level training courses for women of the Gilgit/Hunza area and the Afghan refugee camps. Both seem to have been successful. In one case, it has led to the establishment of courtyard nurseries in refugee camps. Training in forestry and the actual establishment of nurseries would enhance women's opportunities for generating income. Moreover, information on species that can provide fodder, supplement fuel and generate income through sales would bring multiple benefits to women. That the Seventh Plan gives priority to integrated programmes for developing barani (rain-fed), riverine and mountain areas, to arrest environmental degradation and to conserve the country's physical and natural resources, makes women's incorporation into this field more viable.

Industry

The government plans to expand into new areas in the industrial sector, to accelerate the growth of the small-scale informal sector, to promote self-employment and to help evolve broadbased skills development. Policies are also needed to ensure that women in the formal industrial sector are treated at par with men, to remove differentials in salary structures and to prevent measures used to hide female labour. These need to be strictly implemented. Development workers must have knowledge of labour laws so that they can be entrusted with the task of acting as watchdogs. Skill development institutions to improve women's employment opportunities have to be set up simultaneously.

Programmes in the informal sector, should include:

1. Encouraging the formation of women's organizations around an enterprise or a number of enterprises (entrepreneurial activity) and/or around tasks (piece-rate activity). This would help in the formation of co-operatives where

- equitable distribution of work and remuneration takes place through participatory efforts;
2. Providing women with new skills to enable them to handle purchases, production and marketing;
3. Introducing credit schemes to broaden the base of economic activity;
4. Expanding women's knowledge of markets and skills to cope with market forces;
5. Mobilising women home-based piece-rate workers to organise to demand recognition, better wages, rights and legislation.

Social Development

Programmes need to be devised with particular attention towards overcoming socio-cultural barriers. For instance, if the educational level of women is low then a possible solution is to make job requirements flexible (e.g., the requirements for the recruitment of primary school teachers in the Seventh Plan). Other alternatives may include special orientation courses for specific jobs or income-generating activities.

For those who have married early and wish to be educated, the age limit for entering educational institutions should be relaxed. NGO efforts like the Baldia School Teachers' Association in Karachi where literate women of the neighbourhood hold literacy classes for girls and women of the locality, at times convenient to teachers and students alike should be actively supported and publicised.

To facilitate the participation of women with large numbers of children, creches and day care centres need to be established in or near work places. For those living at a distance from their place of work, transport facilities are essential.

ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS

Environmental awareness is critical if meaningful objectives are to be achieved. This will have to be done with systematic programmes at different levels, e.g., formal education in communities where environmental degradation is taking place and where pollution is rampant. In

each situation important considerations e.g., energy conservation, prevention of environmental degradation, prevention of pollution and creation of environmental awareness, will have to be worked into a plan.

It should also be remembered that the poorer sections of society, and women within these sections are forced by circumstances to use crop residue and cow-dung for fuel instead of as fertilizer; to overgraze or overlop trees for firewood and fodder. Similarly they continue to use inefficient stoves as alternatives are not available. Large-scale pollution and degradation is being caused by the indiscriminate use of pesticides, by commercial deforestation, chemical fertilizers and tube-well installations. The objective is to improve women's and their communities' quality of life, through better management of the resources available to them and through viable alternatives that they can afford and adopt.

Model programmes are recommended within existing community development projects. These can be focused around better stoves, planting trees, establishing nurseries, recycling garbage, home-based poultry keeping, etc. to demonstrate the efficacy of environmental management.

PROGRAMMES

A multi-pronged approach is necessary as simultaneous efforts in communication, education and training are required. In communication, not only is awareness about the environment essential, it is equally necessary to create acceptance of women working in the programme areas. To do this the existing perceptions regarding women will have to be demolished and a realistic image of Pakistan's overburdened women will have to be brought home. Women will be accepted in development programmes only if their special place and contribution is recognised and projects are designed with these in mind.

Issues of development and environment discussed in the foregoing sections have to be incorporated into all levels of education and training programmes. The proposed cadre of

Women Development Workers (WDW) and women members of Union Councils should enable the integration of women's concerns into community development work and create the impetus at the political level. As motivaters and mobilisers the WDW should be channelised to communicate information on women's spheres of work, for instance, on family planning methods, on the need for spacing births, on recycling waste, etc. The members of Union Councils can create awareness of the importance of female education, income-generation activities, etc. Local political leaders — members of the National Assembly, members of the provincial assemblies have to be persuaded, lobbied and made aware of the need to support these issues.

6. LINKAGES WITH CONVENTIONAL POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

There is one overall recommendation: feasibility studies of all proposed projects should look at the impact of the project on both women and the environment. In addition, there should be an evaluation of the impact of all on-going processes on women and the environment.

WOMEN AND CONVENTIONAL PROGRAMMES

Women's unique role, their requirements and their special contribution to programmes is given below.

Formal Education

The role of women in the education system is critical. Currently 30% of all primary school teachers are women and the official policy is for a shift towards an all-female primary school teachers cadre. The planned expansion in the number of schools and female educational institutions in the country would concomitantly mean

a larger number of female students. Thus the introduction of environmental and women's issues in schools would help create awareness and disseminate information.

At the tertiary level it is recommended that women and environment be introduced as a focus area in women's studies centres which are being established in the five major universities (one in each of the four provinces, and one in Islamabad) from the next academic year. In the initial period these centres have been conceptualised as information generating institutions, producing material on the basis of which courses can be formulated in the future, and through which women's perspective can, ultimately, be brought into all educational disciplines. Similarly, if environmental concerns are to be mainstreamed, basic research in this field is urgently needed. The introduction of environment as a subject in women's studies would facilitate this process. Issues such as the traditional roles women play in managing resources; the impact of deforestation, drought, etc., on women; how women have responded to crises and calamities; what roles they can play as extensions of their traditional roles; what are the challenges of changing situations; the interventions needed to enable women to cope with new situations; and other such questions can be examined through research in a formal institution. Training the trainers programmes for afforestation, rural extension work, health, etc. within the existing framework is another area of work.

Communication

The media is a powerful medium for communicating ideas, images and roles. Women involved in conceptualising and producing television or video programmes can portray women as active participants in agriculture, industry, community work and health rather than as sex objects.

Special programmes which communicate environmental issues and their relevance to women are important for raising awareness.

Video programmes, audio-cassettes, special literature for broadening the information base and raising consciousness should be prepared. Workshops/crash programmes for women should be organised in areas where existing development projects are operating.

Research and Technology

Research by women must focus on women's conditions, needs and aspirations. Technical research has to be carried out keeping the user's perspective in mind, to ensure that the new technology is used. Departments experimenting with smokeless chulhas (stoves), solar energy for cooking, biogas plants, etc. need to link research with the needs of the women users, customary practices of cooking, eating and affordability.

Administration and Legislation

Women's induction in all branches of administration and particularly in the judiciary is necessary. Special incentives such as quotas (for an initial period), relaxing age limits, giving consideration to location and providing transport facilities will need to be given to encourage women to enter new fields. Women in decision making positions must continuously project and present women's perspective.

Legislation is an important area which affects all women and the repeal of discriminatory laws is fundamental to the process of viewing women as equal partners in the development process. Progressive legislation is needed in the areas of family and personal law to streamline implementation procedures regarding divorce proceedings, maintenance and the custody of children. Women judges must be appointed in family courts to get around ingrained male biases. Appointment of women as High Court judges is another imperative. Legislation to recognise home-based employment and to fix minimum wages and means of enforcing legislation are other necessary requirements.

Economic Instruments

Women in different spheres of economic activity — agriculture, industry, home-based and piece-rate work, entrepreneurship — have to be given special incentives. This can be done by providing diversified skill-training opportunities in existing and new government institutions, as in private and NGO institutions. Setting up localised work-order centres, house-to-house banking facilities and soft credit schemes for home-based workers and cottage industry entrepreneurs is recommended.

Conservation Ethic

Women have the potential of instilling conservation awareness and ethics into the daily lives of their families. If conscious and aware themselves, they have the potential to be the best motivators and introducers of long-term conservation habits. For long-term impact, respect for nature, eschewing waste, living with rather than in conflict with nature and natural resources can be best communicated by mothers to children. To do this, the information base has to be strengthened.

Enabling Grassroots Institutions

Women's access to homes gives them an advantage in outreach. As catalysts for grassroots organizations, women have been playing and can play a more active role. To maximise this, special training programmes in community development work and methods of organising women in groups are needed. As external agents of change, women can enter a community with reference to health, sanitation, education, income-generating activities or a combination of these. External change agents need to be viewed as professionals and not as voluntary workers. Thus they need training in new methods of community work.

Population

Theoretically speaking, women ought to be agents of population control but in reality they

are not. Women's acceptance of their role as actors in this area is linked closely with their status in society and the control they have over decisions regarding reproduction. Programmes to increase economic productivity through the enhancement of skills and education, adequate monetary returns, control over earnings, improved health facilities to curtail child mortality and awareness of the advantages of fewer children and spaced births alone can be effective in bringing about a change in the population growth rate.

Important factors to promote acceptance of family planning are late marriages and incentives for fewer children, e.g., free education for the first two children, free uniforms, school books, etc.

INTEGRATING WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

Programmes should involve women in their capacities as actors as well as clients for maximum impact, as given in Table 2.

1. In formal education, there is a need to mobilise teachers within a 5-kilometre radius of the school. There is also the need to have a cadre of trainers and extension workers for which special training institutions have to be set up. Existing institutions like the Pakistan Forest Institute can develop special courses for women and incorporate women in current courses. Short courses in women's studies centres for environmental extension workers must be initiated. Vocational training as part of female literacy programmes is yet another approach. Degree colleges in each district headquarters should be set up, teaching courses on WID and the environment tailored to the needs of the area.
2. With the visual media the emphasis should be on a realistic portrayal of women's participation and position in society. Authors, women and others sympathetic to women, could be mobilised and commissioned to do social plays, write-ups and programmes regarding

INTEGRATING WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

| SECTORS | AS ACTORS | AS CLIENTS |
|--------------------------------|---|--|
| Education | Women as teachers, trainers, extension workers. | Students, women trainers. |
| Communication | Women in the media as directors, producers, conceptualisers. | Special programmes on women and environment issues. |
| Research and Technology | Women researchers in research and women's rights organizations, and technical institutions. | Studying the impact of the depletion and pollution of renewable resources on women. Learning from women's experiences. |
| Administration and Legislation | Women administrators, policy makers, family courts judges, High Court judges, lawyers. | End of discriminatory laws. Progressive legislation on family and labour laws affecting women. Affirmative rules, no taxes on widows and single women. |
| Economic Instruments | Women agricultural, industrial and piece-rate workers, self-employed women, unpaid family help and in the service sector. | Recognition of work, minimum wages, benefits and incentives such as training in project planning and skills and credits. |
| Conservation Ethics | As mothers instilling environmental consciousness, respect for nature, and encouraging environmentally-friendly habits. | |
| Grassroots Institutions | Women social organisers have greater outreach, access to homes and can act as catalysts. | Women's groups around economic, health and education activities. |
| Population | Women as acceptable population control agents. | Right to control life, make decisions, to space births. |

Source: Based on a matrix developed by Syed Ayub Qutub, NCS Coordinator, NCS Secretariat, Islamabad.

women. Documentaries should be made highlighting women's potential in development and environmental efforts. NGOs involved in producing communications material (videos, posters, pamphlets) could be tapped to produce special material. Another way is encouraging and using theatre and puppets for communicating ideas. Training women as conceptualisers, producers, and allotting more time on television and radio for women's programmes is also essential.

3. Women researchers should be commissioned to fill gaps in information regarding women and the environment. Publications based on research should be made available to policy-makers; simplified publications and well-illustrated manuals in local languages for women can help disseminate information. Research must be directed towards designing implements and devices to reduce women's daily drudgery and burdens — e.g., for water purification, waste disposal, preservation and storage of food, making dairy products, etc.
4. Conscious induction of women in areas/professions not traditionally pursued by women, e.g., district management positions and promotions to higher grades as a matter of policy. Appointment of women as chairpersons to family courts and as High Court judges. Legal aid centres for women in each Union Council office and paralegal training facilities.
5. Economic instruments, discussed in detail earlier. Government departments activated to support formation of co-operatives, Women's Division to push legislation, existing NGOs to recommend nature of support for women in project areas.
6. Consciousness raising for conservation ethic by Women's Division through the introduction of an environmental impact component in all women in development programmes. Campaign to address all NGOs to include environment as integral to projects. Workshops for NGOs to focus on issues of conservation for the integration of environmental issues in projects in different sectors.

7. Enabling grassroots institutions: Interventions through health, education and income-generation activities in communities towards group formation, co-operatives and associations. Government institutions like the Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan, the co-operatives bank will need to address themselves to giving credit to grassroots organizations on easy terms. More established NGOs can play a critical role towards organising women at the level of the community/neighbourhood. Grants and availability of funds to NGOs for internal organization and functioning costs and for marketing projects.
8. Demographic: The most critical and problematic of areas since success here depends on overcoming strong cultural constraints. This, therefore, needs to be addressed along with other development activities i.e. income-generation, health education, adult literacy. Very crucial is the need to involve males in population control. In a society where women are not the decision makers, to ask them to take a major decision like the number of children in a family is not facing reality. Population control programmes need to focus on men simultaneously, if not primarily.

7. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The foregoing report and the recommendations suggested review the issues of women, development, and the environment in the context of Pakistan. It analyses the structural constraints on women's participation in development and environmental activities, identifies trends and the potential of women's participation.

Recognising that both objective conditions and trends point towards a greater involvement of women in development, some recommendations are made. The underlying emphasis is on:

1. Empowering women to unleash their potential.
2. Ensuring women's maximum involvement in programmes through a participatory approach where women are not treated as objects but as subjects and primary actors.

3. Areas of proposed action cover the fields of formal education, communications, research and technology, administration and legislation, economic instruments, conservation ethics, grassroots institutions and demography.

Recommendations are in the nature of broad guidelines. It is felt that actual programmes cannot be detailed without going into selected areas, identifying the needs of the area, the status of women and the environment and then making specific formulations. The contention is

that blueprints cannot, and should not, be made without the involvement of the subjects/actors. Therefore only sectors/areas where interventions are needed and the kinds of obstacles that have to be removed are identified should be approached. That programmes can be designed goes without saying; but to be successful — like the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme and the Orangi Pilot Project — is to operate with concepts that develop and take direction from on the ground.

WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE



TABLE

1

WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE WORKING FOR OTHER HOUSEHOLDS/AGENCIES

| | | AGRICULTURAL | NON-AGRICULTURAL |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|------------------|
| | | (per cent) | |
| Sindh | Agricultural household | 23.5 | 8 |
| | Livestock holders | 23 | 8 |
| | Farm households | 25 | 9 |
| | Farm households below 7.5 acres | 25.2 | 8.7 |
| NWFP | Agricultural household | 7.6 | 5.6 |
| | Livestock holders | 5.3 | 5.7 |
| | Farm households | 14 | 5.6 |
| | Farm households below 7.5 acres | 14 | 5.6 |
| Punjab | Agricultural household | 15.4 | 11 |
| | Livestock holders | 14 | 11.3 |
| | Farm households | 21 | 10.4 |
| | Farm households below 7.5 acres | 19.5 | 9.7 |
| Balochistan | Agricultural household | 20 | 11 |
| | Livestock holders | 20 | 11 |
| | Farm households | 20 | 11 |
| | Farm households below 7.5 acres | 20 | 11 |
| Pakistan | Agricultural household | 16 | 12 |
| | Livestock holders | 14.6 | 10.5 |
| | Farm households | 21 | 8.7 |
| | Farm households below 7.5 acres | 20 | 9.4 |

Source: Computed from Agricultural Census of Pakistan, 1980. In *Agricultural Policy and Rural Poverty in Pakistan: Report of the Special Programming Mission to Pakistan, January 1984*. Rome: IFAD.

FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUP, 1985

| INDUSTRY/ OCCUPATIONAL GROUP | GROUP AS % OF LABOUR FORCE | WOMEN AS % OF GROUP |
|---|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Industry | 100.0 | 10.97 |
| Agriculture, Forestry, Hunting & Fishing | 12.5 | 12.70 |
| Mining & Quarrying | — | — |
| Manufacturing | 36.9 | 8.77 |
| Electricity, Gas & Water | — | — |
| Construction | 0.5 | 0.57 |
| Wholesale & Retail Trade, Restaurants & Hotels | 5.1 | 1.33 |
| Transport, Storage & Communications | — | — |
| Financing, Insurance, Real Estate & Business Services | 1.1 | 3.17 |
| Community, Personal & Social Services | 43.8 | 13.70 |
| Activities not adequately defined | — | — |
| Occupational Group | | |
| Professional & Technical | 25.6 | 22.17 |
| Administration & Management | 1.1 | 3.33 |
| Clerical | 3.4 | 2.46 |
| Sales workers | 5.1 | 1.40 |
| Service workers | 13.1 | 11.79 |
| Agriculture, Forestry & Fishing | 12.5 | 12.57 |
| Production Workers & Labourers | 39.2 | 5.78 |

Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics, Statistics Division, N.d. *Labour Force Survey, 1985-86*. Karachi: Government of Pakistan.

FEMALE LABOUR FORCE IN MAJOR INDUSTRIES AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, 1961-81

| | 1961 | | 1973 | | 1981 | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|------------|----------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % |
| | (thousands) | | | | | |
| Industry | 1,117 | 100 | 837 | 100 | 764 | 100 |
| Agriculture | 796 | 71.26 | 545 | 65.07 | 299 | 39.19 |
| Mining | 1 | 0.09 | 33 | 3.97 | 2 | 0.26 |
| Manufacturing | 137 | 12.27 | 46 | 5.45 | 117 | 15.33 |
| Utilities* | — | — | 1 | 0.12 | 2 | 0.26 |
| Construction | 4 | 0.36 | 14 | 1.67 | 19 | 2.49 |
| Trade | 11 | 0.99 | 25 | 2.99 | 47 | 6.16 |
| Transport | 3 | 0.27 | 5 | 0.60 | 13 | 1.70 |
| Finance | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.12 | 4 | 0.52 |
| Services | 165 | 14.77 | 151 | 18.07 | 227 | 29.75 |
| Inadequately defined* | — | — | 16 | 1.71 | 34 | 4.46 |
| Occupational Group | 1,122,008 | 100 | 837,413 | 100 | 762,691 | 100 |
| Professional & Technical | 31,674 | 2.82 | 80,594 | 9.62 | 127,442 | 16.71 |
| Administration & Management | 513 | 0.05 | 4,091 | 0.49 | 5,812 | 0.76 |
| Clerical | 4,106 | 0.37 | 9,278 | 1.12 | 20,870 | 2.74 |
| Sales | 10,276 | 0.92 | 19,410 | 2.32 | 36,000 | 4.72 |
| Service workers | 122,454 | 10.91 | 73,855 | 8.82 | 63,968 | 8.39 |
| Agriculture & Animal Husbandry | 794,987 | 70.86 | 535,859 | 63.99 | 289,972 | 38.02 |
| Production, Transport & Equipment | 157,998 | 14.08 | 72,529 | 8.66 | 199,435 | 26.15 |
| Inadequately classified* | — | — | 41,797 | 4.99 | 19,192 | 2.42 |

Sources: Manpower and Overseas Pakistanis Division. 1984. *Basic Manpower and Related Statistics*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan; Home Affairs Division. 1964. *Census of Pakistan 1961*. Karachi: Government of Pakistan; Population Census Organization. 1981. *Population Census of Pakistan*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan; Census Organisation. N.d. Housing, Economic and Demographic Survey 1973. Islamabad: Census Organisation.

*These categories were not included in the 1961 Census.

WOMEN IN SELECTED PROFESSIONAL SERVICES, VARIOUS YEARS

| PROFESSIONS | | NUMBER | PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL |
|-----------------------------------|--------|--------|---------------------|
| Teachers | (1986) | | |
| Primary School | | | 31.1 |
| Middle School | | | 32.1 |
| High School | | | 30.4 |
| Inter-College | | | 30.4 |
| University | | | 10.0 |
| Doctors | (1987) | 8,574 | |
| Dentists | (1987) | 277 | |
| Nurses | (1983) | 5,530 | |
| Research and Development | (1984) | | 2.4 |
| Engineers | (1987) | 95 | |
| Lawyers | (1988) | 415 | |
| Airport Security Force | (1988) | 269 | 5.7 |
| Pakistan Television Corporation | | 175 | 3.5 |
| Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation | (1988) | 58 | 1.5 |
| Pakistan International Airlines | (1986) | 1,376 | 7.1 |
| Telephone Operators | (1988) | 1,145 | 15.5 |
| Banking | (1987) | 2,701 | 3.1 |
| Police Force | (1988) | 943 | |
| Custom and Excise | (1987) | 172 | 1.4 |
| Central Government | (1986) | 9,152 | 4.9 |

Source: National Manpower Commission. 1989. *Report of the National Manpower Commission*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.

DISTRIBUTION OF CIVILIAN LABOUR FORCE BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS, SEX, AREA AND PROVINCE

| | PAKISTAN | | PUNJAB | | SINDH | | NWFP | | BALOCHISTAN | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|------------|-------------|--------|-------------|-------|-------------|-------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | Total | Rural Urban | Total | Rural Urban | Total | Rural Urban | Total | Rural Urban | Total | Rural Urban | | | | | |
| | (per cent) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total Employed | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | | |
| Employer | 1.82 | 1.51 | 2.66 | 1.52 | 1.21 | 2.53 | 3.14 | 3.05 | 3.26 | 0.84 | 0.85 | 0.79 | 2.27 | 2.20 | 2.71 |
| Self-employed | 47.91 | 50.97 | 39.44 | 50.59 | 52.50 | 44.35 | 42.92 | 51.14 | 32.29 | 43.37 | 44.52 | 37.41 | 46.90 | 47.90 | 40.56 |
| Unpaid family helper | 24.77 | 29.76 | 10.98 | 25.97 | 30.14 | 12.35 | 21.23 | 30.94 | 8.64 | 26.05 | 28.71 | 12.16 | 21.40 | 23.04 | 11.02 |
| Employee | 25.5 | 17.76 | 46.89 | 21.92 | 16.15 | 40.77 | 32.71 | 14.87 | 55.82 | 29.94 | 25.91 | 49.64 | 29.44 | 26.86 | 45.71 |
| Male | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Employer | 2.03 | 1.72 | 2.84 | 1.74 | 1.41 | 2.72 | 3.34 | 3.27 | 3.44 | 0.88 | 0.89 | 0.83 | 2.41 | 2.35 | 2.76 |
| Self-employed | 51.37 | 55.70 | 40.34 | 54.58 | 57.69 | 45.36 | 45.27 | 54.98 | 33.08 | 47.47 | 49.32 | 38.50 | 49.53 | 50.85 | 41.29 |
| Unpaid family helper | 19.70 | 23.35 | 10.42 | 20.26 | 23.25 | 11.4 | 18.17 | 25.89 | 8.48 | 20.43 | 22.02 | 12.74 | 17.86 | 19.14 | 9.90 |
| Employee | 26.90 | 19.23 | 46.41 | 23.42 | 17.65 | 40.52 | 33.22 | 15.86 | 55.00 | 31.22 | 27.76 | 47.93 | 30.21 | 27.67 | 46.05 |
| Female | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Employer | 0.20 | 0.22 | 0.09 | 0.12 | 0.13 | 0.09 | 0.38 | 0.56 | 0 | 0.52 | 0.56 | 0 | 0.20 | 0 | 1.79 |
| Self-employed | 21.67 | 20.89 | 26.36 | 25.74 | 24.98 | 31.24 | 11.51 | 8.33 | 17.98 | 8.91 | 8.31 | 16.42 | 6.99 | 4.49 | 26.79 |
| Unpaid family helper | 63.21 | 70.52 | 19.45 | 61.56 | 66.66 | 24.63 | 62.25 | 87.23 | 11.42 | 73.33 | 79.19 | 1.00 | 75.05 | 80.45 | 32.14 |
| Employee | 14.92 | 8.37 | 54.11 | 12.58 | 8.23 | 44.05 | 25.87 | 3.88 | 70.60 | 17.23 | 11.94 | 82.59 | 17.76 | 15.06 | 39.29 |

Source: Labour Force Survey, 1987-88.

LABOUR FORCE BY AREA, AGE AND SEX, 1983 AND 1987

| AGE GROUP | 1983-84 | | | | | | 1987-88 | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | Rural | | | Urban | | | Rural | | | Urban | | |
| | M/F | M | F | M/F | M | F | M/F | M | F | M/F | M | F |
| (years) | (million) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10-14 | 2.12 | 1.74 | 0.38 | 0.40 | 0.37 | 0.03 | 2.32 | 1.91 | 0.41 | 0.49 | 0.45 | 0.04 |
| 15-19 | 2.55 | 2.16 | 0.39 | 0.85 | 0.79 | 0.06 | 2.81 | 2.38 | 0.43 | 1.05 | 0.98 | 0.07 |
| 20-24 | 2.36 | 2.00 | 0.36 | 1.02 | 0.95 | 0.07 | 2.60 | 2.20 | 0.40 | 1.26 | 1.17 | 0.09 |
| 25-44 | 7.95 | 6.75 | 1.20 | 2.95 | 2.76 | 0.19 | 8.74 | 7.42 | 1.32 | 3.64 | 3.41 | 0.21 |
| 45-54 | 2.88 | 2.55 | 0.33 | 1.07 | 1.01 | 0.06 | 3.16 | 2.80 | 0.36 | 1.32 | 1.25 | 0.07 |
| 55-59 | 0.80 | 0.70 | 0.10 | 0.31 | 0.29 | 0.02 | 0.89 | 0.77 | 0.12 | 0.39 | 0.36 | 0.03 |
| 60-64 | 0.94 | 0.88 | 0.06 | 0.25 | 0.24 | 0.01 | 1.08 | 0.96 | 0.07 | 0.31 | 0.30 | 0.01 |
| 65 & above | 0.96 | 0.89 | 0.07 | 0.23 | 0.22 | 0.01 | 1.05 | 0.98 | 0.07 | 0.29 | 0.27 | 0.02 |
| Total | 20.56 | 17.67 | 2.89 | 7.08 | 6.63 | 0.45 | 22.60 | 19.12 | 3.18 | 8.75 | 8.19 | 0.54 |

Source: *Basic Manpower and Related Statistics*, 1984.

Note: Figures calculated on the basis of percentage distribution of Labour Force Survey 1978-79.

M/F: Male and female.

M: Male.

F: Female.

EMPLOYED PERSONS (OVER 10 YEARS) BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND SEX, 1981

| LEVEL OF EDUCATION | BOTH SEXES | | MALE | | FEMALE | |
|-------------------------|------------------|------------|------------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % |
| Below matric | 3,688,408 | 63.7 | 3,634,627 | 64.8 | 53,181 | 29.6 |
| Matric but below degree | 1,661,122 | 28.7 | 1,576,783 | 28.1 | 84,339 | 46.4 |
| Degree and above | 443,877 | 7.7 | 390,504 | 6.9 | 43,373 | 23.9 |
| Others | 4,909 | 0.09 | 4,570 | 0.08 | 339 | 0.2 |
| Total* | 5,798,316 | 100 | 5,606,484 | 100 | 181,232 | 100 |

Source: *Basic Manpower and Related Statistics*, 1984.

* Percentages have been rounded off.

EDUCATION

**TABLE 1****LITERACY RATIO BY AGE AND SEX, 1981**

| AGE GROUP | BOTH SEXES | MALE | FEMALE |
|--------------|------------|------|--------|
| | (per cent) | | |
| 10 and above | 23.3 | 31.8 | 13.7 |
| 10-14 | 22.2 | 26.8 | 16.7 |
| 15-19 | 34.1 | 42.5 | 24.4 |
| 20-24 | 32.1 | 43.0 | 20.2 |
| 25-29 | 27.5 | 38.9 | 15.4 |
| 30-34 | 24.0 | 35.7 | 11.8 |
| 35-39 | 22.4 | 34.0 | 10.2 |
| 40-44 | 19.2 | 29.8 | 7.7 |
| 45-49 | 17.6 | 27.5 | 6.6 |
| 50-54 | 13.8 | 21.0 | 4.9 |
| 55-59 | 14.6 | 23.8 | 4.1 |
| 60 and above | 9.5 | 14.8 | 2.3 |

Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics. *10 Years of Pakistan in Statistics, 1972-1982*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.

TABLE 2**DROP-OUT BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND GENDER**

| YEAR | PRIMARY | | MIDDLE | | SECONDARY | |
|---------|------------|-------|--------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls |
| | (per cent) | | | | | |
| 1975-76 | — | — | — | — | 14 | 14 |
| 1976-77 | — | — | 22 | 22 | 16 | 10 |
| 1977-78 | 55 | 58 | 25 | 22 | 21 | 127 |
| 1978-9 | 56 | 61 | 29 | 25 | 25 | 16 |
| 1979-80 | 57 | 63 | 25 | 25 | 19 | 14 |
| 1980-81 | 58 | 62 | 30 | 28 | 11 | 11 |
| 1981-82 | 54 | 61 | 32 | 33 | 9 | 13 |
| 1982-83 | 53 | 62 | 32 | 35 | 7 | 15 |

Source: Calculated from data obtained from the Ministry of Education, December 1984.

DROP-OUT NUMBERS IN CLASSES I TO X

| | CLASS I 1973-74 | CLASS II 1974-75 | CLASS III 1975-76 | CLASS IV 1976-77 | CLASS V 1977-78 | DROP-OUT TOTAL FROM 1973-78 |
|---------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------|
| PRIMARY SCHOOL | | | | | | |
| Enrollment | | | | | | |
| Total | 1,566,541 | 1,089,008 | 946,805 | 909,357 | 846,790 | |
| Boys | 1,080,802 | 788,230 | 676,718 | 666,521 | 641,835 | |
| Girls | 485,739 | 300,778 | 270,087 | 242,836 | 204,955 | |
| Drop-out | | | | | | |
| Total | — | 477,533 | 142,203 | 37,448 | 62,567 | 719,751 |
| Boys | — | 292,572 | 111,512 | 10,197 | 24,686 | 438,967 |
| Girls | — | 184,961 | 30,691 | 37,251 | 37,881 | 280,784 |
| MIDDLE/HIGH SCHOOL | | | | | | |
| Enrollment | | | | | | |
| Total | 435,466 | 392,904 | 350,316 | 276,942 | 238,052 | |
| Boys | 337,425 | 302,478 | 268,060 | 214,405 | 184,319 | |
| Girls | 98,041 | 90,426 | 82,256 | 62,537 | 53,733 | |
| Drop-out | | | | | | |
| Total | — | 42,562 | 42,588 | 73,374 | 38,890 | 197,414 |
| Boys | — | 34,947 | 34,418 | 53,655 | 30,086 | 153,106 |
| Girls | — | 7,615 | 8,170 | 19,719 | 8,804 | 44,308 |

Source: Bureau of Educational Planning and Management (BEPM). N.d. *Pakistan Education Statistics 1947-79*. Islamabad: Ministry of Education.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS BY PROVINCE, LEVEL AND RURAL/URBAN AREAS, JUNE 1983

| PROVINCE | PRIMARY SCHOOLS | | | MIDDLE SCHOOLS | | | SECONDARY SCHOOLS | | | INTER COLLEGES | | | DEGREE COLLEGES | |
|--------------------|-----------------|--------|----|----------------|-------|----|-------------------|-------|----|----------------|-----|----|-----------------|-----|
| | F | T | %F | F | T | %F | F | T | %F | F | T | %F | F | T |
| PUNJAB | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 15,414 | 42,856 | 36 | 1,218 | 3,565 | 34 | 677 | 2,112 | 32 | 45 | 104 | 43 | 34 | 118 |
| Urban | 1,680 | 3,588 | 47 | 285 | 550 | 51 | 457 | 1,074 | 43 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Rural | 13,734 | 38,998 | 35 | 933 | 3,015 | 31 | 220 | 1,038 | 21 | — | — | — | — | — |
| SINDH | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 2,700 | 16,501 | 16 | 197 | 885 | 22 | 253 | 825 | 30 | 11 | 44 | 25 | 31 | 110 |
| Urban | 866 | 2,975 | 29 | 145 | 422 | 35 | 253 | 711 | 36 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Rural | 1,834 | 13,526 | 14 | 52 | 433 | 12 | — | 114 | 0 | — | — | — | — | — |
| NWFP | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 2,151 | 7,564 | 28 | 132 | 665 | 20 | 118 | 638 | 19 | 5 | 22 | 23 | 6 | 27 |
| Urban | 185 | 535 | 36 | 42 | 102 | 41 | 55 | 160 | 34 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Rural | 1,966 | 7,029 | 28 | 90 | 563 | 16 | 64 | 478 | 13 | — | — | — | — | — |
| BALOCHISTAN | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 449 | 3,218 | 14 | 43 | 354 | 12 | 44 | 174 | 25 | 3 | 17 | 18 | 1 | 11 |
| Urban | 92 | 271 | 34 | 19 | 44 | 43 | 38 | 120 | 32 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Rural | 351 | 2,947 | 12 | 24 | 310 | 8 | 6 | 54 | 11 | — | — | — | — | — |
| FATA | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 253 | 1,958 | 13 | 32 | 282 | 11 | 32 | 183 | 18 | 4 | 16 | 25 | 1 | 6 |
| Urban | — | 70 | 0 | 4 | 10 | 40 | 16 | 38 | 42 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Rural | 62 | 1,888 | 3 | 28 | 272 | 10 | 16 | 145 | 11 | — | — | — | — | — |
| AJ & K | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 875 | 1,955 | 45 | 300 | 681 | 44 | 75 | 289 | 26 | 12 | 33 | 36 | 2 | 6 |
| Urban | 80 | 220 | 36 | 20 | 70 | 29 | 15 | 45 | 33 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Rural | 795 | 1,735 | 46 | 280 | 611 | 46 | 60 | 244 | 25 | — | — | — | — | — |
| PAKISTAN | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 21,842 | 73,782 | 30 | 1,922 | 6,402 | 30 | 1,200 | 4,221 | 28 | 80 | 236 | 34 | 75 | 278 |
| Urban | 2,918 | 7,659 | 38 | 515 | 1,198 | 43 | 834 | 2,148 | 39 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Rural | 18,924 | 66,123 | 29 | 1,407 | 5,204 | 27 | 366 | 2,073 | 18 | — | — | — | — | — |

Source: Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women. 1985. *Report of the Pakistan Commission on Status of Women*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.

F: Female.

T: Total.

PROVINCE-WISE ENROLLMENT BY LEVEL, SEX AND AREA, 1983

| | PRIMARY SCHOOLS | | | MIDDLE SCHOOLS | | | SECONDARY SCHOOLS | | | INTER COLLEGES | | | DEGREE COLLEGES | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|-------|-------|----------------|-------|-------|-------------------|-------|-------|----------------|------|-------|-----------------|-------|-------|
| | F | T | %F | F | T | %F | F | T | %F | F | T | %F | F | T | %F |
| (thousands) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PUNJAB | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 1,361 | 3,650 | 37.29 | 266 | 1,004 | 26.49 | 100 | 400 | 25.00 | 6.7 | 19 | 35.20 | 44.7 | 134.3 | 33.28 |
| Urban | 665 | 1,340 | 49.63 | 216 | 576 | 37.50 | 91 | 298 | 30.54 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Rural | 696 | 2,310 | 30.13 | 50 | 428 | 11.68 | 9 | 102 | 8.82 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| SINDH | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 995 | 1,681 | 29.44 | 142 | 427 | 33.51 | 60.5 | 180.3 | 33.55 | 6.2 | 16.6 | 37.33 | 41 | 120 | 37.28 |
| Urban | 385 | 965 | 39.90 | 138 | 332 | 41.57 | 66 | 158 | 37.97 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Rural | 110 | 716 | 15.36 | 4 | 95 | 4.21 | 0.3 | 22.3 | 1.35 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| NWFP | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 152 | 824 | 18.68 | 22 | 164 | 13.41 | 10 | 68 | 1.35 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Urban | 57 | 170 | 33.53 | 17 | 61 | 27.87 | 9 | 31 | 29.03 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Rural | 96 | 654 | 14.68 | 5 | 3 | 4.85 | 1 | 37 | 2.70 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| BALOCHISTAN | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 38 | 190 | 20.00 | 6 | 30 | 20.00 | 2 | 11 | 18.18 | 1.2 | 4.9 | 24.49 | 12.7 | 33.2 | 23.86 |
| Urban | 13 | 43 | 30.23 | 4 | 15 | 26.27 | 1.5 | 6.5 | 23.08 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Rural | 25 | 147 | 17.01 | 2 | 15 | 13.33 | 0.5 | 4.5 | 11.11 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| FATA | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 30 | 188 | 15.95 | 12.2 | 43 | 28.37 | 26 | 14 | 18.57 | 1.0 | 5.1 | 19.60 | 5.1 | 12.6 | 40.47 |
| Urban | 12.5 | 29 | 43.10 | 6.5 | 14.5 | 44.83 | 2.1 | 5.1 | 41.18 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Rural | 17.5 | 15 | 11.01 | 5.7 | 28.5 | 20.00 | 0.5 | 8.9 | 5.62 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| AJ & K | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 70 | 221 | 31.62 | 15 | 55 | 27.27 | 3 | 15 | 20.00 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Urban | 14 | 32 | 43.75 | 10 | 22 | 45.45 | 2 | 7 | 28.57 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Rural | 56 | 189 | 29.60 | 5 | 33 | 15.15 | 1 | 8 | 12.50 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| PAKISTAN | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 2,146 | 6,754 | 31.77 | 46 | 1,723 | 26.80 | 177 | 668 | 26.49 | 17.3 | 61.7 | 28.04 | 164.4 | 325.9 | 32.02 |
| Urban | 1,146 | 2,579 | 44.43 | 391 | 1,020 | 38.33 | 165 | 505 | 32.67 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Rural | 1,100 | 4,175 | 23.95 | 72 | 763 | 16.24 | 12 | 183 | 6.56 | — | — | — | — | — | — |

Source: Report of the Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women, 1985.

F: Female.

T: Total.

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