

WOMEN IN PAKISTAN

A COUNTRY PROFILE



UNITED NATIONS

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

STATISTICAL PROFILES

No. 8

WOMEN IN PAKISTAN

A COUNTRY PROFILE



UNITED NATIONS
New York, 1997

ST/ESCAP/1694

UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATION

Sales No. E.97.II.F.19

ISBN 92-1-119756-2

The views expressed in this profile are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the United Nations. The designations employed and the presentation of the material in this publication do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the Secretariat of the United Nations concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area, or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries. Mention of firm names and commercial products does not imply the endorsement of the United Nations.

This profile has been issued without formal editing.

The profile has been prepared under the project BK-X20-3-214 Improving Statistics on Women in the ESCAP Region.

FOREWORD

The call for the development of statistics and indicators on the situation of women has for some time been voiced in various global and regional forums. It was first recommended by the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year, adopted in 1975. The recommendations of the World Plan of Action were reaffirmed and elaborated in the Programme of Action for the Second Half of the United Nations Decade for Women. The Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific on various occasions, stressing the importance of social and human development, has recognized the need for improved statistics and indicators on women. It has noted that better indicators were required to monitor the situation of women and to assess the effectiveness of strategies and programmes designed to address priority gender issues.

The secretariat initiated the project on improving statistics on women in the ESCAP region in 1994. The project aims to support Governments in their efforts to promote the full integration of women in development and improve their status in line with the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women. The project has been implemented by the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) through its subprogramme on statistics, with funding assistance from the Government of the Netherlands.

As a major component of its activities the project commissioned experts from 19 countries in the region to prepare country profiles on the situation of women and men in the family, at work, and in public life by analysing available statistical data and information. The profiles are intended to highlight the areas where action is needed, and to raise the consciousness of the readers about issues concerning women and men. The 19 countries are Bangladesh, China, India, Indonesia, Islamic Republic of Iran, Japan, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Sri Lanka, and Thailand in Asia; and Cook Islands, Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, and Vanuatu in the Pacific.

The secretariat hosted two meetings each in Asia and in the Pacific as part of the project activities. In the first meeting, the experts discussed and agreed on the structure, format, and contents of the country profiles based on guidelines prepared by the secretariat through Ms C.N. Ericta, consultant. The second meeting was a workshop to review the draft profiles. Participants in the workshop included the country experts and invited representatives from national statistical offices of Brunei Darussalam, Hong Kong, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, and Viet Nam in Asia; Marshall Islands, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu in the Pacific; and United Nations organizations, specialized agencies, and international organizations.

The original draft of the present profile, *Women in Pakistan* was prepared by Ms Naushin Mahmood, Senior Research Demographer of Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad. It was technically edited and modified by the ESCAP secretariat with the assistance of Mr S. Selvaratnam, consultant. The profiles express the views of the authors and not necessarily those of the secretariat.

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to the Government of the Netherlands for its generous financial support, which enabled the secretariat to implement the project.



Adrianus Mooy
Executive Secretary

Blank page



Page blanche

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Foreword	iii
List of text tables	vi
List of figures	ix
List of statistical tables	ix
PART I: DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS	1
Introduction	3
A. Highlights	5
B. The setting	7
C. Women's profile	15
D. Women in family life	26
E. Women in economic life	42
F. Women in public life	53
PART II: ANNEX STATISTICAL TABLES	59
References	71

LIST OF TEXT TABLES

	<i>Page</i>
1. Enumerated and estimated population, average annual growth rate and density per square kilometre: 1901 to 1993	8
2. Population distribution and density per square kilometre: 1981 and 1991	9
3. Percentage of population residing in urban areas by province: 1951 to 1981	9
4. Urban-rural distribution of population, intercensal change and average annual growth rate of urban and rural population: 1951 to 1981	10
5. Employment by sector: 1988-1989 and 1993-1994	11
6. Sectoral growth rates and shares in GDP (at constant factor cost): 1985-1986, 1991-1992 and 1993-1994	11
7. Total expenditure on health and education in Pakistan (at current price): 1991-1992 and 1993-1994	12
8. Percentage distribution of households and average number of persons per housing unit by number of room, Pakistan: 1960 and 1980	14
9. Number of educational institutions, teachers and students by level: 1993-1994	14
10. Numerical and percentage distribution of population by sex and sex ratio, census years: 1901 to 1981	15
11. Sex ratio (males per 100 females) by province and urban/rural residence, census years: 1961, 1972 and 1981	16
12. Sex ratio (males per 100 females) by age group and urban/rural residence: 1981	16
13. Percentage distribution of population by broad age group and sex, urban/rural area: 1981	17
14. Estimates of crude birth rates and total fertility rates obtained from major surveys: 1962 to 1991	18
15. Age-specific and cumulative fertility rates and crude birth rate (for the six years preceding the survey) by urban/rural residence and province, Pakistan: 1990-1991	19
16. Crude death rates in Pakistan and in urban and rural areas, estimated from various surveys: 1968-1971 to 1984-1986	19
17. Infant mortality rates for Pakistan, urban and rural areas: 1981 to 1991	20
18. Sex differentials in infant mortality, neonatal mortality and post-neonatal mortality rates, Pakistan: 1961 to 1991	20
19. Age-specific mortality rates by age and sex, Pakistan: 1962 to 1979	21
20. Life expectancy at birth (years) by sex: 1950-1955 to 1990-1995	21
21. Student enrolments by educational level and sex: 1980-1981 to 1993-1994	22

LIST OF TEXT TABLES *(Continued)*

	<i>Page</i>
22. Enrolment rates at primary, middle and secondary levels of education by sex: 1992-1993 and 1993-1994	22
23. Number of teachers by educational level and sex: 1983-1984 to 1992-1993	24
24. Student enrolments in tertiary educational institutions by type and sex: 1980-1981 to 1993-1994	24
25. Population aged 10 years and over by level of educational attainment and sex: 1981	25
26. Literacy rates of population aged 10 years and over by age group, sex and urban/rural residence: 1961, 1972 and 1981	26
27. Number of housing units and average number of persons per housing unit by province and urban/rural area: 1960 and 1980	28
28. Household size by urban/rural residence: 1990-1991	28
29. Household size by type of household: 1990	28
30. Percentage distribution of population by number of rooms per housing unit, urban/rural area: 1960 and 1980	28
31. Percentage distribution of household heads by marital status and sex: 1990-1991	29
32. Percentage of never-married persons aged 15 years and over by age group and sex: 1961, 1981 and 1990-1991	30
33. Mean age at marriage by sex: 1951 to 1991	31
34. Singulate mean age at marriage by area: 1989 to 1991	32
35. Females per 100 males in marriageable age groups: 1972 and 1981	32
36. Mean number of children ever born per currently married women and per women: 1975-1988 to 1990-1991	33
37. Age-specific fertility rates: 1975 to 1990-1991	33
38. Percentage of currently married women who have knowledge of and currently using specific contraceptive method: 1984-1985, 1990-1991 and 1994-1995	34
39. Percentage of married women of reproductive age currently using any contraceptive methods around the year 1990 in selected developing Asian countries	35
40. Total fertility rate and percentage of married women currently using any contraceptive method: 1990-1991	36
41. Percentage of "high risk" births by residence: 1985	37
42. Average intake of iron by biological group: 1988	38
43. Percentage of children (under 5 years) classified as undernourished according to three anthropometric indices of nutritional status and by selected demographic characteristic: 1990-1991	40

LIST OF TEXT TABLES *(Continued)*

	<i>Page</i>
44. Percentage of widowed and divorced persons aged 15 years and over by age group and sex: 1972 and 1981 censuses	41
45. Numerical and percentage distribution of the labour force by sex: 1961, 1973, 1981 and 1991-1992	45
46. Labour force participation rates of the population aged 10 years and over by sex and urban/rural residence: 1961 to 1992-1993	45
47. Percentage distribution by labour force status and sex: 1961 to 1991-1992	47
48. Age-specific unemployment rates by residence and sex: 1991-1992	48
49. Percentage distribution of employed persons aged 10 years and over by major industrial sector, sex and residence: 1991-1992	48
50. Percentage distribution of employed persons aged 10 years and over by major occupational group, sex and residence: 1991-1992	50
51. Percentage distribution of employed persons aged 10 years and over by major occupational group, sex and province: 1991-1992	50
52. Percentage share of women in various occupational categories: 1984-1985, 1986-1987 and 1990-1991	51
53. Percentage distribution of employed persons aged 10 years and over by employment status, sex and residence: 1991-1992	51
54. Percentage distribution of employed persons aged 10 years and over by employment status, sex and province: 1991-1992	52
55. Percentage distribution of employed persons aged 10 years and over by level of education, sex and residence: 1991-1992	53
56. Percentage distribution of employed persons aged 10 years and over by number of hours worked during the reference week, employment status and sex: 1991-1992	53
57. Number of reserved seats for women in assemblies and local councils: 1988	54
58. Registered voters by province/area and sex: 1988 and 1993	54
59. Distribution of National Assembly and Senate members by sex: 1985 to 1994	55
60. Percentage share of women in total general elected seats in national and provincial assemblies: 1970 to 1993	55
61. Distribution of federal civil service employees by grade and sex: 1989	56
62. Employment in autonomous/semi-autonomous corporations/bodies under the Federal Government by sex: 1989	57
63. Distribution of advocates registered with provincial bar councils by sex: 1985-1992	58

LIST OF FIGURES

	<i>Page</i>
1. Population of Pakistan: 1901 to 1981	8
2. Population size by urban/rural area: 1951 to 1991	9
3. Population growth rate, Pakistan and urban area: 1951-1961 to 1981-1991	9
4. Sectoral share of gross domestic products (GDP), Pakistan: 1970 and 1991	11
5. Primary school enrolment rates by sex: 1951 to 1991	22
6. Literacy rates by province and sex: 1981	26
7. Percentage of contraceptive users in Pakistan by method: 1994-1995	35
8. Unmet need for family planning in Pakistan: 1990-1991	36
9. Labour force participation rates by age group and sex: 1990-1991	47

LIST OF STATISTICAL TABLES

	<i>Page</i>
B. THE SETTING	
B.1 Health facilities and personnel: 1971 to 1993	61
C. WOMEN'S PROFILE	
C.1 Population by age, sex and urban/rural areas including Federally Administered Tribal Areas: 1981 census	61
C.2 Marital status of population (15 years and over) by sex and age, Pakistan: 1981	62
C.3 Percentage distribution of population (15 years and over) in Pakistan and provinces by marital status and urban/rural area: 1961, 1972 and 1981	63
C.4 Percentage distribution of male population (15 years and over) in Pakistan and provinces by marital status and urban/rural area: 1961, 1972 and 1981	63
C.5 Percentage distribution of female population (15 years and over) in Pakistan and provinces by marital status and urban/rural area: 1961, 1972 and 1981	64
C.6 Enrolment ratios at primary (I-V) and secondary (VI-X) levels in Pakistan and provinces by sex and urban/rural area: 1975-1976, 1979-1980 and 1984-1985	64
C.7 Mean years of schooling in ESCAP countries: 1980 and 1990	65
C.8 Literacy rates (10 years and above) in Pakistan and provinces by sex and urban/rural area: 1961, 1972, 1981 and 1994	66

LIST OF STATISTICAL TABLES *(Continued)*

	<i>Page</i>
D. WOMEN IN FAMILY LIFE	
D.1 Age-specific fertility rates, total fertility rates and gross reproduction rates by urban/rural area: 1984-1985 and 1990-1991	66
D.2 Percentage distribution of births (for five years preceding the survey) by type of assistance during delivery and selected background characteristic, Pakistan: 1990-1991	67
D.3 Percentage of children (12-23 months of age) who had received specific vaccines by selected background characteristic, Pakistan: 1990-1991	67
E. WOMEN IN ECONOMIC LIFE	
E.1 Labour force participation rates by age and sex, Pakistan: 1961 to 1991	68
E.2 Percentage distribution of female industrial labour force by age in selected industries: 1990	68
E.3 Percentage distribution of female industrial labour force by marital status in selected industries: 1990	69
E.4 Percentage distribution of employed persons (10 years and over) by employment status, sex and urban/rural area: 1973, 1981 and 1987-1988	69
F. WOMEN IN PUBLIC LIFE	
F.1 Female employment in federal civil services by selected division: 1989	70

PART I:
DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

Blank page

Page blanche

INTRODUCTION

In Pakistan, the traditional role of women in family and society has its origins in the Islamic laws and bears the influence of local culture. Rules and customs of marriage, divorce, relations between men and women, inheritance and child custody are regulated by the Islamic doctrines and are also influenced by the cultural values.

The Islamic perception of the role and rights of women is enlightened and progressive. Islam provides equality, justice and harmony between the sexes and emphasizes that one is complementary to the other. For economic security of women, the Muslim law allows them inheritance of property and there is also no religious restriction on women in attaining education or working outside their homes.

The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan also guarantees women fundamental safeguards and declares that all citizens are equal under law and that there shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex. The Constitution further stipulates that steps shall be taken to ensure full participation of women in all spheres of national life and that the state shall protect marriage, family, mother and child.

However, in practice, due to illiteracy and mis-interpretation of religious teachings, traditions of differential treatment to women have prevailed. Islamic perceptions with regard to the rights of women to education, property and approval of marriage partner were neither adequately institutionalized nor granted in Pakistan. For instance, Islamic inheritance laws stipulate that a daughter receives half of a son's share on the death of a parent, but, in practice, these laws are often ignored or circumvented by one way or another.

By and large, the traditional family system prevailing in Pakistan is based on a deep separation between the roles and responsibilities of men and women. Women are expected to maintain the household, bring up children and cater to the needs of men, while men are expected

to represent the family to the outside world. Everyday tasks are strongly associated with one or the other sex, as are codes of behaviour and comportment. Children are socialized, according to their sex, from a very young age; girls help their mothers in household chores, stay near the home and are taught submissiveness, while boys are allowed to play more, to roam more freely and to display self-confidence and aggression.

The social dichotomy of the sexes, often expressed in purdah, remains important in most communities. Purdah literally means 'curtain' and represents a whole range of cultural practices, uses of space, and codes of dress relating to women's seclusion. Where practiced to its full extent, purdah prohibits social contact between women past puberty and men outside their family circle. Purdah is also associated with prevalent concepts of honour, by which men's standing is vulnerable through the behaviour of their female relatives, or the behaviour of other men towards those women^{1/}.

Under the typical patriarchal system, the authority of men over women and elders over juniors is strongly displayed in the traditional Pakistan family. Men, and in particular older men, make decisions for the family and act as guardians of children and adult women. In other words, a woman passes from the guardianship of her father to that of her husband, and perhaps finally to that of her son. Women, however, make decisions related to the family sphere, for example, on budgeting, education and marriage.

The division of labour between the sexes, however, does not entail that women stay within the home or limit themselves to reproduction as opposed to productive work. In Pakistan, women play a major role in agricultural and

^{1/} The most extreme forms of purdah are not, and have not been, followed by the mass of the rural people; and many women of the upper-middle and upper classes no longer follow the strict demands of purdah. Such restraint on women's mobility will not be possible in societies depending on women labour in the agricultural sector.

livestock raising, often devoting more hours to these tasks than men, though particular forms of labour may be associated with the other sex. Available empirical research has clearly established that in the poorest families, earnings of female workers are critical to the subsistence of the household and that a considerable number of working women are the principal earners in low-income families.

Despite the vital role they play in key economic sectors, women do not have as equal opportunities as men in regard to education and employment; access to education and employment is also not equal among women themselves. As will be noted later in other sections of this profile, there are significant gender disparities in regard to schooling and literacy; the female literacy rates are less than half of the male rates. Women are very much under-represented in various levels of education and in the teaching profession. The majority of the female workers are low-paid employees or unpaid workers in agricultural sector. Even among women, those at the top end of the socio-economic scale have access to education and to modern sector jobs, while those belonging to poorer families are denied proper schooling and remunerative employment.

It is, however, encouraging to note that the Government of Pakistan has initiated meaningful steps towards framing policies and evolving appropriate institutions to provide the basis for formulation and implementation of plans and programmes to advance the socio-economic status of women in the country. The Women's Division organized in 1979 was in 1989 elevated to the level of Ministry for Women Development. In 1983, the Government appointed a commission on the status of women for the purpose, among others, "to ascertain the rights and responsibilities of women in an Islamic Society and to make recommendations to the Federal Government for effective safeguards of women's rights". The report of the commission contains many far-reaching recommendations for ensuring equality of opportunity in education and employment as well as the full participation of women in all spheres of national life.

The Ministry for Women Development was created to ensure proper representation of the

needs and interests of women in the policies, plans and programmes of various government agencies. It is, therefore, concerned with planning rather than implementation and functions fully at the federal level. The ministry is also empowered to undertake and promote research on the conditions and problems of women. At the provincial level, woman's cells have been created under the Planning and Development Department.

As a result of the growing recognition that the participation of women themselves is necessary to improve their status, a large number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have sprung up all over the country during the last decade. It is estimated that about half of the approximately 4830 registered organizations have identified women and their advancement as the main focus of their action programmes. Their activities are mainly in the areas of health, women's development, basic education and children's development. Efforts are being made to strengthen these organizations which have taken upon themselves the onerous responsibility of fighting for the rights of women, for their freedom of choice and equality of gender to achieve integration in all spheres of life.

Monitoring of progress in regard to women's development is being encouraged through the centres for women's studies established at various universities, the research wing of the Ministry of Women Development as well as through systematic collection and dissemination of relevant data and information.

The present profile attempts to provide an up-to-date information base on the situation of women in Pakistan, using available data sources, both statistical and in-depth case studies. The main objectives of this country profile are to give information and knowledge about the situation of women relative to men, to contribute to an understanding of the issues concerning women in different spheres of life, and to indicate areas of special concern with regard to women's position and improvement in the availability of gender statistics.

In addition to a brief description of the country setting and an overview of the socio-

demographic background of women, the profile also examines the actual situation of women in terms of their roles and responsibilities in family life, in economic life and in public life vis-à-vis those of men. It is hoped that the profile would provide a useful basis for identifying the concerns and needs of Pakistani women and for formulating appropriate policies and programmes to enhance women's welfare and status.

A. HIGHLIGHTS

The setting

1. **Pakistan**, an Islamic Republic in the north-western part of South Asian subcontinent, spreads over an area of 796,095 square kilometres. The geography is characterized by a variety of physical features comprising mountains, plateaus, plains and deserts.

2. Administratively, the country is divided into four provinces and two territories. A multi-party democratic system functions at the provincial and federal level. The provinces are further subdivided into divisions, districts, tehsils and villages.

3. The population of Pakistan, according to the last census held in 1981, numbered about 84.3 million. With an estimated total population of 124.4 million in 1993, Pakistan ranks seventh in terms of population size in the world. The current population growth rate of 3 per cent per annum is among the highest in the world.

4. The people living in different regions of the country are of diverse ethnic and linguistic origins but are united by their common adherence to Islam, the religion of 97 per cent of the population.

5. Pakistan is predominantly an agricultural economy with about 70 per cent of its population living in rural areas and approximately 48 per cent of its civilian labour force engaged in agricultural and related occupations. In recent years, the national economy has been growing at an impressive rate, averaging about 6 per cent per annum. The per capita income was estimated at \$US 410 in 1992-1993.

6. Despite considerable economic progress, the standard of living and quality of life of the people have not significantly improved over the years. Income and assets of the country are unevenly distributed among different regions, sectors and classes. Due to unequal distribution of land and wealth, there are great social and economic inequalities in the system. Nearly 30 per cent of the population lives below the poverty line.

7. Low levels of government expenditure on social development has resulted in inadequate availability of health and educational facilities. By and large, urban people have better access to these facilities than rural people. Housing shortages and problems of congestion are matters of serious concern in view of the rapidly growing population.

Women's profile

1. Women constitute about 48 per cent of the total population. Although the number of women per 100 men has been increasing over the years, men outnumber women at all ages, except the 0-4 age group. The excess of men over women in the total population has been due to a male-favoured sex ratio at birth, higher female mortality, and greater underenumeration of women at the censuses.

2. Marriage is almost universal with about 73 per cent of women and 65 per cent of men aged 15 years and over reported as currently married in the 1981 census; at ages 30-34, nearly 93 per cent of women and 84 per cent of men were reported currently married.

3. Although there have been significant declines in infant mortality rates in recent decades, the current rates are still much higher than in many other developing countries. Female infant mortality rates are significantly lower than male infant mortality rates.

4. For a long time in the past, life expectancy at birth was higher for men than women, but today Pakistani women live on an average two years more than their male counterparts. Nevertheless, Pakistan's female life expectancy remains one of the lowest in the world, particu-

larly when compared to countries with similar levels of economic development.

5. Educationally, Pakistani women are among the most backward in the world. Only about half of the female children in the eligible age group is enrolled in primary schools, and nearly 50 per cent of the girls who enter primary level at grade I drop out before completing grade V. In 1990, the mean years of schooling for a Pakistani woman was estimated at 0.7 years; this was less than one-fourth the average number of years for men, and is among the lowest in the world.

6. There are distinct gender and urban-rural differences in literacy. The 1981 overall female literacy rate of 16 per cent was less than half the male rate of 35 per cent. The urban female literacy (37.3 per cent) was more than five times the corresponding rate for rural areas (7.3 per cent).

Women in family life

1. The family structure in Pakistan is patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal, and is deeply influenced by traditional value systems. However, with increasing trends towards urbanization and migration, there appears to be a gradual shift towards nuclearization of families.

2. Despite increases in the number of households, there has been a rise in average household size over the years. According to the 1990-1991 Household Integrated Economic Survey, the average household size for the country as a whole was 6.6 persons. The 1990 Agricultural Census showed that the average household size was significantly higher for agricultural households (7.3 persons), compared to non-agricultural households (6.4 persons).

3. Available evidence seems to suggest that over 90 per cent of Pakistani households are headed by men and that most female headed households belong to the poor strata of society.

4. Marriage is early and nearly universal, mostly contracted and arranged by the families of the partners. The average age at marriage has been rising over the years; in 1991 the

mean age at marriage was 20.7 years for women and 25.5 years for men. The never-married proportion at ages 15-24 years has increased substantially over the years.

5. There is strong cultural pressure on women to have large number of children. In 1990-1991, the completed family size was 6.6 children for married women aged 45-49 years reflecting a high level of fertility.

6. Although a substantial proportion of women has been reported having knowledge of family planning, only about 18 per cent of married women in reproductive ages reported current use of contraceptive methods in 1994-1995.

7. Early marriage and excessive childbearing are the most important causes of the high incidence of morbidity and mortality among women in reproductive ages. The inadequate medical care and attention that expectant mothers receive during pregnancy and at child delivery is an important contributing factor to the high maternal mortality rate.

8. Although infant and child mortality rates have declined considerably over the years, the current rates are still high, compared with many other developing countries. The ill health of children is to a great extent due to the poor health and low status of their mothers.

Women in economic life

1. In Pakistan, women play a vital role in economic production, particularly in the rural agricultural sector where they toil mostly as unpaid family helpers in practically all operations related to crop production and livestock rearing. Women are also engaged in a range of occupations in the formal and informal sectors of the economy. However, for various reasons, there is a gross under-reporting of female labour force participation in the official censuses and labour force surveys.

2. According to the 1991-1992 Labour Force Survey, only about 16 per cent of the women aged 10 years and over were reported as being in the labour force, the corresponding proportion for men being about 84 per cent. Work

participation rates for men and women are significantly higher in rural compared with urban areas. Nevertheless, the female labour force participation rates are low even by the standards of various other Muslim countries.

3. Labour force participation rates also vary across age groups; male participation rates are highest between ages 25 and 59, while the highest rates for women are at ages 35-54.

4. For the country as a whole, nearly 69 per cent of employed women and 45 per cent of employed men are in the agricultural sector, but in the urban areas, the largest proportion of employed women was concentrated in the service sector. The occupational structure of the employed persons more or less reflects the pattern of their industrial attachment.

5. While, in the rural areas, the majority of employed women work as unpaid family helpers, in the urban areas, they are engaged as waged employees. Self-employment absorbs the third largest proportion of the employed women, both in urban and rural areas.

6. Approximately half the employed women are "underemployed"; that is, they work less than 35 hours a week. This is largely because women participate in economic activities in addition to their numerous domestic chores.

Women in public life

1. Although the Constitution guarantees women equal political rights and they constitute about 46 per cent of all registered voters, their participation in the political and public life of the country is very minimal.

2. In 1993, women accounted for about two per cent of all members directly elected to the National Assembly and less than one per cent of those elected to the Provincial Assemblies.

3. Although women's political participation at the local/district level has increased over the years, their effectiveness and decision-making responsibilities are considerably limited by the male-biased system.

4. Women in civil service are very few in number, and the proportion of women holding top executive positions is negligible. Although an increasing number of women have been inducted into the police department, judiciary (as judges) and bureaucracy, their representation into higher echelons within these services is very low, when compared with men.

B. THE SETTING

1. Geography

Pakistan is situated in the north-western part of southern Asian subcontinent and borders India on the east, China on the north, Afghanistan on the north-west, and the Islamic Republic of Iran on the west, with an 825 kilometres coastline, in the south on the Arabian sea. The territory of Pakistan extends from 23°42' to 36°55' north latitude and from 60°45' to 75°20' east longitude. Its total land area is 796,095 square kilometres or 307,370 square miles.

Pakistan has a variety of physical features, comprising mountains, plateaus, plains and deserts. The Himalayan and Trans-Himalayan mountains are spread in the entire northern end of the country, while the most populated fertile areas lie in the plains of the Indus and the Punjab. The vast and arid plateau of Baluchistan lies in the south-west, while the desert areas lie along the south-eastern border of the country. In addition to geographical diversity, there is great variation in climate; some areas in the north are either temperate or extremely cold in winter, while the desert areas along the south-eastern border have recorded the highest temperature (over 50°C) in summer. Mean annual rainfall is at its maximum in the northern mountains and the Indus Basin during the monsoon season, July to August.

Administratively, the country is divided into four provinces (Baluchistan, North West Frontier Province (NWFP), Punjab, and Sindh), the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), and Islamabad (the Federal Capital Area). The provinces are further subdivided into divisions, districts, tehsils, and villages.

2. Population growth and distribution

a. Population growth

The population of Pakistan has been enumerated at nine decennial censuses beginning in 1901. The first five censuses were carried out as part of the censuses of undivided Indian subcontinent, and the last four from 1951 to 1981 by the Government of Pakistan. According to various census counts, the population of Pakistan increased a little more than five fold, from 16.6 million in 1901 to 84.3 million in 1981 (see table 1 and figure 1). The country's population was estimated at about 115.7 million in 1991 and 124.4 million in 1994. In terms of population size, Pakistan today is the seventh largest country in the world.

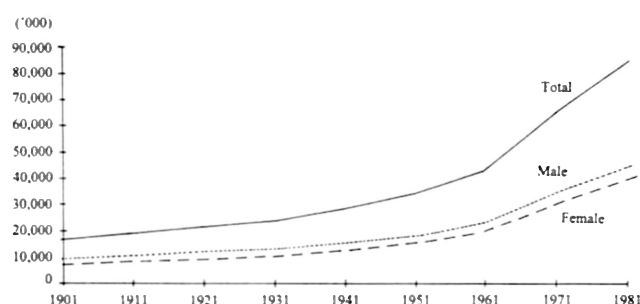
Table 1. Enumerated and estimated population, average annual growth rate and density per square kilometre: 1901 to 1993

Year	Population (thousands)	Average annual growth rate (per cent)	Density per square kilometre
1901	16,576	—	20.8
1911	19,382	1.58	24.3
1921	21,109	0.86	26.5
1931	23,542	1.10	29.6
1941	28,282	1.85	35.5
1951	33,817	1.80	42.5
1961	42,978	2.45	54.0
1972	65,321	3.67	82.1
1981	84,254	3.06	105.8
1991*	115,520	3.10	145.1
1993*	124,450	3.00	156.3

Source: Abdul Razzaque Rukanuddin and M. Naseem Iqbal Farooqui, *The State of Population in Pakistan 1987*, National Institute of Population Studies, November 1988; and Government of Pakistan, *Economic Survey, 1993-1994*.

Note: * Estimated.

Figure 1. Population of Pakistan: 1901 to 1981



Source: ESCAP, *Socio-Economic Profile of SAARC Countries: A Statistical Analysis*. Statistical Profiles No. 1.

The average annual growth rate of the population has also been increasing over the years, and the current rate estimated at three per cent is among the highest in the world and higher than that in any of Pakistan's South Asian neighbours. The high population growth rate has primarily resulted from slow but steady decline in mortality and persistent high fertility rates^{2/}. Given the present growth trends, Pakistan's population is projected to reach 150 million by the year 2001.

b. Population distribution

The population of the country is distributed unevenly across the four provinces and the two administrative territories due to wide variation in ecology as well as in levels of economic development. Punjab, which accounts for only 26 per cent of the total land area, contains 56 per cent of the national population, while Baluchistan with 44 per cent of the land area accounts for only about five per cent of the country's population (table 2).

The estimated 1991 population of 115.7 million gives an overall density of 145 persons per square kilometre. Among the four provinces, the densities range from 17 persons per square kilometre in Balochistan to 315 persons in Punjab (table 2).

The urban population, defined as those living in settlements of 5,000 or more people, constituted 28 per cent of the total population in 1981 and has grown rapidly since independence, partly due to high urban fertility and partly because of rural-to-urban migration. The changes in the urban proportion have varied across the four provinces. The most urbanized province of Pakistan is Sindh (43 per cent urban) mainly due to the population of metropolis Karachi (5.2 million in 1981) and Hyderabad

^{2/} Control of diseases like malaria, cholera, tuberculosis, small pox and improving living conditions have been largely responsible for a considerable fall in death rate; the crude death rate is estimated to have declined from 31.2 per 1,000 persons in 1941 to 17 in 1962 and further to 9.8 in 1990. On the other hand, the crude birth rate is estimated to have declined only marginally from 45 per 1,000 persons in 1941 to 43.3 per 1,000 in 1981; crude birth rate was estimated at 39.5 per 1,000 in 1991.

Table 2. Population distribution and density per square kilometre: 1981 and 1991

Province/territory	Population (in millions)						Population density (persons per square kilometre)	
	Land area		1981 census		1991 estimate		1981	1991
	Square kilometres	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent		
Pakistan	796,095	100.0	84.24	100.0	115.57	100.0	105.8	145.2
North West Frontier Province	74,521	9.4	11.06	13.1	15.17	13.1	148.4	203.6
Punjab	205,344	25.8	47.29	56.1	64.78	56.1	230.0	315.4
Sindh	140,914	17.7	19.03	22.6	26.14	22.6	135.0	185.5
Baluchistan	347,190	43.6	4.33	5.1	5.94	5.1	12.4	17.1
Federally Administered Tribal Areas	27,220	3.4	2.19	2.6	3.01	2.6	80.4	110.6
Islamabad	906	0.1	0.34	0.4	0.53	0.4	375.2	585.0

Source: Population Census Organization, *1981 Census Report of Pakistan*; and National Institute of Population Studies, *Population Projection for Pakistan, 1981-2006*.

(751,000 in 1981). Punjab with 28 per cent of its population residing in urban centres is the second most urbanized province, followed by Baluchistan (16 per cent urban). The North West Frontier Province is the least urbanized with 15 per cent of the provincial population living in urban areas (table 3 also see figures 2 and 3).

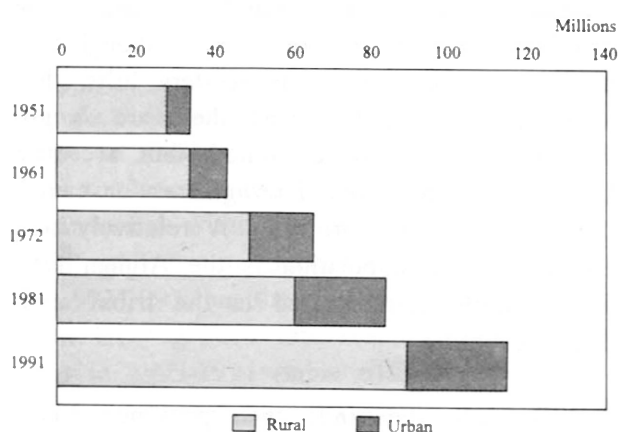
The average annual growth rate of urban population has been higher than 4 per cent during the period from 1951 to 1981 (table 4), contributing to the rapid growth of total population. As noted earlier, urban population growth is due both to natural increase and to rural-to-urban migration, which continues both inside and outside the migrants province of origin. This trend has resulted in the formation of unplanned illegal squatter settlements with inadequate sanitation and health conditions in major growing cities of Pakistan.

Table 3. Percentage of population residing in urban areas by province: 1951 to 1981

Census year	Pakistan	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Baluchistan
1951	18	17	29	11	12
1961	22	21	38	13	17
1972	25	24	40	14	16
1981	28	28	43	15	16

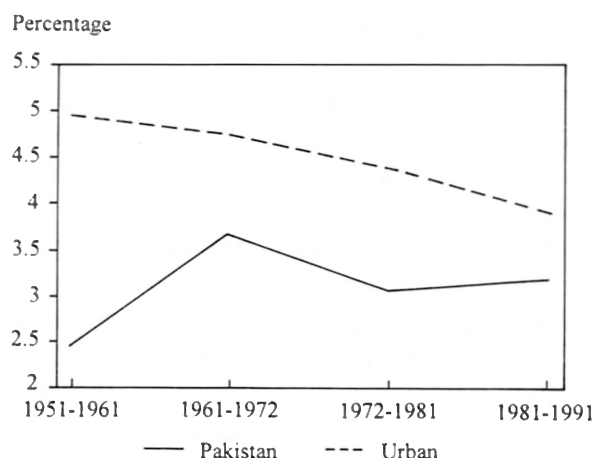
Source: Abdul Razzaque Rukanuddin and M. Naseem Iqbal Farooqui, *The State of Population in Pakistan, 1987*, National Institute of Population Studies, Islamabad, November 1988.

Figure 2. Population size by urban/rural area: 1951 to 1991



Source: Government of Pakistan, *National Report on Population of Pakistan*, International Conference on Population and Development, Cairo 5-13 September 1994.

Figure 3. Population growth rate, Pakistan and urban area: 1951-1961 to 1981-1991



Source: Government of Pakistan, *National Report on Population of Pakistan*, International Conference on Population and Development, Cairo, 5-13 September 1994.

Table 4. Urban-rural distribution of population, intercensal change and average annual growth rate of urban and rural population: 1951 to 1981

Census year	Population (million)		Percentage		Intercensal change (per cent)		Average annual growth (per cent)	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
1951	6.02	27.80	17.8	82.2	—	—	—	—
1961	9.65	33.32	22.5	77.5	60.4	19.9	4.9	1.8
1972	16.59	48.73	25.4	74.6	71.9	46.2	4.8	3.3
1981	23.84	60.41	28.3	71.7	43.7	24.0	4.4	2.6

Source: Abdul Razzaque Rukanuddin and M. Naseem Iqbal Farooqui, *The State of Population in Pakistan, 1987*, National Institute of Population Studies, Islamabad, November 1988.

3. Ethnicity

The main ethnic groups in Pakistan are the Punjabis, the Sindhis, the Baluch and the Pathans. There are also a number of small tribal groups in the more remote areas. Although they are most noticeable in the western hills, they also affect the plains where there are *Janglis* who in the past were nomads but are now largely cultivators, the *Theringiuzars* or camel-herders, and other groups. A relatively new element in the population is the Afghan refugees, mainly concentrated in the tribal areas near the border.

Broadly speaking, each province has a dominant ethnic group: the Punjabis in Punjab, Sindhis in Sindh, Baluchs in Baluchistan, and Pathans or Pakhtuns in North West Frontier Province. The Punjabis are the principal ethnic group, comprising about two thirds of the total population, while Sindhis constitute about 17.0 per cent, Pathans another 8.5 per cent and Baluchs 2.5 per cent.

Pakistan is linguistically heterogeneous and no single language can be said to be common to the whole population. Each of its principal languages has a strong regional focus, but some languages are distributed among various provinces, because administrative boundaries cut across linguistic regions. By and large, in each province, the majority of the people speak one or the other of the major languages: Punjabi in Punjab, Sindhi in Sindh, Pashto in North West Frontier Province, and Baluchi in Baluchistan. The national language is Urdu, which is widely

understood particularly in the urban areas. English is the official language of the Federal Government and is commonly used as the medium of instruction in colleges and universities.

Pakistan is overwhelmingly a Muslim country with about 97 per cent of the people being adherents of Islam. The important religious minorities are the Christians mainly found in Punjab and the Hindus and Parsis in Sindh.

4. The economy

a. Structure and growth

At independence, Pakistan was largely an agricultural country with a vast majority of its population dependent directly or indirectly on the land and farming, contributing to more than 50 per cent of the national income. Over the years, however, the dominant role of the agricultural sector in the national economy has been diminishing, particularly due to rapid industrial expansion. Nevertheless, in 1993-1994 the agricultural sector, including forestry and fishing, accounted for the largest proportionate share (24 per cent) of GDP at factor cost and supported 48 per cent of the national labour force (tables 5 and 6). The manufacturing sector accounted for less than one fifth of the GDP and about 12 per cent of the employment in 1993-1994 (see also figure 4).

In a predominantly agricultural economy like Pakistan, land ownership is a critical issue in development. But land is unequally distri-

Table 5. Employment by sector: 1988-1989 and 1993-1994

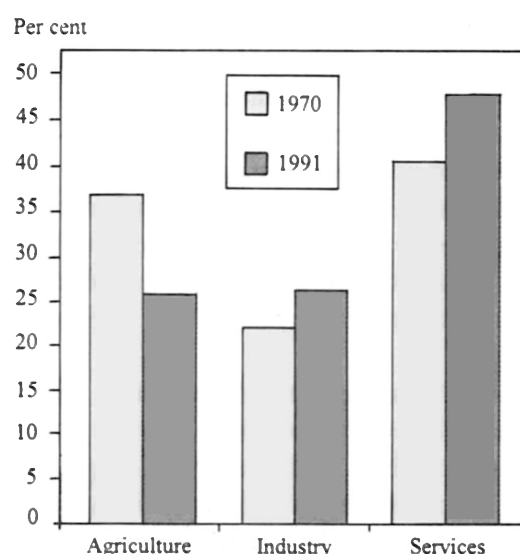
Economic sector	1988-1989		1993-1994	
	Number (million)	Per cent	Number (million)	Per cent
Agriculture	15.29	51.2	15.94	48.4
Manufacturing and mining	3.84	12.8	4.13	12.4
Construction	1.91	6.4	2.09	6.3
Utilities	0.18	0.6	0.26	0.8
Trade	3.57	11.9	4.33	13.1
Transport	1.46	4.9	1.82	5.5
Other sectors	3.65	12.2	4.44	13.5
Total	29.90	100.0	33.01	100.0

Source: Ministry of Finance, *Pakistan Economic Survey, 1993-1994*.

buted and this has led to great social and economic inequalities in the system. Many cultivators in Punjab and Sindh are sharecroppers on land owned by feudal, often absentee landlords. In Sindh, there are also a large number of landless agricultural labourers. In North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, small holding is common with a complex tribal land tenure and tenancy system.

Nevertheless, the economy of Pakistan has recorded reasonably high economic growth rates, averaging about 6 per cent per annum during

Figure 4. Sectoral share of gross domestic products (GDP), Pakistan: 1970 and 1991



Source: World Bank, *World Development Report*.

the past decade. This rate is higher than the rates of Pakistan's South Asian neighbours. Due to various economic setbacks and political disturbances within the country in recent years, GDP growth rate decelerated to 2.3 per cent in 1992-1993, but the situation slightly improved with GDP growth rate reaching nearly 4 per cent in 1993-1994 (table 6). The recent economic setback has primarily been due to decreased production of major crops, such as

Table 6. Sectoral growth rates and shares in GDP (at constant factor cost): 1985-1986, 1991-1992 and 1993-1994

Major sector	Growth rates (per cent)			Share in GDP (per cent)	
	1985-1986	1991-1992	1993-1994	1991-1992	1993-1994
Commodity sector	7.5	8.6	4.1	71.6	51.0
Agriculture	6.4	9.5	2.6	38.9	23.9
Manufacturing	7.5	8.1	5.6	16.0	18.6
Mining and quarrying	2.7	2.4	5.7	0.5	0.5
Construction	6.7	6.0	3.7	4.2	4.2
Electricity and gas	15.5	9.1	6.1	2.0	3.7
Service sector	6.3	6.8	3.8	38.4	49.0
Wholesale and retail trade	7.2	7.3	2.6	13.8	16.3
Transport storage and communications	7.6	10.5	3.7	6.3	10.2
All others	5.4	6.5	6.5	13.8	16.3
GDP (at factor cost)	7.0	7.7	3.9	—	—
GNP (at factor cost)	7.0	6.6	3.8	—	—

Source: Government of Pakistan, *Economic Survey, 1993-1994*.

cotton and wheat, and declining investments in the industrial sector in the past few years.

The 1992-1993 per capita income is estimated at \$US 410, which is comparable to other South Asian countries. However, income and assets are unevenly distributed among different regions, sectors and classes. The rural population has a lower income and standard of living due to its poor possession of productive assets, high underemployment and lack of socio-physical infrastructure.

Although the rate of economic growth is higher than the population growth rate, the standard of living and quality of life of a majority of people have not significantly improved over the years. The falling exchange rate and deceleration in economic growth in recent years have contributed to steady inflation in the country, a matter of major economic concern for Pakistan.

b. Resources for development

A high proportion of government expenditure budget for development is spent on defence, debt repayment and costs of civil administration. The social sectors, such as education and health, receive a meagre share in budget allocations. The gross national product (GNP) share for education has until recently remained at nearly 2 per cent, while the allocation for health sector is less than 1 per cent (table 7). As a result of constrained and limited financial resources avail-

able for social sectors, the achievements and progress in health and education have been below the required standards. In addition to under-resourcing, structural impediments to social sector development in Pakistan, in terms of planning and implementation, have also contributed to the low educational and health standards in the country.

c. Transportation network

The domestic transport system is not highly developed and has many problems. Although cities and towns are linked with road and railway network, many of the villages are not easily accessible and have inadequate transport system. However, the last decade has seen an expansion in road network, providing the basis for development of local or farm-to-market roads throughout the country. This in turn has stimulated growth in sectors such as vegetable and fruit growing and has also resulted in increasing migration of people from villages to cities.

It is estimated that only 35 per cent of all the road network is metalled. Due to the slow pace of expansion in the railway, extra traffic has transferred to roads, creating constant problems of overcrowding and maintenance. Increased allocations have been made in the Eighth Plan for the construction of roads, bridges and highways during 1993-1998 period to meet the increasing requirements created by a growing population and changing economic conditions.

Table 7. Total expenditure on health and education in Pakistan (at current price): 1991-1992 to 1993-1994

Year	Development expenditure	Non-development expenditure	Total expenditure	Percentage of GNP
Health				
1991-1992	2.4	6.1	8.5	0.70
1992-1993	2.2	7.4	9.6	0.71
1993-1994	3.5	8.3	11.8	0.75
Education				
1991-1992	3.9	23.6	27.5	2.2
1992-1993	5.4	24.6	30.0	2.2
1993-1994	4.9	29.9	34.8	2.2

Source: Ministry of Finance, *Pakistan Economic Survey, 1993-1994*.

5. Social development

a. Health and sanitation

In Pakistan, the Federal Government retains the overall responsibility for the coordination and orderly development of all health services. However, the legal responsibility for provision and management of health services at all levels lies with the provincial government. The private sector also plays an important role in providing health care services in both urban and rural areas^{3/}.

Over the years, there has been a considerable expansion in the number of health institutions, facilities and personnel in Pakistan. For example, between 1971 and 1993, the number of hospitals increased from 495 to 796, while the number of dispensaries almost doubled from 2,136 to 4,144. There has also been a tremendous increase in the number of basic health centres, rural health centres as well as health personnel (see annex table B.1).

Despite the enormous expansion, available facilities and services are quite inadequate to meet the needs of the rapidly growing population. By and large, the shortcomings of available services and facilities are due to their uneven spread and unequal reach to different segments of society. In the rural areas, the facilities are thinly distributed and the lack of adequate transportation services causes the health facilities to be inaccessible to a large proportion of the rural population. Furthermore, the quality of the services provided in rural health institutions is also very poor. Many rural health institutions have problems in attracting staff at all levels. This problem is more acute with respect to female paramedical personnel due to severely restricted supply of qualified girls and cultural barriers which makes it difficult for women to live in remote locations.

^{3/} Various studies indicate that 41 per cent of the rural and 54 per cent of the urban patients sought private doctors as their first source of health care. Official estimates relating to practicing doctors reveal that half of them practice in the private sector and the other half are employed by the government.

The general environmental sanitation of the people is also poor, as judged by the availability of safe drinking water and use of sanitary human waste disposal facilities. According to the 1990-1991 Pakistan Demographic Health Survey (PDHS), nearly 70 per cent of rural households obtain their drinking water from wells and tube wells while 13 per cent rely on rivers, canals etc. In the urban areas, 80 per cent of the households have access to running pipe water, but supply interruptions and availability of good quality water are major problems.

The use of different types of sanitation facilities varies greatly by place of residence. According to the 1990-1991 PDHS estimates, about 90 per cent of all households in major cities have flush toilets compared to 55 per cent in 'other urban' areas and only 6 per cent in rural areas. About 75 per cent of rural households have no toilet facilities at all and an additional 20 per cent have only a pit latrine or a bucket latrine. In general, sanitation is not perceived as an essential need amongst rural people. However, surveys have shown that demand for latrines is gradually growing among rural people.

b. Housing facilities

Housing shortages and problems of congestion in houses have become a matter of great concern in view of the rapidly growing population. Estimates based on the 1990-1991 PDHS indicate that nearly 90 per cent of houses in big cities have brick or cement walls, compared with 65 per cent in small towns and cities. In contrast, 60 per cent of rural houses have mud or unbaked brick walls and about 16 per cent of the houses have wooden or bamboo walls.

The problems of scarcity of space and overcrowding are borne out by the data in table 8. At the national level, the household size for a one-room housing unit which was as high as 5.1 in 1960 has further increased to 5.9 in 1980. Moreover, nearly 80 per cent of the housing units were one or two-room houses shared on an average by 6 or more persons in 1980. This indicates the severe pressure of growing population on housing availability in Pakistan. The degree of overcrowding in

Table 8. Percentage distribution of households and average number of persons per housing unit by number of room, Pakistan: 1960 and 1980

Rooms per housing unit	1960		1980	
	Per cent	Average household size	Per cent	Average household size
Total	100.0	5.7	100.0	6.7
1 room	60.0	5.1	51.5	5.9
2 rooms	24.0	6.0	29.6	7.0
3 rooms	9.1	6.6	10.8	7.9
4 rooms	3.8	7.0	4.5	8.6
5 rooms	3.1	7.6	3.6	9.7

Source: Abdul Razzaque Rukanuddin and M. Naseem Iqbal Farooqui, *The State of Population in Pakistan, 1987*, National Institute of Population Studies, Islamabad, November 1988.

household units is equally acute in urban and rural areas.

The 1990-1991 PDHS estimates further indicate that only 46 per cent of rural households has electricity supply, compared to 95 per cent of urban households.

c. Physical environment

Pakistan is also facing some environmental problems. Deforestation in upland areas is causing soil erosion, with increasing risks of flooding. Problems of waterlogging and salinity are affecting the productivity of irrigated lands. Industrial expansion is creating air and water pollution. Overcrowding, congestion and poverty are causing environmental degradation. A number of studies on environmental issues in Pakistan have emphasized the need for controlling soil degradation in Pakistan.

d. Education

As in the case of health, the Federal Government makes policy and coordinates overall, while the provincial governments are solely responsible for the administration and management of schools within their respective jurisdictions. The role of the private sector in the provision of education is very much a restricted one.

The formal education system is of a multi-stage type; the first stage consists of a five-year primary level education enrolling students aged 5-9 years; the second tier is a three-year middle stage constituting grades 6-8 and enrolling

students aged 10-12 years; and the third stage or higher education is a combination of higher secondary and tertiary levels. The education network has developed over the years. In 1993-1994, there were 156,450 primary and pre-primary educational institutions with a student enrolment totalling 15.5 million, 12,638 middle and 11,345 secondary level institutions with enrolments amounting to 3.8 million and about 1.4 million respectively. Besides, there were numerous institutions of higher education (table 9).

Table 9. Number of educational institutions, teachers and students by level: 1993-1994

Level	Institutions	Teachers	Students
Pre-primary and primary	156,450	383,400	15,532,000
Middle	12,638	98,400	3,845,000
Secondary	11,435	196,500	1,354,000
Higher			
Secondary vocational institutes	712	6,850	92,000
Arts and science colleges	680	18,690	595,000
Professional*	100	4,700	77,186
Universities	24	6,258	85,635

Note: * Including educational colleges.

In principle and in the great majority of the cases in practice, government primary schools are single-sex; that is, separate schools operate for boys and girls; about a third of all primary schools are for girls. There are also two other types of primary education provided on a li-

mitted scale: the mosque schools where the Imam teaches children Islamic studies and the Holy Quran, and the Mohallah schools where literate women in the local area teach girls the Holy Quran, Islamic studies and skills of home management. These two types of schools are opened in those villages where there are no facilities for primary education or where the primary schools are located at considerable distances from the village.

Although government policies accord priority to education, allocations to the education sector have until recently been around 2 per cent of gross national products (GNP) – one of the lowest levels in the world. Consequently, all levels of Pakistan's education system are under-developed and under-financed, both in absolute and relative terms. Today, Pakistan has some of the most acute educational problems found in the developing world: very high illiteracy, low rates of participation and very limited educational opportunities for many children, particularly for girls in the rural areas.

C. WOMEN'S PROFILE

1. Demographic characteristics

a. Sex composition

In Pakistan, males have outnumbered females at all census counts since 1901. It will be noted from table 10 that in 1901 females

constituted only 45.9 per cent of the total population and that there were about 118 males per 100 females or 85 females per 100 males in the country. Since then, the percentage share of females in the total population has been declining to 45.0 per cent in 1921 and remained at this level until 1931. Although the share of females in total population has been increasing since 1941, females yet accounted for only 47.5 per cent of the population in 1981. Pakistan is a rare example of a country where males constitute the majority of the total population.

The excess of males over females, which has been an important demographic feature at all census enumerations in Pakistan, has been the result of the interaction of several factors such as male-favoured sex ratio at birth^{4/}, higher female mortality and greater under-enumeration of women at the censuses^{5/}. The increase in the proportion of males up to 1921

^{4/} An examination of the registered births in a wide variety of countries throughout the world has confirmed that the number of male births generally exceed that of female births every year. According to the 1990 Pakistan Demographic Survey, the sex ratio at birth was 110 male per 100 female babies.

^{5/} The generally common protective tradition which results in purdah system of keeping all women concealed from infancy to old age from male persons outside the prohibited degree of consanguinity naturally results in an attitude of secrecy regarding them and hence in a significant proportion of women not being reported in the censuses.

Table 10. Numerical and percentage distribution of population by sex and sex ratio, census years: 1901 to 1981

Census year	Both sexes		Male		Female		Sex ratio	
	Number ('000)	Per cent	Number ('000)	Per cent	Number ('000)	Per cent	Male per 100 female	Female per 100 male
1901	16,576	100.0	8,969	54.1	7,607	45.9	117.9	84.8
1911	19,382	100.0	10,632	54.9	8,750	45.1	121.5	82.3
1921	21,109	100.0	11,618	55.0	9,491	45.0	122.4	81.7
1931	23,542	100.0	12,952	55.0	10,590	45.0	122.3	81.8
1941	28,282	100.0	15,421	54.5	12,861	45.5	119.9	83.4
1951	33,740	100.0	18,147	53.8	15,593	46.2	116.4	85.9
1961	42,880	100.0	22,960	53.5	19,920	46.5	115.3	86.8
1972	65,309	100.0	34,833	53.3	30,476	46.7	114.3	87.5
1981	84,254	100.0	44,233	52.5	40,021	47.5	110.5	90.5

Source: Abdul Razzaque Rukanuddin and M. Naseem Iqbal Farooqui, *The State of Population in Pakistan, 1987*, National Institute of Population Studies, Islamabad, November 1988.

is largely attributed to frequent occurrences of epidemics, such as influenza, and famines which had a heavier toll on females than on males. The decline in this proportion since 1941 is attributable to improved coverage of females in the censuses and faster decline in female mortality over time.

There is also a marked variation in the sex ratios (males per 100 females) across the provinces and administrative regions as well as between urban and rural areas. In 1981, the number of males per 100 females ranged from a low of 108.7 in North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and the Federal Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) to a high of 118.9 in Islamabad. In all provinces, the sex ratio in urban areas has been significantly higher than that in rural ones (table 11) due largely to men dominating rural-to-urban migration.

Sex ratio also varies widely across age groups due to variations in age-specific mortality rates as well as differential migration. According to the 1981 census data, there were fewer males than females at ages 0-4, reflecting higher mortality among male children. The sex ratio was significantly higher than the average for total population (110.6) at ages 10-19 and 50 years and above. At prime working ages of 20-49 years, the sex ratios were lower than the average due perhaps to male-selective emigration for employment abroad, and higher mortality among women in the reproductive age groups (table 12).

b. Age composition

The numerical and percentage distribution of the population by five-year age groups and sex and by urban and rural residence is shown in annex table C.1. The percentage distribution of the population by broad age groups, 0-14, 15-59, and 60 and over which correspond to the child, working age, and elderly population respectively, is given in table 13.

It is evident from table 13 that a large portion of the population of Pakistan is young;

Table 12. Sex ratio (males per 100 females) by age group and urban/rural residence: 1981

Age group	Pakistan	Urban	Rural
0-4	97.29	102.70	95.21
5-9	107.59	107.33	107.69
10-14	118.41	112.71	120.81
15-19	117.42	116.13	118.05
20-24	110.54	122.00	105.12
25-29	111.74	121.68	107.48
30-34	107.13	119.32	102.28
35-39	102.12	109.32	98.87
40-44	100.49	115.13	95.00
45-49	109.86	124.97	104.34
50-54	123.36	136.44	118.36
55-59	114.39	132.63	108.54
60-64	141.62	146.85	139.95
65-69	128.69	139.00	125.70
70-74	140.18	139.35	140.43
75+	133.02	131.86	133.32
All ages	110.59	115.28	108.72

Source: Government of Pakistan, *Handbook of Population Census Data*, Population Census Organization, Statistics Division, Islamabad.

Table 11. Sex ratio (males per 100 females) by province and urban/rural residence, census years: 1961, 1972 and 1981

Province/area	1961			1972			1981		
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
Pakistan	115.3	125.5	112.4	114.3	119.3	112.6	110.6	115.3	108.7
Punjab	114.3	117.1	122.6	116.0	116.0	118.3	110.8	114.0	109.7
North West Frontier Province	108.8	130.0	105.4	108.0	108.0	118.0	108.7	117.1	107.3
Sindh	123.2	128.6	120.1	115.1	120.7	111.4	110.7	116.4	106.6
Baluchistan	121.7	141.9	117.9	113.2	120.5	111.9	111.5	121.0	109.8
Federally Administered Tribal Areas	110.4	130.6	110.2	103.3	144.9	103.1	108.7	—	108.7
Islamabad	—	—	—	123.6	148.6	113.3	118.9	124.5	110.9

Source: Government of Pakistan, *Handbook of Population Census Data*, Population Census Organization, Statistics Division, Islamabad.

Table 13. Percentage distribution of population by broad age group and sex, urban/rural area: 1981

Age group	Pakistan			Urban			Rural		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
0-14	44.5	43.8	45.3	43.0	41.4	44.5	45.1	44.7	45.5
15-59	48.5	48.6	48.5	51.6	52.6	50.7	47.4	47.0	47.9
60+	7.0	7.6	6.2	5.4	6.0	4.8	7.5	8.3	6.6
Dependency ratio	106.2	106.0	106.2	93.8	90.1	97.2	110.9	112.8	108.8

Source: Population Census Organization, 1981 Census Report.

children aged 0-14 years constitute 44.5 per cent of the country's population. This proportion for females (45.3 per cent) is 1.5 percentage points higher than that for males (43.8 per cent). However, at working ages, 15-59 years, the proportions are equal for men and women. But the proportion of elderly people among men (7.6 per cent) is 1.4 percentage points higher than that among women (6.2 per cent). The proportionate share of children among both males and females is higher in the rural than in urban areas, while the elderly constitute a higher proportion in the urban than in rural areas.

For the country as a whole, the youthful age-structure of the population results in high dependency ratios. Children below 15 years and elderly persons aged 60 years and over are considered to be "unproductive" since they do not contribute much to economic productivity, and are therefore dependent on the population of working age for their support. It is clear from table 13 that for every 100 persons in the working age group, there were in 1981 about 106 persons aged 0-14 and 60+. This ratio was almost the same for males and females. Since there is a relatively high proportion of men as well as women in the working age group in urban areas, the urban dependency ratios are less than the corresponding rural ratios.

c. Marital status

The Pakistan censuses define marital status in terms of four categories: never married, currently married, widowed, and divorced. The percentage distribution of the 1981 population aged 15 years and over by marital status and

sex is given in annex table C.2. It will be noted that nearly 73 per cent of women and 65 per cent of all men aged 15 years and over reported themselves currently married. The proportion remaining single was considerably higher among men (31.5 per cent) than among women (17.8 per cent).

It is also evident from table C.2 in the annex that marriage is early and nearly universal. Almost 72 per cent of women and 35 per cent of men were married at ages 20-24 years and at ages 30-34, 93 per cent of women and 84 per cent of men were reported currently married.

The 1981 census data also shows that the proportion of widows (9.06 per cent) was nearly three times the proportion of widowers (3.06 per cent). The considerably higher incidence of widowhood among women may be due to two factors: the age difference between husband and wife and the better prospects of remarriage for widowers. The reported proportion of divorce among women (0.37 per cent) was nearly twice the corresponding proportion among men (0.19 per cent).

It is also interesting to note that for the country as a whole, the never-married proportion among women aged 15 years and over increased from 10.8 per cent in 1961 to 17.8 per cent in 1981, while during the same 20-year period the proportion of currently married women declined from 76.1 per cent to 72.7 per cent. Similar trends have also occurred in the case of women in three provinces: Punjab, Sindh and Baluchistan. In the North West Frontier Province, while the proportion of never-married

women increased from 11.6 per cent to 17.2 per cent, the proportion of currently married women was more or less constant at 73.8 per cent (see annex table C.5).

Further, the proportion of never-married women is significantly higher in the urban than in rural areas in all provinces, but this difference is more marked in the Sindh province where the proportion of never-married women in urban areas (22.9 per cent) was twice the proportion of 11.3 per cent for rural women (annex table C.5). Consequently, the proportion of currently married women is higher in rural than in urban areas.

d. Fertility levels and trends

Estimates of levels and trends in fertility have become the most disputed research activity among Pakistan's demographers. In the absence of vital registration data on births, attempts have been made over the years to estimate fertility indicators through direct as well as indirect measures by using relevant data collected through censuses and sample surveys. The wide discrepancies among various estimates of crude birth rate and total fertility rate are explained largely in terms of the differences in techniques of data collection and the methods and assumptions involved in these estimates.

The crude birth rates and total fertility rates estimated on the basis of data from various surveys since the 1960s are presented in table 14. It will be noted that estimates of crude birth rate varied considerably during the 1960s from 37 to 45, according to Population Growth Estimate (PGE) series, and from 36 to 38, according to Population Growth Survey (PGS) series conducted annually from 1968 to 1971. The PGS series for 1976-1979 give estimates of crude birth rate ranging from 41 to 43, while the Pakistan Fertility Survey (PFS) estimates a birth rate of 39 for 1974-1975. For the 1980s, two sets of estimates of crude birth rates are available: 37 during 1984-1985, according to the Pakistan Contraceptive Prevalence Survey (PCPS), and 40-43 during 1984-1990, according to Pakistan Demographic Survey (PDS). The 1990-1991 Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey (PDHS) gave a crude birth rate of 35 per 1,000 population. Similarly, estimates of total fertility rate based on PGE, PGS and PDS also do not show any time trends, while estimates derived from PFS, PCPS, and PDHS show progressive decline.

Despite the variations in estimates, Pakistan's fertility rates have been very high by regional and global standards. Although the estimates point to a gradual decline in fertility during the past two decades, the rates in 1990-1991 (CBR = 35 and TFR = 5.2) have been consi-

Table 14. Estimates of crude birth rates and total fertility rates obtained from major surveys: 1962 to 1991

Survey	Period/year	Crude birth rate (CBR)	Survey	Period/year	Total fertility rate (TFR)
PGE	1962-1965	37-45	PGE	1963-1965	6.00-6.10
PGS	1968-1971	36-38	PGS	1968-1971	5.90
PGS	1976-1979	41-43	PGS	1976-1979	6.90
PDS	1984-1990	40-43	PDS	1984-1990	6.20-6.90
NIS	1967-1968	39	NIS	1974-1975	6.30
PFS	1974-1975	39	PFS	1984-1985	5.95
PCPS	1984-1985	37	PCPS	1985-1991	5.40
PDHS	1990-1991	35	PDHS	1990-1991	5.20

Source: Ministry of Population and Welfare, National Report on Population of Pakistan for International Conference on Population and Development Cairo, 5-13 September 1994.

Note: PGE = Population Growth Estimate, PGS = Population Growth Survey, PDS = Pakistan Demographic Survey, NIS = National Impact Survey, PFS = Pakistan Fertility Survey, PCPS = Pakistan Contraceptive Prevalence Survey, PDHS = Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey.

derably higher than those recorded for neighbouring India, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh.

Fertility levels also vary according to rural and urban residence as well as across the provinces. According to the Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey 1990-1991, total fertility rate (TFR) for all urban women (4.90) was significantly lower than that of their rural counterparts (5.58) and the lowest fertility rate (4.67) was recorded among women residing in major cities. Among the four provinces, TFR ranged from 4.86 in Sindh to 5.30 in North West Frontier Province (table 15).

e. Mortality levels and trends

In Pakistan, a systematic assessment of levels, trends and differentials in mortality is rendered difficult by the inadequacy of registration data. The available estimates from different surveys, however, suggest that the crude death rates as well as infant mortality rates have been declining over the years.

The crude death rate is estimated to have declined from an average of 11.4 per 1,000 persons during 1968-1971 to 10 per 1,000

during 1984-1986. The crude death rates for rural areas are substantially higher than for urban areas (table 16).

Table 16. Crude death rates in Pakistan and in urban and rural areas, estimated from various surveys: 1968-1971 to 1984-1986

Period	Crude death rate		
	Pakistan	Urban	Rural
1968-1971 (average)*	11.4	8.2	12.4
1976-1979 (average)*	10.5	8.2	11.4
1984-1986 (average)**	10.0	8.8	12.2

Source: National Institute of Population Studies (NIPS) (1988).

Note: * Population Growth Surveys.

** Pakistan Demographic Surveys.

Available estimates also indicate that the infant mortality rate has declined from about 127 per 1,000 live births in 1981 to 94 in 1991 (table 17). Nevertheless, the current rates are still much higher than in many other developing countries. It has also been estimated that nearly 36 per cent of all deaths occur during infancy in Pakistan, and that more than half

Table 15. Age-specific and cumulative fertility rates and crude birth rate (for the six years preceding the survey) by urban/rural residence and province, Pakistan: 1990-1991

Age	Residence				Province				Total
	Total urban	Major city	Other urban	Rural	Punjab	Sindh	North West Frontier	Baluchistan	
15-19	59	55	64	97	79	88	86	149	84
20-24	224	225	222	235	226	235	227	267	230
25-29	268	259	281	268	275	242	287	251	268
30-34	225	211	243	231	237	211	233	190	229
35-39	126	116	141	157	159	118	149	116	147
40-44	(49)	(47)	(53)	(85)	(70)	(79)	(77)	(82)a	(73)
45-49	(29)	(29)a	(38)a	(44)	(30)a	(51)a	(41)a	b	(40)
TFR 15-49	4.90	4.67	5.21	5.58	5.39	5.12	5.50	5.84	5.36
TFR 15-44	4.86	4.56	5.02	5.36	5.24	4.86	5.30	5.28	5.16
GFR	162.5	157.0	170.4	184.1	178.0	170.7	177.8	201.1	177.0
CBR	33.7	33.5	34.0	35.6	35.5	32.8	35.3	38.3	35.0

Source: National Institute of Population Studies (NIPS), Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey (1992).

Note: Rates are calculated for all women 15-49, using information on women's age and marital status, from the household questionnaire and on the number of births from the woman's questionnaire. Figures in brackets are partially truncated rates.

a: Based on fewer than 500 person-months of exposure.

b: Based on fewer than 250 person-months of exposure, rates not shown.

TFR: Total fertility rate expressed per women.

GFR: General fertility rate (birth divided by number of women 15-44), expressed per 1,000 women.

CBR: Crude birth rate, expressed per 1,000 population.

Table 17. Infant mortality rates for Pakistan, urban and rural areas: 1981 to 1991

Year	Data source	Pakistan	Urban	Rural
1981	Pakistan Demographic Survey	126.7	105.2	135.2
1985	Pakistan Demographic Survey	115.9	90.2	126.3
1986	Pakistan Demographic Survey	105.6	79.4	116.3
1987	Pakistan Demographic Survey	104.9	79.0	113.5
1991	Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey	94.0	74.6	102.2

Source: N. Burney *et al.*, *The Human Development Report: Pakistan*, 1990.

of all infant deaths occur within four weeks of birth. According to 1990-1991 Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey, infant mortality rate in rural areas (102.2) was considerably higher than in urban areas (74.6). However, studies have shown that low-income areas of towns and cities also have very high infant mortality rates.

Estimates from various sources also indicate that infant mortality as well as neonatal mortality rates are significantly higher for baby boys than for baby girls. During the 1981-1991 period, infant mortality rate for boys (102) was nearly 1.2 times the rate for girls (85), while neonatal mortality rate for boys (60) was 1.3 times higher than that for girls (table 18).

The probability of dying varies not only with socio-economic and environmental conditions but also with the age of an individual. Age-specific mortality rate for males and females as obtained from various surveys indicates the conventional U-shaped pattern of

mortality which declines steeply from its high level at age less than one year to a minimum around the ages of 10-14 years, and then rises sharply in older age groups. Females experience a lower mortality level than men during infancy and at ages 45 to 79 years, while males have lower mortality than females in other age groups (table 19).

The improvements in the health status and the consequent decline in the mortality rates are reflected in the increase in the life expectancy of the population. According to recent estimates prepared by the United Nations, life expectancy at birth for the total population has increased from 38.9 years in 1950-1955 to 50.6 years in 1970-1975 and further to 61.5 years in 1990-1995. These estimates also indicate that whereas in 1950-1955 men's life expectancy (40.1 years) was higher than women's (37.6 years), by 1970-1975 this gender gap virtually disappeared and that in subsequent quinquenniums, life expectancy for women was higher than for men. In 1990-1995, Pakistani women

Table 18. Sex differentials in infant mortality, neonatal mortality and post-neonatal mortality rates, Pakistan: 1961 to 1991

Year	Infant mortality rate		Neonatal mortality rate		Post-neonatal mortality rate		Ratio of male to female infant mortality rate
	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	
1961-1975 ¹	141	137	89	71	52	66	1.03
1965-1979 ¹	120	117	79	70	41	47	1.03
1984-1988 ²	116	102	67	54	49	48	1.14
1981-1991 ³	102	85	60	46	42	39	1.20

Sources: Sathar, Z. (1985), "Infant and Child Mortality in Pakistan: Some Trends and Differentials", *Journal of Biosocial Science*, Vol. 17, No. 3; Garenne M. and Sohani S. (1991), "Estimates of Child Survival in Pakistan", *Report to USAID Child Survival Program*; and National Institute of Population Studies/Institute of Resource Development (1992), *Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey 1990-1991: Final Report*.

Table 19. Age-specific mortality rates by age and sex, Pakistan: 1962 to 1979

Age	Male			Female			Ratio of male to female mortality rates		
	1962-1965	1968-1971	1976-1979	1962-1965	1968-1971	1976-1979	1962-1965	1968-1971	1976-1979
0	140.0	120.5	123.3	146.0	107.0	110.8	95.9	112.7	111.3
1-4	65.7	62.5	37.6	95.5	72.3	44.8	68.8	86.4	83.9
5-9	14.9	15.0	22.9	25.7	22.0	16.5	58.3	68.4	138.8
10-14	10.3	14.9	10.2	17.8	31.6	14.2	57.9	47.1	71.8
15-19	15.0	15.0	11.9	26.9	32.3	16.2	55.8	46.4	73.5
20-24	15.3	15.1	14.2	28.5	33.4	17.9	53.7	45.2	79.3
25-29	20.1	15.2	17.1	30.7	34.9	20.1	65.5	43.6	85.1
30-34	24.9	19.8	21.0	33.5	37.1	22.9	74.3	53.4	91.7
35-39	30.0	20.1	26.2	37.3	40.5	26.8	80.4	49.6	97.8
40-44	39.5	25.0	33.3	42.7	45.9	32.3	92.5	54.5	103.7
45-49	49.3	34.6	43.3	50.3	54.6	39.5	98.0	63.4	109.6
50-54	67.9	49.3	57.3	61.6	69.6	50.2	110.2	70.8	114.1
55-59	91.0	86.7	77.6	78.8	97.7	66.2	115.5	88.7	117.2
60-64	122.6	131.3	107.6	106.5	150.6	90.9	115.1	87.2	118.4
65-69	170.1	187.5	152.5	153.1	218.8	130.5	111.1	122.9	116.8
70-74	239.0	269.9	220.4	236.0	316.1	196.2	101.3	108.9	112.3
75-79	340.8	344.1	322.2	386.8	439.3	307.0	88.1	97.3	104.9
80-84	481.4	427.7	469.5	643.3	559.9	489.3	74.8	76.4	95.9

Source: Abdul Razzaque Rukanuddin and M. Naseem Iqbal Farooqui, *The State of Population in Pakistan*, 1987.

lived on an average of two years more than their male counterparts (table 20). Yet Pakistan's female life expectancy remains one of the lowest in the world; in countries with similar levels of economic development, women generally outlive men by five or six years.

2. Educational characteristics

a. Educational enrolments

According to data available from the Central Bureau of Education, there has been a dramatic increase in student enrolments at primary, middle and secondary levels between 1980-1981 and 1993-1994. During this 13-year period total enrolments almost trebled from 5,470,000 to 15,532,000 at the primary level,

and increased by 2.7 times from 1,412,000 to 3,845,000 at the middle level, and by 2.5 times from 549,000 to 1,354,000 at the secondary level (table 21).

The period from 1980-1981 to 1993-1994 also experienced tremendous increases in enrolment of girls at the primary, middle and secondary levels of education. As will be seen from table 21, female enrolments almost trebled from 1,782 thousand to 4,771 thousand at the primary level, and more than trebled at the middle (from 359 thousand to 1,300 thousand) and secondary (from 137 thousand to 495 thousands) levels. Despite such increases, girls constituted only about 31 per cent of all students enrolled at primary level, about 34 per cent at the middle level, and about 37 per cent at the secondary level in 1993-1994.

Table 20. Life expectancy at birth (years) by sex: 1950-1955 to 1990-1995

Sex	1950-1955	1955-1960	1960-1965	1965-1970	1970-1975	1975-1980	1980-1985	1985-1990	1990-1995
Both sexes	38.9	42.1	45.0	47.8	50.6	53.5	56.2	59.1	61.6
Male	40.1	43.1	45.6	48.1	50.6	53.1	55.4	58.1	60.6
Female	37.6	41.1	44.4	47.5	50.5	53.8	56.9	60.1	62.6

Source: United Nations, *The Sex and Age Distribution of the World Population: The 1994 Revision*.

Table 21. Student enrolments by educational level and sex: 1980-1981 to 1993-1994*(in thousands)*

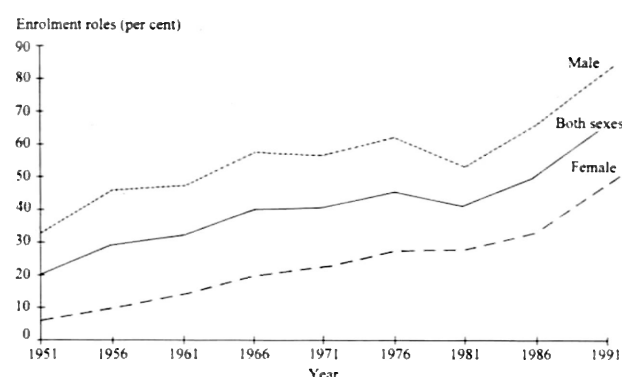
Year	Primary level			Middle level			Secondary level [#]		
	Both sexes	Female	Per cent female	Both sexes	Female	Per cent female	Both sexes	Female	Per cent female
1980-1981	5,474	1,782	32.6	1,412	359	25.4	549	137	25.0
1983-1984	6,860	2,174	31.7	1,760	424	24.1	659	154	23.4
1984-1985	6,828	2,252	33.0	1,805	446	24.7	702	168	23.9
1985-1986	7,094	2,365	33.3	1,910	516	27.0	726	186	25.6
1986-1987	7,639	2,532	33.1	2,023	554	27.4	774	209	27.0
1987-1988	7,959	2,673	33.6	2,053	593	28.9	834	230	27.6
1988-1989	9,254	3,096	33.5	2,394	697	29.1	943	271	28.7
1989-1990	10,400	3,342	32.1	2,606	771	29.6	1,021	297	29.1
1990-1991	11,487	3,693	32.1	2,896	897	31.0	1,158	341	29.4
1991-1992	12,721	4,036	31.7	3,186	1,018	32.0	1,245	396	31.8
1992-1993	14,120	4,425	31.3	3,515	1,158	32.9	1,255	433	34.5
1993-1994	15,532	4,771	30.7	3,845	1,300	33.8	1,354	495	36.6

Source: Central Bureau of Education.

Note: [#] Secondary level enrolments include high school and secondary vocational enrolments.

Although, as noted earlier, there has been a remarkable increases in the number of children enrolled at primary level, the proportions of children enrolled in the relevant age group, 5-9 years, enrolled are very low. In 1993-1994, only about 71 per cent of all children aged 5-9 years were enrolled in primary school and the rate for girls (54.9 per cent) was about 31 percentage points lower than the 86.3 per cent estimated for boys (table 22, also see figure 5).

The national average of primary school enrolment ratios masks the wide variations in these ratios between rural and urban areas as well as across the provinces. For instance, in 1984-1985, primary enrolment rates for boys as well as for girls were considerably higher in urban than in rural areas. This disparity was more marked in the case of girls; the enrolment rate for rural girls (21.1 per cent) was

Figure 5. Primary school enrolment rates by sex: 1951 to 1991Source: UNESCAP, *Socio-Economic Profile of SAARC Countries: A Statistical Analysis*.

one-third the rate for urban girls (63.5 per cent). Provincial disparities in primary enrolments are also striking with enrolment rates for urban girls, ranging from a low of 42.0 per cent in North West Frontier Province (NWFP)

Table 22. Enrolment rates at primary, middle and secondary levels of education by sex: 1992-1993 and 1993-1994

Educational level	1992-1993			1993-1994		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
Primary (classes I-V)	68.9	84.8	53.7	70.8	86.3	54.9
Middle (classes VI-VIII)	44.3	57.5	30.0	44.7	58.0	30.5
Secondary/high (classes IX-X)	28.1	37.0	18.4	29.1	37.9	19.4

Source: Government of Pakistan, *Economic Survey, 1993-1994*.

to a high of 68.1 per cent in the Punjab, and the rate for rural girls, varying from 3.2 per cent in Baluchistan to 30.2 per cent in the Punjab (see annex table C.6).

It must, however, be noted that the official data actually overestimates the primary school enrolment rates, because some children older and sometimes even younger than the primary school age group (5-9 years) are enrolled in primary schools. Even on the basis of these overestimated rates, Pakistan's primary school enrolment ratios are substantially lower than the ratios observed in respect of her neighbours such as the Islamic Republic of Iran, India, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. With nearly 50 per cent of girls and over 25 per cent of boys in the eligible age group not being enrolled, Pakistan has a long way to go in the matter of achieving universal primary education.

Although reliable and up-to-date information is not available, it is generally accepted that nearly 50 per cent of girls who enter the primary level at grade I drop out before completing grade V and that the highest drop out rate (40 per cent) occurs between grade I and II. The low enrolment and high drop out rates, particularly for rural girls, are due to a number of reasons such as poor physical facilities in schools, long distance to school^{6/} and shortage of teachers. The non-availability of female teachers is one of the main constraints in establishing girls' schools in rural areas. Because of substantial school costs involved and the absence of compulsory schooling, parents' decision in regard to sending their children, especially girls, to school is affected by economic and socio-cultural constraints. Also, inadequate investments in education by the government

result in inadequate school facilities and an unsafe school environment.

Available estimates indicate that only 25 per cent of the students enrolled at the primary level continue with their education at the middle level and only about 10 per cent at the secondary or high school. Consequently, middle and secondary level enrolment rates are very low in Pakistan; in 1993-1994 only 58 per cent of boys and 30.5 per cent of girls aged 10-12 years were enrolled in the middle schools, while the proportion of children aged 13-14 years enrolled in high school was 37.9 per cent for boys and 19.4 per cent for girls (table 22).

The very low female enrolment at secondary level means a very limited pool of educated women from which teachers are recruited; this in turn highlights the problems faced in regard to enhancing the educational opportunities for girls, particularly in the rural areas. Available data indicate that the percentage share of women in total number of teachers at the primary and secondary levels has been declining over the years; in 1992-1993, female teachers constituted about 26 per cent of all primary school teachers and about 27 per cent of all secondary school teachers (table 23).

In Pakistan, tertiary level enrolment includes students studying in arts and science colleges, professional colleges and in universities. During the past two decades or so, the number of colleges and universities has been expanding together with substantial increases in enrolments in response to rising social demand for higher education. For instance, between 1980-1981 and 1993-1994, the total number of students enrolled in arts and science colleges more than doubled from 270,000 to 595,000, while the number of students in professional colleges increased from 55,897 to 77,186 and those enrolled in universities also doubled from 42,685 to 85,635 (table 24).

There have also been very significant increases in the number of women enrolled at various types of tertiary educational institutions over the years. Between 1980-1981 and 1993-1994, the number of female enrolments in arts and science colleges almost tripled from 87,000

^{6/} An important reason for very low enrolment ratios in rural areas is the fact that a majority of the rural school-going children, particularly girls, have to travel long distances to attend school. A 1988 study revealed that only about a third of the rural schools are located within a mile of any villages. In Pakistan, few villages are located within a mile of a bus stop, and public transport is rare in the rural areas. If, as in so many places, schools have no buildings and teachers are frequently absent, there is little likelihood that children will make these long journeys. There are also few schools in or near illegal urban settlements, especially on the periphery of large cities.

Table 23. Number of teachers by educational level and sex: 1983-1984 to 1992-1993

Year	Primary schools (in thousands)			Middle schools (in thousands)			Secondary schools (in thousands) ^{a/}		
	Both sexes	Female	Per cent female	Both sexes	Female	Per cent female	Both sexes	Female	Per cent female
1983-1984	177.3	57.1	32.2	57.8	18.7	32.4	82.1	24.9	30.3
1984-1985	179.0	57.2	32.0	57.4	17.0	29.6	82.7	25.3	30.6
1985-1986	180.6	57.2	31.7	57.1	17.2	30.1	85.8	25.8	30.1
1986-1987	189.4	62.0	32.7	58.2	17.6	30.2	98.4	30.8	31.3
1987-1988	196.2	64.3	32.8	61.6	19.0	30.8	106.5	34.1	32.0
1988-1989	248.9	79.5	31.9	75.0	24.8	33.1	135.5	41.3	30.5
1989-1990	280.9	84.3	30.0	77.1	27.8	36.1	148.9	43.7	29.3
1990-1991	308.1	85.0	27.6	82.3	29.3	35.6	157.4	45.0	28.6
1991-1992	342.9	90.1	26.3	88.6	32.2	36.3	174.4	48.2	27.6
1992-1993	360.0	93.8	26.1	93.5	35.1	37.5	189.7	51.1	26.9

Source: Central Bureau of Education.

Note: ^{a/} Secondary schools include high schools and secondary vocational institutions.

Table 24. Student enrolments in tertiary educational institutions by type and sex: 1980-1981 to 1993-1994

Year	Arts and science colleges (in thousands)			Professional colleges			Universities		
	Both sexes	Female	Per cent female	Both sexes	Female	Per cent female	Both sexes	Female	Per cent female
1980-1981	270	87	32.2	55,897	8,519	15.2	42,685	7,113	16.7
1983-1984	355	111	31.3	56,276	9,314	16.6	50,418	7,816	15.5
1984-1985	373	117	31.4	59,169	9,742	16.5	54,031	8,407	15.6
1985-1986	400	126	31.5	68,317	13,817	20.2	59,891	8,801	14.7
1986-1987	387	125	32.3	64,910	13,814	21.3	61,319	9,523	15.5
1987-1988	420	135	32.1	73,609	15,901	21.6	65,340	9,786	15.0
1988-1989	428	143	33.4	74,848	17,466	23.3	69,361	10,048	14.5
1989-1990	469	165	35.2	75,310	18,674	24.8	73,382	10,310	14.0
1990-1991	496	182	36.7	75,800	18,902	24.9	77,400	10,600	13.7
1991-1992	527	199	37.8	76,249	19,005	24.9	82,103	10,887	13.3
1992-1993	561	220	39.2	76,276	19,127	25.1	83,874	11,178	13.3
1993-1994	595	241	40.5	77,186	19,242	24.9	85,635	11,412	13.3

Source: Central Bureau of Education.

to 241,000, while their numbers in professional colleges more than doubled from 8,519 to 19,242 and at universities increased by about 60 per cent from 7,113 to 11,412. Despite these increases, in 1993-1994, women constituted about 41 per cent of total enrolments in arts and science colleges, about 25 per cent of enrolments in professional colleges and only 13 per cent of the university enrolments.

b. Educational attainment

Low government spending on education, lack of adequate access to educational opportunities and consequent low enrolment rates have

resulted in very low educational attainment of the population, which is reflected in a number of relevant indicators. In particular, the educational status of Pakistani women is among the lowest in the world.

In 1990, the mean years of schooling of a Pakistani adult aged 25 years and over was only 1.9 years, having increased from 1.7 years in 1980. The 1990 figure is considerably lower than the corresponding figures for most countries in the Asia-Pacific region and is almost equal to the figure for Bangladesh and slightly higher than those for Afghanistan and Bhutan

in South Asia. The 1990 mean years of schooling for Pakistani women (0.7 years) was less than one-fourth the average number of years for men (see annex table C.7).

According to the 1981 census data, nearly 67 per cent of all Pakistanis aged 10 years and over did not have any education, and this proportion for women (80.8 per cent) was 26.4 percentage points higher than for men (54.4 per cent). The proportion of completing primary level education among women aged 10 years and over (9.8 per cent) was half the corresponding proportion for men (19.6 per cent). Only 4 per cent of women compared to 10.7 per cent of men completed middle school education, and the proportion of women completing secondary level education (3.2 per cent) was about a third of the proportion of men (9.4 per cent). Less than one per cent of women and less than three per cent of men aged 10 years and over had completed degree level or higher education in Pakistan in 1981 (table 25).

Another reliable indicator of the educational attainment of the people is the literacy rate. Data from past censuses as well as recent estimates indicate that there has been a steady rise in the literacy level of the population aged 10 years and over from 16.7 per cent in 1961 to 36.8 per cent in 1994 (see annex table C.8). Nevertheless, the 1994 overall literacy rate is very low, compared to the rates prevailing in a large number of countries within as well as outside the Asian region.

Literacy rates by age groups show that some progress has been achieved in education at younger age groups. Between 1961 and 1981, there has been an increase in the literacy rates for women in all age groups, but the most significant change has been in the 15-19 age group, where female literacy rate doubled from 13.2 per cent in 1961 to 26.6 per cent in 1981. The increase in the literacy rates of persons aged 25 years and over during these two decades has been minimal. However, there are distinct gender and urban/rural differentials in literacy in all age groups (table 26).

As is to be expected, the literacy rates for men and women are high in the urban, compared with rural areas, but this differential is more pronounced in the case of women than men. According to the 1981 census data, while the literacy rate for urban men (55.3 per cent) was slightly over twice the rate for rural men (26.2 per cent), that of urban women (37.3 per cent) was about five times the rate of their rural counterparts (7.3 per cent).

The literacy rates of men as well as of women vary across the provinces as well. In 1981, the highest literacy rate of both men and women was in Sindh, reflecting the high rates in Karachi Metropolis, and the lowest was in Baluchistan (see table annex C.8 and figure 6). The 1981 female literacy rates of about 4.0 per cent in Baluchistan and 6.5 per cent in North West Frontier Province rank among the lowest in the world.

Table 25. Population aged 10 years and over by level of educational attainment and sex: 1981

Level of educational attainment	Both sexes		Male		Female	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
No education	26,496,624	66.9	11,410,273	54.4	15,086,351	80.8
Primary	5,943,729	15.0	4,106,913	19.6	1,836,816	9.8
Middle	2,980,628	7.5	2,241,139	10.7	739,489	4.0
Secondary/high school	2,568,366	6.5	1,962,740	9.4	605,626	3.2
Intermediate, diploma etc.	881,810	2.2	662,518	3.2	219,292	1.2
Degree or higher	744,086	1.9	568,384	2.7	175,702	0.9
Other	12,866	—	10,838	—	2,028	—
All levels	39,628,109	100.0	20,962,805	100.0	18,665,304	100.0

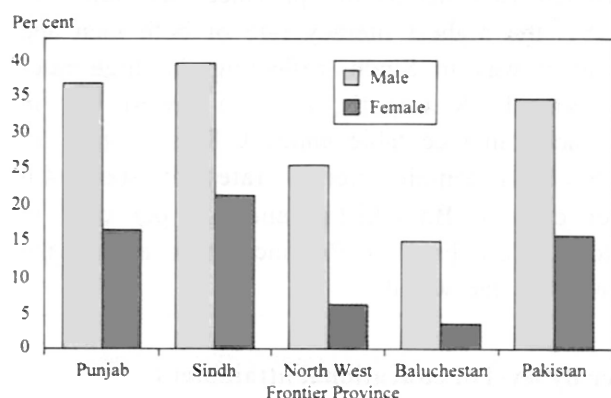
Source: Population Census Organization.

Table 26. Literacy rates of population aged 10 years and over by age group, sex and urban/rural residence: 1961, 1972 and 1981

Age group	1961		1972		1981	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
All ages (10 and over)						
Total	26.95	8.24	30.17	11.62	35.06	16.00
Urban	46.80	24.39	49.95	15.87	55.32	37.28
Rural	19.80	3.58	22.57	10.44	26.24	7.34
10-14 years						
Total	38.73	15.16	31.36	16.39	31.34	19.63
Urban	67.90	37.26	49.31	22.84	48.06	43.16
Rural	22.84	6.90	24.82	14.53	24.76	9.72
15-19 years						
Total	38.40	13.19	42.03	20.29	45.05	26.58
Urban	55.90	33.83	61.46	46.57	63.33	54.10
Rural	31.59	5.92	33.86	8.73	36.23	13.08
20-24 years						
Total	34.92	10.29	40.28	15.72	45.97	22.82
Urban	55.02	26.17	60.10	38.65	65.31	48.01
Rural	25.31	4.52	31.05	6.21	35.35	10.90
25 and over						
Total	20.14	5.11	25.53	7.57	31.73	10.86
Urban	40.17	15.76	45.13	21.94	53.20	27.64
Rural	31.41	2.20	18.35	2.93	22.76	4.63

Source: Population Census Organization, *Handbook of Population Census Data*.

Figure 6. Literacy rates by province and sex: 1981



Source: Population Census Organization, *Handbook of Population Census Data*.

D. WOMEN IN FAMILY LIFE

1. Family/household structure

a. Socio-economic aspects

In Pakistan, as in most Asian countries, social life revolves around the family and kin. The family or household is the basis of social organization, providing its members both identity and protection. Children, particularly girls, reside with their parents until they marry and

move into their husbands' households. Even isolated individuals who have no households of their own usually join the household of one of their relatives. It is only a male worker who migrates to urban areas who is forced to live alone. By and large, family loyalty overrides other obligations, and the overwhelming importance of family ties retains its significance even among the most westernized members of the upper class.

The family structure in Pakistan is patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal, deeply influenced by the traditional value system. A traditional Pakistani family is an extended family, which, in its ideal mature form, consists of a married couple, their married sons and spouses, and unmarried offsprings. The sons establish separate households upon their father's death and become heads of their respective households. The households containing more than two generations or more married couples operate under extended family system based on a common unit of production, consumption and hereditary occupation.

However, with increasing urbanization and migration, there appears to be a gradual shift

towards nuclearization of families in the country. According to the 1979-1980 Population, Labour Force and Migration Survey, nearly 45 per cent of Pakistani households were found to be nuclear. A typical nuclear family consists of the father who is the household head with dependent wife and children. Kinship ties and hereditary statuses are important in both types of households.

As noted in the introduction, the traditional family set-up is characterized by a marked division in the roles and responsibilities of men and women. Women are expected to maintain the household and bring up the children, while men are expected to represent the family and cater to its economic needs. Children are socialized according to their sex from a very early age: girls help their mothers in household chores or are taught submissiveness, while boys are allowed more freedom and are expected to display aggression and self-confidence. This division of labour in the household, however, does not entail that women stay within the home. In fact, they contribute substantially to agricultural and livestock production besides doing their household chores and rearing children.

Attitudes and patterns relating to family vary across regions and ethnic groups, but a substantial difference is noticeable between the urban and rural areas. In large urban areas, modernization and socio-economic changes accompanied by increasing availability of opportunities for education, wage employment and exposure to the media and knowledge are resulting in diminishing adherence to the traditional family system. Education for girls is becoming more popular, more women are entering the formal sector employment, and increasing number of couples are using contraceptives to limit their families. In towns and big cities, a larger proportion of households are nuclear families.

Nevertheless, for the vast majority of the people living in rural areas, extended family systems and cultural traditions ensure that girls are socialized into submissiveness and a home-based role. The preference for sons translates into unconscious neglect of girls, leading to higher female mortality and overall sex ratios. Because of the dowry system that is prevalent in many parts of the country, parents view

their daughters as burdensome. Sons are mostly viewed as symbols of prestige and power for the family and as sources of continuation of the family name. The fact that daughters, unlike sons, leave home after marriage, means that investment in their education is considered a waste and this attitude largely contributes to very low female literacy levels and educational attainment.

b. Household size

Household size, in most cases, reflects the size of the family which occupies a housing unit. A household is defined as a socio-economic unit consisting of individuals who live together to share the food requirements or other essentials of living, whereas a family is generally considered as a unit consisting of those members of a household who are related through blood or adoption on marriage. Both concepts can be used interchangeably, depending upon the purpose of the study and the use to which available data are put. The objective of the present analysis is to examine the changes in the household size to determine the extent of population pressure or overcrowding on the housing stock of the country and how it affects the living conditions of family members residing in them.

Information regarding household is available from the two housing censuses conducted in 1960 and 1980, and the 1973 Housing, Economic and Demographic (HED) survey of Pakistan. According to the two censuses, the number of households increased from about 7.8 million in 1960 to about 12.6 million in 1980, but this increase does not appear to have been adequate to cope with the increase in population during this twenty-year period because the average number of persons per household increased from 5.7 to 6.7. In other words, in 1980, an average household in Pakistan had one more person than in 1960 (table 27).

It is also evident from table 27 that average household size varies across provinces and by residence. In 1980, the number of persons per household was higher in urban (7.0) than in rural areas (6.6) and this pattern is true for Punjab, and NWFP; in Sindh and Baluchistan the number of persons per household was nearly the same in both rural and urban areas.

Table 27. Number of housing units and average number of persons per housing unit by province and urban/rural area: 1960 and 1980

Province/area	1960		1980	
	Number (in thousand)	Persons per household	Number (in thousand)	Persons per household
Pakistan	7,816	5.9	12,588	6.8
Urban	1,699	6.1	3,554	7.0
Rural	6,117	5.6	9,034	6.6
Punjab	4,963	5.6	7,597	6.6
Urban	763	5.7	2,005	6.9
Rural	4,200	5.4	5,592	6.3
Sindh	1,565	5.6	2,782	7.1
Urban	559	5.5	1,223	7.0
Rural	1,006	5.7	1,559	7.1
North West Frontier Province	792	5.7	1,616	7.0
Urban	125	5.8	234	7.1
Rural	667	5.6	1,382	6.9
Baluchistan	296	5.4	593	7.6
Urban	52	5.4	92	7.6
Rural	244	5.4	501	7.6

Source: Abdul Razzaque Rukanuddin and Naseem Iqbal Farooqui, *The State of Population in Pakistan, 1987*.

According to the data from the 1990-1991 Household Integrated Economic Survey, the average household size for the country as a whole was 6.6, with the urban household size (6.8) higher than the rural one (6.4). There were 3.4 men and 3.2 women per household (table 28).

Table 28. Household size by urban/rural residence: 1990-1991

Area	Number of persons per household		
	Both sexes	Male	Female
Pakistan	6.6	3.5	3.2
Urban area	6.8	3.6	3.2
Rural area	6.4	3.3	3.1

Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics, *Household Integrated Economic Survey, 1990-1991*

The household size and sex composition also vary by type of household. Data from the Agricultural Census Organization shows that in 1990, the average size of agricultural households (7.3) was significantly larger than that of non-agricultural ones (6.4) and that within agri-

cultural households, the size of farm households (7.5) was higher than that of livestock holder households (6.8). The number of women per household was also higher in farm households than in other types of households (table 29).

Table 29. Household size by type of household: 1990

Type of household	Number of persons per household		
	Both sexes	Male	Female
All households	6.9	3.6	3.3
Non-agricultural	6.4	3.3	3.1
Agricultural	7.3	3.8	3.5
Livestock holders	6.8	3.6	3.2
Farm households	7.5	3.9	3.6

Source: Agricultural Census Organization.

Data from the 1960 and 1980 housing censuses indicate that during the two decades, the proportionate share of one-roomed housing units has declined, while that of units with two or more rooms has increased; this increase was more marked in the urban than in the rural areas. Yet in 1980, nearly 76 per cent of the country's population was living in one or two-room units with an average family size of six or seven persons (table 30). The congestion was equally bad in urban and rural areas.

The burgeoning overcrowding, particularly in urban areas not only reflects the rapid growth of population but also implies an increase in

Table 30. Percentage distribution of population by number of rooms per housing unit, urban/rural area: 1960 and 1980

Number of rooms	Pakistan		Urban		Rural	
	1960	1980	1960	1980	1960	1980
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1 room	53.9	45.4	48.1	35.3	55.6	49.2
2 rooms	26.2	30.9	27.5	32.0	25.8	30.1
3 rooms	10.9	12.7	11.6	15.4	10.7	11.4
4 rooms	4.8	5.8	6.1	7.9	4.4	4.8
5 rooms	4.2	5.3	6.7	9.4	3.5	4.5

Sources: *Housing Census of Pakistan, 1960*, vol. 10. Ministry of Home and Kashmir Affairs Division, Karachi.

Note: *Housing Census Report of Pakistan, 1980*, Population Census Organization, Islamabad.

slums and environmental problems. In 1992-1993, there were an estimated 2,459 *Katchi Abadies* (shanty towns) in the country with a population of about 5.8 million.

c. Household headship

A systematic analysis of patterns and trends in household headship is hampered by the fact that the relevant information collected at the censuses has not been tabulated on a gender basis. Nevertheless, it is generally accepted that over 90 per cent of Pakistani households are headed by men. Women seldom assume the household headship role except when they are widowed or divorced^{7/} and when elderly male members are not available to perform this role.

A few limited surveys and investigations reveal that a large number of women in the informal sector are the primary supporters of their families and that about a third to half of the female workers in home-based production, garment factories and in domestic service have the sole economic responsibility for their respective families. Information based on a survey of working women in Karachi city indicates that households headed by women^{8/} belong to the poorest strata of society and that about 75 per cent of houses headed by women were nuclear families compared with 58 per cent of those headed by men.

Marital status is an important determinant of the role that men and women play as household heads. According to the 1990-1991 Household Integrated Economic Survey, 91.2 per cent of male and 60.3 per cent of female household heads were married, while the unmarried proportion is 4.0 per cent among male heads and 1.6 per cent among female

household heads. It is also important to note that 37.3 per cent of female household heads were widowed, whereas the corresponding proportion among male household heads was only 4.5 per cent (table 31).

Table 31. Percentage distribution of household heads by marital status and sex: 1990-1991

Marital status	Both sexes	Male	Female
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unmarried	3.8	4.0	1.6
Married	89.3	91.2	60.3
Widowed	6.6	4.5	37.3
Divorced	0.3	0.3	0.8

Source: Household Integrated Economic Survey, 1990-1991 reported in *Women and Men in Pakistan, 1995*, Federal Bureau of Statistics, June 1995.

2. Family formation

a. Marriage customs and practices

In Pakistan, marriages are early and almost universal, particularly for women. Socio-cultural norms require that a person must be married and have both sons and daughters^{9/} to participate fully in social life. Indeed, social ties are defined in terms of giving daughters in marriage and receiving daughters-in-law. By and large, marriages are arranged by the parents of the two partners who would go to great lengths to ensure that suitable marriages are arranged for their children. In the event of the parents dying earlier, older married siblings assume responsibility for arranging marriages for the younger ones.

There also remains a strong preference for marriage to one's cousin related through either one's mother or father, and for marriage within the same tribe or family. According to the 1990-1991 Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey, nearly 60 per cent of all marriages in Pakistan are either cousin marriages or within the same

^{7/} A micro-level study conducted in Karachi metropolis revealed that married women whose husbands have gone abroad for employment tend to report their husbands as household heads.

^{8/} Female headed households are defined as households where women are the sole wage earners. Some households are identified as *de facto* where the partner is temporarily away or unemployed and *de jure* are those where there is no permanent male head, due to divorce, separation or widowhood.

^{9/} In actual practice, there is a strong preference for sons because a woman can gain status and security only if she produces sons. Hence, mothers love and favour boys, often nursing them longer than girls, and in later life the relationship between mother and son remains a warm, intimate one while the father is a more distant figure (see Richard F. Nyrop, *Pakistan: a country study*, 1983).

tribe or family^{10/}. Pakistan has one of the world's highest rates of marriage among blood relatives. The usual considerations for this pattern are bound up with concepts of family honour or keeping property within the family or clan. From the wife's perspective, marriage to a cousin is particularly desirable, since it cushions her transition to married life.

The custom of giving dowry to daughters is widely prevalent in Pakistani society, particularly in Punjab and Sindh provinces. Although the Marriage Law has laid restrictions on the dowry practice, huge sums are spent on the marriage ceremony and on the gifts to the groom's household as dowry. The proper performance of all the elaborate marriage ceremonies and the accompanying exchange of gifts serve to enhance the new bride's status. But these practices also affect the marital chances of women from middle and lower classes that cannot afford the elaborate ceremonies and rich dowries.

Many marriages also involve the practice of a specified amount of money given by the groom's family to the bride. Generally, half the agreed amount is given to the bride upon her marriage and the other half is reserved for payment in the event of early death of husband

or divorce. This dowry offers a measure of security to the bride against capricious divorce, since the husband's family has to pay the unpaid part of the dowry in the event of the marriage failing. Very often when the marriage proceeds harmoniously, payment of the second half of the dowry will be ignored.

Marriage laws and customs are regulated by Islamic doctrines and cultural traditions. Although polygamy is permitted by Islamic law, it is not widely practiced nor socially acceptable. But the possibility of its occurrence adds insecurity to a woman's married life^{11/}. Today, polygamy is popular only in the tribal areas and interior parts of Sindh and Baluchistan, where the vast majority of the people are illiterate and strongly bound by tradition.

b. Marriage patterns and trends

As noted earlier, early marriage, particularly for girls, has traditionally been the social and cultural norm in Pakistan. However, in recent decades there has been a shift in this pattern; young men and women are likely to delay their marriages and getting married at relatively older ages. This trend is noticeable from the increase in the never-married proportions at younger ages and increases in the mean age at marriage.

It is evident from table 32 that the proportion of never-married women at ages 15-19

^{10/} The compensatory tendency of marrying at a distance has traditionally been only among some elites. However, with increasing migration and urbanization, as well as formation of nuclear families especially in cities, a large number of marriages take place outside caste or tribal boundaries and are arranged by the marriage partners themselves rather than their parents.

^{11/} Although the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance of 1961 modified the laws of marriage and divorce to the benefit of women, they are not necessarily observed all over the country due to the subjugated position of women.

Table 32. Percentage of never-married persons aged 15 years and over by age group and sex: 1961, 1981 and 1990-1991

Age group	Male			Female		
	1961	1981	1990-1991	1961	1981	1990-1991
15-19	83.7	92.4	94.6	46.6	70.6	77.0
20-24	52.9	64.6	50.3	12.0	26.5	20.3
25-29	27.9	31.3		5.1	8.7	
30-34	14.2	13.9	6.0	3.0	3.9	2.0
35-39	8.9	6.2		2.7	1.7	
40-44	6.4	4.4	1.6	2.2	1.6	0.8
45-49	5.1	2.5		2.0	1.0	
50-54	3.9	3.0	1.4	1.4	2.3	0.8
55-59	4.0	1.7		1.7	1.0	
60+	2.8	2.6	1.4	1.1	2.6	1.7

Sources: Census of Pakistan, 1961, vol. 3; 1981 Census Report of Pakistan; and Labour Force Survey, 1990-1991.

recorded a marked increase from 46.6 per cent in 1961 to 70.6 per cent in 1981 and further to 77.0 per cent in 1990-1991. In 1981, more than a quarter (26.5 per cent) of all women in the most popular marriage age group (20-24 years) remained unmarried, while the corresponding proportion in 1961 was only 12.0 per cent. Nearly a fifth of women at ages 20-29 years were reported never-married in the labour force-survey of 1990-1991.

A similar trend is noticeable in respect of men; at the 1981 census as much as 65 per cent of the men aged 20-24 years and 31 per cent of those aged 25-29 years were reported unmarried, compared with 53 per cent and 28 per cent respectively at the 1961 census. According to the 1990-1991 Labour Force Survey, approximately half the men between ages 20 and 29 years remained unmarried (table 32).

The increase in the never-married proportion particularly at the younger ages, is also reflected in the rise in mean age at marriage for both men and women. Estimates based on the censuses as well as various surveys indicate that the mean age at marriage has increased from about 18 years in 1951 to about 21 years in 1991 for women, and from about 23 years to about 26 years for men during the same period (table 33).

The increases in the never-married proportion and in mean age at marriage have been

attributed mainly to increasing opportunities for education for both boys and girls, and increasing employment opportunities outside the home for girls. Rising levels of dowry expected, particularly in urban areas, may also be a factor contributing to the increase in proportion of unmarried women and in their average age at marriage.

Data from the Pakistan Demographic Survey also shows that the singulate mean age at marriage is higher in urban than in rural areas for both men and women. In 1991, the singulate mean age at marriage for urban women (22.5 years) was significantly higher than that for rural women (20 years). Similarly, on an average, urban men married about two years later than their rural counterparts (table 34).

It is also evident from tables 33 and 34 that the difference in the mean age at marriage between men and women has generally been narrowing over the years from about 7 years in 1961 to about 5 years in 1991. Data for recent years (table 34) also suggest this difference is slightly higher in rural areas. Since Pakistani women are likely to get married to men who are, on an average, five years older than them, the availability of men and women at the appropriate "marriageable age" is also an important factor determining the proportions getting married or remaining unmarried. In Pakistan, as in several other developing countries of the region, the rapid growth in population due to

Table 33. Mean age at marriage by sex: 1951 to 1991

Year	Source	Male	Female	Difference
1951	Population Census	23.4	17.9	5.5
1961	Population Census	24.5	17.6	6.9
1964	Population Growth Estimate	25.4	19.4	6.0
1968-1971	Population Growth Survey	25.8	19.5	6.3
1972	Population Census	26.2	20.0	6.2
1975	Pakistan Fertility Survey	25.4	19.8	5.6
1976	Population Growth Survey	26.0	20.0	6.0
1979-1980	Population, Labour and Migration Survey	25.6	20.2	5.4
1981	Population Census	25.4	20.8	4.6
1984-1985	Pakistan Contraceptive Prevalence Survey	25.3	20.7	4.6
1989	Pakistan Demographic Survey	25.2	20.5	4.7
1990	Pakistan Demographic Survey	25.1	20.5	4.6
1991	Pakistan Demographic Survey	25.5	20.7	4.8

Note: As reported in Abdul Razzaque Rukanuddin and M. Naseem Iqbal Farooqui, *The State of Population in Pakistan, 1987*; and Federal Bureau of Statistics, *Women and Men in Pakistan, 1995*.

Table 34. Singulate mean age at marriage by area: 1989 to 1991*(in years)*

Year	Pakistan			Urban			Rural		
	Male	Female	Difference	Male	Female	Difference	Male	Female	Difference
1989	25.2	20.5	4.7	26.2	22.0	4.2	24.6	20.3	4.3
1990	25.1	20.5	4.6	26.1	21.9	4.2	24.5	20.1	4.4
1991	25.5	20.7	4.8	26.4	22.5	3.9	24.5	20.0	4.5

Source: Pakistan Demographic Survey, reported in *Women and Men in Pakistan*, 1995, Federal Bureau of Statistics.

declining mortality and constant high fertility has resulted in a substantially larger number of younger cohorts than their older counterparts. This leads to a shortage of eligible bridegrooms. For instance, according to the 1981 census data, there were about 108 women aged 15-19 for every 100 men aged 20-24 years; a similar imbalance was noticeable between women aged 20-24 years and men aged 25-29 years (table 35). On account of these imbalances, many parents will have difficulty in finding husbands with suitable age gaps for their daughters.

Table 35. Females per 100 males in marriageable age groups: 1972 and 1981

		1972	1981
Females 15-19	x 100	103.1	107.8
Males 20-24			
Females 20-24	x 100	90.4	107.8
Males 25-29			

Source: Population Census Organization, *1981 Census Report of Pakistan*.

c. Fertility behaviour

The great majority of the Pakistani girls are brought up on the belief that they should marry and produce children. Within marriage, there is strong cultural pressure on women to bear children; this is particularly so in extended households where a woman is economically and socially dependent on her husband and lives without the support of her natal kin. More importantly, children are considered an essential source of old age security for their mother and a symbol of power and prestige for

the father. Undoubtedly, bearing many children, particularly sons, enhances a woman's status within the family and outside; in many cases, the young bride herself realizes that her status vis-à-vis other women in the household can be improved only by becoming a mother. Islam also attaches very great importance to motherhood; according to religious teachings, paradise lies at the feet of the mother.

Although girls are told that their highest aim in life is marriage and motherhood, they are not adequately taught about their own reproductive role or about possibilities of family planning. Consequently, most girls become pregnant within a few months of their marriage^{12/}, and thereafter continue on a long child-bearing career, since the general desire is for large families and particularly for more sons^{13/}.

Lack of education and traditional family system contribute to high levels of fertility. The average family size as estimated from various fertility surveys in Pakistan is about 4 children per currently married women. The mean number of children ever born increases with the age of mother. The completed family size is 6.6 children for the 45-49-year-old married women in 1990-1991 (table 36), reflecting a high level of fertility.

^{12/} According to a recent study conducted in rural and urban Punjab, 44 per cent of women became pregnant within five months of marriage, and 69 per cent within 15 months (Quoted in UNICEF, *Situation Analysis of Children and Women in Pakistan*, 1992).

^{13/} Children, particularly sons, continue to be considered economic assets, providing safeguards against infirmity, disability or death of the income-earner, or loss of land or other assets.

**Table 36. Mean number of children ever born per currently married women and per women:
1975-1988 to 1990-1991**

Age of women	PFS ^{a/} 1975	PCPS ^{b/} 1984-1985	PDS ^{c/} 1984	PDS ^{d/} 1988	PDHS ^{e/} 1990-1991
Mean children ever born per currently married women					
All ages	4.3	4.3	4.0	4.0	4.1
15-19	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.6
20-24	1.9	1.8	1.6	1.7	1.6
25-29	3.4	3.4	3.2	3.2	3.1
30-34	5.2	5.0	4.6	4.7	4.6
35-39	6.4	6.1	5.8	5.7	5.7
40-44	7.5	7.0	6.5	6.3	6.5
45-49	7.4	7.5	6.5	6.5	6.6
Mean children ever born per women					
All ages	3.4	—	3.0	3.0	3.1
15-19	0.2	—	0.2	0.1	0.2
20-24	1.5	—	1.2	1.2	1.0
25-29	3.1	—	2.9	2.9	2.6
30-34	5.0	—	4.4	4.5	4.3
35-39	7.1	—	5.6	5.5	5.5
40-44	7.0	—	6.2	6.0	6.3
45-49	7.0	—	6.3	6.3	6.4

Sources: ^{a/} Pakistan Fertility Survey, 1975.
^{b/} Pakistan Contraceptive Prevalence Survey, 1984-1985.
^{c/} Pakistan Demographic Survey, 1984.
^{d/} Pakistan Demographic Survey, 1988.
^{e/} Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey, 1990-1991.

The age patterns of fertility as reflected in age-specific fertility rates estimated on the basis of data obtained through various surveys over the years are shown in table 37. It will be noted that according to all surveys, the highest fertility occurred to women in the 25-29 age group, followed among women aged 30-34 years; thereafter there is a gradual tapering off with advancing age. By and large, fertility rates in respect of women aged less than 30 years have been declining over the years due perhaps to the increasing age at marriage.

The total fertility rate (TFR) or completed family size has also declined somewhat from an average of 6.3 children in 1975 to 5.4 children in 1990-1991.

Survey data also reveal that women living in major urban areas have lower fertility than those residing in "other urban" and rural areas. It is also interesting to note that rural women aged 20-34 years have reported lower fertility compared to their counterparts in "other urban" areas (annex table D.1). This is rather unexpec-

Table 37. Age-specific fertility rates: 1975 to 1990-1991

Age group	PFS ^{a/} 1975	PLMS ^{b/} 1979-1980	PCPS ^{c/} 1984-1985	PDHS ^{d/} 1990-1991
15-19	31	99	64	84
20-24	275	283	223	230
25-29	315	313	263	268
30-34	259	263	234	229
35-39	188	188	209	147
40-44	77	101	127	73
45-49	11	48	71	40
Total fertility rate	6.3	6.5	6.0	5.4

Sources: ^{a/} Pakistan Fertility Survey, 1975.
^{b/} Population, Labour and Migration Survey, 1979-1980.
^{c/} Pakistan Contraceptive Prevalence Survey, 1984-1985.
^{d/} Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey, 1990-1991.

ted, and could be attributed either to under-reporting of births among rural women or adherence to traditional attitudes towards family size by women living in small towns and cities. However, survey findings confirm that urban residence and education tend to lower the completed family size; women with secondary and higher education have an average of two children fewer than women who have never been to school.

d. Family planning practices

The high fertility of Pakistani women is the combined outcome of early marriage and very little use of family planning. Although, as noted earlier, there has been over the years a rising trend in female age at marriage and in the proportions of young Pakistani women remaining unmarried, these developments do not appear to have had any significant impact on fertility. Similarly, the family planning programme has been in existence for over three decades, but has had very limited influence on fertility levels and trends in the country.

Data collected through various surveys suggest that an increasing and very substantial proportion of Pakistani married women

have knowledge about family planning methods. The number of currently married women who knew of any contraceptive method increased from 61.5 per cent in 1984-1985 to 77.9 per cent in 1990-1991. Also, according to the 1990-1991 Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey, about 70 per cent of currently married women covered by the survey were reported knowing about female sterilization, while another 62 per cent knew about the pill and the injectable, and 52 per cent were reported having knowledge about intra-uterine device (IUD). About a third of the women was reported knowledge about condoms, while a fifth knew about male sterilization (see table 38).

Although a substantial proportion of women reported having knowledge of family planning, only a small percentage of them used any specific contraceptive methods. According to the 1994-1995 Pakistan Contraceptive Prevalence Survey, only 18 per cent of married women in reproductive ages were currently using any method of contraceptive (table 38). While the 1994-1995 percentage is twice the corresponding proportion reported ten years earlier, it is still the lowest among the developing countries of the region. Around 1990, in countries such as Bangladesh, China, India, Indonesia,

Table 38. Percentage of currently married women who have knowledge of and currently using specific contraceptive method: 1984-1985, 1990-1991 and 1994-1995

Contraceptive method	Contraceptive knowledge ^{a/}		Contraceptive use		
	1984-1985	1990-1991	1984-1985	1990-1991	1994-1995
Any method	61.5	77.9	9.1	11.8	17.8
Any modern method	—	—	7.6	9.0	12.6
Pill	54.1	62.2	1.4	0.7	0.7
IUD	43.4	51.5	0.8	1.3	2.1
Injectable	46.7	62.2	0.6	0.8	1.0
Vaginal barrier	16.2	12.7	0.1	—	—
Condoms	28.9	35.3	2.1	2.7	3.7
Male sterilization	18.8	20.2	—	—	—
Female sterilization	50.6	69.7	2.6	5.5	5.0
Any traditional method	—	—	1.5	2.8	5.2
Periodic abstinence	5.8	17.8	0.1	1.3	1.0
Withdrawal	9.0	14.3	0.9	1.2	4.2
Other	—	—	—	0.3	—

Sources: Pakistan Contraceptive Prevalence Survey, 1984-1985; Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey; and Pakistan Contraceptive Prevalence Survey, 1994-1995 (reported in *Pakistan's Population Programme: The Challenge Ahead*, 1996).

Note: ^{a/} Figures are for total knowledge; that is, knowledge based on unprompted (spontaneous) and prompted responses.

Islamic Republic of Iran, Nepal and Sri Lanka, the percentage of married women currently using any contraceptive method was much higher than in Pakistan (table 39).

Table 39. Percentage of married women of reproductive age currently using any contraceptive methods around the year 1990 in selected developing Asian countries

Country	Year	Age range	Prevalence rate
Bangladesh	1991	< 50	39.9
China	1988	15-49	72.1
India	1988	15-44	30.8
Indonesia	1987	15-49	47.7
Islamic Republic of Iran	1992	15-49	64.6
Nepal	1991	15-49	22.7
Pakistan	1990-1991	15-49	11.8
	1994-1995	15-49	17.8
Philippines	1993	15-49	40.0
Sri Lanka	1987	15-49	62.0
Thailand	1987	15-44	67.5
Viet Nam	1988	15-49	53.2

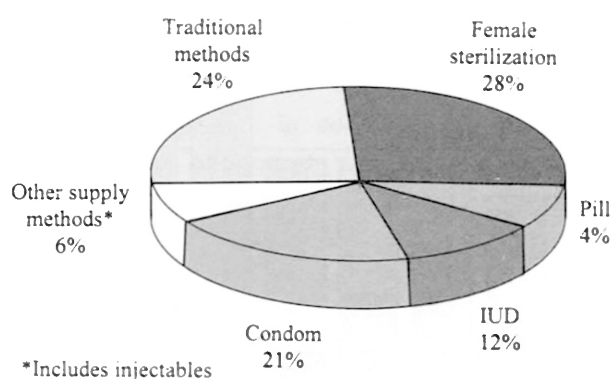
Sources: ESCAP, *Statistical Compendium on Women in Asia and the Pacific 1994*; and United Nations, *World Population Prospects, The 1994 Revision*.

The 1994 Pakistan Contraceptive Prevalence Survey also reported that about 13 per cent of married women were using a modern effective contraceptive method and that female sterilization was the most popular of those methods (table 38); female sterilization^{14/} and IUD together accounted for 40 per cent of modern methods used by women in the country (see figure 7). The proportion of women using withdrawal method (4.2 per cent) is high, compared to countries such as Bangladesh (1.8 per cent), Indonesia (1.3 per cent), Sri Lanka (3.4 per cent) and Thailand (0.9 per cent).

The 1994-1995 Survey also revealed that 72 per cent of the couples had *never* used a contraceptive method. Further, largely because

^{14/} Most persons resorting to the permanent sterilization method are older women with large families. According to another study, the average sterilization client was 35 years old and had six to seven children. (Reported in James E. Rosen and Shanti R. Conly, *Pakistan's Population Programme. The Challenge Ahead*. Washington D.C., 1996).

Figure 7. Percentage of contraceptive users in Pakistan by method: 1994-1995



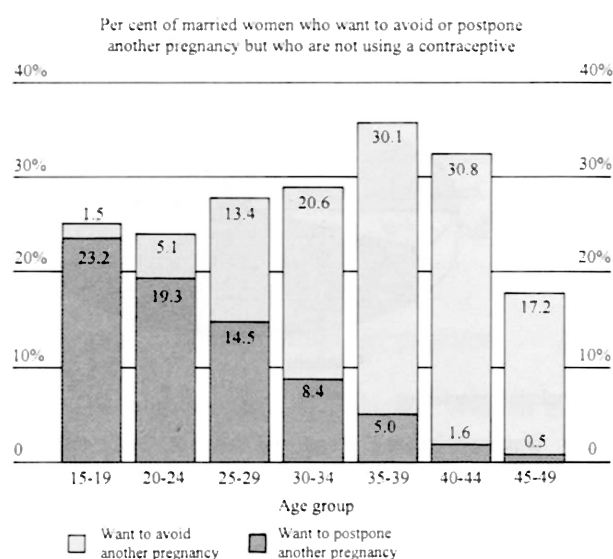
Source: James E. Rosen and Shanti R. Conly, *Pakistan's Population Programme. The Challenge Ahead* (Washington D.C. Population Action International, 1996).

of the marked disparities in access to services, contraceptive use is much higher in the urban (32 per cent) than in rural (11 per cent) areas. The contraceptive use also ranged from a low of 4 per cent in Baluchistan to a high of 20 per cent in the Punjab.

Despite the low level of contraceptive use in Pakistan, successive surveys have clearly shown that there are many women in the reproductive age groups who either do not want more children, because they have already have the desired number, or want to space their child-bearing without necessarily limiting family size. According to the 1984-1985 Pakistan Contraceptive Prevalence Survey, about 23 per cent of women presumed to be fertile did not want any more children, while another 35 per cent wanted a child but after one or more years. The 1990-1991 Survey reported that about 28 per cent of women representing almost six million couples wanted to limit or space their families but were not using family planning. According to the 1994-1995 Survey, about half of the rural and 60 per cent of urban women surveyed wanted no more children (also see figure 8).

The existence of the unmet need for family planning is also attested to by the fact that the general awareness of family planning techniques is much higher than the rates of actual use of these methods. Several factors, such as inadequacy or lack of family planning services

Figure 8. Unmet need for family planning in Pakistan: 1990-1991



Source: James E. Rosen and Shanti R. Conly, *Pakistan's Population Programme: The Challenge Ahead* (Washington D.C. Population Action International, 1996).

particularly in the rural areas^{15/}, fear of side effects among women, and the unacceptability or almost rare use of male methods^{16/}, are contributing to high rates of non-use among couples. It has also been argued that the unmet demand for family planning results in large numbers of unwanted pregnancies and leads many women to resort to unsafe abortions^{17/}.

^{15/} Although the national family planning programme has been in existence for over 30 years, it still lacks adequate geographical coverage. At present the programme is restricted to about 20 per cent of the country's population with 54 per cent in urban areas and 5 per cent in the rural areas.

^{16/} While about five per cent of the couples around the world depend on vasectomy or male sterilization for fertility control, in Pakistan a very negligible per cent of the couples use this method. Available data indicate that less than 2,000 vasectomies are performed every year in the country. Vasectomy is not available at public sector clinics. Further, very few couples know about this method; according to the 1990-1991 Pakistan Contraceptive Prevalence Survey, only 20 per cent of women and 32 per cent of men surveyed were reported having knowledge about the method.

^{17/} In contrast to some Muslim countries such as Bangladesh, Tunis and Turkey where the national laws permit early abortion on broad grounds, in Pakistan abortion could be performed only for very restricted health reasons. The number of abortions in the country is estimated at between 5 and 10 per cent of all pregnancies or roughly 500,000 to 1,250,000 every year. (see James E. Rosen and Shanti R. Conly, *Pakistan Population Programme: The Challenge Ahead*, 1996).

Several studies have emphasized the need for raising the literacy and educational attainment levels of women in order to promote contraceptive use in the country. According to the 1992 Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey, the contraceptive use or prevalence rate was more than four to five times higher among women with middle, secondary and higher levels education than among women with no education (table 40).

Table 40. Total fertility rate and percentage of married women currently using any contraceptive method: 1990-1991

Background characteristics	Total fertility rate	Currently using any method
Residence		
Total urban	4.9	25.7
Major city	4.7	31.0
Other urban	5.2	18.8
Rural	5.6	5.8
Education level		
No education	5.7	7.8
Primary	4.9	17.8
Middle	4.5	29.5
Secondary+	3.6	38.0

Source: NIPS, *Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey, 1992*

3. Maternal and child health

Pakistan ranks among those countries in the world which are considered to have relatively high maternal, infant and child mortality rates. However, due to lack of reliable vital registration data, it has not been possible to accurately quantify these rates for Pakistan. Nevertheless, indirect estimates based on relevant census and survey data give a fairly accurate picture of the level and trends in these rates.

a. Maternal health

Several United Nations reports have estimated the maternal mortality rate for Pakistan at 600 per 100,000 live births in 1988, while the government's Eighth Five Year Plan estimates this rate at 300 per 100,000 live births in 1993. These estimates imply that annually about 20-30 thousand Pakistani women die from complications of pregnancies, childbirth or unsafe abortion. Estimates also indicate that the majority of maternal deaths occur during or

soon after birth caused by hemorrhage, sepsis (severe infection), toxemia, obstructed labour and primitive abortion methods.

Morbidity is generally higher among women in reproductive ages compared to men of the same age group due to many and complex causes. The poor health of Pakistani women is partly due to their excessive reproductive burden. Early marriage combined with numerous and closely spaced pregnancies are the most important causes of the high incidence of morbidity and mortality among these women. The situation is further exacerbated by inadequate nutrition especially among pregnant and lactating mothers, lack of proper sanitation facilities, and heavy physical workload. As a result most women suffer from "maternal depletion syndrome" and become increasingly vulnerable to infectious and respiratory diseases during child-bearing years.

Studies conducted in Pakistan and elsewhere have clearly shown that there is increased risk to maternal health from pregnancies, that occur to women under age 20 and over 35 years, as well as from births which are less than two years apart. According to the 1985 Pakistan Demographic Survey, nearly a third of all women bear children with birth intervals less than two years, and about 28 per cent of births occur to women in high risk age groups, namely under 20 years and over 35 years. The survey also revealed that about 27 per cent of all births were to mothers who already had six or more children (table 41).

An important factor contributing to high maternal mortality in Pakistan is the inadequate medical care and attention that expectant mo-

thers receive during pregnancy and at child delivery. By and large, Pakistani women do not have recourse to preventive antenatal care, because the concept is not fully understood and appreciated; childbirth is generally viewed as a natural phenomenon to whose risks women should be resigned. In addition, the long distances^{18/} that expectant women, particularly those living in rural areas, have to travel to reach antenatal services discourage them from availing of these services. According to a 1985 study, only 21 per cent of rural and 60 per cent of urban pregnant women had at least one contact with antenatal services.

The high rate of maternal mortality is also due to the fact that a very substantial percentage of birth deliveries takes place at home with the help of *dais* or traditional birth attendants, who have generally inherited their skills, or by female relatives of the woman delivering the baby. According to the 1990-1991 Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey, 52.2 per cent of all births in the country were attended by *dais*, while another 12.5 per cent were attended by some relatives. Only 12.4 per cent of the total births were attended by trained doctors, while another 6.4 per cent by nurses and/or lady health visitors, and another 16.6 per cent by trained birth attendants (see annex table D.2).

It is also clear from annex table D.2 that type of assistance during delivery varies mark-

^{18/} According to UNICEF estimates, 55 per cent of the total population and only 35 per cent of the rural population live within five kilometres or half an hour's walk of any fixed health facility. In a large number of more remote areas, distances to a reasonably equipped and staffed health centre would be much greater. (see UNICEF, *Situation Analysis of Children and Women in Pakistan*).

Table 41. Percentage of "high risk" births by residence: 1985

Area	Percentage of births in last years to mothers aged		Percentage of births by birth order		Percentage of births by birth interval	
	< 20	35+	1	6+	< 2 years	2-3 years
Pakistan	6.6	20.9	18.1	27.3	33.7	44.3
Urban	6.3	18.1	17.8	26.9	35.2	41.7
Rural	6.7	22.3	18.2	27.3	32.9	45.1

Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics, *Pakistan Demographic Survey, 1985*.

edly by residence and education level of mothers. The proportion of deliveries taking place with the assistance of professionally trained personnel such as doctors, nurses and trained birth attendants was considerably higher in urban areas (60.6 per cent) than in rural areas (24.1 per cent). Although about 42 per cent of deliveries in major cities were assisted by doctors, yet about 27 per cent of births in such cities take place at home with assistance from untrained traditional birth attendants^{19/}. The proportion of deliveries attended by trained personnel also increases with the educational attainment of the mothers; while only about 6 per cent of women with no education had their deliveries assisted by a doctor, this proportion was as high as 57 per cent for women with secondary or higher education.

Apart from factors discussed above, an important cause of the high incidence of maternal mortality in Pakistan is the poor nutritional level of the country's women. Most of these women enter motherhood with a history of malnutrition and overwork which continues throughout their reproductive period. The traditional custom of women and children eating last and mostly least of whatever is available after adult men have eaten, often results in poor

nutritional standards among women and children, particularly girls.

Information gathered from various nutrition surveys show that average caloric consumption of men is higher than that of women and that caloric intakes of pregnant and lactating mothers are below recommended levels. These studies also show that pregnant and lactating mothers are deficient in certain vitamins and minerals, compared to other women and especially men. Further, nearly 45 per cent of pregnant and lactating mothers suffer from iron deficiency anaemia, and 10 per cent are severely anaemic. This problem was more severe among older than younger mothers (also see table 42).

b. Infant and child health

As noted earlier in section C (table 18), infant mortality rates have been declining over the past three decades; according to the Pakistan Demographic Survey, this rate was 102.4 per 1,000 live births in 1991. In other words, about one in ten Pakistani infants die before reaching their first birthday. The survey data also showed that female infant mortality rate is lower than that for males and that in urban areas, the 1991 female infant mortality rate of 61.9 per 1,000 live births was approximately 14 points lower than the rate for male infants.

While the first year of life is the most dangerous period for children, in Pakistan deaths continue at an alarmingly high rates between ages one and five. The Eighth Five Year Plan estimated the 1993 child mortality rate at 43 per 1,000 live births. The current infant and child mortality rates for Pakistan

^{19/} Although a large majority of urban women live within two kilometres of some forms of health facilities, most of them deliver at home and are assisted by untrained attendants. Available evidence suggests that poor urban women seldom use trained delivery services and referral opportunities even when they are available, due largely to lack of transport, absence of the husband and hesitancy on the part of family members. Access to trained help is often sought too late with mothers being dead on arrival at hospital. (see UNICEF, *Situation Analysis of Children and Women in Pakistan*).

Table 42. Average intake of iron by biological group: 1988

Group	Average intake (mg)	Recommended intake (mg)	Average as percentage of recommended	Percentage under 70 per cent recommended
Adult males	20	9	222	6
Adult females	18	28	64	49
Pregnant	17	33	52	84
Lactating	18	33	55	78

Source: National Nutrition Survey, 1988.

are high even by the standards of low-income countries.

An accurate assessment of the causes of infant and child morbidity and mortality in Pakistan is rendered difficult by the paucity of relevant national data. However, on the basis of available evidence, it is generally recognized that the most common causes of childhood morbidity and mortality are diarrhoeal diseases and acute respiratory infections; neonatal tetanus and measles are also important causes of death among infants.

According to information from the Control of Diarrhoeal Disease Programme, an estimated 228,000 children under five years of age die every year because of diarrhoea and its complications. Household surveys in rural Sindh and Baluchistan reveal that children suffer four to five episodes of diarrhoea annually. Available data also seems to suggest that while mortality due to acute diarrhoea is gradually decreasing, deaths due to dysentery and persistent diarrhoea are on the increase.

Acute respiratory infections (ARI) are also among the leading causes of morbidity and mortality, particularly in infants. This problem is more serious in the urban than in the rural areas; the annual number of ARI episodes per child are five to eight in the urban and three to five in the rural areas. Several studies indicate that ARI accounts for more than a third of paediatric consultations and about 11 to 33 per cent of all paediatric admissions in the country. Also, children under five years constitute about fourfifths of all ARI-related admissions and 65 per cent of these cases suffer from pneumonia. The majority of ARI deaths occurs among infants.

A majority of infant deaths occurs during the first 40 days of life when, due to traditional cultural reasons, the babies are not taken out of the house. Neonatal tetanus is the principal cause of neonatal deaths accounting for an estimated one-third of deaths during the first month of life. These deaths occur largely due to unhygienic birth and delivery practices such as the dressing of the umbilical cord with *ghee* in some areas.

The ill health of children is to a great extent due to the poor health and low status of their mothers. Sick, weak and uneducated mothers are likely to give birth to underweight and unhealthy children who are more likely to die in childhood or remain prone to illness throughout their lives. According to the 1988 National Nutrition Survey, about 25 to 30 per cent of babies are of low-birth weight, i.e. 2.5 kilograms or less. The risk of early death is very much greater among low-birth weight babies who also constitute the majority of cases of neonatal mortality in Pakistan.

Anthropometric indices of nutritional status based on the data from the 1990-1991 Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey indicate that 30 per cent of children under five years of age were stunted; they were below the standard height for age, 9.2 per cent were wasted or below the standard weight for height, and 40.4 per cent were below the weight for age or underweight. This reflects chronic and acute undernourishment among children. Although male children show a slight edge over female children, the differences are not substantial (table 43).

In addition to protein and calorie deficiency as reflected in anthropometric indices, Pakistani children are also found to be deficient in iron and iodine. Anaemia, caused either by low intake of iron or by inadequate absorption of iron, is even more prevalent among young children than it is among their mothers. According to the 1988 National Nutrition Survey, 65 per cent of children under five were anaemic and 28 per cent severely anaemic, measured in terms of haemoglobin in blood samples. Iodine deficiency disorder (IDD) is a major problem, especially in the northern areas, Azad Kashmir and parts of NWFP, where goitre prevalence figures of over 70 per cent have been recorded.

Malnutrition aggravates the various causes of morbidity among children. Various investigations carried out in South Asia have confirmed the intricate relationship between diarrhea and malnutrition in children. Malnutrition often leads to a general suppression of the immune system, thereby increasing the risk of diarrhoea. In turn, diarrhoea increases the state of malnutrition

Table 43. Percentage of children (under 5 years) classified as undernourished according to three anthropometric indices of nutritional status and by selected demographic characteristic: 1990-1991

Demographic characteristics	Height-for-age		Weight-for-height		Weight-for-age	
	Below-3 SD	Below-2 SD	Below-2 SD	Below-2 SD	Below-3 SD ¹	Below-2 SD
Total	30.1	50.0	1.8	9.2	13.7	40.4
Child's sex						
Male	29.9	51.0	2.4	10.2	14.0	40.9
Female	30.2	48.9	1.2	8.2	13.4	40.0
Both sexes	30.1	50.0	1.8	9.2	13.7	40.4
Residence						
Total urban	21.5	40.7	1.1	8.1	9.5	32.5
Major city	18.8	38.3	0.3	7.6	7.9	29.6
Other urban	25.2	44.0	2.1	8.7	11.6	36.5
Rural	34.6	54.9	2.1	9.8	16.0	44.6
Province						
Punjab	25.7	44.2	2.2	10.2	12.3	37.3
Sindh	35.4	56.0	0.8	8.7	17.3	48.2
North West Frontier Province	35.8	60.2	1.9	6.7	12.1	38.4
Baluchistan	50.4	70.8	0.1	6.0	23.7	56.4

Source: National Institute of Population Studies, *Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey, 1990-1991*.

Note: Figures are for children born in the period five years preceding the survey. Each index is expressed in terms of the number of standard deviation (SD) units from the median of the NCHS/CDC/WHO international reference population.

by invoking immune responses which cause fever and anorexia. Studies in Pakistan have also shown that the majority of pneumonia deaths occur among children who are malnourished.

Most of the diseases among infants and children could be easily prevented or cured through simple and inexpensive methods, but the majority of parents do not seem to be aware or appreciative of these techniques. For example, oral rehydration therapy (ORT) to treat children's diarrhoea is still inadequately publicized and understood in Pakistan. Pilot studies in Sindh and Baluchistan revealed that ORT has been used only in about 21 per cent cases of diarrhoea.

Although the immunization programme has made considerable contributions towards protecting children against whooping cough, diphtheria, tetanus, polio and measles, yet the programme has not covered all children in the country. The 1990-1991 Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey indicated that among children aged 12-23 months, 70 per cent received BCG vaccination, 50 per cent were immunized against measles and about 43 per cent had doses of DPT and polio vaccines. The survey also reported that

about 28 per cent of children in the country had not been immunized at all and this proportion was as high as 35 per cent in rural areas. The proportion of children not covered by immunization was highest (57 per cent) in Baluchistan and lowest in the Punjab. Boys were more likely to get vaccinated against childhood diseases than girls; the proportion of children not covered by the programme was 25 per cent for boys, compared to 31 per cent for girls (annex table D.3). This, to some extent, reflects the preference for male children and the neglect of the health of female babies.

4. Marital disruption

Persons who are widowed or divorced constitute that segment of the population living in a state of marital disruption. For 1972 and 1981, the proportion of the widowed or divorced persons in the population by age groups and sex are shown in table 44. It will be noted that the proportion of widowed as well as divorced persons at all age groups is higher for women than men.

As is to be expected, the proportions of widowed population increase with advancing

Table 44. Percentage of widowed and divorced persons aged 15 years and over by age group and sex: 1972 and 1981 censuses

Age group	Percentage widowed				Percentage divorced			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	1972	1981	1972	1981	1972	1981	1972	1981
15-19	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2
20-24	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4
25-29	1.2	0.8	1.3	1.2	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.5
30-34	2.0	1.4	2.4	2.2	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.5
35-39	2.7	1.9	3.8	3.2	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.4
40-44	4.2	2.7	7.6	5.9	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.4
45-49	5.2	3.3	10.7	8.7	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.4
50-54	8.0	4.8	22.2	17.4	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.4
55-59	9.8	5.6	22.3	18.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3
60+	19.6	11.7	52.8	47.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3
All ages	4.9	3.1	10.5	9.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4

Sources: Federal Bureau of Statistics, *Pakistan Statistical Yearbook, 1994*; and Population Census Organization, *1981 Census Report of Pakistan*.

age. In 1981 the proportion of widowed women was twice or more than twice the corresponding proportions for males at ages 40 and above, and at ages 60 and above the proportion of widowed females (47.4 per cent) was more than four times the male proportion (11.7 per cent). The much higher probability of widowhood for women, compared to men, could be attributed to two factors. In the first instance, Pakistani women generally marry men who are at least five years older than them and hence there is a greater chance of the husband dying before his wife. Also, at higher ages, women tend to live longer than men. Secondly, the prospects for remarriage are much brighter for widowers than widows.

In Pakistan, as in most Islamic societies, divorce is basically a male privilege, though a woman's right to divorce could be made part of the marriage agreement. The male partner needs not go to a court to obtain a divorce and this is an additional determinant. Since divorce carries social stigma and also has economic repercussions, married women and their parents would, by and large, bear any hardship to avoid or prevent a divorce.

The incidence of divorce in Pakistan is low, compared with several other countries, but the census returns show a slightly higher incidence

of divorce among women than men at all ages. This is due to the fact that, as in the case of widows, the chances of remarriage for divorced women are low, especially if they already have children.

According to the Holy Quran, whenever a man divorces his spouse, he should do so with grace and generosity and should not take back what he has given her except when she is guilty of blatant immorality. A divorced woman is also entitled to a comely maintenance, even after the divorce has taken place, and to the custody of a male child until the age of seven and a female child until puberty, except in the interest of the child as decided by a court. However, the Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women observed "denial of the right of maintenance was one of the most common complaints of both the rural and urban women brought to the notice of the Commission".

In most instances, widowhood and divorce constitute an unhappy state for the woman concerned. Young widows and young divorcees sometimes lose their right to mix freely with other girls, dress as they like, and to other simple pleasures. A widow economically dependent on members of her husband's family could be illtreated and abused; she has to work hard and put up with all kinds of indignities and humiliation from elder household members.

5. Domestic violence

Although data are not available, it is generally contended by advocates of women's rights that wife beating is widespread, but that a woman rarely seeks legal recourse unless she plans to leave her husband. The Pakistan Commission on Status of Women also noted that "cases have been reported where women, particularly in rural areas and poor urban communities, are subjected to beating, homicide and different forms of physical abuse".

The government has in recent years set up all-female police stations in several large cities to help women reporting physical abuse.

6. Decision-making within family

No detailed and comprehensive information is available on family decision-making from the surveys conducted on a national scale in Pakistan. However, a few studies and investigations conducted on limited scale show that women play a greater role in decision-making within the family than is commonly believed. The traditional sex division of labour has given women an important decision-making role within the family. For instance, in some rural areas of the Punjab province, women make decisions more often or as often as men in such traditional farm activities as threshing groundnut, maize, collecting rapeseed for fodder and weeding, husking etc.

E. WOMEN IN ECONOMIC LIFE

1. Women's economic activities

a. Kinds of activity

In Pakistan, women play a vital role in economic production, especially in the rural areas where they contribute very significantly to the development of agriculture, livestock and cottage industries. Many rural women participate in practically all operations related to crop production such as sowing, transplanting, weeding and harvesting, as well as in post-harvest processing including threshing, winnowing, drying, grinding, husking and storage. In almost all live-

stock-owning households, women attend to tasks related to caring and rearing of animals and poultry (cutting and fetching fodder, cleaning sheds and animals, collecting manure for fuel or organic fertilizer) as well as to processing and marketing of animal products (milking, making ghee and selling eggs and other products to villagers). In addition, women are also engaged in several non-farm economic activities such as cottage industries, brick-making and road maintenance.

By and large, the rural women engaged in various economic activities referred to above work as unpaid family workers in the family farm or household enterprise. What is more, they perform these activities in addition to their normal domestic chores such as cooking, taking care of children, fetching water and fuel often from great distances, cleaning and maintaining the house as well as some of its construction. Consequently, these women work longer hours than men; surveys have revealed that a woman typically works 12 to 15 hours a day on various economic activities and household chores.

In the urban areas, women are engaged in a range of occupations in the formal as well as informal sectors. In the formal sector, women are largely employed as production workers in factories (e.g. spinners, weavers, knitters, dyers, dress and upholstery makers), as professional and service workers (doctors, paramedical, teachers) and unskilled labourers. Since positions involving contact with the general public or close cooperation with men are deemed inappropriate for women, secretaries, personal assistants, shop clerks, receptionists and restaurant personnel are overwhelmingly male. Employed women generally work in specifically female offices or facilities.

In the urban informal sector, women workers are either home-based being self-employed or engaged in family-owned manufacturing or trade micro-enterprises (e.g. seamstresses, leather workers, launderers and vendors), or are "outside home" workers employed as brick-makers, construction workers, domestic aides, or being-self employed as vendors selling garlands, bangles etc. Several urban women are also

engaged as piece-rate workers working at home on contract for a factory^{20/}.

There is generally no need for urban women, unlike their rural sisters, to devote a substantial portion of their time to such domestic chores as providing food, fetching water and fuel etc. Consequently, they have more time at their disposal for productive activities. However, several factors, such as the responsibility for looking after children^{21/}, their low educational and skill levels, lack of access to credit facilities, and relatively stricter observance of "purdah", act as important constraints to greater participation of women in the urban economy.

b. Data limitations

Despite the crucial role that women play in the national economy, their contribution to economic production is still "invisible" in relevant official statistics. Censuses and labour force surveys do not realistically reflect the proportion of women engaged in various economic activities; they drastically understate the extent of female participation in the country's labour force, particularly in rural agriculture and urban informal sectors. According to these investigations, only around 10 per cent of the females aged 10 years and over are reported as being economically active or participating in the labour force. This reported proportion is much lower than the average for South Asia and for developing countries as a whole.

In the specific context of Pakistan where a large number of households are deemed to live below the poverty line, it is simply inconceivable that about 90 per cent of the country's

females aged 10 years and over perform only domestic chores that do not contribute to household income. On the contrary, evidence from other investigations clearly point to a considerably higher female labour force participation, particularly in the rural areas. For example, according to the 1980 Agricultural Census, the most reliable and comprehensive source of data on female employment in the rural sector, women's participation rate in agriculture was 73 per cent; women accounted for 25 per cent of all full-time and 75 per cent of all part-time workers in agricultural households.

On the basis of the 1980 agricultural census data, it has been estimated that about 12 million women participating in agricultural activities were omitted in the 1986-1987 labour force survey. Also, according to the 1990-1991 Pakistan integrated household survey, female labour force participation rate was 45 per cent in the rural and 17 per cent in the urban areas. It, thus, becomes clear that if accurate assessments are made of women's contribution to economic production, a conservative estimate of women's participation would be between 30 and 40 per cent, instead of the 3.2 per cent reported by the 1981 census or the 12.0 per cent by the 1990-1991 labour force survey.

The gross under reporting of women's participation in the labour force could be attributed to several reasons. In the first instance, since women's "visible" productive work overlaps with inside and outside household chores, the distinction between domestic and economic activities becomes blurred. Consequently, there is a general tendency to overlook the significant contribution women make to economic production and to simply categorize them as "unpaid family workers" or "housewives" on the basis of their involvement in domestic chores. It is only when a woman works in the formal industrial sector that her participation is accounted for in the labour force data.

Secondly, since the participation of rural women in agricultural operations during the peak demand season is three to six times that during the slack period, the timing of the survey investigation will have an effect on the reported level of participation. Surveys conducted

^{20/} In piecework, raw materials are supplied to the producers, most of whom are women, by middlemen or shopkeepers who would also later collect the finished products and pay the producers on a piece-rate basis. Home-based piecework permits a woman to combine the roles of wife, mother and home-keeper, because its hours are flexible and convenient. It is also an important way of bringing into employment women who would otherwise be restricted to their household duties.

^{21/} Since the extended family system tends to break down in the urban areas, requiring women to care for the family on their own, looking after children and attending to other domestic responsibilities would force women to stay at home rather than seek self-employment outside.

during the period of slack demand for women's labour will not capture in full the involvement of women in agricultural activities.

Third, as a result of the ambiguous definitions and concepts of economic activity used in the surveys, the enumerator may have to use his/her own judgement as to whether a woman's work is productive or not. The labour force surveys usually ask women respondents: "Have you ever done any work other than house-keeping?". It is likely that women themselves would answer this question in the negative, as they may consider their unpaid activities in family farms or other household enterprises as parts of their domestic responsibilities.

Another major reason for the under reporting of the number of economically active women in the rural areas is the reluctance of male farmers to acknowledge the economic activities of their wives and daughters outside the homes. This is particularly true in many Islamic societies, where the custom of "purdah" inhibits employment of women. These sociocultural traits may affect not only the extent to which women actually engage in income-producing work, but also the report of these activities in the censuses and labour force surveys. It has also been observed that where both the enumerator and the respondent are men, there is often a tendency to under-report the economic activities of women. In contrast, female-specific surveys report higher female participation rates, because data are collected by female enumerators from women respondents.

Further, a systematic analysis of the trends in labour force participation is also rendered difficult by varying definitions and concepts of the economically active persons or labour force used in the censuses and surveys. For example, the 1951 census collected information in respect of all persons aged 12 years and over who were self-supporting or partly self-supporting, or seeking employment during the one-month period preceding the date of enumeration. At the 1961 census, all persons aged 10 years and over were asked whether they were working or looking for work during the one week preceding the census date, and this information was collected only in respect of non-agricultural

workers. The 1981 census attempted to assess the activity status of the persons on the basis of their response to questions as to whether a person usually did some work, and if not, whether he/she was looking for work; but no specific reference period was used.

The variations in the concept of economic activity, the reference period, as well as the lower age limit of respondents make it difficult for any meaningful comparative analysis of the data collected. These variations would affect, to a considerable extent, the measurement of levels of labour force participation, especially of women. These limitations have to be kept in mind in examining the data on economic activity, employment levels and composition of the population.

In addition to the problems of data collection, available data have not been disaggregated by gender for many variables such as household income and women's share in it, division of labour and classification of women in different subsections of major industrial sectors or occupational categories. These statistical inadequacies make it difficult to assess women's economic participation in terms of levels, incomes and occupational categories by age.

2. Labour force participation

As noted earlier, the contribution of Pakistani women to national economic production has been, for various reasons, grossly underreported in various census enumerations and labour force enquiries. Consequently, official labour force statistics show that women constitute only a very small proportion of the country's labour force, although they account for around 47 per cent of the total population in the working ages. For example, of all persons aged 10 years and over reported economically active or being in the labour force, women constituted about 9 per cent in 1961 and 1973, less than 4 per cent in 1981 and about 16 per cent in 1991-1992 (table 45).

Work participation rates derived from census and labour force survey data indicate that these rates for men as well as for women are significantly higher in the rural than urban

**Table 45. Numerical and percentage distribution of the labour force by sex:
1961, 1973, 1981 and 1991-1992**

Year and source	Both sexes		Male		Female	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
1961 census	12,763	100.0	11,641	91.2	1,122	8.8
1973 housing economic and demographic survey	19,762	100.0	18,016	91.2	1,746	8.8
1981 census	22,626	100.0	21,791	96.3	835	3.7
1991-1992 Labour force survey	32,978	100.0	27,814	84.3	5,164	15.7

Sources: Census of Pakistan 1961, vol. 3 (West Pakistan); Housing Economic and Demographic Survey 1973, vol. II, Part I; 1981 Census Report of Pakistan; and 1991-1992 Labour Force Survey.

areas. The urban/rural differences are more marked in the case of female participation rates. In almost all enumerations carried out during the past three decades, labour force participation rate for rural women has been two to three times higher than the rates for their urban counterparts. According to the 1992-1993 labour force survey, rural female participation rate of 15.9 per cent^{22/} was a little more

than twice the rate of 7.3 per cent reported in respect of urban women (table 46).

The significantly higher rates of female labour force participation in the rural areas, compared to urban areas, may be explained in terms of a number of factors. While in the rural areas the norms of rural life and nature of agricultural activities provide greater opportunities for women to participate in economic activities, in the urban areas there are numerous barriers to women's access to employment in both the formal and informal sectors.

Within the formal sector, the modern large-scale manufacturing industries have over the years not been generating adequate employment

^{22/} In fact, it has been argued that female labour force participation rate may well be higher than 15.9 per cent, since this figure does not include non-agricultural households, which account for 31 per cent of all rural households and had in 1986/1987 an estimated labour force of 6 million. Generally, labour force participation among women is higher in non-agricultural households than in agricultural households.

**Table 46. Labour force participation rates of the population aged 10 years and over
by sex and urban/rural residence: 1961 to 1992-1993**

Year	Data source	Urban		Rural	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
1961	Population census	72.2	4.1	83.9	10.9
1973	Housing, economic and demographic survey	70.6	8.7	80.4	9.3
1981	Population Census	63.4	3.5	76.4	3.0
1982-1983	Labour force survey	68.0	4.4	78.2	13.4
1984-1985	Labour force survey	71.2	4.1	79.8	10.7
1985-1986	Labour force survey	68.5	3.6	77.6	11.5
1986-1987	Labour force survey	67.6	5.1	76.3	15.0
1987-1988	Labour force survey	68.0	5.0	76.4	12.5
1980-1990	Labour force survey	64.9	7.3	72.3	14.0
1990-1991	Labour force survey	66.6	8.6	73.6	14.8
1991-1992	Labour force survey	65.4	8.0	72.5	16.7
1992-1993	Labour force survey	64.9	7.3	71.3	15.9

Sources: Ministry of Home Affairs, *Population Census of Pakistan*, 1961; Pakistan Census Organization, *Economic and Demographic Survey*, 1973, vol. II; and Statistics Division, *Labour Force Surveys*, 1982-1983 and 1992-1993.

opportunities because of the gradual shift from relatively labour-intensive consumer goods industries towards more capital-intensive production of intermediate goods. In fact, as a result of the shift towards capital-intensive methods, employment in manufacturing and mining has decreased slightly from 13.6 per cent in 1963-1964 to 12.4 in 1993-1994. Further, as noted earlier, a large range of occupations in the sale and service subsectors, which involve working closely with men or contact with the general public, are filled almost exclusively by men. Third, protective labour laws, which require a policy of equal pay for equal work, provision of maternity benefits and welfare facilities such as creches and separate sanitation facilities, and observance of certain working hours for women employed on a permanent basis, discourage employers from hiring women as permanent workers.

On the supply side, women's access to urban formal employment is limited by their overall low levels of education and skills, which limit the number of qualified women. Generally, there is a dearth of vocational training facilities for women in such rapidly expanding areas as assembly work, clerical occupations, computers, communications etc. Further, the absence of day care facilities and separate washrooms in the workplace may discourage women from accepting employment, since, among many families, it is not considered respectable for women to work in non-segregated situations. Also, using public transport to commute to place of work is more of a problem for women than men.

Although the urban informal sector is the chief employer of poor urban working women and provides work opportunities for an estimated two million women in Pakistan, women's choice of activity in this sector is also limited by the norms of female seclusion. Since work which involves contact with men is associated with loss of respect and diminished marriage prospects for single girls, woman workers in the informal sector are by and large confined to being either home-based workers (stitching clothes, making lace, weaving baskets, embroidery, food products etc. for sale by male members or middlemen) or domestic servants in other households (when the master of that household is away at work). For those engaged in home-

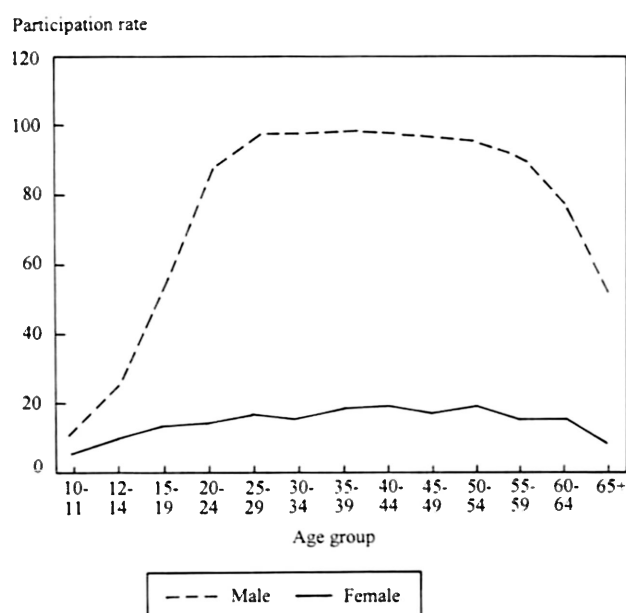
based activities, lack of marketing facilities^{23/} and of access to credit facilities is a severe constraint on their productivity.

Despite two decades of industrial development and economic growth, the reported labour force participation rates for Pakistani urban women are low even by the standards of various other Muslim countries. Recent surveys, however, show a rising trend in these rates (see table 46) and these trends are also supported by the findings of various microstudies which point to an influx of women in the urban labour market in the 1980s. The evidence from the micro-level studies suggests a conservative estimate of 20-30 per cent urban women working both in the formal and informal sectors combined. The low participation rates reported by labour force surveys may probably be due to the fact that these surveys tend to cover women employed in the formal sector only.

The labour force participation rates also exhibit marked differentials across age groups for both men and women. Male participation rates are highest between ages 25 and 59, while the highest rates for women are in the age groups 35-44 and 45-54 (annex table E.1). This may be due to the entry of women into the labour market after completing their family size or, because of economic necessity, after having a certain number of children. It is clear from annex table E.1 that male participation rates exceed 95 per cent for ages over 25 years, reflecting the involvement of all men in productive employment, while the female rates remain below 20 per cent. For younger age groups, 10-14 years, more boys are involved in work (34.8 per cent in 1984-1985 and 19.2 per cent in 1990-1991) than the girls of the same age group (6.9 per cent) in 1990-1991 (also see figure 9). This may be due to more school-age boys going to work to supplement family income and probably to the girls staying at home and doing household chores. However, there has been a decline in the activity rate for boys in younger age groups of 10-14 and 15-19

^{23/} This constraint is specific to women; because of the segregation norm, women have to depend on male family members to undertake the "outside" tasks of procuring raw materials and for selling their finished products.

Figure 9. Labour force participation rates by age group and sex: 1990-1991



Source: Labour Force Survey, 1990-1991.

years in 1990-1991, probably because in recent years an increasing number of young boys started going to school instead of working.

3. Labour force status

The economically active persons or those in the labour force fall under two categories:

- (a) Employed persons, that is, those who during the reference period were either working for pay or profit in cash or kind, or had a job but were not at work owing to absence on leave, illness, strike or other reasons; and

- (b) Unemployed persons, that is, those who during the reference period were without work but were currently available for work and seeking work in that they had taken specific steps in specified recent period to seek employment, either paid or self-employment.

The percentage distribution of the economically active persons by labour force status for two census years and for two labour force survey years is shown in table 47.

It is clear from table 47 that according to the 1981 census and the two recent labour force surveys, the percentage of employed population was higher among men, while that of unemployed persons was higher among the women. It is also clear that recent surveys show far greater unemployment rates of women, reflecting a trend in increasing number of women seeking employment.

a. Unemployed persons

According to the 1991-1992 labour force survey data, unemployment levels, among both males and females, have been higher in the urban than in rural areas, and an overall unemployment rate of urban females (19.2 per cent) was considerably higher than the rate of 13.5 per cent for rural females (table 48).

It is also clear from table 48 that urban female unemployment rates are substantially higher than the corresponding rates for rural women at almost all ages, and that these disparities are marked in respect of females at

Table 47. Percentage distribution by labour force status and sex: 1961 to 1991-1992

Year and source	Male		Female	
	Employed	Unemployed	Employed	Unemployed
1961 census	98.1	1.9	99.4	0.6
1981 census	97.1	2.9	92.5	7.5
1990-1991 labour force survey	95.4	4.6	82.5	17.5
1991-1992 labour force survey	95.8	4.2	86.4	13.6

Sources: Ministry of Home Affairs, *Population Census of Pakistan*, 1961; Population Census Organization, *Census Report of Pakistan*, 1981; and Statistics Division, *Labour Force Surveys*, 1990-1991 and 1991-1992.

Table 48. Age-specific unemployment rates by residence and sex: 1991-1992

Age group	Pakistan		Urban		Rural	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
10-11	13.9	40.0	25.4	45.3	11.7	39.2
12-14	6.4	17.0	12.6	29.0	4.8	15.5
15-19	9.3	17.4	12.7	26.1	7.9	15.3
20-24	7.4	15.7	9.6	25.2	6.3	12.4
25-29	2.6	10.5	3.5	13.8	2.2	9.8
30-34	1.9	6.7	1.7	9.8	2.0	6.0
35-39	1.2	10.0	1.1	10.5	1.3	9.9
40-44	1.8	5.6	1.3	6.5	1.1	5.5
45-49	2.1	9.5	2.3	24.5	2.0	5.5
50-54	2.7	17.7	4.5	25.0	1.9	16.2
55-59	3.2	23.4	3.6	38.6	3.1	19.9
60-64	4.4	24.0	6.1	30.7	3.9	23.3
65+1	9.1	31.8	12.6	43.5	8.1	29.7
All ages 10+	4.2	13.6	5.1	19.2	3.8	13.5

Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics, *Women and Men in Pakistan, 1995*.

younger ages, 10-24 years, and at older ages, 40 years and over. These disparities reflect the barriers referred to earlier that urban women encounter in regard to their entry into the labour market.

b. Employed persons

The type of activity that an employed person performs can be examined from the point of view of (a) the industry or the activity of the establishment in which an employed person works during the reference period, (b) the occupation or kind of work done during the reference period, and (c) the status as employer, employee, self-employed or unpaid family worker.

c. Industrial attachment

The percentage distribution of the employed population by major industrial sectors, sex and residence as revealed by the 1991-1992 labour force survey is shown in table 49. It will be noted from this table that for the country as a whole, the largest proportion of employed persons, among both males and females, was engaged in agricultural and allied industries, but the proportion for females (68.8 per cent) was 24 percentage points higher than the proportion for males (44.8 per cent). The second largest proportion of employed females was in the manufacturing sector (14.3 per cent). Among employed males, the second largest

Table 49. Percentage distribution of employed persons aged 10 years and over by major industrial sector, sex and residence: 1991-1992

Major industrial sector	Pakistan		Urban		Rural	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	44.8	68.8	6.2	14.7	60.8	79.4
Mining and quarrying	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.1
Manufacturing	11.9	14.3	22.7	32.4	7.4	10.8
Electricity, gas and water	0.9	0.1	1.9	0.0	0.5	0.1
Construction	7.3	0.8	7.4	0.4	7.7	0.9
Trade, hotel and restaurant	14.7	3.5	27.2	6.7	9.4	2.2
Transport, storage and communication	6.4	0.3	10.1	1.3	4.8	0.2
Finance, insurance and business services	0.9	0.1	2.1	0.9	0.3	0.2
Community, social and personal services	12.7	11.9	22.0	43.2	8.8	5.6
Activities not adequately defined	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.5
All industrial sectors	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics, *Labour Force Survey, 1991-1992*.

proportion was in the trade sector (14.7 per cent). The third largest proportion of females (11.9 per cent) and males (12.7 per cent) was engaged in the community, social and personal service sector.

The pattern of industrial attachment of the employed persons in the rural areas more or less conforms to the national pattern: the largest proportion of females and of males was found in agriculture related industries and the proportionate share among females (79.4 per cent) was substantially higher than the corresponding share among males (60.8 per cent). Similarly, the second largest proportion among females (10.8 per cent) was in manufacturing, while that among males was in trade. The service sector is the employer of the third largest proportion of employed males and females in the rural areas.

However, in the urban areas, the pattern of industrial attachment of the employed persons varies from that in rural as well as in the country as a whole for both males and females. Among females, the highest proportion is concentrated in the community, social and personal services sector (43.2 per cent), followed by manufacturing (32.4 per cent) and agriculture (14.7 per cent). Among males, the largest proportion is absorbed in the trade and related sector (27.2 per cent), while the manufacturing sector with 22.7 per cent and services sector with 22 per cent rank second and third respectively. A significant proportion of urban females (6.7 per cent) is employed in the trade, hotel and restaurant industries.

As noted earlier, about a third of the employed women are engaged in manufacturing, but, unfortunately, gender-disaggregated data by type of manufacturing units are not available either from the labour force surveys or Census of Manufacturing Industries. However, a 1990 study^{24/} shows that within the manufacturing sector, women are largely concentrated in textiles, wearing apparel (garments) and leather industries, representing about 43.8 per cent of

all female workers in manufacturing industries. The study also revealed that the expansion of women's employment in manufacturing has taken place outside the regular factory workforce and mainly in the form of temporary and contract workers, reflecting the strong intention of employers to exploit women as a cheaper and more pliable form of labour.

With increasing adoption of mechanization during the 1980s, a large number of workers, particularly women, were displaced in textile manufacture, where they had been concentrated in ginning and finishing processes. A 1990 study conducted in four major industrial cities of Pakistan found that a large proportion of women are now employed in the garment or wearing apparel industries. According to this study, a majority of the female workers were young, single, barely educated and employed in low-paid tasks. Almost a third (31.2 per cent) were 16-20 years old, and another 26 per cent were 21-25 years old. Nearly 60 per cent of industrial female workers were unmarried and the largest proportion was engaged in garment, fisheries and pharmaceutical industries (annex tables E.2 and E.3).

d. Occupational structure

The occupational structure of the employed persons more or less reflects the pattern of their industrial attachment. For the country as a whole, the large majority of employed females (69 per cent) and employed males (44 per cent) were engaged in agricultural and related occupations. The second largest proportion among males (27.3 per cent) and females (16.8 per cent) were engaged in production, transport and labour occupations. A higher proportion among females (6.6 per cent), compared with males (4.4 per cent), was professional, technical and related workers, but the proportions of males engaged in administrative and managerial, clerical, and sales occupations were considerably higher than the corresponding proportions for females (table 50).

However, there is a variation in the occupational structure of the employed males and females between rural and urban areas. In the rural areas, the vast majority of males (60

^{24/} See Shaheed F. and K. Mumtaz. *Women's Economic Participation in Pakistan: A Status Report* Shirkatgah (Labour) for UNICEF, 1990.

Table 50. Percentage distribution of employed persons aged 10 years and over by major occupational group, sex and residence: 1991-1992

Major occupational group	Pakistan		Urban		Rural	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Professional, technical and related workers	4.4	6.6	6.5	26.4	3.5	2.7
Administrative and managerial workers	1.2	0.1	3.3	0.8	0.3	–
Clerical and related workers	4.8	0.8	9.8	3.8	2.7	0.2
Sales workers	13.3	3.2	24.7	6.7	8.6	2.5
Service workers	5.0	3.8	7.9	11.7	3.7	2.2
Agriculture and related workers, fishermen	44.0	68.7	5.8	14.6	60.0	79.3
Production, transport equipment, operators and labourers	27.3	16.8	41.9	36.0	21.2	13.0
All occupations	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics, *Labour Force Survey, 1991-1992*.

per cent) and females (79.3 per cent) are engaged in agriculture and related occupations, but in the urban areas, the largest proportion of both males (41.9 per cent) and females (36 per cent) are in the category of production and related workers etc. The second largest proportion of males (21.2 per cent) as well as female (13 per cent) employed persons in rural areas is production and related workers, but in the urban areas, the second largest proportion of males is sales workers (24.7 per cent), while among females the second largest proportion is in professional, technical and related occupations. The proportion of persons employed in agricultural and related occupations in urban areas is higher among females (14.6 per cent), compared with males (5.8 per cent).

The occupational structure of employed women in the four provinces more or less con-

forms to the national pattern with the largest proportion being engaged in agriculture and related occupations and the second largest proportion working in production and related occupations and as labourers. However, the actual percentages in each of these two categories vary across the four provinces. The proportion of employed females working in agricultural and related occupations ranges from around 44 per cent in Sindh and Baluchistan to 69.5 per cent in Punjab and to 86.7 per cent in North West Frontier Province (NWFP); the last two are essentially “agricultural” provinces. In all provinces except Baluchistan, the proportion of employed persons engaged in agricultural and related occupations is higher among females than among males (table 51).

The proportion of women engaged in the broad category of occupations termed as “pro-

Table 51. Percentage distribution of employed persons aged 10 years and over by major occupational group, sex and province: 1991-1992

Major occupational group	Baluchistan		North West Frontier		Punjab		Sindh	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Professional, technical and related	5.3	11.1	5.3	3.8	3.9	5.7	5.0	16.8
Administrative and managerial	1.1	0.2	0.7	–	1.0	0.1	2.0	0.9
Clerical and related	4.3	1.9	4.6	0.3	4.2	0.4	6.4	3.5
Sales workers	11.2	6.0	12.7	0.6	13.5	3.6	13.6	2.7
Service workers	5.3	0.4	4.9	3.0	4.5	3.8	6.1	5.9
Agriculture and allied workers	59.8	44.7	48.8	86.7	43.4	69.5	40.7	44.4
Production, transport, labourers	12.9	35.7	23.0	5.5	29.5	16.9	26.2	25.9
All occupations	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics, *Labour Force Survey, 1991-1992*.

duction and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers" varies from 5.5 per cent in NWFP to 35.7 per cent in Baluchistan. It is in Baluchistan that proportion of females engaged in this broad occupational category is higher than the corresponding proportion of males. The proportion of females employed as professional, technical and related workers is highest in Sindh (16.8 per cent) and lowest in NWFP (3.8 per cent).

Since women constitute a very small proportion of the total labour force of the country, their proportionate share in various occupational groups is also very low. However, data from labour force surveys indicate that women's representation in most occupational groups has increased in recent years. Between 1984-1985 and 1990-1991, the proportionate share of women has increased from 15.5 per cent to 18.4 per cent in professional, technical and related occupations, and from 9.6 per cent to 13.9 per cent in the service related occupations. Although the share of women in agricultural occupations increased sharply from 14.5 per cent in 1984-1985 to 20.6 per cent in 1986-1987, it has declined to 17.8 per cent in 1990-1991 (table 52).

e. *Employment status*

The percentage distribution of employed persons aged 10 years and over by employment status obtained from the 1991-1992 labour force survey is given in table 53 (also see annex table E.4). It will be noted that the vast majority of females reported as employed worked as unpaid family helpers (57.2 per

Table 52. Percentage share of women in various occupational categories: 1984-1985, 1986-1987 and 1990-1991

Occupational category	1984-1985	1986-1987	1990-1991
Professional, technical and related	15.5	17.4	18.4
Administrative and managerial	2.3	4.3	3.1
Clerical and related	1.7	2.7	2.7
Sales	1.2	1.4	2.9
Services	9.6	10.9	13.9
Agricultural and related	14.5	20.6	17.8
Production and related, labourers	4.5	6.3	8.6

Source: Labour Force Surveys 1984-1985, 1986-1987, and 1990-1991.

cent), while the majority of employed males were in self-employment (46.8 per cent). The proportion of paid employees or wage earners was higher among males (35.5 per cent), compared with females (26.3 per cent).

However, there are marked differentials in the pattern of employment status distribution between urban and rural areas. The rural distribution more or less conforms to the national pattern; the majority of employed females (64.8 per cent) are reported as unpaid family helpers, and the majority of males (52.1 per cent) are reported engaged in self-employment. But in the urban areas, the largest proportion of females (62.5 per cent) and males (54.4 per cent) work as waged or paid employees, while self-employment absorbs the second largest proportion of males and the third largest proportion of employed females. These patterns are indicative of the extent to which family labour is

Table 53. Percentage distribution of employed persons aged 10 years and over by employment status, sex and residence: 1991-1992

Employment status	Pakistan		Urban		Rural	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Employer	1.3	0.1	3.1	0.4	0.6	0.0
Self-employed	46.8	16.4	34.2	15.8	52.1	16.6
Unpaid family helper	16.4	57.2	8.3	18.6	19.7	64.8
Employee	35.5	26.3	54.4	65.2	27.6	18.6
All statuses	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics, *Labour Force Survey, 1991-1992*.

used in the rural areas and of the preponderance of casual and self-employed labour in the urban areas.

The percentage distribution of employed persons by employment status also varies across the four provinces. The largest proportions of employed females were unpaid family helpers in the North West Frontier Province (71.3 per cent) and the Punjab (57.4 per cent), in self-employment in Baluchistan (42.0 per cent), and paid employees in Sindh (43.4 per cent), while the second largest proportions were unpaid family workers in Baluchistan (39.3 per cent) and Sindh (41.9 per cent), paid employees in the Punjab (42.1 per cent) and self-employed in the North West Frontier Province (18.0 per cent). In all provinces, the largest proportion of employed males was self-employed and the second largest was paid employees (table 54).

The 1991-1992 labour force survey also provided classifications of employed persons by level of educational attainment and by number of hours spent in main and subsidiary job during the reference week.

f. Educational attainment

The level of educational attainment of the employed persons more or less corresponds to that of the adult population as a whole. The 1991-1992 labour force survey revealed that in Pakistan about 57 per cent of employed males and 85 per cent of employed females aged 10 years and over were illiterate and that the illiteracy proportions were considerably

higher in the rural than in the urban areas for both sexes. The rural male illiteracy rate of 66.1 per cent was approximately 29 percentage points higher than the corresponding urban rate (36.8 per cent), while the illiteracy rate for rural women (90.7 per cent) was 36.5 percentage points higher than that of the urban females (54.2 per cent). For the country as a whole, only about 23 per cent of the employed males and 8.6 per cent of the employed females completed middle (secondary) or higher level education (table 55).

The percentage distribution of employed persons by number of hours spent in main and subsidiary jobs during the reference week of the 1991-1992 labour force survey is shown in table 56.

It is evident from table 56 that about 9 per cent of all employed males and 46 per cent of all employed females were "underemployed"; that is, they worked less than 35 hours during the reference week of the 1991-1992 labour force survey. The proportions of "underemployed" persons, however, vary according to employment status. While about 7 per cent of all male employers worked less than 35 hours during the reference week, all female employers worked over 35 hours. However, in the other three employment status categories, the proportion of males who worked 35 hours or more during the reference week was considerably higher than the corresponding proportions of females. This is largely due to the fact that, as noted earlier, women participate in economic activities in addition to their numerous and onerous domestic chores.

Table 54. Percentage distribution of employed persons aged 10 years and over by employment status, sex and province: 1991-1992

Employment status	Baluchistan		North West Frontier		Punjab		Sindh	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Employer	0.6	0.3	0.4	—	1.0	0.1	2.7	0.3
Self-employed	59.8	42.0	46.4	18.0	47.4	16.1	43.3	14.4
Unpaid family	14.7	39.3	18.2	71.3	17.9	57.4	11.9	41.9
Employee	24.8	18.4	35.0	10.7	33.7	26.4	42.1	43.4
All statuses	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics, *Labour Force Survey, 1991-1992*.

Table 55. Percentage distribution of employed persons aged 10 years and over by level of education, sex and residence: 1991-1992

Level of education	Pakistan		Urban		Rural	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Illiterate	57.4	84.6	36.8	54.2	66.1	90.7
Literate	42.6	15.4	63.2	45.8	33.9	9.8
No formal education	1.4	1.6	1.6	1.8	1.4	1.6
Kindergarten/nursery	0.2	—	0.2	0.1	0.2	—
Kindergarten but below primary	4.2	1.2	4.3	1.6	4.1	1.1
Primary but below middle	13.9	4.0	15.2	7.9	13.4	3.2
Middle but below matric	7.8	1.6	12.0	5.1	6.0	0.9
Matric but below inter	9.1	2.9	15.6	11.1	6.3	0.9
Inter but below degree	2.8	1.9	5.8	7.0	1.5	1.3
Degree and above	3.2	2.2	8.5	11.2	1.0	0.8
All levels	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics, *Labour Force Survey, 1991-1992*.

Table 56. Percentage distribution of employed persons aged 10 years and over by number of hours worked during the reference week, employment status and sex: 1991-1992

Number of hours spent	All employed persons		Employers		Self-employed		Unpaid family helper		Employees	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Not worked	0.5	0.4	0.8	—	0.5	1.2	0.2	0.1	0.6	0.9
Less than 5 hours	0.1	0.2	—	—	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2
5-9 hours	0.3	1.0	—	—	0.2	1.6	0.5	1.1	0.3	0.5
10-14 hours	0.7	3.2	0.8	—	0.5	2.5	2.0	4.4	0.2	1.1
15-24 hours	2.7	17.7	1.5	—	2.3	12.8	5.5	22.7	1.9	9.8
25-34 hours	5.0	23.2	3.8	—	4.4	22.9	8.7	27.0	4.0	15.1
35-41 hours	6.6	16.0	4.5	—	5.2	13.6	8.1	15.5	7.7	18.7
42-48 hours	33.2	23.0	24.2	40.0	25.1	22.3	25.7	17.9	48.2	34.3
49-55 hours	15.7	7.7	15.2	20.0	20.3	10.6	17.4	6.9	8.8	7.5
56 hours and more	35.2	7.6	49.2	40.0	41.3	12.2	31.7	4.2	28.2	11.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics, *Labour Force Survey, 1991-1992*.

F. WOMEN IN PUBLIC LIFE

1. Background

For a long time in the past, the women of Pakistan have played a prominent role in the national struggle for political independence. They have also been able to make an impact on constitutional issues, though through lobbying and advocacy rather than formal participation (except in 1956). The 1973 Constitution guarantees women equal political rights; they are eligible to vote and to stand for elections to the general seats in the National and Provincial

Assemblies and the Senate. In terms of the constitutional provisions, women are also entitled to run for presidency and prime ministership. Despite these guarantees, several sociocultural and economic factors have all along inhibited the women from exercising their political rights and participating as equal partners with men in the day to day governance by the country.

At the national level, only a very few women, mostly from rich and influential families, have been able to stand for and win elections. As succinctly stated in a recent report, "Lack of resource, of self-confidence and of

role models, as well as the male bias of party hierarchy, has made women ill-equipped to compete in an arena still greatly influenced by feudal interests and traditional loyalties”^{25/} The situation in regard to women’s elected representation at the provincial and local levels has even been worse. Consequently, Pakistan is among the very few countries in the world where seats have to be reserved for women in order to ensure, at least, a modicum of their representation in various legislative bodies except the Senate.

Over the years, there has been a gradual increase in the number of seats reserved for women and in 1988, out of a total of 237 seats in the National Assembly, 20 (or about 10 per cent) were reserved for women. Similarly, a small proportion of seats in the four provincial assemblies were specially reserved for women: 15 out of 240 seats in the Punjab, 2 out of 49 seats in Baluchistan, 5 out of 100 seats in Sindh, and 4 seats in the NWFP Assembly (table 57). After 1988, no seats were specially reserved for women in the National Assembly, although the desirability of restoring the special reserved quota for women is currently under discussion.

The representation of women in various assemblies and local councils is ensured through indirect elections by the votes of the members elected to the general seats in the respective

^{25/} See UNICEF. *Situation Analysis of Children and Women in Pakistan*, 1992.

Table 57. Number of reserved seats for women in assemblies and local councils: 1988

Type of assembly	Number of seats reserved	
	Assembly	Local council
National	21	—
Provincial		
Punjab	12	5,240
Sindh	5	1,493
North West Frontier Province	4	60
Baluchistan	2	725

Source: A Saeed, *Structural Issues in Women’s Development in Pakistan*, UNICEF 1990.

legislative forums. Thus, women are, by and large, elected to the reserved seats by male councillors. There are, however, no local council seats for women in northern areas, tribal areas and the federal capital.

2. Women voters

According to data available from the Election Commission of Pakistan, women accounted for 46.3 per cent of all registered voters in 1988 and for 45.5 per cent in 1993. In both years, the percentage of female registered voters was highest in the Punjab province and lowest in the NWFP (table 58).

Data relating to the number of persons who actually voted at the elections are not available. However, it is generally believed that most women do not exercise this right. Further, given the largely feudal/tribal structure

Table 58. Registered voters by province/area and sex: 1988 and 1993

Province/area	1988			1993		
	Male	Female	Per cent female	Male	Female	Per cent female
Islamabad	103	87	45.8	120	97	44.7
Punjab	15,325	13,553	46.9	16,550	14,350	46.4
Sindh	5,731	4,873	46.0	6,620	5,400	44.9
North West Frontier Province	3,370	2,585	43.4	3,734	2,688	41.9
Federally Administered Tribal Areas	34	—	—	—	—	—
Baluchistan	1,253	1,132	47.5	1,499	1,277	46.0
Pakistan	25,816	22,230	46.3	28,523	23,812	45.5

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan.

of the society, there are "vote banks" comprising both men and women who do not have the freedom to exercise independent judgement when casting their vote.

3. Women in national and provincial assemblies

The elections held in Pakistan in recent years have clearly shown a trend of very low participation of women in politics and parliamentary affairs. This situation is due to a combination of several factors such as the absence of favourable attitudes to the rights of women, the small number of female candidates running for elections, and the biased social attitudes against women's participation in elections.

At the March 1985 elections to the National Assembly, 13 women filed as candidates for the general seats but only one succeeded in being elected. Three of the 13 candidates lost by a small margin, while another three had polled more than 12,000 votes each. At the by-election that followed in May 1985, one woman contested and was elected to the vacant seat in the National Assembly.

The November 1988 general election was the single most important political event for the women of Pakistan. It was this election that gave Pakistani women the largest representation to date with four women being directly elected to the general seats in addition to the 20 reserved seats. More important, for the first time in Pakistan's history and in the Muslim world, a Muslim woman reached the high office of Prime Minister of the country. The year 1988 also witnessed the appointment of three

women to the federal cabinet, another woman as deputy speaker, and a few others as members of treasury or sitting in opposition benches.

In the November 1990 elections, only four women contested, most of them as independent candidates, and two were elected. In October 1993, of the eight women given party tickets to contest the general elections, four succeeded in being elected.

Women's representation in the National Assembly and the Senate is summarized in table 59.

Women's representation in the provincial assemblies is even lower than that at the national level. The proportionate share of elected women in total general seats in provincial assemblies has ranged from 0.4 per cent in 1985 to 0.6 per cent in 1993, while the corresponding share in the national assembly varied from 0.5 in 1985 to 4 per cent in 1988 (table 60).

Table 60. Percentage share of women in total general elected seats in national and provincial assemblies: 1970 to 1993

Year	Women's percentage share	
	National assembly	Provincial assemblies (average)
1970	0.0	—
1977	1.0	0.0
1985	0.5	0.4
1988	4.0	0.4
1990	1.0	0.4
1993	2.0	0.6

Source: Attiya Inayatullah "Women in Politics: the Paradox", *The News*, 26 March 1994.

Table 59. Distribution of National Assembly and Senate members by sex: 1985 to 1994

Election date	National Assembly members				Senate members			
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Per cent female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Per cent female
20 March 1985	237	214	23 [#]	9.7	87	86	1	1.1
30 November 1988	237	213	24 [#]	10.1	87	86	1	1.1
3 November 1990	217	215	2	0.9	87	86	1	1.1
15 October 1993	217	213	4	1.8	87	85	2	2.3
31 December 1994	217	213	4	1.8	87	85	2	2.3

Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics, *Women and Men in Pakistan, 1995*.

Note: [#] Includes 20 special seats reserved for women.

The dismally low representation of women in provincial assemblies is due to, among other factors, the very small number of female candidates contesting the elections to these assemblies. For instance, in 1985, there were only 66 women candidates for 24 seats, compared with 3,853 male candidates for 483 provincial assembly seats.

4. Women in local government

At the local level, there are reserved seats for women in district councils, and women are indirectly elected to these seats by male councillors. Over the years, there has been an increase in the number of reserved seats, resulting in a provision of over 7,500 women community leaders in 1988 (see table 57). Although relatively small in number, this cadre constitutes a significant power base for articulating women's concerns and attending to their problems at the grass-root levels.

However, within the union and district councils, the role of woman representatives needs to be strengthened in order to enable them to function more effectively. The woman councillors have the responsibility for monitoring and supervising women's programmes, but the deficiencies of the indirect election system and a lack of support from male colleagues have made the work of the woman councillors rather difficult. Consequently, the woman councillors have little influence on decision-making, and often the very small proportion of the budget earmarked for women's programmes

remains unexpended or diverted to other projects. It has been observed that there has been marked improvement in the educational level of woman councillors in recent years which has enhanced their efficiency and participation in political activities at the local level.

5. Women in civil service

According to the 1989 census of federal government civil servants, women constituted only 4.9 per cent of all federal government employees. However, the proportionate share of women was larger (7.0 per cent) than the overall average at higher levels (grades 16 to 22) and smaller (4.7 per cent) at the lower levels (grades 1-15), which comprise peons, assistants and clerks. In 1989, there was not a single woman holding key decision-making position in executive and judiciary branches of the government; these positions in grades 21 and 22 were exclusively male preserve (table 61).

A lack of women's representation in top positions of the government bureaucracy may be the result of difference in length of service between men and women. However, discrimination against women in terms of access to foreign postings, higher executive positions, and in regard to their promotions has been highlighted in the Report of the Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women. An increasing number of young women are entering various groups of central civil service every year through competitive examinations, but most of

Table 61. Distribution of federal civil service employees by grade and sex: 1989

Service grade	Number of employees			Percentage share of female
	Both sexes	Male	Female	
Grades 1-15	203,430	193,822	9,608	4.7
Grades 16-22	20,470	19,028	1,442	7.0
Grade 16	6,885	6,633	252	3.7
Grade 17	7,465	6,593	872	11.7
Grade 18	3,425	3,211	214	6.2
Grade 19	1,700	1,619	81	4.8
Grade 20	745	722	23	3.1
Grade 21	186	186	—	—
Grade 22	64	64	—	—
All grades	244,370	231,878	12,492	5.1

Source: Government of Pakistan, *Federal Government Civil Servants Census Report, 1989*, Pakistan Public Administration Research Centre, Management Services Division.

them are assigned field jobs or posted at the secretariat. In addition to sociocultural factors, the very low representation of women in the civil services is also due to the lack of government support in terms of reserved quotas for women.

The distribution of employees by selected divisions in the federal government civil service indicates that women are concentrated in the social development sectors; nearly 56 per cent of all female employees of the federal government are working in the Education, Health, Population Welfare, Special Education and Social Welfare, and Women's Development Divisions. However, women employed in these ministries seldom occupy the highest decision-making positions. The percentage share of women in total employees in key ministries such as Planning, Finance, Industries, Food and Agriculture is marginal, ranging from 1.8 per cent in Food and Agriculture Ministry to 3.9 per cent in Planning and Development Ministry (annex table F.1).

Among the selected divisions, the lowest representation of women was found in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; women constituted only 1.5 per cent of all employees in this ministry. While there was not a single female ambassador in 1989, more recently in 1993, there were two ambassador positions occupied by women. Both of them were political appointees and as such did not move up in the foreign office hierarchy.

Only a small number of women are working in the Police Service of Pakistan, but none at the higher ranking position. There is a

growing demand for increasing the number of women in the police force, particularly in rural areas. Since 1993 some steps have been taken by the government in this direction, such as opening up special police stations for women in three large cities of Pakistan, resulting in the recruitment of additional women to the police force.

The employment of women in autonomous and semi-autonomous organizations under the Federal Government is very low; according to a 1989 census, women constituted only 2.5 per cent of the total employees in such organizations. The percentage share of women among employees was lowest (0.4 per cent) in the Water and Power Development Authority and highest (5 per cent) in the Pakistan International Airlines (table 62).

6. Women lawyers

Women's representation in the legal profession is consistent with their overall "invisible" status in the country. Data on the number of advocates registered with the four provincial bar councils indicate that of the 17,543 advocates only 140 or less than one per cent were women. The largest number of female advocates were registered in Sindh (60), closely followed by Punjab (57). Baluchistan, which has the least number of advocates, also has the least number of female advocates (table 63). Of the 8,110 senior advocates in the country, only 32 or 0.4 per cent were women.

The gross under-representation of women in the legal profession is also reflected in their presence in the judicial service of the country,

Table 62. Employment in autonomous/semi-autonomous corporations/bodies under the Federal Government by sex: 1989

Organization	Both sexes	Male	Female	Per cent female
All organizations	167,524	165,850	1,674	1.0
Selected organizations water and power	140,420	139,870	550	0.4
Development Pakistan broadcasting	4,988	4,881	107	2.1
Corporation Pakistan television	4,044	3,923	121	3.0
Corporation Pakistan international airlines	18,072	17,176	896	5.0

Source: Government of Pakistan, *Second Census of Employees of Autonomous/Semi-Autonomous Corporations/Bodies under the Federal Government, 1989*, Management Services Division.

**Table 63. Distribution of advocates registered with provincial bar councils
by sex: 1985-1992**

Bar council	All advocates				Senior advocates			
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Per cent female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Per cent female
Punjab	11,066	11,009	57	0.5	5,706	5,693	13	0.2
Sindh	4,840	4,780	60	1.2	1,870	1,855	15	0.8
North West Frontier Province	1,471	1,452	19	1.3	470	467	3	0.6
Baluchistan	166	162	4	2.4	64	63	1	1.6
Total	17,543	17,403	140	0.8	8,110	8,078	32	0.4

Source: Kulsoom Omar and others, "Review of Implementation of the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women 1985-1992", Pakistan Country Report, 1993.

although data on the actual number of women serving in the various branches of the judiciary are not available. In recent years, there has been an attempt to induct more women in the judiciary by appointing some women as Family Court judges to deal with women's family issues.

It is clear from the foregoing analysis that in Pakistan women's participation in political and public life is very limited. Although

several laws supportive of women's economic, social, legal and political rights have been passed, more direct and pervasive benefits from legislation remain elusive for a majority of the country's women. Besides traditional sociocultural prejudices, lack of education and skills has limited their direct access to the many political and administrative decision-making positions and, thus, their advancement in all other spheres of life.

PART II:
ANNEX STATISTICAL TABLES

Blank page



Page blanche

Table B.1 Health facilities and personnel: 1971 to 1993

Health facilities/personnel	Year					
	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1993
Hospitals	495	525	600	670	776	796
Dispensaries	2,136	3,063	3,478	3,441	3,993	4,144
Basic health centres	328	631	873	3,003	4,633	4,849
Maternity and child health centres	668	715	823	773	1,057	829*
Rural health centres	87	173	243	349	465	482
Registered doctors	4,287	6,478	13,910	34,034	55,572	63,003
Registered dentists	446	706	1,018	1,558	2,193	2,401
Registered midwives	—	4,360	11,674	24,473	37,912	42,806
Population per bed	1,804	1,843	1,731	1,692	1,501	1,548
Population per doctor	—	11,133	6,027	2,870	2,048	1,918
Population per dentist	—	102,153	82,357	62,689	51,892	50,329

Sources: Ministry of Health; and Pakistan Economic Survey, 1993-1994.

Note: * The decrease in maternity and child health (MCH) centres during 1993 as against previous year is due to exclusion/separation of family welfare centres from MCH structure in North West Frontier Province.

Table C.1 Population by age, sex and urban/rural areas including Federally Administered Tribal Areas: 1981 census

(in millions)

Age (in years)	Total			Urban			Rural		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
Total	84.25	44.23	40.02	23.84	12.77	11.07	60.41	31.46	28.95
0-4	12.90	6.36	6.54	3.57	1.81	1.76	9.33	4.55	4.78
5-9	13.49	5.99	6.50	3.54	1.83	1.71	9.93	5.15	4.78
10-14	11.09	6.01	5.08	3.11	1.65	1.46	7.96	4.35	3.61
15-19	7.96	4.30	3.66	2.53	1.36	1.17	5.42	2.93	2.49
20-24	6.38	3.35	3.03	2.10	1.15	0.95	4.27	2.19	2.08
25-29	5.61	2.96	2.65	1.71	0.94	0.77	3.90	2.02	1.88
30-34	4.74	2.45	2.29	1.38	0.75	0.63	3.34	1.69	1.65
35-39	4.30	2.17	2.13	1.26	0.66	0.60	3.02	1.50	1.52
40-44	3.96	1.98	1.98	1.12	0.60	0.52	2.83	1.38	1.45
45-49	3.15	1.65	1.50	0.88	0.49	0.39	2.27	1.16	1.11
50-54	3.04	1.68	1.36	0.78	0.45	0.33	2.24	1.22	1.02
55-59	1.65	0.88	0.77	0.42	0.24	0.18	1.23	0.64	0.59
60-64	2.27	1.33	0.94	0.54	0.32	0.22	1.72	1.00	0.72
65-69	1.01	0.57	0.44	0.22	0.13	0.09	0.77	0.43	0.34
70-74	1.18	0.69	0.49	0.25	0.15	0.10	0.92	0.54	0.38
75 and above	1.40	0.80	0.60	0.28	0.16	0.12	1.12	0.64	0.48
Percentage distribution									
Total	100.0	52.7	47.4	100.0	53.6	46.4	100.0	52.1	47.9
0-4	15.4	7.6	7.8	15.0	7.6	7.4	15.4	7.5	7.9
5-9	16.0	8.3	7.7	14.9	7.7	7.2	16.4	8.5	7.9
10-14	13.1	7.1	6.0	13.1	6.9	6.2	13.2	7.2	6.0
15-19	9.5	5.1	4.4	10.6	5.7	4.9	9.0	4.9	4.1
20-24	7.6	4.0	3.6	8.9	4.9	4.0	7.0	3.6	3.4
25-29	6.7	3.5	3.2	7.2	4.0	3.2	6.5	3.4	3.1
30-34	5.6	2.9	2.7	5.5	3.2	2.3	5.5	2.8	2.7
35-39	5.1	2.6	2.5	5.4	2.8	2.6	5.0	2.5	2.5
40-44	4.7	2.4	2.3	4.7	2.5	2.2	4.7	2.3	2.4
45-49	3.8	2.0	1.8	3.7	2.1	1.6	3.7	1.9	1.8
50-54	3.6	2.0	1.6	3.3	1.9	1.4	3.7	2.0	1.7
55-59	2.0	1.1	0.9	1.8	1.0	0.8	2.1	1.1	1.0
60-64	2.7	1.6	1.1	2.3	1.4	0.9	2.9	1.7	1.2
65-69	1.2	0.7	0.5	1.0	0.6	0.4	1.3	0.7	0.6
70-74	1.4	0.8	0.6	1.0	0.5	0.5	1.5	0.9	0.6
75 and above	1.7	1.0	0.7	1.2	0.7	0.5	1.9	1.1	0.8

Source: Population Census Organization, 1981 Census Report, Statistics Division.

Table C.2 Marital status of population (15 years and over) by sex and age, Pakistan: 1981

Age group	Never married	Currently married	Widowed	Divorced
Total of all ages	25.11	68.75	5.87	0.28
15-19	82.39	17.37	0.15	0.09
20-24	46.50	52.60	0.59	0.31
25-29	20.63	78.02	1.01	0.34
30-34	9.06	88.77	1.79	0.34
35-39	4.01	93.13	2.52	0.34
40-44	3.02	92.33	4.32	0.34
45-49	1.79	92.01	5.91	0.29
50-54	2.66	86.62	10.42	0.30
55-59	1.38	86.92	11.46	0.24
60 years and above	2.62	70.32	27.81	0.25
Male of all ages	31.51	65.24	3.06	0.19
15-19	92.47	7.39	0.11	0.03
20-24	64.56	34.71	0.51	0.21
25-29	31.27	67.67	0.84	0.21
30-34	13.86	84.46	1.43	0.26
35-39	6.23	91.65	1.87	0.24
40-44	4.42	92.60	2.74	0.24
45-49	2.51	93.93	3.34	0.22
50-54	2.98	92.03	4.76	0.23
55-59	1.73	92.47	5.59	0.21
60 years and above	2.61	85.45	11.72	0.22
Female of all ages	17.83	72.74	9.06	0.37
15-19	70.56	29.09	0.20	0.15
20-24	26.54	72.39	0.67	0.41
25-29	8.73	89.58	1.20	0.49
30-34	3.92	93.38	2.18	0.52
35-39	1.74	94.65	3.18	0.43
40-44	1.62	92.05	5.90	0.43
45-49	1.01	89.90	8.73	0.37
50-54	2.27	79.95	17.40	0.38
55-59	0.97	80.57	18.18	0.28
60 years and above	2.63	49.59	47.48	0.30

Source: Population Census Organization, *1981 Census Report of Pakistan*, Statistics Division, Islamabad.

Table C.3 Percentage distribution of population (15 years and over) in Pakistan and provinces by marital status and urban/rural area: 1961, 1972 and 1981

Area	Never married			Currently married			Widowed			Divorced		
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
Pakistan												
1961	19.9	24.2	13.5	70.0	66.6	71.1	9.7	8.8	10.0	0.4	0.4	0.4
1972	24.1	28.4	22.5	68.2	64.5	69.5	7.5	6.9	7.7	0.3	0.2	0.3
1981	25.1	29.9	23.1	68.8	64.5	70.6	5.9	5.5	6.0	0.3	0.2	0.3
North West Frontier Province												
1961	20.6	27.4	19.0	69.4	64.3	70.6	9.7	8.1	10.1	0.3	0.2	0.3
1972	24.3	30.5	23.1	68.3	62.9	69.2	7.3	6.5	7.4	0.2	0.1	0.2
1981	25.1	30.9	24.0	69.7	64.1	70.7	5.1	4.9	5.2	0.2	0.1	0.2
Punjab												
1961	19.8	23.4	18.8	70.1	67.6	70.7	9.8	8.7	10.0	0.4	0.3	0.4
1972	24.5	28.0	23.4	67.5	64.9	68.3	7.7	6.9	7.9	0.4	0.2	0.4
1981	25.2	29.4	23.5	68.4	64.8	69.8	6.1	5.5	6.3	0.4	0.2	0.4
Sindh												
1961	20.3	24.8	17.5	69.6	65.3	72.2	9.8	9.4	10.0	0.4	0.5	0.3
1972	22.7	28.4	18.6	69.9	64.2	74.1	7.2	7.2	7.3	0.1	0.2	0.1
1981	24.8	30.4	20.2	69.1	63.9	73.5	5.9	5.5	6.2	0.2	0.2	0.1
Baluchistan												
1961	18.0	24.7	16.5	72.8	67.9	73.9	9.0	7.2	9.4	0.2	0.3	0.2
1972	24.2	28.6	23.3	68.8	64.8	69.6	6.8	6.4	6.9	0.2	0.2	0.2
1981	25.7	29.6	25.0	69.2	65.2	70.0	4.8	5.0	4.8	0.2	0.2	0.2
Islamabad												
1961	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1972	27.7	30.0	26.5	65.7	66.8	65.1	6.3	3.1	8.0	0.3	0.1	0.4
1981	27.9	29.3	25.6	66.7	66.1	67.7	5.2	4.4	6.4	0.3	0.2	0.4

Source: Population Census Organization, census reports of 1961, 1972 and 1981.

Table C.4 Percentage distribution of male population (15 years and over) in Pakistan and provinces by marital status and urban/rural area: 1961, 1972 and 1981

Area	Male											
	Never married			Currently married			Widowed			Divorced		
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
Pakistan												
1961	27.6	31.9	26.1	64.8	61.4	66.1	7.2	6.4	7.5	0.3	0.3	0.4
1972	31.8	35.6	30.3	63.1	59.8	64.3	4.9	4.4	5.1	0.2	0.2	0.2
1981	31.5	35.7	29.6	65.2	61.4	67.0	3.1	2.8	3.2	0.2	0.1	0.2
North West Frontier Province												
1961	28.8	35.6	26.9	65.4	59.9	66.9	5.5	4.3	5.9	0.3	0.1	0.3
1972	32.4	37.9	31.3	64.0	59.3	64.9	3.5	2.7	3.7	0.1	0.1	0.1
1981	32.2	37.4	31.1	65.8	60.9	66.8	1.9	1.6	1.9	0.1	0.1	0.1
Punjab												
1961	27.2	30.7	26.2	64.9	62.3	65.6	7.5	6.6	7.8	0.4	0.3	0.4
1972	31.7	34.8	30.6	62.5	60.2	63.2	5.6	4.9	5.8	0.3	0.2	0.3
1981	30.9	34.9	29.3	65.3	61.8	66.7	3.6	3.1	3.8	0.3	0.2	0.3
Sindh												
1961	28.3	33.0	25.2	64.2	60.1	66.8	7.0	5.7	7.8	0.3	0.3	0.2
1972	31.4	36.4	27.6	64.3	59.3	68.2	4.2	4.2	4.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
1981	31.9	36.5	28.0	65.2	60.8	69.1	2.7	2.6	2.8	0.1	0.1	0.1
Baluchistan												
1961	28.0	33.4	26.4	66.7	62.3	67.9	5.3	4.1	5.6	0.1	0.1	0.1
1972	33.9	36.8	33.3	62.6	60.2	63.1	3.4	3.2	3.4	0.1	0.1	0.1
1981	34.6	37.1	34.0	63.5	60.7	64.1	1.8	2.1	1.8	0.1	0.1	0.1

Sources: Ministry of Home and Kashmir Affairs, *Population Census of Pakistan*, 1961, vol. 3; Population Census Organization, *Population Census of Pakistan*, 1972; and Population Census Organization, *1981 Census Report of Pakistan*.

Table C.5 Percentage distribution of female population (15 years and over) in Pakistan and provinces by marital status and urban/rural area: 1961, 1972 and 1981

Area	Female											
	Never married			Currently married			Widowed			Divorced		
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
Pakistan												
1961	10.8	13.7	9.9	76.1	73.7	76.8	12.7	12.2	12.9	0.4	0.5	0.4
1972	15.0	19.2	13.6	74.2	70.5	75.5	10.5	10.1	10.6	0.3	0.2	0.3
1981	17.8	22.8	15.8	72.7	68.2	74.6	9.1	8.7	9.2	0.4	0.3	0.4
North West Frontier Province												
1961	11.6	15.8	10.8	73.8	70.5	74.4	14.3	13.5	14.4	0.3	0.3	0.3
1972	15.2	21.0	14.3	73.1	67.5	74.0	11.5	11.3	11.5	0.3	0.2	0.3
1981	17.2	22.7	16.3	73.8	68.1	74.8	8.7	9.1	8.6	0.2	0.2	0.2
Punjab												
1961	11.8	13.8	10.5	76.0	74.5	76.4	12.3	11.4	12.6	0.4	0.3	0.4
1972	16.1	19.6	15.0	73.4	70.8	74.2	10.1	9.3	10.3	0.4	0.2	0.6
1981	18.7	22.9	17.2	71.9	68.4	73.1	9.0	8.4	9.2	0.5	0.3	0.5
Sindh												
1961	9.9	13.3	8.0	76.7	72.7	78.8	12.9	13.3	12.8	0.5	0.7	0.4
1972	12.2	18.0	8.2	76.8	70.7	80.8	10.9	11.1	10.8	0.1	0.2	0.1
1981	16.4	22.9	11.3	73.7	67.7	78.5	9.7	9.2	10.1	0.2	0.2	0.2
Baluchistan												
1961	5.7	9.9	4.9	80.7	77.5	81.4	13.3	12.1	13.5	0.3	0.5	0.2
1972	12.5	18.0	11.5	76.3	71.1	77.2	11.0	10.6	11.1	0.2	0.3	0.2
1981	15.2	19.5	14.4	76.1	71.2	77.0	8.3	8.9	8.2	0.4	0.3	0.4

Sources: Ministry of Home and Kashmir Affairs, *Population Census of Pakistan*, 1961, vol. 3; Population Census Organization, *Population Census of Pakistan*, 1972; and Population Census Organization, *1981 Census Report of Pakistan*.

Table C.6 Enrolment ratios¹ at primary (I-V) and secondary (VI-X) levels in Pakistan and provinces by sex and urban/rural area: 1975-1976, 1979-1980 and 1984-1985

Region/year	Primary				Secondary			
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural	
	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl
Pakistan								
1975-1976	62.2	58.2	49.5	16.7	52.8	30.3	16.8	2.0
1979-1980	64.8	59.1	50.1	16.3	47.9	29.7	15.0	1.7
1984-1985	67.3	63.5	60.0	21.1	53.9	32.0	16.4	2.5
Punjab								
1975-1976	64.5	66.8	54.3	23.8	59.5	31.2	20.2	2.7
1979-1980	59.2	64.6	53.2	23.4	49.8	28.9	17.6	2.5
1984-1985	60.6	68.1	61.5	30.2	55.3	33.7	20.8	4.0
Sindh								
1975-1976	72.6	53.1	43.6	6.7	44.8	32.8	7.1	1.3
1979-1980	75.4	57.1	48.2	6.9	47.0	34.2	8.2	0.5
1984-1985	76.0	57.8	54.8	8.9	51.4	34.6	10.9	0.7
North West Frontier Province								
1975-1976	57.1	28.7	45.1	7.4	44.7	18.2	19.1	0.8
1979-1980	62.9	34.5	49.5	9.2	43.4	19.0	17.6	0.8
1984-1985	71.8	42.0	65.9	11.6	40.1	16.4	17.0	1.1
Baluchistan								
1975-1976	46.9	29.9	31.6	4.9	34.6	10.1	4.0	0.2
1979-1980	51.8	39.7	29.3	2.8	33.6	17.2	3.5	0.2
1984-1985	64.1	45.8	29.6	3.2	52.2	34.9	3.1	0.2

Source: Mahmood and Zahid, 1992.

Note: ¹ The enrolment data were taken from Central Bureau of Education, Ministry of Education and the population figures were estimated by applying the intercensal growth rate of 1972 and 1981 censuses.

Table C.7 Mean years of schooling in ESCAP countries: 1980 and 1990

(Units: years and per cent)

Country or area	Mean years of schooling (25+)						Mean years of schooling of female as a percentage of male	
	1980			1990			1980	1990
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female		
Afghanistan	0.8	1.4	0.2	0.8	1.4	0.2	12	12
Australia	9.3	10.3	8.3	11.5	11.6	11.4	81	99
Bangladesh	2.0	3.1	0.9	2.0	3.1	0.9	29	30
Bhutan	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.1	33	32
Brunei Darussalam	5.0	5.5	4.5	5.0	5.5	4.5	83	83
Cambodia	2.0	2.3	1.7	2.0	2.3	1.7	71	71
China	4.8	6.0	3.6	4.8	6.0	3.6	59	60
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	6.0	7.4	4.6	6.0	7.4	4.6
Fiji	4.9	5.4	4.4	5.1	5.6	4.6	82	83
Hong Kong	6.2	7.4	5.0	7.0	8.6	5.4	...	63
India	2.2	3.3	1.1	2.4	3.5	1.2	32	34
Indonesia	3.1	3.9	2.3	3.9	5.0	2.9	58	58
Islamic Republic of Iran	3.5	4.2	2.8	3.9	4.6	3.1	66	68
Japan	10.4	10.7	10.1	10.7	10.8	10.6	94	98
Lao People's Democratic Republic	2.5	3.1	1.9	2.9	3.6	2.1	59	59
Malaysia	4.0	4.7	3.3	5.3	5.6	5.0	70	91
Maldives	4.5	5.1	3.9	4.5	5.1	3.9	77	77
Mongolia	6.0	6.3	5.7	7.0	7.2	6.8	90	95
Myanmar	2.5	2.9	2.1	2.5	3.0	2.1	71	72
Nepal	1.8	2.7	0.9	2.1	3.2	1.0	33	32
New Zealand	8.9	9.1	8.7	10.4	10.2	10.6	96	104
Pakistan	1.7	2.7	0.7	1.9	3.0	0.7	25	25
Papua New Guinea	0.9	1.2	0.6	0.9	1.2	0.6	48	50
Philippines	6.6	6.8	6.4	7.4	7.8	7.0	95	89
Republic of Korea	6.6	8.1	5.1	8.8	11.0	6.7	64	61
Samoa	5.0	5.5	4.5	5.7	6.4	5.0	81	78
Singapore	3.5	4.3	2.7	3.9	4.7	3.1	64	66
Solomon Islands	1.0	1.2	0.8	1.0	1.2	0.8	70	70
Sri Lanka	5.5	6.2	4.8	6.9	7.7	6.1	79	80
Thailand	3.5	4.1	2.9	3.8	4.3	3.3	69	76
Vanuatu	3.7	4.3	3.1	3.7	4.3	3.1	71	71
Viet Nam	3.2	3.7	2.7	4.6	5.8	3.4	71	59

Source: United Nations, ESCAP, *Statistical Compendium on Women in Asia and the Pacific, 1996*.

Table C.8 Literacy rates (10 years and above) in Pakistan and provinces by sex and urban/rural area: 1961, 1972, 1981 and 1994

Province/year	Total			Urban			Rural		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
Pakistan									
1961	16.7	25.1	6.7	34.8	44.9	21.3	10.6	18.0	2.2
1972	21.7	30.2	11.6	41.5	49.9	30.9	14.3	22.6	4.7
1981	26.2	35.0	16.0	47.1	55.3	37.3	17.3	26.2	7.3
1994*	36.8	48.9	23.5	57.0	—	—	27.5	—	—
Punjab									
1961	16.1	24.5	6.2	34.6	45.5	20.4	10.9	18.3	2.5
1972	20.7	29.1	10.7	38.9	47.8	28.0	14.7	22.9	5.2
1981	27.4	36.8	16.8	46.7	55.2	36.7	20.0	29.6	9.4
Sindh									
1961	21.0	29.0	10.6	36.1	44.3	25.0	11.5	19.0	2.2
1972	30.2	39.1	19.2	47.4	54.5	38.4	17.6	27.5	5.8
1981	31.4	39.7	21.6	50.8	57.8	42.2	15.6	24.5	5.2
North West Frontier Province									
1961	13.8	23.2	3.4	30.9	43.4	13.3	9.7	17.6	1.4
1972	14.5	23.1	4.7	33.7	44.7	19.9	11.0	19.0	2.2
1981	16.7	25.8	6.5	35.8	47.0	21.9	13.2	21.7	3.8
Baluchistan									
1961	9.8	15.2	2.9	34.8	46.1	16.2	4.0	7.0	0.3
1972	10.1	14.8	4.2	32.3	42.4	19.2	5.6	9.2	1.3
1981	10.3	15.2	4.3	32.2	42.4	18.5	6.2	9.8	1.7

Source: Government of Pakistan, *Handbook of Population Census Data*, Population Census Organization, Statistics Division, Islamabad.

Note: * Estimated.

Table D.1 Age-specific fertility rates, total fertility rates and gross reproduction rates by urban/rural area: 1984-1985 and 1990-1991

Country age	Pakistan contraceptive prevalence survey, 1984-1985				Pakistan demographic and health survey, 1990-1991*			
	Total	Major urban	Other urban	Rural	Total	Major urban	Other urban	Rural
15-19	63.5	38.7	61.8	70.2	84	55	64	97
20-24	222.6	184.0	232.7	230.0	230	225	222	235
25-29	263.3	255.6	286.0	260.8	268	259	281	268
30-34	234.1	210.8	251.2	236.9	229	211	243	231
35-39	208.9	142.3	189.9	229.0	147	116	141	157
40-44	126.7	146.4	145.5	119.0	(73)	(47)	(53)	(85)
45-49	71.0	77.0	86.9	66.3	(40)	(21)	(38)	(44)
Total fertility rate (15-49)	5.95	5.28	6.27	6.06	5.4	47	5.2	5.6
Gross reproduction rates per women	2.9	2.57	3.06	2.96	2.8	1.9	2.7	2.8

Sources: Government of Pakistan, *Pakistan Contraceptive Prevalence Survey, 1984-1985*, Population Welfare Division, Islamabad; and NIPS, *Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey, 1992*.

Note: * The Fertility Rates pertain to six years preceding the survey, (1986-1990). Figures in brackets are partially truncated rates.

Table D.2 Percentage distribution of births (for five years preceding the survey) by type of assistance during delivery and selected background characteristic, Pakistan: 1990-1991

Background characteristics	Person providing assistance				
	Doctor	Nurse/lady health visitor	Trained birth attendant	Traditional birth attendant	Other
Total	12.4	6.4	16.6	52.2	12.5
Residence					
Total urban	30.7	11.6	18.3	35.2	4.2
Major city	41.8	9.3	18.6	27.4	2.9
Other urban	15.5	14.8	17.9	45.7	6.1
Rural	4.2	4.0	15.9	59.8	16.0
Province					
Punjab	9.8	6.6	19.8	56.4	7.4
Sindh	24.6	7.6	7.4	54.6	5.7
North West Frontier Province	7.7	3.9	8.8	33.0	48.3
Baluchistan	3.1	4.4	45.1	38.2	9.2
Education level attained					
No education	6.1	5.0	16.9	57.4	14.6
Primary	15.1	10.4	21.5	48.4	4.7
Middle	39.1	13.0	12.7	29.9	5.3
Secondary+	57.2	11.6	10.1	17.1	4.0

Source: NIPS, Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey, 1990-1991.

Note: If the respondent mentioned more than one attendant, only the most qualified attendant is considered.

Table D.3 Percentage of children (12-23 months of age) who had received specific vaccines by selected background characteristic, Pakistan: 1990-1991

Background characteristics	Percentage of children who received					
	BCG	Polio	DPT	Measles	All	None
Total	69.7	42.9	42.7	50.2	35.1	28.3
Sex of the child						
Male	72.8	45.8	45.4	54.6	39.1	25.3
Female	66.7	40.3	40.2	46.1	31.3	31.0
Residence						
Total urban	28.2	55.4	55.4	64.6	45.6	14.0
Major city	83.5	52.9	52.9	64.4	43.7	15.3
Other urban	85.2	58.7	58.7	64.8	48.0	12.4
Rural	62.9	37.2	36.9	43.6	30.2	34.8
Province						
Punjab	75.8	46.9	46.7	54.4	38.6	22.2
Sindh	60.2	33.0	33.0	41.2	25.3	38.5
North West Frontier Province	63.8	44.5	44.0	48.2	37.6	33.5
Baluchistan	37.1	23.4	22.9	34.1	17.8	57.2

Source: NIPS, Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey, 1990-1991.

Table E.1 Labour force participation rates by age and sex, Pakistan: 1961 to 1991

Age group	1961 census	1973 housing economic and demographic	1981 census	Labour force surveys			
				1970-1971	1974-1975	1984-1985	1990-1991
10 years and over							
Both sexes	48.1	46.6	40.2	45.8	43.8	44.2	43.2
Male	80.7	77.6	72.4	80.0	67.7	77.0	71.3
Female	9.3	9.1	3.2	8.2	6.4	8.7	12.7
10-14							
Male	38.4	39.5	33.6	32.5	32.5	34.8	19.2
Female	4.7	10.3	3.2	4.7	3.2	6.6	6.9
15-19							
Male	72.3	67.7	60.0	65.5	64.7	65.5	55.2
Female	7.6	8.6	3.3	6.9	5.3	8.5	13.2
20-24							
Male	87.9	87.4	74.5	90.0	88.3	89.2	87.9
Female	9.6	10.8	3.3	8.1	6.6	8.6	13.9
25-34							
Male	93.7	95.4	85.0	97.5	96.9	98.6	97.7
Female	10.6	8.7	3.4	10.0	7.9	10.3	13.6
35-44							
Male	94.5	96.8	90.1	98.3	98.1	99.0	98.1
Female	11.7	8.4	3.0	10.3	8.8	22.2	15.6
45-54							
Male	94.3	95.3	90.8	96.2	96.8	98.8	96.1
Female	11.8	8.0	2.8	9.9	7.8	10.3	17.2
55-59							
Male	90.9	90.8	88.4	93.4	91.9	94.8	90.5
Female	10.2	7.3	2.4	9.8	6.1	5.7	13.8
60+							
Male	80.2	73.7	74.2	74.2	70.5	67.0	62.0
Female	7.9	8.2	2.3	4.7	5.5	4.0	8.7

Sources: Pakistan Census Organization; and Federal Bureau of Statistics, *Labour Force Surveys*, various issues.

Table E.2 Percentage distribution of female industrial labour force by age in selected industries: 1990

Industries	12-14	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	60+
Total	4.64	31.21	25.48	11.65	13.92	07.27	04.00	1.73
Fisheries	7.69	05.13	10.26	12.82	23.07	38.46	02.56	0.00
Garments	8.09	40.45	20.67	07.42	12.36	05.84	02.92	2.25
Electronics	1.19	42.86	35.71	09.52	07.14	02.38	01.19	0.00
Pharmaceuticals	1.16	28.57	36.29	18.15	11.58	03.09	01.16	0.00
Food and beverages	3.32	30.65	22.58	03.23	11.29	14.51	01.29	1.61
Cosmetics	0.00	20.00	62.86	11.43	05.71	00.00	00.00	0.00
Brick-kiln	4.11	13.70	15.07	18.49	26.02	10.27	08.22	4.10
Others	0.00	20.69	06.90	06.90	20.69	17.24	20.68	6.90

Source: UNICEF, *Women's Economic Participation in Pakistan: A Status Report*.

Table E.3 Percentage distribution of female industrial labour force by marital status in selected industries: 1990

Industries	Never	Currently married	Widowed/divorced/seperated married
Total	59.96	29.11	7.46
Fisheries	23.07	38.45	38.48
Garments	67.71	21.79	10.05
Electronics	85.70	08.33	05.97
Pharmaceuticals	74.90	18.53	06.57
Cosmetics	53.22	35.48	11.30
Brick-kilns	15.06	78.78	6.16
Others	27.59	48.28	24.13

Source: PILER Survey, 1990.

Table E.4 Percentage distribution of employed persons (10 years and over) by employment status, sex and urban/rural area: 1973, 1981 and 1987-1988

Employment status	1973		1981		1987-1988	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Pakistan						
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employers	4.7	8.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	0.2
Employees	22.0	20.4	26.9	37.6	26.9	14.9
Self-employed	50.8	16.6	56.6	33.5	51.4	21.7
Unpaid family helper	22.5	54.9	14.5	27.9	19.9	63.2
Urban						
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employers	5.5	10.7	2.9	1.0	2.8	0.1
Employees	45.1	54.6	51.5	70.8	46.4	34.1
Self-employed	39.2	20.4	41.0	22.3	40.3	26.4
Unpaid family helper	10.1	14.3	4.7	5.9	10.4	19.5
Rural						
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employers	4.4	7.3	1.7	1.0	1.7	0.2
Employees	14.5	11.4	18.3	22.1	19.2	8.4
Self-employed	54.5	15.6	62.0	38.7	55.7	20.9
Unpaid family helper	26.5	65.6	18.0	38.2	23.4	70.5

Source: Census Organization, *Housing, Economic and Demographic Survey, 1973*, vol. II, Part I, Interior Division, Islamabad; Population Census Organization, *1981 Census Report of Pakistan*, Statistics Division, Islamabad; and Federal Bureau of Statistics, *Labour Force Survey, 1987-1988*.

Table F.1 Female employment in federal civil services by selected division: 1989

Division	Male	Female	Percentage share of female in division	Percentage distribution of female employees
Education	12,430	4,830	38.9	43.7
Health	3,628	862	23.7	7.8
Population welfare	754	158	21.0	1.4
Special education and social welfare	1,250	260	20.8	2.4
Women's development	143	21	14.7	0.2
Economic affairs	499	14	2.8	0.1
Finance	31,296	825	2.6	7.5
Planning and development	1,072	42	3.9	0.3
Commerce	1,910	39	2.0	0.3
Industries	982	26	2.6	0.2
Food and agriculture	3,255	58	1.8	0.5
Water and power	310	7	2.3	0.1
Communications	66,274	1,592	2.4	14.4
Foreign affairs	2,156	33	1.5	0.3
Information	2,345	73	3.1	0.7

Source: Government of Pakistan, *Federal Government Civil Servants Census Report, 1989*, Management Services Division, Pakistan Public Administration Research Centre.

REFERENCES

- Afzal, Mohammad, *et al.* (1993), "An Indirect View of Fertility Changes in Pakistan", *Pakistan Development Review*, 32(4).
- Afzal, Mohammad, "Female Labour Force Reporting in South Asia: Some Issues", in Bose and Premi (eds.), *Population Transition in South Asia*, Delhi, 1992.
- Agricultural Census Organization (1983), *Pakistan Census of Agriculture, 1980*, Statistics Division, Lahore.
- Alam, I., Irfan. M. and Farooqui, N.I. (1984), "Fertility Levels, Trends and Differentials in Pakistan, Evidence from Population Labour Force and Migration Survey, 1979-1980", PLM Project Report No. 1, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad.
- Burney, N. *et al.* (1990), *The Human Development Report: Pakistan*, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad.
- Federal Bureau of Statistics, *Labour Force Surveys*, various years, Statistics Division, Islamabad.
- Federal Bureau of Statistics, *Pakistan Demographic Survey, 1984-1986*, Statistics Division, Karachi.
- Federal Bureau of Statistics, *Women in Pakistan: A Statistical Profile*, Statistics Division, Karachi, n.d.
- Federal Bureau of Statistics (1990), *Women and Men in Pakistan, 1995*.
- Government of Pakistan (1989), *Federal Government Civil Servants Census Report*, Management Service Division, Pakistan Public Administration Research Centre.
- Government of Pakistan (1994), *Economic Survey, 1993-1994*, Finance Division, Islamabad.
- Government of Pakistan (1994), *National Report on Population of Pakistan for International Conference on Population and Development*, Cairo, 5-13 September 1994.
- Government of Pakistan, *Population Census of Pakistan, 1961*, vol. 3, Ministry of Home and Kashmir Affairs, Karachi.
- Hafeez, Sabiha (1993), *The Girl Child in Pakistan: Priority Concerns*, presented at UNICEF Strategy Meeting on the SAARC Year of Girl Child, January 1990, Islamabad.
- Inayatullah, Attiya (1994), "Women in Politics: the Paradox", *The News* (26 March).
- Kazi S. and Bilquees Raza (1991), "Duality of Female Employment in Pakistan", *Pakistan Development Review*, 30(4).
- Kazi, N.S. (1986), "Women's Involvement in the Industrial Sector in Punjab", Applied Socio-Economic Research Centre, Lahore.
- Mahmood, Naushin and G.M. Zahid (1992), "Measuring the Education Gap in Primary and Secondary Schooling in Pakistan", *Pakistan Development Review*, 31(4).
- Mahmood, Naushin (1992), "Motivation and Fertility Control Behaviour in Pakistan", *Pakistan Development Review*, 31(2), 1992.
- Mohiuddin, Y. (1987), "Female Headed Households and Urban Poverty in Pakistan", paper presented at 13th Annual Meeting of Eastern Economic Association, Washington, D.C.
- National Institute of Population Studies (1992), *Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey, 1990-1991*, IRD/Macro Int., Islamabad.
- Nyrop, Richard F. (1983), *Pakistan: A Country Study*, (Washington D.C. The American University, Foreign Areas Studies).
- Omar Kulsoom, Simi Kamal and Natasha Shoaib, *Review of Implementation of the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, 1985-1992*, *Pakistan Country Report*, October 1993.
- Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women (1985), *Report of the Commission on the Status of Women*, Islamabad.

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم. استعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب إلى : الأمم المتحدة ، قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف .

如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店询问或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу : Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.