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THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Country Paper on Pakistan*

prepared by

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BIRTH OF PAKISTAN

Passionately concerned with the renaissance of Islam as a dynamic religion based on a just social system, the Pakistan Nationalist Movement emerged as the dream of the poet philosopher of India, Allama Iqbal. The evolution of Iqbal's thought can be traced in three broad steps. The anti-Imperialist stage of "We are Hindi (Indians) our home is Hindostan (India), to an Internationalist Muslim. "We are Muslims, our home is the world" and a national movement based on a homeland for the Indian muslims presented by him in a rough sketch at the Muslim League session in 1930. The word Pakistan was coined by a young student of Cambridge, Rehmat Ali, in

The muslims of India, choked under the domination of an educated, powerful and predominately Hindu capitalist class, with its political superstructure of permanent dominion were actuated by a desire for free development and dreamt of the birth of a new order out of the decaying imperialist system. They were galvanised by a wave of political consciousness, through the reorganisation of the Muslim League in 1936 under the guidance of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan. The elections of 1936 consolidated the muslim nationalist movement and the fight for Pakistan gained astounding momentum due to the development of the radical muslim thought and a progressive programme resulting in the birth of Pakistan in 1947. The Indian muslims had won the battle for the right of self-determination and a homeland of their own, a muslim peoples Pakistan.

RELIGION AND SCIENCE.

In order to understand and appreciate the basic needs of the women of a country, the scientific laws underlying the status of woman in given historical epoch need to be analysed in depth, and a study has to be made of how a given phenomena arose in history. What were its stages of development and what is it today? We have to keep in mind the principle that the economic structure of society and nature of the relations of production are the base, and laws, politics and institutions are the superstructure. Islam is interwoven into the social, economic, political and cultural fabric of a number of countries. It is way of life with the people of Pakistan. One cannot divorce oneself from the mass sentiment and, as a part of its historical data a paper on Pakistan must study the scientific laws underlying the Status of Women in Islam, the development of the Indian and Pakistani nationalist movement with its religious liberals and traditionalists of varying degrees and their impact on the emancipation of women, against the background of the rise of anti-colonial and imperialist movements in the muslim world.

STATUS OF WOMEN IN ISLAM.

Arabia at the time of the advent of Islam was divided into a tribal, slave and patricial society. In certain areas women had already been degraded to a low position. When a man having many wives died the wives were inherited by his sons like moveable property. In order to avoid social disgrace, many men buried their new born daughters alive. However, in other parts of Arabia, where the tribal and slave society still prevailed, women enjoyed a primitive type of freedom.

Islam came as a religion of the opressed against the oppressors. Muhammad, the prophet of Islam found his social base in the city of Madina, the home of the poor peasants. Islam was not a way of life imposed on the existing system, but was the beginning of a new historical epoch, taking its character from the agricultural Madina. Islam therefore was a religion of the poor and oppressed classes, and most of the holy Prophet's followers were slaves, freed men and peasants. Accordingly, Islam raised the position of all oppressed, including the women. The Holy QURAN has said 'Oh people be careful of your duty to your Lord who created you from a single being and created its mate of the same kind and spread from these two many men and women. '(Chapter VI-I).

On the question of women's economic rights, the Holy Quran says, "Men shall have the benefit of what they achieve and acquire, women shall have the benefit of that which they similarly achieve and acquire..." (Chapter -IV-32).

Spiritual revelation is the highest position in Islam women received this revelation"..... and we revealed to the mother of Moses saying give him suck..(28.7)" and "remember when the angles said: O Mary, surely Allah has chosen thee.." (Chapter III-41).

As a mother, the giver of life, a woman has a specially privileged position and this position is superior to that of the man because paradise lies at the feet of the mother. The Holy Prophet respected and encouraged women to take a full part in all spheres, and this is borne out by the fact that a negro lady, who had once nursed him, stood by his side at the battle of Uhad.

Islam in its earliest stages was a religion of the oppressed, but later became a religion of the exploiters, when power fell into the hands of the mercantile aristocracy of the Ommayads. The underlying reason for this change was the development of mercantile capital in some parts of Arabia. Qureaish tribal trade flourished with its centre in Mecca and routes along the coast to Syria and Palestine. After the battle of Uhad, however, these routes were cut off resulting in increased trade, which led to a further development

of mercantile capital and the emergence of a mercantile aristocracy. Under the Ommayed influence Osman started changing the progressive land tenure of Omar.

In parts of Arabia, where capitalism and feudalism had not yet taken root and tribal and slave societies prevailed, women were comparatively free. We hear of tribes headed by women, Sajjah was a great lady, who eventually became the head of a tribe and embraced Islam and Hind, who became a muslim and accompanied the soldiers at Yermuk singing the song of Uhad.

The Muslim empire expanded due to the brilliant victories of Khalid-Bin-Waleed and the Arab civilization slowly came under the influence of developed capitalism and feudalism existing in the Roman and other civilizations. The pure and simple lives of the companions of the Prophet were forgotten. In Madina the primitive mosque was a humble structure made of sun dried bricks covered with plastered earth and the houses were one-storied, but when Muawiyah removed the seat of government to Damascus, he surrounded himself with pomp and pageantry.

As jet comparative freedom existed for women, and members of either sex attended the sermons of Caliphs. Ayesha, the wife of the Holy Prophet, personally conducted a rebellion against Ali. Fatima, the daughter of the Holy Prophet often took part in discussions regarding the succession to the Caliphate. The daughter of Hussain, Syeda Sakina, was regarded as the "first among women of her time by birth, beauty, wit and virtue". Her residence was the resort of jurists and other learned people. But with the development of feudalism and capitalism, reaction set in and customs alien to Islam were beginning to be practised. The system of prostitution was introduced and it was under the Abbasides that the custom of the complete envelopment of the body arose, which is prevalent in Pakistan even today.

The strictly limited permission for polygamy, given in connection with the protection of widows and orphans, and conditioned upon the irrevocable argument of equality of treatment, was taken as a leave for promiscuity, and wives and children were mercilessly thrown into the waste-paper-basket. Despite the triumph of reaction, women still continued to take part in national affairs up to the reign of Mutawakil, the reactionery. Fathers were still proud to assume surnames after their accomplished and beautiful daughters and brothers and husbands still rushed into battle acclaiming the names of sisters and wives. The high-bred Arab women still held conversations with the men without embarrassment, and they entertained guests without shyness. In the beautiful words of firdausi "Lips full of smiles, countenance full of modesty, conduct virtuous, conversation lively".

In the decades after the death of the the traditions and customs of the Prophet of Islam were compiled. The authenticity of many of these traditions was always in doubt, and, by the end of the Ommayed period, a critical approach to the mass of traditions began. The revolutionary intelligentsia began to question the doctrine of the eternal command, which seemed to place a second eternal existence in conflict with the essential unity of God. A rational school of Islamic thought developed, and this polarisation gave birth to a new science called "The Science of Reason" which gave an impetus to the development of rational intellectual life, and produced distinguished scholars, mathematicians, prominent scientists and historians. Science and scientific research was encouraged by the founding of the Bat-ul-Hakima, under Al-Mahmur. and the beginning of the era of Islamic science. The adherents of the rationalist school of Islam were strictly monogamous, and their law forbids a second union during the lifetime of the first wife.

The reactionary school of Islamic thought, representing the vested interests, opposed the founding of the Bat-ul-Hakima and the extremists among them rejected the findings of all science. When Mutawakil ascended the throne, colleges and universities were closed, literature, science and philosophy was banned, and rationalists were tortured and hounded out of Baghdad.

In the early Abbaside period, before the triumph of reaction, the position of women was still comparatively free. The Empress Zubeida was a gifted woman. Faizi, the poetess, lived under the Abbasides. One of the most famous lady jurists was Zaineb who lived about the beginning of the 12th Century A.D. She received diplomas from prominent loctors and was licensed to teach law. In Sarcacen Spain, at the time of Abdur Rehman-II, there were seven hundred official lady doctors, and we hear of women scholars and eloquent poetesses. Safia, a native of Seville, was distinguished for her who lectured on the traditions of the Holy Prophet and was a poetess of eminence. Aveeros of Cordova, the famous physician declared in but only in degree and that they were apt in all men's occupations though to a lesser degree, but sometimes even surpassed the men.

Thus, through the pages of Islamic history, a continuous struggle was going on between the reactionary and progressive schools of Islamic thought. A compromise was attempted between the two schools in the early 10th century A.D. but it offended on the one hand the philosophers of the rationalist school and on the outraged the reactionaries. By the 11th century muslim theology was undergoing a real crisis. The muslim world never completely recovered from this crisis until the re-awakening brought about by the anti-imperialist struggle against colonial and semi-colonial exploitation, spearheaded by ALAFGHANI.

MUSLIMS IN INDIA

Tracing briefly the history of the status of women in India, we find that up to the period of about 1500 B.C. the women enjoyed a high position in the family and took an active part in production, but during the period of about 500 B.C. to 500 A.D. tribal and feudal islands emerged and the status of women gradually changed. Although Budhism raised the position of Indian women, the post-Bhudhist period was marked by a slow change and thus gradually the Hindu women's position deteriorated. The muslim conquest of India, with its frequent invasions, when the men were away fighting and it was considered safe to keep the women in seclusion, further aggravated the situation, and by the time of the British conquest such evil customs as child-marriage, bride-price, a ban on widow remarriage, untouchability, segregation of sexes, purdah(seclusion), and suttee had taken firm roots. The majority of muslims were converts, and as the invad rs settled down in India and feudalism was consolidated, the existing Hindu customs were slowly assimilated among the muslims and, even today, some customs prevail which do not exist in other muslim countries. The British were a small minority ruling over a vast majority; they were, therefore, slow and cautious to change the personal laws of Indians. Progressive In dians wanted changes and the British therefore struck a compromise and brought about some reforms such as the abolition of suttee (burning of widows) but after the so-called mutiny in 1857, they did not bring about any reforms and the personal laws of hindus and muslims remained separate from other laws and were only subject to change on the basis of a judgement by a humane judge.

After the war of Independence of 1857, the British systematically crushed the erstwhile rulers of India and the muslims were plunged into unimagined humilation and poverty. The orthodox muslims fell back on their past glory and preached the attainment of religious purity, against the westernising influences of the infidel. The traditionalists were anti-British and were determined to conquer the English educational system which was considered dangerous to Islam. By great personal effort they established a madressa to impart higher traditional education.

The first stirrings of muslim nationalism came with Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. He felt the plight of muslims due to the lack of modern English education. object in view he established the Mohammaden Anglo-Arabic College at Aligarh. Amir Ali, educated abroad, was a forceful advocate of rationalist muslim thought. He said "Muhammad incalculated the use of reason. His followers have made its use a sin". He played an important part in the evolution of muslim thought and the emancipation of women by his book "The Spirit of Islam". Muslim women did not lag behind the movement and with the help of enlightened males, a woman's journal appeared in 1886 followed by other vernacular journals advocating women's emancipation. A women's right to education began to be recognised. This led to the convening of the Mohammaden Educational Conference and the setting up of separate educational institutions for women. The all India Muslim Women's conference came into being in 1915. In 1917 the conference passed a resolution against polygamy. After the first Round Table Conference held in London the political reforms of 1935 gave the right to vote to literate persons and due to the help of the newly emancipated British women, wives and widows of voters were given the franchise and seats were reserved for women in the legislatures.

PAKISTAN

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, was a highly educated muslim and his progressive view about women are well known. In order to encourage the emancipation of women he took his sister Miss Jinnah with him everywhere. Jinnah believed that "no nation can rise to the hight of glory unless its women are side by side with the men". (Jinnah Creater of Pakistan- page 128). Mohammad Ali Jinnah spoke frankly "of the crime against humanity" that muslim women "should be shut up within the four walls of houses as prisoners" (Jinnah Creater of Pakistan).

When Pakistan was born in 1947, it was suddenly inducted into a disordered and distraught world- unprepared. The circumstances attending Pakistan's birth were tragic and unfavourable. About fourteen million people crossed the new frontiers and refugees poured into Pakistan. Fear lay like a heavy cloud on the horizon. Multitudes bewildered and afraid struck on a mass scale and a wave of terror engulfed the land. There was slaughter everywhere. Only the courage and determination of the father of the nation secured the survival of the new State, but before he could give the country a constitution, Mohammad Ali Jinnah died thirteen months after partition. The All Pakistan Women's Association(APWA) was organized under its founder President Begum Rana Liaqat Ali Khan. She was

actively helped by her husband Liaqat Ali Khan, the successor and friend of Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Liaqat Ali Khan was assasinated in 1951 and a political vacum was created in the country.

The tradionalists had kept the muslims away from western knowledge, because they wanted to retain the leadership of the Indian muslims. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was dubbed a 'KAFFIR' (non-believer), Iqbal was similarly abused and some of his poems are a reflection of his conflict with the orthodox religious leaders. The Traditionalists openly abused Jinnah, with the argument that the Indian freedom movement would be retarded by the demand for Pakistan. They propogated that partition was alien to the philosophy of muslim brotherhood. Jinnah had said that in any case, Pakistan was not going to be a theocratic State to be ruled by priests with a divine mission, but the death of Jinnah and Liaqat dangerously weakened the political leadership of Pakistan, and the smaller leaders who came after them. could not resist the onslaught of the tradionalists, who had re-organised themselves after partition. The report of the Basic Principles Committee, submitted by the constitution-making body in 1954, incorporated the major demands of the tradionalists, and the shortlived 1956 constitution, although it accepted the majority of the demands of the orthodox religious leaders, did not incorporate special safeguards for women. Universal sufferage and reservation of special seats in the legislatures was provided for women on the basis of direct female sufferage and territorial constituencies. Women could also contest elections from the general seats.

CONSTITUTIONAL BATTLE

Direct elections to the women's reserved seats. were abandoned in the 1962 constitution, and women were indirectly elected by an all-male electorate. The traditionalists were a powerful force, and during this period very little was accomplished. The main focus of the women's movement was on the family laws. Muslims, in respect of their personal laws, were ruled by what were called the Anglo-Mohammaden laws. After the second marriage of a prime minister of Pakistan, the womens organisations demanded new marriage laws. A committee was appointed by government with the object of examining laws governing marriage, maintenance, custody and other ancillary matters in order to give women their proper place in Islam. The committee's report was published in .1956. It recommended curbs on polygamy, the unilateral right of divorce by man and establishment of family courts. A note of dissent was written by a religious leader. The report raised a storm of protest and country-wide agitation was launched against it. This resulted in the report being put in cold storage. However, due to the efforts of

progressive men and women, a family laws ordinance was promulgated in 1961. Although it was a defective law, because it did not accept in toto the recommendations of the previous committee, it was a step in the right direction. Once again the traditionalists opposed the ordinance, and a movement was launched against it, but this time the women's organisations retaliated by counter-demonstrations and the ordinance remained on the statute book.

1973 CONSTITUTION

The 1962 constitution was unacceptable to the As a result of a popular movement, new elections were held in 1970. In 1972 the new assembly met, and women were associated with the constitution-making process, and were elected members of the drafting committee. The constitution of 1973 is framed within the orbit of Islam. It lays down that Islam will be the state religion of Pakistan and all existing laws will be brought in conformity with the Quran and Sunnah traditions. Under Article 228, an Islamic Ideology Council is to advise parliament on ways and means to enable muslims to practice Islam based on Quran and Sunnah. Religion was considered the monopoly of men and therefore the drafting committee did not include a woman member in the council, but as a result of a note of dissent by a wom n member, the national assembly agreed to include "at least one woman" the Islamic Ideology Council. Within these have been provided for women. limits safeguards

The Fundamental Rights give women equality before the law, and an additional safeguard that there will be no discr mination on the basis of sex alone. In the matter of appointments, no citizen otherwise qualified can be discriminated against on the basis of sex. Reservation of seats for women in the local bodies is guaranteed. Article 34 states "full steps will be taken to ensure the participation of women in all spheres of national State protection is given to marriage, the family, the mother and the child. The Family Laws Ordinance has been given protection in the constitution and continues to be the Marriage Law of Pakistan. In addition to being able to contest from the general seats to the national assembly, women have been given ten reserved seats. The principle of direct elections, based on female sufferage, for the reserved seats was rejected. Similarly, a percentage of seats have been reserved in the provincial assemblies. However, no seats have been reserved for women in the Senato or the special minority seats. But due to pressure exerted by the women's organisations, two general seat tickets for the Senate and minority seats were given to women. New elections are going to be held in Pakistan some time in 1978 and the provisions of the 1973 constitution will be subject to change, according to the manifestos of political parties.

LEGISLATION.

After the passing of the constitution, it was expected that legislation would be introduced to implement the constitutional provisions, but no steps were taken in this direction. A cut motion was moved for the setting up of a Cell in the manpower division to evaluate the conditions of working women and it was accepted by the government. The establishment of a women's section was much talked about, but it was never actually set up.

The International Women's Year 1975 was marked by an upsurge in the political consciousness of women. The support received by the Declaration and the World Plan of Action from the muslim countries led to greater solidarity. To commemorate the year, a resolution to set up a "Status of Women Commission" was tabled in parliament by a woman member. It was finally passed after one year of struggle. Inspite of accepting the resolution, the government never set up the Commission. Instead, a Women's Rights Committee was appointed in January 1976. Its terms of reference incluthe formulation of proposals for law reforms, to provide suggestions for relief in matters like maintenance, custody of children etc. and for improving the social and economic conditions of the women. Part I of the report was published n July-August, 1976. The committee recommended legal reforms in the Mu; lims Family Law Ordinance (which was virtually a dead law because of the changes in its structural organisation). Special Family Courts and easier procedures of divorce for women. In addition to the reserved seats, it was recommended that 10% of the general seats should be reserved for women by parties putting up 10 or more candidates. The appointment of at least two women on the governing body of the employees' social security institution, the establishment of creches day-care centres and nurseries in cities for the children of working mothers, and maternity benefits to be provided to women in certain categories. When the report was made public, it was dubbed as "unislamic", and the second part of the committee's report was never published.

URGENT NEED.

On the basis of experience gained in the women's movement in Pakistan women's organisations wish to impress upon the centre the urgent need to collect data and information on the status of women in Islam, with special reference to those musl a countries where relgion is a dominant factor in the emancipation of women. The women of the muslim world are fighting side by side,

- against the danger of idealising the role and importance of traditional institutions. The centre can compile and translate legislation on the family laws of progressive Islamic states like
- Tunisia, Iran, Morocco, Turkey and other states of the region, and the writings of modern muslim authors on the status of women. Research can also be made on the subject by muslim women scholars, who are well versed in Islam.

In Pakistan it is recommended that muslim women scholars should have more representation in the Ministry of Religious Affairs and should be appointed at centres of Islamic learning, such as the Islamic Research Institute Islamabad, and the Institute of Islamic Culture at Lahore. In curriculae planning at all levels of the educational systems, there is need for an appropriate emphasis on the study of Islamic Law. It is suggested that serious-minded young women scholars from Pakistan should be given opportunities to study at the institutes of religious learning in other muslim countries. The Ministry of Religious Affairs should prepare standard booklets in all languages of Pakistan, giving objective interpretations of the Islamic position on the status of women.

ELICS OF MEDIEVALISM.

Due to Pakistan's uneven development, forms of tribal, feudal and capitalist economy exist side by side, with their different relations of production and, as a consequence, separate laws governing the super structure. Medieval customs like bride-money, unwilling marriages, child marriages, exchange marriages, infants married to dd m:n, marriages based on clan and parochial prejudice, social taboos on widow remarriage and divorced women, and abduction for the purpose of prostitution are prevalent. Marriages based on love and companionship are condemned by a large section of the population, and it is proudly claimed that a girl never speaks when it is a question of her marriage. Emotions based on conditioned attitudes reinforce tradition as a great conservative force. When a son is born, in the majority of households there is rejoicing, when a girl is born, she is considered a burden because she has to marry and belong to someone popular language her husband is her'malek'(owner). In a joint family system, where a number of males have an equal right in property, share a common budget and residence, the young women of the house are supposed to do all the work, sometimes under the subordinate tyranny of the mother-in-law. At birth the girl is the virtual property of her father, at marriage she is expected to adjust to her father-inlaw's household and as a widow she is subordinate to her son. A young married girl is placed under severe restrictions and has little or no say in decision-making. Her status in the family depends on her husband's salary. Among muslims, as a rule marriages are performed

between relations and are based on class interests, castes and tribes. The inequality between bride-givers and bride-takers in certain classes is manifest in many forms, such as the dowry system, presents for the boy's relations, polygamy and a unilaterial right of divorce for the man. A woman is primarily associated with the house and her typical role is that of a housewife and mother. According to a proverb, there are only two places for a women; the house or the grave. In a feudal society, a woman has no place of her own. She is a pale reflection of the man to whom she is related, or by whom she is favoured. Centuries of conditioning of a feudal and tribal society leave their mark on a girl's personality and identity. Women learn early in life the need for adjustment and submission, which hampers them in their careers when they have to compete with men. In jobs they accept being thrown into corners, rather than fight a male-dominated society. The rebels among them have to dig through tunnels of prejudice and sometime suffer all their lives. In an emotion-dominated society, women are murdered on the slightest suspicion of infidelity. A recent news item mentions a son committed suicide because the villagers taunted him on his widowed mother's second marriage. A gruesome incident in which the student of a college lost her life and several girls were injured by a man who claimed that he was against the education of girls, highlighted the insecurity to which women in general are exposed in the cities-Many incidents of brutal mutilation of daughters, wives, and female relations are reported in the press.

The centuries cold traditions and relics of barbarianism have been sustained by colonialism and neocolonialism. The focal point of the battle of women in under developed countries centres around the "relics of medievalism". The IWY conference resolutions recognised the need of studying more extensively the role and status of women in society, in relation to sociocultural changes and economic factors, and in this connection it would be interesting to study the experience gained in other underdeveloped countries of the region.

BASIC DATA.

There has been no systematic effort to collect, tabulate and accumulate information on women in Pakistan. The basic data is incomplete and sketchy, and the work of research workers is generally hampered by the absence of reliable data.

POPULATION.

Recent estimates place the total population of Pakistan at 72.368 million, of which females number 34.822 million or approximately 47%. Life expectency of males is 52.9 and of female is 51.8. The fertility rate among married women is high .On the average a woman has 7 or 8 children living and bears more than that number during her child=bearing period(Rashida Patal on Social Reforms).

PURDAH.

The national survey of 1968 disclosed that 61% of women are observing purdah(seclusion), the burqah or any other form of purdan. (Rashida Patel on Social Reforms).

LITERACY.

The statistics of literary rates and education among females are discouraging. According to the 1961 census only 5.63% of the female population was literate. They may have increased somewhat during the past sixteen years. At every level of the educational ladder the enrolement ratio of boys and girls is about four to one. (See tables on education).

LABOUR FORCE.

The size of the labour force in 1974-75 was estimated at 20.5 million, of which women numbered about 2 million, approximately 10% of the labour force. The apparently low participation rate of women is due to the fact that many working women are not counted. In the rural areas, the role of the wage earning girl often goes unnoticed. The unpaid family workers number, according to one source, 4.6 million. The number of unpaid female workers is not available, but it is estimated to be a high proportion of the unpaid family workers.

DRINKING WATER.

54% of the urban population and only 11.2% of the rural population have access to a safe water supply. (Source- Women's Resources Cell- Islamabad).

RURAL WOMEN.

The population of females engaged in agriculture is roughly 70%. They are active participants in farming, helping their male counterparts in various cropping seasons. Fodder cutting, pouring of seeds, wheat harvesting, husking and winnowing, paddy sowing, threshing, husking winnowing and sieving of rice, corn sowing and grinding are some of the farming jobs done by women. Cotton picking is a special industry of females. Women also carry the meals of the males to the fields. In addition, they play an important role in various farming activities; such as fetching water, feeding animals, milking of animals and preparing of milk products. Women are engaged in spinning, weaving, sewing and other kindsof needle-work during their leisure hours. Gathering fuel is a time consuming activity and women spend their time collecting dung and making dung cakes, thus an excellent source of fertiliser is lost. To women folk falls the work of food preservation and storage. For storing grain, women make large drums which have to be renovated annually. Plastering of Kutcha houses with mud about twice a year is also done by women.

The poorest among the rural women are the widows of landless and casual labourers because they live at subsistence level. Their heavy work loads make it very difficult for them to attend any programmes regularly. The way to reducing their work load is the provision of portable drinking water, the collection of which often entails a walk of several miles. Research has to be made on the feasibility of the provision of cheap hand pumps. Attention has to be paid to methods of food storage to cut down losses. Improved cooling arrangements can help to reduce fuel consumption and improved construction techniques could help the rural women. Manually or foot-operated cereal threshing, winnowing and grinding machines could reduce work loads. At present the "Chula" or the mud-cooking stove, has to be renovated at least twice a month and sometimes rebuilt every fortnight. "Tandoors" or communal kitchens are a feature of the villages and could be organised on a community basis to relieve individual houswives.

Rural women are the greatest sufferers of attitudes which have been termed 'relics of medievalism'. Until the origins of these attitudes are understood and analysed no radical measures can be suggested. In a semi-colonial country frozen attitudes can be traced back to colonialism. Before the advent of the British in India, the feudal structure consisted of the moghal civil and military bureaucracy. They were the chief consumers of handicrafts and patrons of shopkeepers and merchants. They thus had economic and political power even in the cities. The agricultural economy, seems frozen at this stage. Due to this stagnation, the leap to capitalist production did not take place in precolonial India. The British, by creating the classic pressure on agriculture through the ruin of handicrafts and channelising industrial production within the protective shell of imperialism, threw large numners of the population on primitive agriculture. In every type of exploitation, women are the suffers and colonial oppression hits women particularly hard.

When the British government stopped the East India Company from trading, all profits of the company had to come from the land. Thus landlordism came to India and a class of parasite landlords composed of princes, tribal sardars and others, sprang up. These parasites lived on oppression and woman was the object of a double exploitation, she was the slave of a slave society. As colonialism extended, state landlordism developed and the state rented land to the peasants on a colonial basis, not to the benefit of the peasant, but to squeeze rent from him. The peasant in turn exploited his women as unpaid workers.

The British paid more attention to political and military administration than to economic development. They were therefore content to adopt Empror Akbar's system of revenue collection (Albar was the contemporary of Queen Elizabeth the first of England) and systimatically extended the agricultural system by building canal colonies. The structure of the village stagnated, and a village hiearachy developed. The basic units, the villages were isolated and became independent, self-sustaining organisations. This system was confined to sustaining a unit producing revenue, and conditioned people to a lack of initiative, submission and superstition. This was the base of 'Oriental Despotism' to which was added "British Despotism". The basic revenue units were the age-old"keeper of records", and that dragon of law and order the 'thanedar' (police official). As the system gained permanency, it acquired permanent traditions and women were caught in the vicious circle of these traditions.

A revolutionary strategy is needed to break the inherited structure. Institutions which are not based on local traditions are not readily acceptable to the people. One should not limit oneself to the elimination of tri al institutions, but study the possibility of modernising and utilising them as suitable instruments for organising production and encouraging the emancipation of women. Grass root organisations can be of three types. Self-governing socio-economic territorial units, which are autonomous and can perform all necessary social, economic, political and cultural functions (in some countries they are called communes), co-operative farms and local self-government institutions.

The co-operative farm movement is in the introductory stage in Pakistan. The ∞ -operative movement in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, however can be traced to the colonial days and was based on the concept of the rulers and ruled. The women component of the co-operative movement has so far confined itself to small thrift societies. The scope and range of the new co-operatives can be enlarged in order to make women equal and useful members. The new co-operatives can include specific inputs and schemes for womens co-operatives on an ownership basis. Women's co-operatives can provide a training ground for their participation in local self-government institutions. Elections to the local bodies will be held after the general elections. At least 25% seats should be reserved for women in the local bodies, as recommended by the Women's Rights Committee. A research needs to be made on the communes as developed in the countries of Asia and the Pacific and their role in the mancipation of women.

NON-AGRICULTURAL WOMEN LABOUR FORCE.

Tables 1 & 2 give the pattern of utilisation of the female labour force in Pakistan. Unskilled and semiskilled women work in textiles, pharmaceuticals, food products, and construction industries. Women work as wood product workers, stall holders, craftsmen, domestic service workers, sweepers, potters, china clay workers and general labourers. Labour laws entitle a woman to maternity leave which extends to 12 weeks. The employers of a woman in a camp, where one thousand or more persons reside, must make arrangements for the children of a working woman to be accommodated while the mother is at work. Night work and carrying of heavy loads for women is prohibited and they are not allowed to work in various operations concerned with specified industries. (See a summary of labour laws).

The labour laws and factory acts are circumventing through the system of work charged employees and casual daily Women manual and menial wage earners in this category are deprived of every normal benefit and existing labour laws are flouted. It is recommended that the Womens Rights Committee's suggestion of setting up kindergartens and creches for the children of working mothers should be given legislative effect and executive orders should be passed to enable the women's section of the manpower division of the labour ministry to start functioning immediately. The new education policy has stressed the agrotechnical bias in the curriculae for boys and girls. Training in different industries will equip women to work in small industries, or to be self-employed. Women agro-technical workers and cottage industry workers can be given training courses in marketing and related subjects to enable them, when possible, to market their product. New government policies aim at associating workers and trade unions with management. At the initial stages of the implementation of this policy a quota system of reserved seats for working women needs to be examined.

The industrial homes set up by government and private voluntary organisations, in order to give some employment to poor rural and urban women, are providing some relief in this sector. However, the hold of absentee landlords who are trying to manipulate government aid for their own benefit, needs to be examined.

HOUSEWIVES.

The labour Survey Report of 1971-72 reported about 79% of all female persons in Pakistan to be keeping house. Unfortunately the role of the housewife as a mother and a worker is not reflected in the statistics. The task of cooking, washing, cleaning, looking after children and in a joint family system cooking for the other members of the family are some of the duties of a housewife. In Pakistan it would seem as if virtually 1/3rd of the population is cooking for the other 2/3rds.

Security of the housewife depends, to a large extent, on her legal status. Marriage and family laws, maintenance, custody of children, polygamy, man's unilateral right of divorce, and such other customs, vitally affect the security of the housewife. In Pakistan these laws need urgent attention. As a first step the recommendations contained in part I of the Women's Rights Committee's report should be accepted. Extensive research and study of the family laws of muslim countries needs to be taken in hand and close contact between the women's organisations of muslim countries is of vital importance.

Cheap home services are necessary to relieve the housewife of as much drugery as possible. The problems of transport need to be urgently solved. Government has introduced the cooked 'roti'(bread) schemes. They are a commendable measure in this direction. Women will only be able to avail of expanding opportunities for education, work training and recreation if the time and energy spent on the management of the household is reduced. It is suggested that government should set up multi-purpose centres to impart training and knowledge in the urban and rural areas to women. The relevant ministries need to co-ordinate their activities and associate non-governmental organisations with the setting up of these centres. The multiple centres can render the following services:-

- (a) Act as training centres for women and teach skills to enable women to run their homes better.
- (b) Impart skills to help supplement the family budget.
- (c) Women should be able to buy sewing and knitting machines on easy terms through these centres.
- (d) The centres can run day-care child centres at nominal rates.
- (e) They can arrange for marketing of finished products.

- (f) Mother and child care and family planning education courses can be conducted by the centres.
- (g) Adult literacy can be introduced at the centres.

WOMEN INTELLIGENTIA.

According to information supplied by government departments to women members of the national assembly, there were 58,000 teachers, 62,000 female college and university students, 2,000 doctors, 1,000 lady health visitors, 3,000 nurses and 1,600 $\,$ public servants in Pakistan in 1972. The number of midwives was not available. There are a few other categories of whitecollar services such as clerical and sales workers. It is estimated that1/3rd of all, and in some departments 1/2 of the teachers in Pakistan are females. The women teachers are seldom given senior administrative or policy-making positions in teaching departments. In the service where the women of Pakistan have the largest opportunity, their role as administrators and policy-makers is almost n gligible. The teachers living in the villages are handicapped, because of the prejudices against working women. It is suggested that general security and living conditions for teachers working in the villages should be the responsibility of the department concerned and not the village elders. Transport is another big problem for the teachers living in villages. Most primary and secondary school-teachers and vocational institutions in towns and villages observe partial purdah and are reluctant in coming out of their sheltered homes. The women teachers of this category can be encouraged to avail scholarships and advanced training, and special efforts should be made to find teachers who benefit from further training. The problems of nurses in Pakistan need sympathatic consideration, because their service conditions discourage young girls from joining the profession. Pay, living conditions and transport are some of the inadequacies of their service conditions. Lady doctors who work in hospitals and medical colleges are sometimes discriminated against and suffer from numerous disabilities. Those allowed private practice are able to build up a lucrative business because there is a scarcety of lady doctors in

There is a wide gap between men and women in the services. As a rule women with long years of service remain at at the same grade. There are a number of highly qualified and experienced women in Pakistan whose training and capabilities are not being recognised, and there are numerous autonomous bodies and government departments where there is not a single working woman. Long hours of work, lack of housing facilities and home services are some of the limitations from which working women suffer. One good thing has been the opening up of the foreign service to women, as the result of the constitutional provisions,

but it will take a long time before women are able to get their due share in senior policy making positions in government departments. Mention must be made of the women taking part in sports and culture. A Pakistan Women's Sports Council has been formed. This requires affiliation with the three national bodies. There are no women representatives on the Pakistan Sports Control Board at the national or the provincial level. It is suggested that suitably qualified women members should be appointed to all sports and cultural bodies.

WOMEN AND POLITICS.

The indirect elections of women by an electoral college of the national and provincial assemblies, has brought forward a type of women who is willing to be subservient to a male=dominated society. The political party which gains a majority in the legislatures has the women's seats virtually in its pocket. The boards giving party tickets are either composed of men, or one woman representative is included. This encourages the elected woman members to neglect the work of representing women in the legislatures. Parliamentary work needs a highly specialised knowledge of parliamentary practice, and procedures. Resolutions, questions, cut motions, private bills, amendments require hard work and a systematic collection of data. The framing and passing of a constitution is a laborious job and needs a working knowledge of the constitution of the world. Able orators and women who are capable of fighting prolonged battles in legislatures are able to get the best results. Questions and speeches in the assemblies have a vast impact on the executive and are projected on the mass media. The women legislators who take their work seriously, are handicapped because they are faced with the dual responsibility of representing women and their all-male electorate In the 1970 election, no woman was elected from a general seat because, as a rule the political parties do not give women tickets from these seats. It is suggested that the indirect elections are a temporary measure, should be held, either on the basis of a female sufferage and territorial constituencies or by an electoral college composed of the women's organisations and elected women members of the local bodies. Serious consideration should be given to the Women's Rights Committee's recommendation of reservation of 10% of the general seats for women in addition to the reserved seats in the case of political parties putting up ten or more candidates. A political party whose doors are not open to women, should be debarred from contesting elections.

In recent years a large number of women have joined political parties, but women in the services, teachers, doctors, nurses, health visitors, midwives and others in government service and those belonging to social welfare organizations supported by government aid, although they are voters, cannot become members of political parties. Women's Rights are considered a non-political subject, and form a part of the programme of the All Pakistan Womens Association a body supported by government funds. The women intelligentia, and specially those working in the services, are statistically a minority but the Pakistani career women represent an important vanguard in the women's movement. They should be permitted to continue their work on the platform of Women's Rights.

Political activity and awareness of both men and women should be considered an on-going process and should not be confined to the elections. Political parties need to give women representation at all levels of their organisational structure. At present they have separate women sections and, irrespective of their political capabilities, a leader's wife and other female relatives, find a place in the party hierarchy The organizational separation of men and women deprives women of positions at decision-making levels. It is suggested that at the grass root men and women should work separately but at higher and decisionmaking levels they should work together. Political parties in Pakistan will play a very important role, not only in forming a government at central and provincial levels but in the ideological religious and constitutional spheres. Party manifestos and specially the manifesto of parties who claim to present a progressive image, should be expected to include programmes for participation of women in production, development and nation building activities.

WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS.

According to information supplied to the women members of the National Assembly, there were 105 womens organisations in Pakistan in 1975. These organizations are broadly divisible into two categories. Voluntary welfare associations and professional associations. Organisations from both categories. may receive grants from the federal and provincial Social Welfare Councils. They are registered under certain Acts. Some of the better known women's organisations are the All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA). The Pakistan Girl Guides, The Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs. The Women's Medical Association, The Pakistan Nurses' Federation, Pakistan Federation of University Women, College and Primary Teachers Associations. The Housewives Association (HWA) Pakistan Athletic Women's Association. The International Women's Club and Maternity and Child Welfare Association. The Pakistan Red Crescent Society and the Family Planning Association are not exclusively women's organisations, but have aims and objects which have a direct bearing on women's welfare. There are in addition hundreds of local welfare centres to help needy women in various ways, and trade unions, trade union federations and other organizations in which men and women work together. Individual women have become

heads of trade unions but there are very few organizations compared to men and women in which women hold positions at policy and decision making levels.

Voluntary welfare associations within the scope of their budgets are doing useful humanitarian work. According to press statements, in all about a million people benefit from public and private welfare activities. Welfare associations can be helped to greater usefulness, if they become more broad based and democratic. The professional women's organisations and clubs are not oriented to welfare work. Their purpose is to act as pressure group on behalf of women. They are mainly self—support ing. On the important question of Women's Rights, the organisations work.

As a recent development, the urgent need of developing women's organisations on a mass scale involving ever wider areas for the emancipation of women has been felt and some ortheir struggle for social, economic, political and cultural rights of the women of Pakistan. These organisations are likely to play duction. The widening of the women's organisations can be linked organisations willing to organisations. Non-governmental women's emancipation should be given all encouragement at national and international levels.

THE MASS MEDIA.

The mass media have an enormous impact upon illiterate populations. They should present the image of a woman who recognises her dignity as a human being. It is observed that the mass media generally tend to project a stereotyped image of women, and advertising techniques follow the example of portraying women as sex objects. The image of a woman as presented in advertising, selling not only the product but herself, must end. A change of attitude of all organs of publicity and public information can go a long way in bringing about changed attitudes regarding women. The mass media can be directed to project harmful effects of medievalism, barbarism, and social evils such as dowry, polygamy and early marriages. Television images can project women as equal citizens and avoid projecting a subservient image of women. The media can inform women about their constitutional, legal and political rights. There can be greater emphasis towards creating the image of a woman, consistent

with changes in her role from that of solely a wife and mother to that of a worker and citizen. Emphasis can be laid on the constructive aspects of the woman as a homemaker, mother and sister. Programmes can include talks on hygiene, child care and management of the home. The state-owned film corporation can bring a new era in film history by the depicting of women in positive purposeful roles.

CONCLUSION.

We have entered the last quarter of the 20th century and it is our historic task to help shape the destiny of the women of the next century. The struggle for Women's Rights is not based on contradictions between men and women, but is the united action of all progressive forces against exploitation. Development is social progressive, and women are a powerful force in the democratic transformation of society. Under the inspiring leadership of the UNO, the women's movement has become a world historic force and the women of Asia and the Pacific are an important link in this movement. We have reached a turning point in the history of humanity. Co-operation is our greatest need. Let us unite to build a broad road into the coming century and give birth to new generations to build a brave new world.

A SUMMARY OF LABOUR LAWS CONCERNING THE WOMEN OF PAKISTAN.

- Every women employed in a factory is entitled to and her employer is liable for the grant of maternity leave with wages. Four months of employment in the factory of the employer immediately preceding the day of delivery of a child is essential for this entitlement. Maternity leave extends to 12 weeks, of which not more than six weeks must precede the expected date of confinement. The daily rates of wages paid as maternity benefit are calculated at 100% of the daily rate of wages last received by the women. She is further entitled to pre-natal confinement and post-natal medical care either by medical practitioners or by qualified midwives. If the woman dies on the day of delivery or during the period thereafter in which she is entitled to the maternity benefit, the employer is liable to pay the due maternity benefit to the person who undertakes the care of the child, and if the child dies, to the person nominated by her legal representative.
- b. It is illegal for an employer to dismiss, discharge, reduce or otherwise punish the working woman during the period of maternity leave. He is also forbidden to terminate her services within six months before delivery simply to avoid payment of maternity benefit, but he can do so for other sufficient reasons.
- c. The employer of women in a camp where 1000 or more persons reside, is liable to provide them with a nurse/midwife as part of the medical facilities provided; for the workers where between 250 to 1000 persons reside in a camp a part-time nurse/midwife is provided. A midwife is also provided under the scheme of Social Security fund. On the other hand the employer is required to contribute 6 percent of wages towards Social Security Fund.

- d. The employer is liable to make arrangements for children of working women to be accommodated and looked after, while their mothers are at work. Every factory ordinarily employing more than fifty women shall be provided with a room for their children who are under the age of 6 years.
- e. There is a provision for laws adjustment in the interest of family life. When a husband and wife are employed in the same factory, they shall as far as circumstances permit, be allowed holidays on the same day.
- f. The working woman in factories and labour camps are entitled to separate washing and bathing places with adequate privacy, enclosed latrines and urinals separated from those for males.
- Night work for women is forbidden. In factories the working women may be employed between 6 A.M. to 7 P.M. The maximum working time prescribed is 48 hours a week and 9 hours a day with a rest interval for one hour. In seasonal factories it is 50 hours a week.
- h. Carrying of heavy weights by women is prohibited and so are dangerous duties. Underground work in any part of a cotton pressing factory or when cotton openers are at work. They are not to be allowed to clean, lubricate or adjust any part of machinery while that part is in motion. They cannot work in various specified operations connected with the industries of chromium, lead, petrol, gas, rubber and sand blasting. No female adolescent is allowed to be employed in glass-making and vitreous enamelling operations.

(Labour Legislation, extract from paper by Khalida Shah).

Table No.1 Detailed Industry Distribution of the Labour Force in Pakistan by Sex

PAKISTAN

	Total Labour Force	Both sexes	Males	Females
		12,763,024	11,641,016	1,122,008
٨.	Agricultural Labour Force	7,643,904	6,847,659	796,245
	per centage of Total Labour Force	(5).9)	(59.8)	(71.0)
B.	Non Agricultural Labour Force	5,119,120	4,793,357	325,763
	per centage of Total Labour Force	(40.1)	(41.2)	(29.0)
	Non Agricultural Labour Force	100.00	100.00	100.00
C.	Manufacturing	33.4	32.8	42.2
	(Textiles)	(12.6)	(11.4)	(29.2)
D.	Construction	5•1	5•4	1.3
E.	Electricity, Gas water, etc.	0.5	0.5	0.0
F.	Commerce	17.5	18.4	3.6
	Finance, Insurance, etc.	0.4	0.4	0.1
g.	Transportation and Communication	7.1	7.5	0.7
H.	Services	30.4	29.9	42.4
H. 1	Government Services	6.6	6.9	2.1
H. 2	Community Services	4.5	4.1	10.6
H.21	Education	2.1	1.8	6.3
H.22	Medical and other Health Services	1.1	•9	9.8
H.23	Religion, welfare and other Community		-	•
	Services	1.2	1.3	•5
H. 3	Pusiness Services	1.7	1.8	•3
H. 4	Recreation Services	•7	•7	•4
H. 5	Personal Services	17.0	16.2	29.0
H.51	Domestic Services	3.2	2.5	14.0
H.52	Restaurant, care and taverns	1.3	1.4	•1
H.53	All other personal services	12.5	12.3	15.0
I.	Activities not adequately described	1.9	1.4	8.1
J.	Unemployed	3.7	3.9	1.7

Source: Population Census of Pakistan, 1961

Table No. 2 Distribution of Female Labour Force in Pakistan

	Occupation	% of females in the total
	Total labour force	8.8
	Non agricultural labour force	6.4
1.	Professional technical and related workers	14.0
1.1	Architects, etc.	0.2
1.2	Medical Workers	24.0
1.3	Teachers	20.7
1.4	All others	0.8
II.	Administrators and Executives, managerial and related workers	0.5
III.	Clerical Workers	1.1
IV.	Sale Workers	1.3
IV.1	Proprietors, etc.	0.5
IV.2	Stall holders	1.0
IV. 3	Hawkers, etc.	2.2
IV.4	Selling Occupations	6.7
IV. 5	All others	1.1
V, VI.	Farmers, Fishermen, etc.	10.4
VII	Craftsmen, etc.	6.7
VII.1	Spinners and weavers, etc.	12.2
VII.2	Metal Workers	0.5
VII. 3	Wood product workers	3.5
VII.4	Potters and China-ware Makers	5.6
VII. 5	Miners	0.4
VII.6	Construction workers	. 0.8
VII.7	General labourers	3.3
8.IIV	All other Craftsmen and Production process workers	9•7
VIII.	Services, sports and recreation workers	12.7
VIII.1	Protective Service Workers	0.3
VIII.2	Domestic Service Workers	21.4
E.IIIV	All others	9.0
IX.	Workers not Classifiable	27.9
x.	Unemployed	3.7

Source: Population Census of Pakistan, 1961, Vol. 4, Table 6.

EDUCATION Humber of Professional Colleges Teax Total Female 1968-69 58 5 1969-70 69 5 1970-71 73 6 1971-72 73 6 1972-73 76 7
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Source: Central Bureau of Education, Islamabad

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

	B	UNIVERSITIES		EMROLJENT	į		TEACHERS	
	Total	Male Female	Total	Total Male Female	Female	Total	Male	Female
1964-65	•	Co-ed:	13,221	13,221 10,491	2.730	1.265	1, 103	13
1967-68	7	Co-ed:	15.903	15.903 12.910	600	787		2 (
1970-71	-	9	17,890	17.890 13.764	760 8	† ·	1,3%	36
1971–72	•	ço -eq:	20,034 15,842	15,842	4.192	1,649	1,434	137

Source: Central Bureau of Education, Islambad

MUNICIPAR OF SCHOOLS 1971 - 1972

Level	All Schools	Boys Schools	Girls Schools
Primary Schools	45,854	32,564	13,290
Middle Schools	4,110	3,072	1,038
Eigh Schools	2,240	1,667	573

Source: Central Dureau of Education, Islamshad

EDUCATION STATISTICS

ARTS AND SCIENCE COLLEGES

Your	Number of Arts and Science Colleges	cience Colleges	Enrolment in Arts and Solence Colleges	Soience Colleges	Number of Teachers in Arts and Science Colleges	ore in Arts
	Male	Pomale	Male	Female	Male	Female
1964-65	163	8	103,503	23,744	4,004	1,428
1967–68	175	8	119,060	34,259	4,489	1,719
1970-71	722	87	149,058	50,154	6,128	2,695
1971-72	245	83	137,235	48,935	5,995	2,318

There is an overall increase from 1968-1972 in the number of Arts and Science Colleges, enrolment of students and in the number of teachers but the proportion for women remains consistently lower as compared to men.

Source: Central Bureau of Education, Islamabad

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EMBOLMENT AS PERCENT OF POPULATION RELEVANT AGE CROUP BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

1972

Star of Ednostion Age Group	Are Group	Population Total	ion (thousands) Boys Girl	Girls	Enrolm	Enrolment (thousands) Total Boys Girl	sands)	Enrolment Ratio percent Total Boys Girls	t Ratio	Girls
Primary Stage I - V	5 - 9	10,159	5,395	5,395 4,764	4364.7	4364.7 3152.3 1212.4	1212.4	43.0	58.4	25.5
Middle Stage VI-VIII	10 - 12	3,618	1,960	1,688	995.9	801.1	194.8	27.5	40.9	11.7
High Stage IX - X	13 - 14	2,424	1,325	1,099	406.2	331.3	74.9	16.8	25.0	88.9
TOTAL		16,201	8,680 7,521	7,521	5766.8	5766.8 4284.7	1482.1	-		

Source: Central Bureau of Education, Islamabad

Universities	Female	56	4	1,675	4,192
Univer	Total	644	1,998	9,464	20,084
(In lakhs) (1 Lakh=100,000) rofessional College	Female	327	833	2,470	4,970
(In lakhs) (1 Lakh=100,000) Professional College	Total	4,368	8,082	14,906	36,182
Arts + Science Colleges (Thousands)	Female	1.1	5.9	18.1	48.9
Arts + Soie Colleges (Thousand	Total	13.5	43.3	94.1	186.2
Secondary Vocational (Thousands)	Total Female	1.6	3.3	8.2	11.6
Secondary Vocational (Thousands	Total	3.9	10.6	20.0	39.4
High Stage IX - X	Female	10.0	0.15	0.38	0.71
High LX	Total	0.58	1.09	5.09	3.64
Stage	Female	0.21	0.45	0.82	8.
Middle Stage VI-VIII	Total	2.21	3.32	4.91	9.79
Stage	Penale.	1.1	2.4	5.3	:
Primary Stage	Total	7.7	15.5	24.9	41.2
Too		1947-48	1954-55	1962–63	1971-72

Source: Central Bureau of Education, Islamahad

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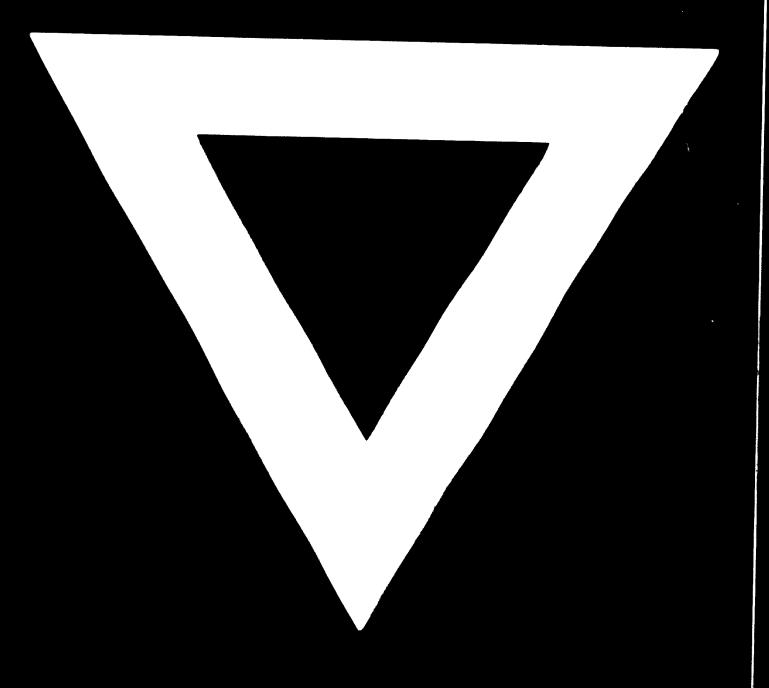
EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS
NUMBER OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Universities	Total	N	4	9	∞	
rofessional Colleges	Female	ŀ	8	1	9	
Profes Coll	Total	1	24	41	73	
Arts + Science Colleges	Female	5	19	39	93	
Arts +	Total	40	11	159	338	· •
dary	nstitutions tal Fenale	18	40	4	135	-
Secondary Vocational	Instit Total	46	8	103	284	_
hools	Female	2	148	275	573	
High Schoo	Total	408	747	1349	2240	
schools	Female	153	196	423	1038	-
Middle Schools	Total	2190	1517	2237	4110	•
Primary Schools	Female	1549	2474	6715	13290	
Primery	Total		14169	אנגאפ	45854	•
Year	<u> </u>	1047_48 8413	1064 65 14169	69 630	1971–72 45854	

Source: Pakistan Education Statistics

Bureau of Educational Planning Central Bureau of Education

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