

Notes

Social Policy and Changing Status of Women in Pakistan (1947-1978)

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Human resource today is recognized as the sine qua non in the development process. Social policy in Pakistan since the 1960's has tended toward the development of human resources. This was the beginning signs of a concern for adequate motivation and involvement of persons for whom the development policies and plans were formulated. An adequate social policy identifies the needs and aspirations of the people and leads to consciously directed programmes through strategies of mobilization of human and material resources to achieve the development goals.

Our concern here is how women's potential as human resource has been taken into account in the formulation of policies for national development and how they (women) in turn have used their potential in

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This article, written just before the onset of Zia regimes' campaign against women and enactment of the extremely discriminatory laws under the Hudood Ordinances, 1979, helps explain the intellectual environment about women's status and rights in the country. She has elaborated her views and criticized the social policies of Pakistan from a feminist point of view for the whole period of countrys' existence after independence in 1947. It is printed here for revealing its temporal value and also to add to the scanty literature on gender policies of the Government of Pakistan. (editor)

contributing toward development, in general, and in promoting their status, in particular.

This paper, therefore, seeks to examine changes in the status of women at two dimensional levels. On the one hand, it aims to study the extent to which government policy measures have contributed toward change in the status of women and, on the other hand, how much the Pakistani women themselves as organized groups have influenced the government policy and formulated public opinion in their favour. Their emerging role and status depends on their own perception of their role as well as of others in recognizing their worth and utility in the promotion of national goals. The governments through social policy measures provide the necessary impetus and motivation to women and women's organization to improve their functioning.

Social policy in Pakistan has been formulated from time to time to serve certain social and economic objectives. It has been consciously and consistently directed toward achieving greater educational opportunities, better health standards, increased employment facilities, adequate housing and recreation, provision of social security and extension and expansion of social services for the physically, mentally and socially deprived sections of population. But when studied for its implications in effecting change in the status of women, social policy assumes wider dimensions. It extends toward securing civic and political participation of women and in protecting their legal rights. Presumably an inter-dependence exists between the political and economic and social position of women. For example, in the striving for their political and legal rights, a minimum level of social and economic standard is essential. An inverse relationship exists between low literacy and political and economic emancipation of women.

Social policy measures for women in Pakistan have been influenced by both the progressive and reactionary forces, the former calling for change and the latter stressing continuity. The present day policy trends can be comprehended in the light of historical background. Therefore, a brief review of the various enactments and public measures taken for the promotion and protection of legal, economic and social rights of women in Pakistan is given here.

Women's movement for reforms in law

In the struggle for independence, political consciousness was created among the Muslim women of India by the enlightened leaders of the Muslim League who encouraged the mass participation of women in political life. In fact, in 1938, the Muslim League Resolution at Patna (India) gave assurance to the raising of the status of women.

After partition (1947) the political landscape of Pakistan added a new dimension to the role perception of women. Work in refugee camps brought women from different strata of society out of their homes for the humanitarian task of providing care and comfort to the sick and the emotionally distressed. Women by handling the various task and responsibilities outside their home (many exposed for the first time to such work) proved themselves an effective resource in welfare work. Involvement of women outside their home has had far-reaching implications. It was the first step toward stimulating women's participation in public life. Much before a social policy was launched at the state level, enlightened women moved toward institutionalizing women's voluntary services. The establishment of the All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) in 1949 was followed by the growth of many other organizations of women, at national and local levels. Over one hundred women's voluntary organization are active at national, provincial and local levels today.

The status of women in the family and the extent of their domestic responsibilities in their home are closely related with the part they play in civic, political and economic life. It was the field of family laws that women have been continuously discriminated against and suffered. To protest the rights of women in family life, therefore, became the first concern of women's organizations. The laws which governed family life in Pakistan largely consisted of what is known as 'the Anglo Mohammadan Law'. During the British period, customary laws and local usage superseded Islamic Laws. The status of women under the customary law was adversely affected. In 1959, a movement was launched by the APWA for the formulation of a code of family laws. Consequently a Marriage Laws Commission was appointed by the government. Its terms of reference included an examination of existing laws governing marriage, divorce, maintenance and other ancillary matters. The report was put in the cold storage as result of the note of dissent by orthodox religious leaders. In the period that followed, the growing strength of women's organizations became more visible. The women continued their agitation through personal contact. With the sympathy of the progressive members of President Ayub's cabinet, Family Laws Ordinance was formulated in 1961.

The ordinance was repealed and women parliamentarians could not raise a voice of protest as they were elected by male members to the reserved seats. A women parliamentarian writing later observes, 'The women representatives in parliament were completely exposed as pawns

of male dominated society'.¹ The United Front for women's rights which had mobilized the government earlier to appoint Family and Marriage laws Commission was reorganized and the union of Pakistan women's organization launched a campaign against the orthodox leaders. The Muslim Family law was, therefore, not repealed. The orthodox leaders, however, in their manifesto of the joint opposition supporting Miss Fatima Jinnah (the sister of the founder of Pakistan, an opponent of Field Marshal Ayub for the presidency of the country) continued their stand against the Family Laws ordinance, yet supporting a women to be the head of the state.

The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan gave women more rights than the constitutions of 1956 and 1962 respectively. Articles 25, 27, 34, 35 ensure equal rights to women as citizens, equal protection of law, no discrimination on the basis of sex alone or in appointments in the services of Pakistan. Article 34 of the basic Principles of State Policy ensured participation of women in all spheres of national life. Article 35 guarantees to protect marriage, the family, the mother and the child. The general seats are open to women, but there are reserved seats (10) to be elected by an all male electorate. Although right to vote has been exercised all along, the female suffrage in reality does not exist. According to the Political Parties Act, 1962, women were given the right to compete for office and contest elections for general seats, but no woman has yet come forward to contest such an election. The reasons given for not encouraging women to compete for office and contest elections from general seats are: (1) the electorate is not conditioned to the presence of women candidates; (2) women still lack the experience and confidence to contest open election; (3) election are costly, therefore, only a small handful of independently wealthy women can aspire to legislative office.² Such decision, reflect the male perception toward the females as 'protected persons'. Speaking of the 'economic rights' of women, Carroll M. Pastner remarks, the paradox is that while they are legally recognized as 'economic person' capable of receiving property, it is difficult for Muslim women to exercise full economic rights because

¹ Naseem Jahan, 'Status of Women in Pakistan', an essay, National Assembly, Islamabad, p.11.

² Law Division, *Report of Pakistan Women's Rights Committee (Part-I)*, Ministry of Law and Parliamentary Affairs, Government of Pakistan, 1976, Islamabad.

of other aspects of their status which define them as 'protected persons'.³ Under our social conditions free movement of women from place to place for the purposes of election campaign is not generally viewed with favour. Further in the matter of casting of votes as individuals their choice is influenced by their male relatives.⁴

The progressive elements in the country, somehow, counterbalance the orthodox moves, but favour the strategy of change with caution. The inclusion of a woman on the Council of Islamic Ideology has been accepted in principle. The setting up of a special cell in the manpower division has been a step to evaluate the conditions of working women and to look after their other interests. The Administrative Reforms of 1972 had opened entry of women to foreign service and to other administrative services to which they were so far ineligible.

For attaining more comprehensive legal rights, women struggled through memorandums to the government, deputations of joint women voluntary organizations and through the mass media. Consequently, a 13 member women's right's committee was set up, consisting of a woman member of the National Assembly, two women members of the Provincial Assembly, an ex-Senator, two women lawyers, a woman journalist, and an educationist. In addition to nine women, there were 4 male members comprising the advocate-generals of the four provinces of the country. The committee's terms of reference included more-effective and speedier legal remedies for obtaining relief in matrimonial disputes, improving the social status of women and their economic conditions by providing adequate protection to women in employment.

Among the 32 recommendations of the committee almost all aspects affecting improvement in the status of women were covered. The committee recommended amendments to improve the working of Muslim Family Laws, 1961, the West Pakistan Family Courts Act, 1964 and other allied laws concerning registration of marriages, maintenance, custody of children, divorce, *khula* etc., Guardian and Wards, Act 1890, the Divorce Act, 1869, the Christian Marriages Act, 1872, the Code of Criminal Procedure 1898, Pakistan Penal Code, the West Pakistan Employee's Social Security Ordinance, 1965, the Political Parties Act, 1962 and the West Pakistan land Revenue Act, 1967. The amendments aimed at removing the obstacles that prevented women from leading a

³ Sabeeha Hafeez, *Women in Industry, Women in Administrative Posts*, Summary Research Reports, Published by the Ford Foundation, 1977, Islamabad.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.33.

life of dignity as citizens of a sovereign state. Another important recommendation concerned legislation on family planning, by making it obligatory on chemists, dispensaries and hospitals to make contraceptives readily available to married persons, by making the subject of family planning compulsory in the medical colleges, imparting training in family planning to male, and female medical graduates, encouraging the setting up of volunteer organizations for motivational work in family planning. The minimum age of marriage for males was recommended to be raised from 18 to 21 years (for women 16 years is the minimum age of marriage). The National Assembly had earlier approved the setting up of a Status of Women's Commission but the committee considered that such a body could discharge its functions more effectively, if established under a statute. Hence, the setting up of a Commission on the Status of Women under a statute was strongly recommended.⁵

Impact of International Women's Year

Most women's organizations in Pakistan participating in the year programme subscribed to the theme, equality, development and peace. The national centres in all the important cities played the host to meetings which followed in quick succession. National seminars on the 'Status of Women' in Islamabad and Lahore brought prominent social workers, public administrators and lawyers, to the platform. Films shown on the role of women in other countries and cultural activities at women's colleges were organized. The role played by the media was significant; radio gave 15 minutes daily to women's forums to discuss problems relating to the theme of the year. The television and the press projected women's activities to provide new understanding of their dual roles and a correct sense of emancipation. The women's week culminated in the nineteen point declaration. There was a rising favour for political participation by the women and it was hoped that the next elections would find women in the legislatures by general elections. Article four of the declaration envisages appropriate measures to ensure to women without any discrimination the right to work and to be eligible for election and the right to hold public office and to exercise all public functions. In commemorating the International Women's Year in 1975 a woman MNA (Naseem Jehan) had moved a motion for the setting up of a Commission on the Status of Women, recommending to the federal government to take up appropriate measures. The functions of the commission described were: (1) Assessing the impact of the

⁵ *Ibid.*

Constitutions, legal and administrative provisions in the country having a bearing on the social status of women and suggesting to them to fulfill their rightful role in society with special reference to Articles 25, 27, 34 of the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan; (2) evaluating the existing policies programmes and laws that have a bearing on the status of women; (3) recommending to the National Assembly new laws, policies or programmes; (4) redressing grievances in case of actual violation of existing laws; (5) calculating present potential role of women in the labour force; (6) studying factors for the slow progress of development in education and population; (7) provision of inexpensive home services to make the task of the house wife as easy as possible; (8) improving the image of Pakistan, in general, of the women, in particular; (9) setting up of working groups to undertake fact finding and comprehensive studies relating to their needs and problems, and (10) working as an ombudsman to take account of all violation and policies for the protection of women's right in society.

The Dowry Act of 1976 limiting wasteful expenditure on marriage ceremonies and on value of gifts or dowries attempts to end degradation and exploitation of the females as saleable commodities. The foregoing review, includes most of categories presented by Boulding for inclusion in the role-status scale.⁶

Despite the proposed legal and political reforms, a gap exists between the law and the practice. It is equally true of other countries as well; in fact, the study of Pakistani women is not only a study of national group, but of Asian and Muslim women in a developing country. Goode, in his comments on changes in the family in Arabic Islam, points out that the opinions and actions of the intellectual and ideological leaders are far ahead of ordinary customs, and the laws are far ahead of the public opinion.⁷ It is believed that the gap between law and practice can be filled as more and more educated women from the middle strata of society enter the professions and take leadership roles to bring social and political awakening among the masses of women comprising the rural sector. The All Pakistan Women's Association (the largest organization of women in the country), realized early that active participation of

⁶ Elise Boulding, 'Women as Role Model in Industrializing Societies: A Macro-system Model of Socialization for Civic Competence', in Marvin B. Sussman and Betty E. Cogswell, E.J. Brill Leiden (eds.), *Cross National Family Research*, the Netherlands, 1972, p.19.

⁷ William J. Goode, *World Revolution and Family Pattern* (New York: the free Press, 1970), p.163.

women from the educated middle class particularly through leadership role was the only effective way of sustaining the women's movement.

Social policy in national planning and its implementation

The First Five year Plan of the government for national development (1955-60) emphasized welfare of women deprived of family support as rescuing them from the disastrous occupations of prostitution and begging, and by providing them with means of self-respecting employment through voluntary societies. The opening of maternity and child-health centres and the expansion of the already existing ones became necessary due to the estimated infant mortality of 110-130 per thousand live-births and the high rate of mortality of mothers in child delivery estimated to be 440 to 680 per one thousand births (about 5 times the rate in more developed countries). Increase in the number of maternity centers (118) and improved expanded services in areas inadequately served especially by opening of maternity centers in rural areas were the main recommendations.

In the Second Five Year Plan (1960-65) focus on the development of human resources led to high priority given to education with emphasis on technical and vocational education. A re-organization of health and social service facilities and their expansion was considered necessary. Out of a total of 84.71 million rupees on social service expenditure 4.67 million rupees were spent on family and child welfare alone. Grant to women's voluntary organization was increased for the expansion of their functioning.

In the Third Five Year Plan (1965-70) the number of welfare centers went up to 560. Family welfare services were greatly improved and extended to the organization of new projects in family case work, family counseling, social education of families, and mother's clubs and socio-economic centers. A total of such 24 units in all were organized.

According to the Fourth Five Year Plan (1970-75) social policy was closely linked up with human resources. During previous plans, social development got low priority at the cost of economic growth. But this too was offset by growing population. To redress the past imbalances and to achieve better balance of socio-economic objectives, the government took a number of measures to affect social welfare. New policies in education, labour and health came into operation during Bhutto's regime when the Fourth Plan was abandoned and new policies were formulated. Educational institutions were nationalized and education was made compulsory in successive stages, from middle up to high school, the target to be achieved within a decade. In education 176% increase was marked in the Fourth over the Third Plan. In health

283 and in social welfare 312 centers were opened. Besides new education in training policy, a new labour policy was formulated; health, population and family planning and social welfare services were improved.

In the Fifth Five Year Plan (1978-83) primary and secondary education especially in the case of females was expected to increase by more than 50 per cent which coupled with an expansion in female participation in economic activity and a rise in their status was expected to accelerate the decline in fertility.⁸

The proposed expansion in health cover and water supply and the programme pertaining to nutrition are expected to sharply reduce infant and child mortality which with a lapse of few years, would also tend to reduce fertility.

The Fifth Plan projects a mean age at marriage of females around 20 years and model desire of 3-5 children.⁹ The plan is expected to initiate programmes in child-welfare as to promote social welfare services in hospitals, schools and factories. The promotional, preventive and rehabilitation programmes, particularly in the field of child welfare and family welfare will have priority, over institutional and remedial programmes.

The plan envisages establishment of 435 social services units in the public sector. The development of child welfare, women welfare, community development, rehabilitative and institutional welfare services, training, and research projects and provision of financial and technical assistance to 481 social services units in the private sector for the organization and expansion of voluntary welfare services. Women Welfare Programme comprises 22 socio-economic centers for women, 19 display centers, supervision of production units, 19 industrial women craft centres of excellence, 14 hostels for working women, 1 pilot women craft centre for rural women, 8 rescue homes (*darul aman*) for insecure women without support and 5 units for enhancement of the role of women in national development.

The infrastructure programme includes: (a) Continuation of one in-services and child welfare training institute, and (b) one National Training and Research Institute for women, 50.00 million to be spent on the programme of non-formal education.

⁸ *The Five Year Plans of Pakistan*, Planning Division 1978-83, Government of Pakistan, p.174.

⁹ *Ibid.*

According to the Labour Force Survey, women constitute 47.22% of the total population. The ratio of females to males is given in the following table:

Table 1: Distribution of Population by Sex and Area

Area	Male	Female	Total
Urban	52.79	47.21	100
Rural	52.77	47.23	100

Source: Labour Force Survey, 1974-75, Statistics Division, Government of Pakistan.

Modernizing variables and current roles

Increase in educational activities and in labour force, particularly in their employment role patterns are the two significant indicators of change in women's status. The following tables are presented here to denote the participation of women in education and labour force respectively:

**Table II: Females Education Growth
1966-67, 1971-72 and 1976-77***

	Female Population (000)	Female Enrolment (000)	Percent Enrolled
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<u>Primary</u>			
1966-67	3859	790.0	20.47%
1971-72	4432	1110.0	25.05%
1976-77	5036	1720.0	34.15%
<u>Secondary</u>			
1966-67	3496	230.0	9.60%
1971-72	3798	280.6	7.39%
1976-77	4366	497.0	11.38%
<u>Higher</u>			
1966-67	4833	37.543	0.78%
1971-72	6103	58.062	0.95%
1976-77	7120	81.300	1.14%
<u>Total</u>			
1966-67	12188	1058.243	8.68%
1971-72	14333	1448.662	10.11%
1976-77	16522	2298.300	13.91%

- * Note: Primary Age Group 5-9
 Secondary Age Group 10-14
 Higher Age Group 15-24
- * Planning Commission 5 years projection interpolated

Table III: Female Labour Force Estimates

Year (10+)	Female Labour Force (10+)	Employed	Un- employed	(in thousands)
				Female Labour Force Rates
1967-68	1828	1820	8	4.9
1968-69	1206	1164	42	3.15
1969-70	1392	1332	60	3.49
1970-71	1594	1558	36	3.91
1971-72	1617	1579	38	3.86
1974-75	1395	1386	9	2.99

Note: The female participation estimate are arrived at by applying ratios available from the concerned years survey to the total population estimates (ten years age and above.)

The female participation rate is poor for the very reason that only small proportion of the Pakistani women is engaged in gainful economic activities outside the family circle, the impediment being cultural constraints which tend to keep young women atleast part of their adult lives in the home. Another factor giving downward bias to the women participation rate is the under reporting of working women as the heads of the household or respondents are sometime reluctant, due to Pakistani social set up to admit that their women folk are employed in work outside the homes as it hurts their sense of pride. The rising population at the rate of 3 per cent per annum also acts as a deterrent against females gainful employment.

On the basis of the Labour Force Survey conducted by the Statistical Division the female labour force (10 years and above) in 1974-75 was 1.395 million. This has risen to 1.710 million in 1977-78, showing an increase of 22%. During the period the projected female labour force in 1982-83 would be 2.32 million, a 36% increase over 1977-78.

A trend is noted in the increased recruitment of women in fields which hitherto had remained man's domain. Women during the past 3-4 years have joined pharmaceutical industries, electronic engineering and computer services, banking and insurance business and other industrial concerns. The non-availability of statistics cannot fully confirm their relative strength.

More noteworthy, however, is the fact that the women entering skilled professions belong mostly to the middle class. Therefore, the employment patterns go beyond the role models of a handful of elitist women who in the past were given high diplomatic posts, but even such elite

women playing leading roles had high degree of education. Pakistan's two women ambassadors, governor of a province, vice-chancellor of a university and women holding high civil posts had high educational attainments. Most women now compete on merit with men for jobs through competitive examinations and are appointed regardless of discrimination in pay scales or other service conditions. Therefore, there is close relationship between women's employment and education in Pakistan. Higher education of women qualify them for judicial and high government administrative and foreign service posts. Preference of parents, however, still remaining for jobs of protected nature with least exposure or contact with the company of the opposite sex. Although the custom of wearing of veil is dwindling or little attention is paid to it, nevertheless, segregation of sexes, is still considered desirable on grounds of conformity to certain moral standards particularly the preserving of chastity of women. A highly educated father requested the researcher to suggest a job for her daughter within the domain of the females as her chances for marriage would be diminished if she worked in male company. Despite the aspirations for highly skilled education, 'separate worlds', are still maintained. Papanak writing on *purdah* remarks, 'The education of Muslim women and their participation in modern occupations in Pakistan show some of the ways in which traditional definitions of women's place in society both retard and foster changes in sex roles.'¹⁰ A young Pathan medical student enrolled in medical college in the same class as her fiancé still observed *purdah* or social distance from him as she confided in the writer, 'any social contact with my fiancé in, or outside the college for me would lead to gossip mongering by kins'. It is an enigma that despite such cultural constraints, aspirations for higher education and progressive goals for girls are desired both by parents as well as by the young people themselves. Even, within the 'separate worlds' sex role are changing and women's place outside the home recognized. The interplay of traditionalism (continuity) and modernization (change) has been manifest in the struggle for women's emancipation in Pakistan. The government policies have been influenced both by progressive trends, that favoured opportunities for women's participation in all walks of life, as well as by reactionary forces putting a limit to women's freedom through dissent and opposition.

The empirical evidence

The way the women perceive their role in modern Pakistan will provide the direction to sex roles. For an exploration of this, an empirical study

¹⁰ Hannah Papanek, "Purdah in Pakistan: Seclusion and Modern Occupations for Women, *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, p.33.

was conducted to test the hypothesis that traditionalism and modernity are complementary processes.

Gusfield observes that traditionalism and modernity form basis of ideologies and movements in which the, polar opposites, are converted into aspirations.¹¹ Korson upholding the proposition remarks that ‘changes are brought in support of the system and not in opposition to it, although in a modified form.’¹²

The data for the study on ‘continuity and change’ and in the role perception of Pakistani women was collected from urban educated middle class women from three important cities, namely Karachi, Lahore, and Peshawar. All respondents (120) had university education. The salaries of respondents ranged from Rs.1500 to 2000 (150 to 200 US Dollars). This is the average salary of middle class white collar worker. The findings of the study are:

1. Majority of the respondents considered their major role in life was to be mother or housewife (63.1 %).
2. Illiteracy and family traditions were regarded as chief obstacles in the progress of women (46%). *Purdah* was regarded as the least hinderance.
3. Islamic tradition and old family traditions were considered good traditions by most (44.9%). Only 6.9%, of the respondents quoted ‘*purdah*’ as a good tradition to be adhered to.
4. Marriage custom (dowry system) was regarded as ‘bad tradition’ (48.3%). Western influence as bad tradition was next in frequency (27.6%).
5. Higher status for women was conceived by majority (31.1%) as ‘respect for women’ as ‘equal rights’ (20.7) as equal opportunity in jobs (24%) and an higher education (10.3%)
6. 68.9% were in favour of reforms in the dowry system, 86.2% wanted equal rights in employment, 96.5% in education and 89.7% in salary.
7. As regards segregation of sexes, in education, employment and social life, the responses against such segregation were 82.8% and 79.4% and 68.9% respectively. In other words, segregation was desired more in social than professional life.
8. 65.5% of respondents were not in favour of a separate university for women as most remarked that in educational opportunities, there should be absolutely no segregation or discrimination. There were

¹¹ Elise Boulding, *op.cit.*, p.351.

¹² Henry J. Korson, ‘The Roles of Dower and Dowry as indications of Change’, *Journal of Marriage, the Family*, November 1968, p.51.

still 34.5% who wanted a separate university for women on grounds that some girls who were shy and could not reap full benefits of physical and intellectual development in coeducational institution would be able to realize their talents more fully if educated in girls' institution. This particularly referred to the possibility of fuller participation in extra-curricular activities.

9. As regards their suggestions for the kind of change desired to raise the status of women, most respondents (62.1%) mentioned education as the great instrument of change. Thinking of men toward women was given 10.3% as means to effect change in women's status.
10. When asked about the mechanism of change, many repeated education 27.6% and the same number expected 'government policies, to bring change. Other responses were mutual understanding' and change in the thinking of males.
11. To the question, 'how change could be brought about', the frequency of responses covered 'government policies'. The other responses included people / community, education and women themselves.
12. Concerning 'good and bad' influences on women, the majority regarded 'tendency to get education', as good and western influence as 'bad'.
13. 93% of the respondents emphasized that employment opportunities would change their status for the better.
14. Regarding change in sex roles, respondents were generally of the view that man should help women in 'familial tasks' especially as domestic help is disappearing and the extended family system is replaced by nuclear families; yet some women abhorred the ideal of their husbands grinding the spices and kneading the dough. Baby care for men was a more modified form aspect of the change in sex role.
15. Findings of other studies or changing status of women substantiate to a great extent the findings of the present study. The studies referred to here are of Rizvi,¹³ Baqai,¹⁴ Naseem¹⁵ and Hafeez.¹⁶

The main conclusions of these studies were: (1) Despite equal opportunities in education and employment, women find the status of a housewife more comforting as well as a moral and religious obligation.

¹³ Talat Zohra Rizvi, *Changing Status of Women in Karachi*, unpublished M.A. Thesis, 1970, University of Karachi.

¹⁴ M. Sabihuddin Baqai, *Change in the Status and Roles of Women in Pakistan*, Department of Sociology, University of Karachi.

¹⁵ Naseem Jahan, *op.cit.*

¹⁶ Sabeeha Hafeez, *op.cit.*

(2) Despite liberal policies of women's employment interaction with male colleagues is resisted. (3) Male perception of female as dependent beings affects hiring policies for higher administrative jobs. (4) Women perceive higher social status in undertaking extra domestic occupations.

Conclusions

The broader dimensions of social policy have had their impact on the role variables of urban women. Their increased social visibility through more educational and employment opportunities and participation in social community welfare work has created in them social awareness towards extra familial roles and of their own 'identity'. Religions and mores, however, resist the forces of secularization, *viz*, westernization. The hypothesis is, therefore, confirmed that tradition and modernity play supporting roles in the process of change in the Pakistan society both at macro and micro levels of development.

A wide gap exists between the educated urban female with good deal of opportunities for training for higher professions and skilled jobs and the rural unskilled, illiterate, often an unpaid female worker. The changing status for women is, therefore, more an urban phenomena and has touched little the rural women.

Our social policy has hitherto suffered from lack of coordinated planning. The narrow scope of possibilities for income-generating activities in the rural sector accounts for lack of motivation and an attitude of indifference toward government programmes for social developments. The rural needs call for close linkages between social and economic programmes. In fact industrialization widens the range of opportunities for both men and women accounting for the mass migration of villagers to the urban areas. Boserup and Liljencrantz¹⁷ proposals for action 'provide, an excellent guideline for integration of women in rural development'. Their training for skilled jobs is a necessary requisite for rural development. The infra-structure set up at the local level as on-going institutions can find support only through more gainful employment opportunities when a share of the incomes can go toward the improvement and maintenance of such infrastructures. Social policy in action, therefore, needs to have an integrated and multifunctional orientation to over-come the present imbalances between socio-economic, urban-rural and male-female development.

¹⁷ Easter Boserup and C. Liljencrantz, *Integration of Women in Development*, United Nation Programme, 1975.