PAKISTANI PERSPECTIVES OF GENDER STUDIES

UNIT 1-9   **Course Code: 4654/9163**

Department of Gender & Women Studies
Faculty of Social Sciences & Humanities

ALLAMA IQBAL OPEN UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD

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The department of Gender Studies offers interdisciplinary courses of study within the faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities. The present course, "Pakistani Perspectives of Gender Studies" is a compulsory course being offered at graduate and post graduate level of Gender and Women Studies program at Allama Iqbal Open University.

We would also like to acknowledge the work of all the academic writers whose ground breaking works of scholarship and research in the area of Gender and Women Studies were used as a reference in the allied material of our program's course material.

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Dr. Atifa Nasir
       HOD
Faculty of Social Science & Humanities

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ALLAMA IQBAL OPEN UNIVERSITY
WOMEN'S STUDIES DEPARTMENT

Dear Students,

Welcome to the course, 'Pakistani Perspectives of Gender Studies' (C-9163 /C4654). This booklet is the study guide which is to be studied with, the supplementary material, a compilation of relevant academic readings.

Introduction to the Course:

The course, 'Pakistani Perspectives of Gender Studies' (C-9163 /C-4654), is one of the three credit hour courses offered for BS and MSc in Gender & Women Studies. This course comprises of nine units which deal with themes like changing role and status of urban and rural women in Pakistan, women 's unacknowledged contribution in local and international economies and their subsequent "invisibility", the impact of changing global world order in terms of the effect of new economic regimes on the local economies and women development. Lastly, the progress of the women's movement in Pakistan in raising awareness about the injustices perpetuated against women on local and international level.

Course Objective:

After completing this course you should be able to: -

- Appreciate the changing status and lives of Pakistani women in legal, economic and sociocultural context
- Acknowledge the impact of women's movement in Pakistan.
- Develop an understanding of various aspects of Women and development, the new world order and Globalization
- Recognize diverse perspectives of women's economic contribution.

How to Study:
Study guide spreads over 9 units/topics therefore If you spend at least an hour daily to study your course, you can complete the course in eighteen weeks. In mid of the study period a workshop will also be held which is an effort to help you to prepare for examinations and meet peer group and listen to the subject experts and exchange knowledge. Please do not confine yourself only to the instructional materials provided by the University. To enhance knowledge at graduate level the students are expected to extensively use library and online sources as recommended in the study guide.

Tutors Guidance:

In distance learning system basically the students have to study on their own. However, if there is a viable group of 10 — 15 students the university does appoint a part-time or a correspondence tutor. Part-time tutors hold tutorial meetings in study centers established by the university. The students are required to regularly attend these fortnightly meetings. Otherwise you are assigned a correspondence tutor who not only checks your assignments but you are encouraged to be in contact with the tutors for guidance regarding the course as in convenient for both of you. The Regional office as well as the official university website will inform you about the appointment of the tutor.

Assessment and Evaluation:

According to university system your performance in the course will be evaluated through two modes that is: -

- Home Assignments
- Final Examination

You will be required to do two assignments for this course. The assignments are spread over course units and according to the schedule provided in your student kit each assignment is to be submitted to the tutor for checking.

The main objective of the assignment is to encourage you to study and appraise your performance. The tutor's assessment will guide you for the preparation of your next assignment. It is emphasized that you keep a copy of the assignment that you submit to the tutor since the assignments are your personal notes and would be beneficial in the preparation of final examination.

The marks obtained in assignments add up to the final examination. The papers for final examinations are prepared based on the complete course. The final examinations are held in specified examination centers. For passing a course one has to pass both components of assessment that are take home assignments and final examination.

Good luck with your studies!

                                        MARIA MUSTAFA MALIK
                                        Course Coordinator

SOCIAL STATUS OF WOMEN PAKISTAN'S LEGAL PERSPECTIVE

Written By: Dr. Ayesha Mustafa
Reviewed By: Dr. Ayesha Ghaznavi

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Constitution lays down the rights of citizens in terms of their dignity and well being, sense of freedom and equality with others. This is a statement of what the Constitution will require the State to guarantee to each citizen at all cost. It is the principle element in the social contract between the state and the citizens (Haq 1978).

Fundamental rights provide the foundation for the all of the articles of a Constitution, laws, and state policies. Women are provided right of equality to men by the constitution in almost every country in the world. Women however are discovering that granting formal equality is not enough.

This unit throws light on the social issues of Pakistani women in legal perspective. Efforts have also made to discuss some laws, which have certain reservations by women in the constitution of Pakistan.

OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to:

1. Explain the difference between social customs and law.

2. Identify any impact of women's movement in shaping laws

3. Recognise the difference between equality and equity (affirmative action)

4. Distinguish between law as an instrument of justice and an instrument of social control

5. Identify the marginalisationof_women in international humans hts

1.1 LAWS AFFECTING THE EQUAL RIGHTS OF WOMEN

Women today are demanding more than equality; they are demanding equity. Equity is another name for affirmative action. Disadvantaged social groups (women, minorities, economically deprived groups, the handicapped etc) who are politically, economically and socially backwards, because of centuries of discrimination, require special measures or steps to bring them at par (equality) with other social groups. Granting them equality under law has to be supplemented by concrete efforts to raise the economic, political and social position of these groups who have been deprived over a long period of time.

In addition to demanding equity, women are also demanding that their existing legal rights be made foolproof. Constitutional articles, statutory laws, policies, and customs that contradict equal rights for women need to be reshaped. Constitutions consist of many sections; it is possible that one section violates those rights, which are granted to women under another section. In such case, all the articles and sections of a constitution should be brought into conformity emphasize women's equality with men. Articles and laws that are not clearly worded or ambiguous can be misused to exploit women's rights. Statutory law should be used to promote women's interests if it is banning all forms of discriminatory social custom. Unfortunately it appears that most statutory law reinforces the subordinate position of women in society by upholding patriarchal values.

Constitutional articles that guarantee women's rights by using the expression "protect" can limit women's rights if interpreted by rigid, traditional or conservative jurists. Articles using the expression "protect" also give the impression that women are incapable of looking after themselves and have the same status as children. Pakistan has two constitutionally created bodies with supra constitutional powers; The Council of Islamic Ideology and Federal Shariat Court. These form "parallel judiciaries" which have given decisions that have violated fundamental rights (Haq 2000 78).

Granting legal equality to women has not brought about the expected results. Customs that discriminate against women continue with full force in society. Laws that uphold women's equality and interests are not backed up by institutional support for women; there is an absence of women-friendly police stations, women-friendly courts, safe houses, counseling centers etc.

Women are ignorant of the laws that have been made to protect their interests, even if they have knowledge of these laws it is not easy for them to get justice because the mechanisms or procedures of the law are cumbersome, lengthy and expensive. Judges have failed to implement the laws that were made for women because they have internalized the same gender biases that exist in society.

Discriminatory constitutional articles, laws and policies can be changed if more women enter the legislatures. Women, can also organize themselves' in the form of lobbies to exert influence on legislatures. More women have to enter judiciary so that existing laws can be interpreted in their favour.

Equality and equity (affirmative action) both exist in Pakistan's body of laws for women. Every constitution of Pakistan, 1956, 1962 and 1973 has followed affirmative action in the case of reserving seats for women in legislatures.

The 1956 Constitution gave women the equal right to vote with men. It guaranteed the equality of all citizens before the law. It specifically provided that there would be no discrimination on the basis of sex for appointment in the service of Pakistan. The constitution made it the state's responsibility to ensure that women and children worked under safe and humane conditions and working women were provided with maternity benefits. Ten seats were reserved for women in the legislature. The constitution also provided that it was the state's responsibility to provide basic necessities of life such as food, clothing, housing etc. The 1956 Constitution remained in effect for 30 months only. On October 8, 1958 the first martial law was imposed which abrogated the constitution. (Saeed 1990 24-5).

The 1962 Constitution was drafted by the cabinet behind closed doors. Most of the articles were essentially similar to those of the 1956 Constitution. Namely: fundamental rights and freedom of citizens such as freedom of expression, association, religion and movement (that was also granted in the 1956 Constitution).

Other provisions related to women included; no discrimination in the service of Pakistan on grounds of sex, working women and children to be provided safe working conditions, state's responsibility to provide basic necessities of life. In addition, four seats for women were to be reserved in every province and women could also compete on the general seats. In March 1969, on account of growing political instability, Martial Law was imposed and Pakistan's second constitution was abrogated.

The 1973 Constitution also protected the fundamental rights of citizens that were in essence similar to those of the 1956 and 1962 Constitutions (Saeed 1990 29). Widespread disturbances after the 1977 elections led to the imposition of Martial Law. The 1973 constitution was not abrogated but was held in abeyance from 1977 to 1985 when civilian government was restored. In this period the Hudood Ordinances and the Qisas and Diyat Ordinances were promulgated.

The 1973 Constitution improved the status of women. It guaranteed "there shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone". It gave women equal right to contest all political posts. It also reserved 5% seats for women in the Provincial and National legislatures for a period of twenty years. It provided for special representation of women and peasants in local bodies. The constitution also stipulated that "the state shall protect the marriage, the family, mother and children" and it guaranteed "steps shall be taken to ensure full participation of women in all spheres of life".

The Constitution upholds the equality of women and men. At the same time many statutory laws exist which contradict the provision for equality for women. Social customs and practices also discriminate against women and make any laws that safeguard women's interests ineffective.

A woman is denied the right to marry a partner of her choice by social custom. Women who marry by choice can be charged by *zina.* Women who exercise choice of 'marriage partner can be made a victim of the customary practice called "honour killing". Women's right to marry without the permission of a guardian has not been fully accepted by the judiciary (Haq 2000: 80).

Age of marriage is fixed at 16 for women and 18 for men. The age of marriage law is however rarely followed. Women continue to be married at an early age, which affects their status in the family.

Registration of marriage is compulsory in Pakistan. This safeguards in the case of abandonment, widowhood, divorce, or polygyny. Unregistered marriages, however, are also accepted as valid. The 1961 Muslim Family Law Ordinance provided for the first time a standardized marriage contract for women (Haq 2000 81). The contract carries the terms of marriage. It also carries a section that can give the wife the right to divorce with the consent of both parties. Unfortunately the family of the bridegroom, at the time of marriage, often ignore this section.

Islamic law grants *mehr* to women. Women are denied *mehr* by prevalent social custom. According to the provision for *mehr,* it can either be prompt i.e. payable on demand or deferred i.e. payable on divorce or death of the husband in cash or kind. Men bypass *mehr* by fixing a very small sum for it. In addition, a woman can be threatened with divorce if she seeks *mehr* which discourages her from making any demands for **mehr.**

Islamic law also provides for maintenance of wife by the husband. As in the case of **mehr** existing social customs contradict maintenance. Statutory law has failed to protect maintenance for women because it does not specify (the amount of) maintenance for women or provide for any punishment for men who refuse to provide maintenance.

A man has the unconditional right to **talaq** or divorce. He has to give notice of **talaq** in writing to the Union Council chairman. His wife also should receive a copy of this notice. A **talaq** comes into force 90 days after delivery of the notice to the chairman. In 1999, the Federal Shariat Court supported oral divorce. This means **talaq** now comes into force 90 days after pronouncement by the husband.

A woman does not have the unconditional right to **talaq;** a man and woman jointly agree to the provision for *talaq.* A man can agree to divorce his wife in exchange for financial compensation (from her) i.e. **talaq-i-khula.**

If a man does not agree to a divorce then a woman can file for divorce at a family court. However a woman is discouraged from doing so by the possibility of a case dragging on for years. Consequently women are resorting to **khula** rather than divorce.

To obtain **Khula** woman has to provide financial compensation to her husband or give up any financial compensation i.e. dowery or past maintenance. A woman is not entitled to any alimony upon **talaq** or divorce. However she receives a minimal **mehr.** She is also

denied any share in marital property even though she contributed to building of the marriage property by 'her unpaid services.

Social customs deny Pakistani women share of inheritance granted to them under Islam. Many times, under social pressure, a woman will give up her share of property to a male relative. Women will rarely go to the courts to contest their share of inheritance. The Federal Shariat Court in 1999 struck down the provision providing for the inheritance of orphan grandchildren. Women who have lost a spouse have thereby been deprived of a means of financial support.

The offence of *Zina (Hudood)* Ordinance (1979) equates rape (a crime of violence with a perpetrator and a victim) with adultery (an act of mutual consent). Under this law if a woman reports rape but cannot provide adequate evidence she can be charged for adultery. After the implementation of this law women have become more and more vulnerable to harassment by malicious and false charges of adultery by male family members and law enforcement agencies. (PNR 1995 41). Law of Evidence and the *Qisas* and *Diyat* Ordinance has institutionalized the custom of compensation or blood money for crimes including murder, whereby a woman's "value" would be considered half to that of a man's.

The women's movement has failed to demand that the economic conditions of women, the majority of whom live in poverty, be improved by affirmative action law. The women's movement has supported equality but not equity for women. If the women's movement took such a stand it would have to confront the state, which is risky. The members of the women's movement are from the middle class and they live under better economic conditions than the majority of women who live in poor urban slums or the rural areas. Ayesha Jalal in "The Convenience of Subservience" explains why they have not yet fought for special laws and measures to raise the economic and social status of women and are content with "equality for women".

1.2   WOMEN, LAW AND THE STATE

Jalal discusses the relation between women and law making. At times the women's movement negotiated with the state to secure women's rights e.g. in the 1960's women stood behind the Family Laws Ordinance. At other times women have not been so successful in protecting their rights e.g. the women's movement was unable to repeal the laws made under the martial law regime from 1977 to 1985. According to Jalal, women's conditions are not changing because the Vanguard of the women's movement i.e. the middle class is unwilling to confront the state (ruling classes) and lose its own economic privileges.

Sixteen per cent of the Pakistani women are literate, 75% of them live in the rural areas, very few of them are part of the labour force. Under these conditions, Ayesha Jalal questions how much knowledge women in Pakistan can have about their legal status.

It is important to remember that Pakistani women cannot be lumped together as one group. There are vast differences in Pakistani women according to their urban or rural status, economic background, social conditions and what geographical region they come from. However, Jalal believes, one common thread runs through all of them-subservience.

Women from the middle and upper classes have not raised their voices against the inequality of women. They have chosen inequality in exchange for comforts and privileges that come with a middle or upper class life. They are afraid to rock the boat — any demand for equality will mean changing the family unit and social order. Their decision to accept the status quo is a subservience of convenience. Women marched on the streets for • independence but they were kept away or marginalized from state power once the goal of independent nationhood had been achieved. Women were granted formal equality under the constitution but nothing was done to change the socio-economic conditions of women.

Pakistani women were granted equality under the constitutions that were implemented (1956, 1962, 1973). Presence of women in the first constituent-making assembly meant that women's rights could not be overlooked. In 1961 the civilian rule was disrupted by military take-over. The military ruler, Ayub Khan, introduced progressive laws for women-the 1961 Family Laws Ordinance which was opposed by the orthodox view. Women's group however stood firmly behind this law. As Ayub Khan had illegally usurped, power, a movement arose for the restoration of democracy. The military moved to quell the social protest and General Yahya replaced Ayub Khan.

The fruits of industrialization went mostly to the owners bf the factories and industries, which provoked strikes and protests in industrial labour. The ruling elite was not comfortable with the social unrest - General Yahya Khan removed Ayub Khan from power. In 1973 general elections were held for the first time in the country and civilian rule replaced military rule. The state power was now in the hands of civilians constituting mainly of feudal lords,tribal leaders etc. Bhutto had raised the slogan of *"roti, kapra, makan"* in the elections and rode into power on a wave of popular support. His electoral promise showed he was interested in addressing needs of the people. Under the changed political climate the time was ripe for women to extract more rights for themselves. However women failed to mobilise themselves at this opportune moment.

In 1977 general elections were held for the first time in the country. Bhutto came into power-on The slogan of *"roti, kapra, makan"* promising to focus on people's needs. But feudal and business interests filled the legislatures. They did not want to introduce any change that threatened their interests. Under a civilian government with democratic freedoms women had more room to struggle for rights. More and more women entered professions but they failed to mobilize themselves to struggle for more rights at this crucial moment. After a military take-over in 1981 women's legal status was threatened by the orthodox interpretation of Hudood Laws. Women were being used as the symbols of the new social order that was to be ushered in. The military had used Islam to justify

their illegal usurpation of power. Women mobilized themselves again after an inactive period in the 70's and took to the streets.

After 1985 civilian rule was restored. Gender issues were not a priority for the newly elected parliaments even though a women prime minister had been elected to power. Hudood laws, introduced by a military ruler, were not repealed because those in power did not want to upset the orthodox view.

Women's movement in Pakistan operates in fits and starts. The women at the vanguard of the Movement do not want to compromise their social privileges for the sake of emancipation of women as a whole. They are complicit partners with the ruling classes to protect their socio-economic privileges. This complicity is indicative of subservience of convenience. Individual women may have an awareness of gender biases but this awareness has, not translated itself into a group awareness that is prerequisite for any feminist movement.

The military take-over was justified in the name of religion. Women were once again used as the symbols for a new order. Considering that women from some classes are complicit with the state indicates that Pakistani women are not passive victims in the determination of their fates. But they are not active agents of their fates either as individual consciousness about gender bias has not to reach the point of collective action against the inequalities that exist in society.

READING

For more information please read the following material.

JALAL, AYESHA

"The Convenience of Subservience" in Kandiyoti, Deniz (Ed.), Women, Islam and the State. Macmillan, Hong Kong. 1991. pp 77-114.

1.3 LAW AS AN INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL CONTROL

The Law is supposed to protect people's rights and provide them with justice. Unfortunately law is being used as a tool or instrument of control by the dominant classes. Law has to be rooted in the realities of people's lives and it can be used as and be an agent of social change. However the ruling classes have gained control of law making and are using the law to subordinate women and other weaker classes. Since law making is in the hands of the dominant classes, law is perpetuating injustice instead of justice.

Formal law is laws legislated by the state or its organs. Customs constitute informal law. Both types of law are used as an instrument of social control by dominant classes. And both formal law and customs support patriarchy.

People's movements and struggles can lead to new laws being formed, which are in the interest of the people and not just the dominant classes' In Pakistan there was a people's movement for democracy in 1977. However, the military was able to recapture the state power. According to Jilani, if people continue struggling for their rights they will achieve it in the end (Khan- 1994).

Women are entering the formal law-making organs of the state and trying to make laws in favour of women. As women have had some role in creating formal laws such laws look at women more favourably than customary law in which women had no role at all.

International human rights movement in the beginning supported every nations right to have its own customary laws. But women had no part in creating customary laws and these laws discriminate against women. Consequently the international human rights movement is now against all customs which compromise women's interests. It advocates that universal standards of human rights should not be compromised at the cost of local customs.

Laws restrict women's rights in the name of protection. Women are defined in familial terms-as mothers, daughters and sisters. They are denied an independent identity of their own. Even if women are given equal rights the judiciary may not always interpret laws in favour of women. Unfortunately the state institutions and family can, at times, join hands to subordinate women.

Law therefore is not "neutral" ground. Dominant classes try to shape the law in their interest. Successful peoples struggles to shape the law to protect the people interests. However under the patriarchal order law is upholding the interests of men over women.

READING

For more information please read the following material:

JILANI, NINA

"Law/as an Instrument of Social Control" in Locating the Self. ASR, Lhr. 1995. pp. 96-105.

ACTIVITY

Law is used by the ruling classes and men to subordinate women. Support this statement with sentences from the reading.

1.4 INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW

Human rights discourse has marginalized women. This is not surprising as human rights discourse developed under patriarchy. Producing the right economic, social, political conditions for women that give them equal treatment is just as important as granting them

formal equal rights under the law. Human rights discourse emerged under patriarchy. Revolutions and social movements led to greater political participation by men in the public realm by winning for them civic and political rights. However rights related to the domestic realm were not given the same importance.

The UN Charter (1945) and Declaration of Human Rights (1948) recognized women's equality with men. Afterwards many international human rights laws have given women's rights special status. Women, however, are finding that international laws have not improved their situation. Nations refuse to comply with international law; they fail to bring their own customary and statutory laws into conformity with it.

Women's rights have to be seen as human rights. Women's problems seen as human problems. Otherwise the scope of women's rights, under special women's laws, will remain narrow and men will resist them. This will not happen unless dichotomies of male/female are overcome.

Human society has to be decoded for its gender biases. Once gender biases are ended a new order with equitable economic, social, legal institutions will come into being. Baela predicts, that day is not far. Patriarchal system is threatening the survival of humanity with growing poverty, sickness, and hunger. In some places the state control is breaking down because it cannot deliver basic necessities any longer. Women are reaching the breaking point of oppression. This period of instability can be used as an opportunity for change. Women will usher in a new soicety, one that is not based on gender divisions but on the recognition that every man and woman is a human first. Women will gain 'real not "formal" equality.

READING

For more information please read the following material:

JAMIL, BAELA

"The Private/Public Dichotomy and Patriarchy in the Ideology of Human Rights" in Aspects of Development, ASR, Lahore. 1995. Pp.87-98.

ACTIVITY

What is your vision of a society where women and men are equal? Use your imagination to construct such a society. What type of laws such a society will have?

1.5 AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Women have been granted equal rights under the law but the reality of women's lives show that these rights exist in name only. Unfortunately the legal system, in its present shape, and other specific laws discriminate against women.

Law is supposed to provide justice and enforce law and order. It also defines different types of relationships e.g. workers and owners, husbands and wives, or parents and children. But under colonialism the British used law to control their subjects. After independence Pakistan's dominant classes like feudal, military, industrial and bureaucratic elites used law to discriminate against women, minorities and working class.

Law is not being used to promote justice but for social control of weaker classes. Women are granted equality under the law. But this equality is in words only. The social, economic, political conditions etc. of women do not allow them to take advantage of the equality granted to them under the law. This suits the dominant classes because it is in their interests to keep women subordinated.

State has to go beyond simple equality to protect the rights of women. It has to change the social, economic and political conditions of women i.e. it has to produce the conditions under which women can get equal treatment. This can be done by affirmative action i.e. action to reverse years and years of discrimination. Reserving seats for women in the legislature is an example of affirmative action. Women have the right to contest in elections, but their backward economic and social position does not allow them to take advantage of this right on an equal footing with men. Reserving seats for women is positive discrimination towards women, to help them overcome the years of discrimination against them, which has held them back. The purpose of affirmative action is to help women achieve 50% representation with men in the assemblies in the long run.

To make laws that protect women's equality effectively it must be made easy for women to hire lawyers, travel to courts, etc. It is more difficult for women to seek the help of the law than men for these reasons. This means the mechanism of implementation of law is unequal for men and women. Women also lack information about their rights and the laws that protect them.

Therefore women's relationship with the state as citizens is that there are discriminatory laws for women, mechanisms of implementation of law are unequal for women (it is more difficult for women to seek the help of the law than men), and women are being denied information of their legal rights. This indicates that changing discriminatory laws is not enough, women's relationship with the state has to be changed i.e. the state must first consider women as full citizens before women can exercise their legal rights.

READING

For more information please read the following material:

ZIA, SHEHLA

"Women and Law" in Unveiling the Issues. ASR, Lahore. 1995. pp.73-79.

1.6 INSTITUTIONALISATION

The Report of the Commission of Inquiry for Women (1997) reveals the poor state of women's prisons, safe houses *(Daral Amans)* in Pakistan.

Women prisons are overcrowded. Many of the women there, are awaiting trial and are not convicted offenders. Women prisoner's children live with them since there is no alternate arrangement for them to live in. Women prisoners are subject to physical abuse by prison authorities. They do not receive adequate nutrition and health care. These women cannot afford to hire good lawyers who could follow their cases properly. The Women's inquiry recommends separate facilities should be built for women in every jail instead of having exclusive women's jails.

Women in many countries, not only Pakistan, suffer abuse in custody of male police officers. The first Woman Police Station was introduced in 1994. The Women have made some interesting observations with regard to the working of these women police stations. Women police are not receiving training to help perform their duties adequately. Women police cannot carry out simple procedures of law enforcement without the help of policemen. Women's stations do not have facilities for medical examination and overnight detention. Women police treats women complainants and victims who go there rudely. It appears that the purpose of women police stations, which was to provide women with protection in custody, cannot be met by setting up a few women police station. Has been defeated by the failure of women police stations to. Apparently both men and women police need training on gender issues. Until women are inducted into the higher ranks of the police force and the number of women police increased the situation will remain the same. The commission recommends women police should be integrated into the mainstream police, as there are no cases that deal exclusively with women, whether as complainants or accused.

Darul Amans are supposed to function as "safe-houses" for women fleeing violent and abusive environments at home. Women who stay at *Darul Amens* should receive protection from the male relatives that want to harm them.

As women and children are generally regarded as "property" of the family. The family institution doesn't appreciate any interference in its affairs .and it feels that it has the right to do as it wants with women and children. Family does not appreciate the role of ***Darul Aman*** as the women are taken away from the control of the family.

The purpose of ***Daral-Amans*** is to serve as temporary places of recovery for women who have suffered mental and physical abuse to rehabilitate them so that they can return to society. The women who come there, however, undergo further torture because their freedom of movement is curtailed sending the message to them that they are women who cannot be "trusted". In effect they are "imprisoned" in these safe-havens and "punished" for going against patriarchal norms. These women do not receive the right treatment or environment for them to recover from abuse and rejoin society. Judges also sometimes

send women witnesses to *Darul-Aman* to "bring them into line" though this is not the original purpose of these safe-havens.

READING

For more information please read the following material:

Report of the Commission of Inquiry of Women, 1997. "Institutionalisation" Pp. 100-117.

ACTIVITY

Is the existence of exclusive prisons and police stations serve the interests of women adequately or should women cells be integrated into existing police stations and prisons?

1.7 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

1. What is the difference between equality and equity i.e. positive discrimination?

2. Constitution provides for equality or for equity or both? Give one example of a provision of equity for women?

3. What does the women's movement in Pakistan fighting for equality or equity?

4. What is the difference between formal law and informal law? Give one example of each.

5. Does law being used as an instrument of justice or as a tool of exploitation/control of women, poor, and other marginalised groups by dominant social groups?

6. Is it better to have special women's rights or should women's rights be mainstreamed as part of human rights under international human rights law?

7. The equal rights granted to women in. name can be translated into substantial rights or effective rights with the help of affirmative action. Do you agree with this statement?

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THE CHANGING ROLE OF URBAN WOMEN

Written By: Ms. Sara Inayatullah
Reviewed By: Dr. Aysha Ghaznavi

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

In this unit you have two readings. In the first reading-you will learn about the status of urban Pakistani women in relation to their social and economic indicators. Urban women have more access to hospitals, schools, and professional universities and there is less restriction on their mobility. Urban women marry at a later age, and there are a small number of urban women who have risen to the top of the labour force as professionals in fields such as medicine, engineering, management etc. In the second reading you will read about the exploitation of women labour who work in factories.

A number of factors determine the status of urban women. These include employment, income, education, fertility rate, mortality rate, access to health and educational facilities. If the indicators of rural and urban Pakistani women are compared then urban women come out better. Howyer comparison with indicators of other South Asian countries indicates that Pakistani women need to make more progress in every area.

In Pakistan, a pregnant woman dies every six minutes and as many as 1 in 38 women die of pregnancy-related causes (Haq, 2000, 126). The maternal mortality rates vary between regions. For example, in the urban settlements of Karachi, the rate is 281 per 100,000 live births, but in the province of Balochistan it is reported to be as high as 673 per 100,000 live births (Haq, 2000, 127).

Improving health facilities in the cities has helped to increase the prospects of survival of the girl child. There was a narrower gap in the mortality rates of girls and boys, between the ages 5-9, in the urban areas than in the rural areas, during 1976 to 1984, due to availability of better health services (Hafeez 13 1993)

The literacy rate and age of marriage of urban women is higher than rural women. The literacy rate was 34%. in 1991,for women in the urban areas, compared to 9.8 % for women in the rural areas (Mukhtar 1998 6). A comparison of urban girls and boys, however, shows more boys go to school than girls. In urban areas, among poor households, only half the girls in the relevant age group are in school as compared to two-thirds of the boys. In contrast, in urban households above the poverty line, the gender gap in school enrolments is negligible or small.

The average age of marriage of urban women has been rising over the past forty years. The average age at marriage for women in urban areas was 15.1 years in 1961, 20.2 years in 1972, 21.5 years in 1976, and 21.6 years in 1979 (Hafeez 1993).

Urban women spend a considerable amount of time on household chores. A study of women in Lahore city show that housewives spent about 9.5 hours daily on meal preparation, child care, housecleaning, and laundry (Allauddin in Shah 1986 292). *Purdah* is observed more sty icily by non-working urban women; in 1981, 29 percent of workingwomen were *purdah* observers while as percent of the non-working women were *purdah* observers (Shah 1986 294).

More and more women who live in urban areas are seeking income-earning activity because of rising inflation. In 1990-91, as many as 77 percent of the economically active women in urban areas were employed in the informal sector. Four-fifths of the women in the informal sector were engaged in home-based production. The average monthly earnings of home-based workers are less than one-third of the average monthly income of factory workers (PNR 1995 11-12).

Female-headed households comprise less than 5 percent of all households according to national surveys. This figure is likely to be underestimated; a private study carried out in Karachi, in 1987, indicated that female headed household were as many as 10 percent of the total households. These women include wives of male migrants, divorcees/widows, and wives of non-earning husbands. The third category belongs to the poorest strata in Karachi. The average monthly income of female-headed households is only one-fourth the family income of male-headed households. (NPR 1995 13).

In 1997 women professionals constituted 6.17 percent of all workingwomen in Pakistan. Less than 2 percent of these women were legislators, managers and other senior officials (Haq 2000 157-8).

OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to

1. Discuss the status of urban women reflected in economic and social indicators such as fertility rate, literacy rate

2. Explain how the subordinate position of women in the family is reproduced in the workplace in urban factories

3. Elaborate the various ways employers exploit women who work in factories in the urban areas

2.1 STATUS OF URBAN WOMEN IN TERMS OF FERTILITY, EDUCATION, AND EMPLOYMENT

Women's fertility rates generally decrease with increasing income except in the case of many developing countries including Pakistan. The focus has now shifted on how a woman's status could determine rate of fertility and family size. A woman's status determined by her education and employment gives her some power and autonomy to make decisions about family size.

Research has shown a woman's education increases her awareness about family planning and she is more likely to have a smaller family. Families with educated parents are likely to be smaller because parents have to undertake the financial responsibility of education of their children.

In the rural areas a women's status increases with number of children. The more children the more hands to help out with domestic work and work in the fields. However her status only increases in the case of sons since boys are considered economic assets and girls' liabilities. In the urban areas women who work in different employment have different rates of fertility.

Work has different effects on the status of women from different classes. Women who work as labour in industrial sector don't seem to have more autonomy when it comes to decision-making about family size. But women who work as professionals have a higher status and more say in the size of family.

Women of higher status have higher educational attainment levels and more mobility and access a family planning facility more easily. Women of lower status are more restricted in mobility and they have more fears and less knowledge about family planning. Better communication between spouses increases use of contraceptive methods; women cannot adopt contraception without the agreement of their husbands.

Age of marriage affects a woman's status. Women who marry early are denied the opportunity for education and employment. The rising age of marriage among women has mostly been recorded in the urban areas, especially among women with a higher level of educational attainment or women in employment.

Limited increase of health care facilities and improving nutrition has decreased the overall mortality rate of women. However mortality rate for women remains higher than for men because of early excessive child bearing in women. Also less attention is given to the nutritional needs of women than men; more girls than boys die after the age of one to the age of five because of lack of attention to their nutritional requirements. Women cannot seek medical aid for themselves or their children because of a shortage of health

facilities and women's traditional lack of mobility. Nevertheless maternity death rate is lower in the urban areas, which have more hospitals than the rural areas.

A woman's role is determined by cultural practices. The practice of seclusion, found across South Asia, decreases possibilities of women's participation in any roles outside the home. Besides the customary practice of seclusion other indicators that Pakistani women's status is generally lower than men, is indicated by an overall low number of women who work outside the home and women's higher mortality rate than men's in the age group 1 to 45 years. The *Hudood* Ordinance, *Qisas* and *Diyat* and Law of Evidence have also affected the status of women.

READING

Foote information please read the following material.

KAZI, SHAHNAZI, AND SATHAR, ZEBA A.

Women's Roles: Education, Health and Reproductive Behaviour" in Unveiling the Issues. ASR, Lahore. 1995. Pp.43-60.

ACTIVITY

What is the status of urban women with respect to education, employment, age of marriage, rate of mortality? Is the fertility rate of women living in urban areas affected by their status?

2.2   WOMEN LABOUR IN URBAN AREAS

Most of the factories, which employ women workers, were established in the 1970's and 1980's. Women production workers have been hired in large numbers (58%) from 1980's onwards. Thus the majority of women workers are recent entrants into the labour force. Factory employers are exploiting women labourers in several ways. The various forms of discrimination practised by employers against women are discussed by a study on women factory workers who work in Karachi, Lahore, Faislabad and Multan.

Women have a subordinate position in the family. They provide free services such -as cooking, cleaning and taking care of children and elderly persons but they are not paid for their labour in the household. The subordiriate position of women in the household is reproduced in the public domain. Women who work in the public domain are not paid the same wages as men, their work conditions are very poor, they are not allowed to form trade unions, and they are not given promotions.

Woman who work outside the home are seen as "supplementary" workers. Men are considered the "primary" earners in the household even if women also contribute to the household income by working outside the home. Men, who have the status of "proper" workers, do not have to contribute to the household work/domestic chores but women

have to carry a double shift if. they work in the public. A woman who works has no say over the income she earns; the family controls how her income is used.

Employers generally prefer wdmen workers because they are more punctual, less absent, take less leave, are more reli5ble etc. Factories employ women workers through kinship networks i.e. they employ the relatives/friends of workers. The relatives who are already employed reducing the costs of training for a new worker to the employer undertake training of the new worker. Factories influence the decision of women workers to get married or have children. Women workers are discouraged to get married by the threat of termination of work. Similarly women are discouraged from having children because employers do not provide them with maternity benefits. Employers are biased against married women and mothers who have less chances of promotion.

Factories are using more and more machinery for production. Operating these machines requires limited skills. Women workers are hired in the category of unskilled labour (irrespective of whether they are skilled or not) to run these machines and employers pay them less. Any skilled women workers who are hired in such factories which use machinery lose their skills (deskilling) because of lack of Use and because the repetitive and mechanical nature of factory work. Employers also hire women in the category of apprentices so that they can pay them less but no skill is taught to them.

Women are not hired as permanent workers but as temporary workers or casual workers to bypass labour laws, pay women less and deny them proper working conditions required by law. Daily production targets are used to exploit women labour; if women workers do not meet the production target for the day they have to bear the loss from their own pockets. Residual work is another tactic used by employers to exploit women's labour. Residual work, or rotation of tasks, helps to avoid worker fatigue, but employers are using residual work to extract extra labour from women. Similarly women are forced to do compulsory overtime by denying them transportation facilities. Women labourers are not paid extra wages for their overtime work and employing male supervisors or desegregation of genders in the workplace is an instrument of social control used by employers, to keep the women labour docile and obedient. In addition, women workers are also made the victims of sexual harassment in the workplace.

Labour laws make it compulsory for employers to provide canteens, adequate shelter, restrooms, insurance (social security), paid leave, and safe working conditions for workers. Employers deny women these rights by hiring them as casual workers. Trade unions have failed to raise the working problems of women.

Women contribute to production but they do not receive the protection of the law because of their status as temporary workers. Factory employers and family join hands to exploit women. The state has not yet recognised women labour's contribution to production and has failed to develop their skills and secure proper working conditions for them.

READING

For more information please read the following material,

AKHTER, HUMIRA

Women, Paid Work, Controls and Resistance" in Aspects of Development. Lahore. 1995. pp. 17-57.

ACTIVITIES

List 5 ways in which factory employers' exploit women labourers or what are the controls on women in the workplace?

The state, employers and family do not recognise a woman labourer as a regular worker and she is paid less than a male worker. How does the subordinate status of woman in the family and in the workplace benefit the family, employer and state?

2.3 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

1.   A woman's status is determined by education and employment. How do these two factors affect fertility rate of urban women?

2.   Is it better for a woman worker to be employed as a permanent worker or a temporary worker?

3.   What are the different forms of exploitation and discrimination used against women workers in factories?

4.   Explain what is the informal sector of industry. Why do women who work in the informal sector get paid less than women who work in a factory setting?

5.   Women have a subordinate position in the family and in the workplace they are seen as "supplementary" workers. Is there any relation or link between the status of women in the family and the workplace?

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THE CHANGING ROLE OF RURAL WOMEN

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

In this unit you will focus on two readings. Before you start the readings ycu will discover what is the changing status of rural women based on social indicators such as health, education, employment etc. In the readings you will also explore what impact international agreements like GATT and the mechanisation of farms are having on rural women's income, nutritional intake and quality of life.

OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to
1.   Discuss the changing status of the rural women based on social health, education, and employment indicators
2.   Discuss that women play a central role in the agriculture economy
3.   Analyse how GATT affects the changing role of rural women
4.   Describe how mechanisation on the farm is affecting rural women .

3.1 RURAL WOMEN – THE INVISIBLE FORMERS[1]

To determine the status of rural women it is important to ask the following questions. First, how much agricultural or non-agricultural land, and other immovable property, is owned by rural women. Second, how much time is spent on productive activities, and how much income is earned, by women in rural areas. Third, how many women participate in the agriculture labour force. Fourth, the number of agriculture animals, machinery, jewellery, bonds, shares owned by rural women. Fifth, what is the situation of female health and education and the prospects for the future. The answers to these questions can help to determine the economic status as well as social prestige of rural women (Akhter 1994 121).

The social perception of rural women is that they are dependent rather than productive. This is a false impression. Economic planners /development thinkers have played a role in making rural women invisible. However rural women play a central role in the agriculture economy, they contribute to crop production, livestock production, cottage industry, household and family maintenance. Recent empirical studies are now beginning to recognise women's role in agriculture and have estimated that 70-80 percent of rural Women. are engaged in productive activities and work 14-16 hours a day.

At present, a detailed breakdown of ownership of land by gender is not available, but a limited survey in .1995 of over 1,000 households in rural areas of Punjab province, found that only 36 women own land in their own name, while only 9 of these, have the power to sell or trade their land without permission from male household members. In nearly two-thirds of the household daughters did not inherit land (PNR 1995:56).

Rural women are caught in a poverty cycle. They lack support and recognition of their work. They lack access to productive resources, credit, training, information, technology, and mobility. They are also custom bound; oppressed by social customs (Akhter (2) 1994 114) They are prevented from holding land or any position of authority consequently they face several obstacles and hurdles which prevent them from changing their situation. At the same time rural women's unpaid or low paid labour had been used to build the rural economy.

There has been a rise in longevity of women from 50 and men from 52 in 1981. to 59 for both women and men in.1991. However the health status of women in Pakistan is characterised by high mortality. The most important underlying cause of ill health is malnutrition and the perpetuating cause. is high fertility (Akther (3) 1994 87). Despite adequate food availability anaemia is widely prevalent. In contrast to 19 percent urban women 30 percent rural women are so malnourished that they cannot work effectively (Akhter (3) -1994 87). Women are married at young age and repeated pregnances over a long period of fertility weaken them and leads to a high pregnancy related mortality.

The mean age at marriage for women in rural areas was 17.8 in 1961, 19.4 in 1972, and

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[1] Shahnaz Akhtar uses the term "invisible farmer"

19.9 in 1979 (Hafeez, 1993.11).

The absolute numbers of illiterate persons swelled from 43 million in 1981 to an estimated 50 million in 1991, of whom the majority are women (this includes the adult illiterates. the primary school dropouts and those who have not had access to any educational opportunities). Currently about 70 percent of those without basic education opportunities, defined as completing five years of primary education, are girls (NPR, 1995 20). In 1985, only one-third of all five-year old girls living in rural areas were in school. Fewer than 1 in 6 rural girls completed five years of education. The dropout rates of girls were higher within school levels, especially between grades 1 and 3 in the rural areas. Only 3 percent of rural twelve-year-old girls continued in school, compared to 18 percent of boys, and less than 1 percent girls remained in school in the 14 year old age group compared to 7 percent of the boys. There are seven times more schools for boys than girls. The total number of post secondary colleges varies between 20-30% of the existing colleges.

In 1961, 10.9 percent, and in 1975, 17.8 percent of rural women were in the labour force but the figure is probably underestimated (Shah 1986, 269). In a study in 1966 of women's farm activities in four villages in Punjab, Saeed found that about 80 per cent of all the women who were interviewed did participate in some kind of farm activity. The activity was more intense during the harvesting seasons — for example, 43 percent of the women participated in cutting wheat, 78 percent participated in cleaning grains, and about half of them spent more than four hours a day cleaning grains during the harvesting season. The level of participation in these activities decreased slightly with education and size of landholding but still remained very high. Participaion rates also varied by caste; they were relatively lower among the Rajputs than other women (Shah, 1986 269).

Estimate of the provincial participation rates of rural women in the labour force can be made from the 1961 census and the 1973 HED survey, which show that participatjon was highest in the province of Sindh, followed by NWFP, Punjab and Baluchistan. It is not clear whether. these inter-provincial differences represent real differences in participation rates or are a reflection of different reporting pattern; it is likely both factors contribute to the differentials (Shah, 1986 670-71).

A village study (1976) based on the observation of everyday activities of rural women in a Punjabi village showed that on an average day women spent about 14.5 hours in household activities such as collecting, carrying and preparing fodder, cooking, carrying water, caring for animals, and other domestic chores (Shah, 1986 292).

Socio economic status is negatively associated with work participation as indicated by 1968 NIS data. In the rural areas thirty —two percent of the women who did not own any durable goods (bicycle, radio, sewing machine etc) were in the labour force compared with 6 percent who owned four items or more (Shah 1986 294).

Health, literacy and employment indicators can determine women's economic and social status. It appears that in some areas such as improved mortality rate rural women are

making progress. In other areas, it appears that the high rate of population growth is undermining any progress. In addition, the development process seems to be contributing to a decline in the living standards of rural women. Poor social indicators for rural women are a sad reflection on the condition of Pakistani women as a whole considering that rural women constitute almost half the population. In the next two readings you will study about the impact of GATT and increased mechanisation on the lives or rural women.

ACTIVITY

What indicators can be used to determine the status of rural women?

3.2 IMPACT OF GATT ON THE CHANGING LIVES OF RURAL WOMEN

Fifty million women live in the rural areas in Pakista ; they work in the fields, perform domestic household work, take care of livestock, and fetch water and firewood. The work of these women is central to the rural economy. Women's unpaid work provides the free services which help rural households survive, and provides the base on which men can go out and work in the public for wages. However these women are not given any significance in development planning and hardly any investment is made in providing them with education or medical facilities.

There is a general belief amongst many in developing countries that General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) promotes free trade that can damage the economy of developing countries, which are not at the stage where they can produce high quality goods which can compete in the international market with the products of developed countries. Free trade can reduce the exports and increase the imports of the Third World countries and worsen their economic conditions.

The rural areas, which are the poorest sections of developing'countries, will be worst hit. There is a great risk that people in rural areas will starve from shortage of food. If all the land is utilised for growing cash crops, that can be exported, then there will be less land left for growing food.

More and more machinery is being introduced to grow cash crops consequently agricultural unemployment is rising. Men can migrate to the urban areas to search for work but women lack mobility. The income of women decline with increasing farm mechanisation.

Development thinkers have not found any way to reduce women's work burden; women spend several hours a day collecting firewood, fodder and fetching water. The cutting down of forests is making women's work more difficult than before.

Under "Intellectual Property Rights" the seeds found in the South (developing countries) can be patented by multinational companies. These seeds will become inaccessible to

farmers unless they buy them from the multinationals. This ensures the multinationals make a huge profit at the cost of the poor farmers. Use of pesticides is affecting the health of women and children in rural areas because pesticides leave a layer on crops and poison the water.

Women have been included in the Eighth five-year Plan because development thinkers are now recognising women's central role in development. This has motivated them to address some of women's needs and issues so that the productivity of women can be increased. Women have to be mainstreamed into planning for every sector of the economy so that there is more investment made in them by the government: Women's traditional knowledge of indigenous agriculture and forests should be recognised by government and systematically compiled.

People can be mobilised against GATT and SAP by providing them information on how these programmes are affecting them in their day-to-day lives.

READING

For more information please read the following material:

AHMED, NIGAR

Rural Women and Agriculture" in Unveiling the Issues. ASR, Lahore. 1995. pp.⁻⁻33-40

ACTIVITY

List two impacts of GATT on rural women.

3.3   CHANGING STATUS OF RURAL WOMEN IN THE HOUSEHOLD AND AGRICULTURE SECTOR WITH THE MECHANISATION OF FARMING

A study of the household, peasant politics and economic life of village Mehdiabad in Punjab was undertaken by a few women researchers from 1977 to 1989. The purpose of the study was to investigate the impact of patriarchy and capitalism on rural women. The findings revealed that the rural women's socio-economic status is declining with development.

The modernisation of the agriculture sector is increasing the physical, emotional and psychological burden on women in rural areas. Women's nutritional intake has declined because less food crops are being grown those are being replaced by cash crops.

Women's participation on the farm is now less than before with the use of more and more machinery consequently their economic status in the rural economy and household has declined with the introduction of mechanisation. Rising agricultural unemployment has led to migration of men to urban areas.

Unemployment and migration of male agriculture workers means that the women who are left behind have to take the responsibility for work in the fields, domestic work and responsibility for raising children alone. They also suffer from loneliness and are emotionally deprived though family income may have increased with remittances. The state does not recognise that women due to migration of men to urban areas or the Gulf, now heads many homes. The state needs to consider the special requirements of women-headed households in national plans

The nuclearisation of families is a new trend, which is isolating women. Men are also increasingly secluding women who belong to the families of middle and rich families as an indication of rising status.

READING

For more information please read the following material:

Khalid, Jaweria

Rural Women, Poverty and Feminist Research Methodology" in Aspects of Development. ASR, Lahore. 1995. pp. 58-65.

ACTIVITIES

Why is the nutritional intake of the rural woman declining?

Give two reasons to explain why are isolation and seclusion of women increasing in the rural areas?

How is the mechanisation of farming and cash economy changing the socioeconomic status of rural women?

3.4   SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

1. If more machinery is used and more cash crops are grown in the agriculture sector how will it affect rural women?

2. Describe the various ways and forms that rural women contribute to the agriculture economy by the work they do in the domestic space and in the agricultural farms / fields.

3. How is the trend of migration of male agriculture workers to the urban areas and Gulf affecting the rural women?

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THE AWAKENING OF PAKISTANI WOMEN

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Economic data and statistics underestimate women's work. Women's domestic / household work is not recognised in official economic figures. Women both undertake many agricultural activities in the farm and at home. Women also contribute to industry; they work in factories and they work at home on piece-rate basis that is called the informal sector. Unfortunately, the economic data of the state overlooks a substantial portion of work that is done by women in the domestic area, agriculture and industry.

Women have fallen far behind men in education. Boys' schools outnumber girl's schools, social biases against girls' education stop them from going to school, and poverty forces children work to supplement the family income rather than go to school.

Dominant classes or state to further their own interests uses public school system. Public school system produces labourers that drive the capitalist system. It reproduces the class divisions in society by providing different types of knowledge and skills to different classes. The ruling class joins hands with the international capitalist class to exploit the cheap labour of the people. They control people with the help of ideology, which is spread, with the help of textbooks. The public education system reinforces gender division of labour so that the capitalist class can exploit the free labour of women.

The state or ruling classes also uses the media to spread capitalist and gender ideology. The media does not project the concern, needs and interests of women. Rather it has turned women into sex objects to help sell goods and products in commercials. Gender stereotypes of women in society are reinforced by the one-sided portrayal of women in the media as "passive", "weak", "non-questioning", "resigned to fate" etc. Men and the state control the minds of women with the help of the media and persuade or convince them into thinking that patriarchal system is "natural".

OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to

1. Describe how women are discriminated against in work

2. Discuss what types of stereotypes about women exist in the education system

3. Recognise what types of stereotypes about women are used in the /media

4.1 WOMEN AND WORK

Official statistics greatly underestimate the extent of women's work participation. There is a cultural bias against recognizing women's work in the household. The labour census gives a narrow definition of work, which excludes farm based productive activity undertaken by women at home such as, winnowing, milling etc. The agriculture census, however, provides a better estimate of women's participation in agricultural activity because it included the categories of part-time and full-time productive activity undertaken inside or outside the home. Until the accurate figures for women's productive work labour is collected, development planners will not give women workers any importance in development planning.

The Labour Force Survey until recently did not give a sector wise breakdown of women's employment. The 1981 Census and 1973 HED survey provide some information on women's employment in different sectors. Women are employed mostly as professionals at the top end or labourers at the bottom end of the occupational scale. In 1981, one-third of all teachers and one-fourth of all the doctors were women. Women's employment in teaching and medicine is considered more socially acceptable than other occupations.

Except for those women who attain high educational levels and become doctors.and teachers, work opportunities are not expanding for the remaining women. Industrialisation did not lead to a growth in the number of women labourers. The period 1978/79 to 1984/85 saw the use of more and more machines in both the agricultural and industrial sectors. This reduced in the number of women labourers who worked on farms and factories. Urban women's participation in industrial production has not increased significantly from the sixties. There are signs that the number of women participating in the informal sector is increasing but this information has not been systematically collected and recorded yet by enumerators.

Women workers who are employed in large-scale industry receive lower wages than male workers. Employers who hire them as contract labours in the informal sector where the labour laws do not apply exploit them. Women labourers who cannot find work in industry or in the informal sector are absorbed in the lower ranks of the service sector as poorly paid domestic workers. The services sector has been the sector of highest growth in the past decade.

Employment of women will depend on the demand for women labourers by employers as well as the supply of women labourers. Cultural constraints reduce the supply of women labourers. Women chose to prefer home-based piece rate work (informal sector) rather than factory work. However socioeconomic norms are changing in the poorest strata of society where women have to work for the sake of survival of their families.

Female-headed households are increasing in South Asia In Karachi, female headed-households, belong to the poorest strata of society, indicating women from this strata, were pushed into the labour force, by economic compulsions.

ACTIVITIES

- Why women's work activities are underestimated in economic planning? Give two reasons.

- How has the increased use of machinery affected women who work in the agriculture sector? Describe two effects of increasing farm mechanisation on women.

- Producers prefer to hire women to work in the informal sector rather than in the factory. Discuss.

READING

For more information please read the following material:

KAZI, SHAHNAZ

Women's Employment and Related Issues" in Finding Our Way. ASR, Lahore. 1995. pp 111-124.

4.2 WOMEN AND EDUCATION

In the beginning of this century education for women focussed only on religious training and domestic skills. The cultural practice of seclusion inhibited girls' education. When Pakistan was created, the infrastructure for schools and colleges was limited. In 1951 the female literacy rate was only 8% but thirty years later the state of women's education was still disappointing.

Girls dropout from school is greater in number than boys because they ate required to perform domestic tasks. Gender roles that assign women the work of childbearing and housework makes education for girls less important. There is a shortage of girl's schools and female teachers. At the primary level, fifty to sixty percent of the girls get dropout from school. At the middle level, the rate of dropout is lower, that is twenty to thirty percent. Rural areas show a higher dropout rate than the urban areas. Families living in poverty do not send girls to school because they cannot afford the meagre school fees, in fact, girls are put to work to supplement the family's income and ensure its survival.

In Pakistan planning is done through 5-year plans. The first three 5-year plans focused on increasing enrolment of girls. The next three 5-year plans linked women's education to development and focussed on training programmes to provide women with the requisite skills to find employment.

Girl's enrolment has increased at every level of education. Primary school enrolment for girls, increased from 20 to 32 percent from 1965 to 1985, and secondary school enrolment from 5 to 9 percent during this period. Enrolment is higher in 'Vocational

institutes in traditional skills like sewing, knitting, embroidery etc than in technical training skills. The number of women enrolment in professional colleges has doubled from 1947 to 1983. Today development planners are recognising the importance of investing in girl's education because it has an impact on fertility rate that in turn affects the rate of economic growth.

READING

For more information please read the following material:

ZAFAR, FAREEHA

Women's Education: Problems and Prospects" in Finding our Way. ASR, Lahore. 1995. Pp. 125-132.

Activity

Why do fewer girls than boys go to school? List four reasons.

4.3   WOMEN AND MEDIA

Media like newspapers, radio, television; most women cannot easily access electronic mail. Unequal access to media for women affects their capacity for self-development, acquiring skills and knowledge. Pakistani women have, since the time of independence, participated in different media from traditional informal theatre; to art, poetry, literature and journalism though women's participation has always been less than men's. A few Pakistani women have risen to the ranks of decision-makers in different media; such as a woman-managing director of Pakistan Television Corporation (PTV), and women were the editors of three English language monthly news magazines, one Urdu-language weekly magazine, and one leading health journal. Women are also the editors of popular Urdu digests, and women journalists have covered diverse areas like global trade, economics, militarisation, and sports. Women, however, are marginalised in Urdu language dailies, which have the largest circulation. In 1989 women's representation in PTV was only 2.15 percent and the number of women in press unions is negligible (NPR, 1995 82).

Women today are extremely active in promoting alternative media like street theatre. Literature, poetry and art is used by women as form of resistance against patriarchal values. Women are successfully using newsletters, posters, audio- and videocassettes for networking and linking women's groups and communities. Women have entered the field of alternative film production or direction of hard-hitting documentaries, which focus on the reality of women's lives. Women in the corporate and NGO sector have recently started using electronic mail.

Women are portrayed as sex objects in film, theatre, and advertisements. Television,

which has an outreach of 50 million people, promotes stereotypes of women. Under the last military government 1977-1985 television policies required that announcers cover their heads. Today there are more television channels but the stereotypes portrayed of women are more or less the same as before. On occasion progressive plays are telecast showing women's subjugation, but they show insufficient research by their writers, or suffer from insensitive direction (PNR 1995 84).

Media unfortunately glorifies violence against women. There is a very real danger that growing coverage given to such violence in the media, in the absence of gender sensitisation of media personnel will de-sensitise the public to these issues. At the same time media can be used as useful weapon to counter the invisibility of women. It can be used to spread information about the rights of women. Positive images of women can be promoted on the media if more women enter decision-making ranks in the media or women mobilise themselves to protest the way women are generally depicted in the media. In the next reading Hussain and Shah discuss how media, state and capitalism have all joined hands together to control and subordinate women under a patriarchal system.

The State, Media and Women's Representation

Media includes the print and electronic media. Writing, art, singing and dance is also media. The state controls the representation of women, culture and values in the print and electronic media. Women are misrepresented and underrepresented in the media. Media is used as a tool by dominant classes. Media does not reflect truth in black and white. Some facts are selected to be shown to the public and some are left out. Plays and dramas show the biases of dominant classes than td rather reflect the philosophical "truths" of life.

Media reflects the gender biases in society. It is in the interest of dominant classes to preserve the status quo. According to the Mass Manipulative model of media the public is passive and is manipulated by media. The socially dominant classes use the media to propagate ideology — the ideas on the basis of which the ruling class has assumed power. In contrast, the Market model of media asserts that media gives public what it demands. All forms of media have been controlled by state from 1957 to 1988. The method of control was direct propaganda and censorship. The media r̄opagated values of obedience and docility so that the public would not rise up against the ruling classes. The media was also used to propagate that women should remain within the "chadar and chardivari".

Women's concerns, issues and event are underreported in the press. Similarly crimes against women that occur on a daily basis are underreported but once in a while such crimes are sensationalised. A woman is made twice a target; first, by the perpetrators of a crime and then second time, by the press. The media is not "neutral": it reflects and perpetuates the gender stereotypes of society. "Meaning" in images is constructed by men. Women must take the power into their own hands to construct "meaning" of images. The media is a tool that can be used by any social group to promote its own

interests. Women can also use media to promote their own interests and shape representation of women as them deem fit.

The examination system demands that students memorise their textbooks. Students are not encouraged to read any books other than their textbooks. This is a conscious policy the student's knowledge remains limited and they do not develop the ability to think for themselves. Ideology of ruling classes is propagated through textbooks and gender biases are also perpetuated in textbooks. Public education and textbooks never emphasise women's achievements under a patriarchal system.

READING

For more information please read the following material:

HUSSAIN, NEELUM AND SHAH, NASREEN

"Women, Media and the Production of Meaning" in Finding Our Way. ASR, La ore. 1991. PP.159-176.

ACTIVITIES

• Cut out advertisement's using women from a newspaper or magazine and paste them together on a cardboard paper. What do these images tell you about women? Are these images true or false?

• What type of commercials (advertisements), dramas, documentaries, news programmes, songs can improve the self-esteem of women? Discuss in a study group.

4.4 SELF ASSESS-MENTIAUESTIONS

1. If the policy makers recognise the contribution of women in the domestic space, agriculture, and industry then they will give them more importance in planning. Do you agree with this statement?

2. What type of stereotypes does the education system use to relegate women to the domestic space, or how does the education system reinforce gender division of work?

3. How does the media misrep'resent or under-represent women?

4.5 BIBLIOGRAPHY

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5.   Publication of Women's Divisiori. Report of the Seminar on Women and Media. Karachi. 1984.

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9.   Zia, Afia. S. "Rape in the News: Women's Images in Media" in Locating the Self. ASR, Lahore. 1994.

WOMEN'S MOBEMENT

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

In this unit you will focus on two readings "Power Configurations in Public and Private Arenas: The Women's Movement's Response" by Bari and Khattak and "Family and Women's Movement" by Rubina Saigol. The first article discusses the relation of the women's movement with the state and describes how the women's movement has been a successful negotiator for women's rights. At the same time the women's movement has failed to bring about any change in the use of violence against women in the family as well as end discriminatory social customs. The women's movement is limited to middle class women who do not want to bring radical change in society because they want to continue to enjoy the privileges of their social class. These women do not criticise violence that occurs against lower class women for the sake of preserving the family institution. Saigol's article explores in greater detail the relation of women activists with the family.

"Power Configurations in Public and Private Arenas: The Women's Movement's Response" Bari and Khattack discuss what constitutes a women's movement, what are the two major types of women's movements and what shape the women's movement took in Pakistan. The relationship of the women's movement with the state / public and family / private is analysed in detail as well as the successes and failures of the women's movement in Pakistan.

OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you will be able to

1. Identify the nature of the women's movement in Pakistan

2. Discuss the successes and failures of the women's movement in Pakistan

3. Describe the relationship of women's movement with the family, community and state and also explain why women's movement has not been able to change discriminatory cultural practices.

5.1 THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN PAKISTAN

A women's rights movement calls for liberal reforms. A feminist movement calls for restructuring of gender and power relations at every level of society. There is a controversy whether the women's movement is an old or new development. Women's writings and oral traditions show that women in the past perceived that men oppressed women. However, these were the perceptions of individual women, which did not translate into mass women's movement.

The women's movement in Pakistan has not been able to develop street power or reach the masses of women. At the same time, it has had some measure of success as a successful negotiator with the state for women's rights. The women's movement in Pakistan consists of expression of oppression by woman individuals through art, literature and individual acts of resistance. It includes the collective expression by women of their oppression in the form of NGOs and feminist and women rights groups.

Civil society is the zone of engagement between the state and individual. The state tries to limit the political activity of citizens and citizens try to expand the boundaries of their political activity. There is some give and take between state and citizens who form groups to express their demands effectively. The traditional definition of civil society includes only associations such as trade unions, chambers of commerce. But new definitions of civil society include family, associations, social movements and forms of public communication. The women's movement is a voluntary association that forms part of civil society.

State is a masculine construction. Civil society is also defined in masculinist terms and so is citizenship. Women activists around the world are criticising how men have constructed the state and want to change the nature of the state. Citizenship was not granted to women in the beginning when the state was new but later on they got rights of citizenship when they won the right to vote. But even today, women are looked upon as if they are not citizens.

Women activists are trying to increase the rights of women in the family, community and state. The state and family join hands to maintain the interests of men over women. Women activists strongly protest about violent acts committed against women from upper-middle class families but they ignorethe acts of violence committed almost daily against women from lower classes. Women activists have turned a blind eye to the family's violation of women's rights cutting across all classes. Middle class women have an interest preserving the family, which provides them economic protection. Economically and politically marginalized rural women have to pay the price for middle class women's support for the family institution.

The family limits women's mobility, controls women's share in property- and controls women's sexuality. Women are not allowed to make major decisions for the family that is left to the male members of the family. The community in controlling women supports the family. The community structures are stronger in rural areas than urban areas and exert more control on women.

Women activists have not focused on discriminatory practices like *karo kari, watta satta, and wulwar.* There are three reasons for this; first, women activists are from the middle class who is net affected strongly by these cultural practices. Second women activists have weak links with the rural population. And third, mediation by women is not socially acceptable.

Patriarchy and the state work hand in hand to uphold the interests of men. Women activists have been able to negotiate successfully with the state to gain some concessions for women. A few women have joined political parties, which are male dominated. Men also dominate the government structures i.e. legislature, executive and judiciary and discourage women's participation in these institutions. Women activists, however, are advocating that more women should be represented in legislatures and in government departments and private organisations. Women activists are demanding that the state and political parties take affirmative action i.e. 33 percent women's representation at local, provincial, federal governments and in political parties as well. In response to women activists, political parties have raised the issue of women's representation in their manifestos. Women activists have, however, failed to repeal discriminatory laws passed in 1980's that have damaged the legal status of Pakistani women. It indicates one area of failure of the women's movement in negotiation with the state about women's rights.

The women's movement also has not demanded from the state to change the political, economic and social conditions of women. It has overlooked important issues such as custodial rape of women by police. Overall the women's movement has not systematically and consistently taken up allwomen's issues with the state. The reason is that women have an ambivalent relation with the state; they depend on the state to introduce change for women, at the same time they recognise that the state is a patriarchal construction and is perpetuating patriarchal values. Women activists were able to achieve limited gains for women from the state such as placing women's issues in policy making.

NGOs were introduced in Pakistan in the late 1970s. Women started NGOs to build organisations where they could work in an environment free of the gender biases existing in other institutions. They wanted to set up organisations where they could have more say which was not the case in state or semi-state institutions or political parties. "NGOisation" of women's movement is a new and controversial matter of debate among women activists.

Women's NGOs are focusing on influencing policy makers rather than reaching women at the grassroots. Women activists who are working in NGOs have less time for voluntary activity with Women Action Forum (WAF). They follow the guidelines of donor agencies that provide financial assistance to the NGOs. The donor agencies do not want to rock the boat and they support liberal reforms in education, health etc. for women rather than the radical restructuring of gender and power relations at every level in society. This means some of the women activists who believe in radical changes have to take a middle of the road line when approaching their work.

NGO have failed to become popular among people. NGOs try to influence the state to adopt policies that protect women's rights. But they are reproducing the gender and class biases that can be seen everywhere in society in their internal organisation. Women activists prefer to start NGOs in the urban areas, which also shows their class bias. Community based organisations work at the grass roots and they have links with NGOs but they are also affect class and gender biases.

Women Action Forum, a NGO (WAF) has been effective spokesman for women. In the period of Martial Law under Zia-ul Haq WAF stood up for the protection of women's legal rights. But it has not yet addressed women's rights in the private sphere. WAF has not brought up rights of the individual, rights of women in the family, and rights of women in the community. Women activists are asking for liberal reforms rather than radical changes so that they can protect their own class interests.

The strong patriarchal structure of society in Pakistan, the onset of the NGO movement, weak relations with other contenders for power inside civil society, limited links with the grassroots, and limited membership are some of the factors limiting WAF's success in negotiating for women's rights.

Reading

For more information, please read the following material:

Bari, Farzana and Khattack, Gul Sabah "Power Configurations in Public and Private Arenas: The Women's Movement's Response" in Power and Civil Society in Pakistan. Oxford Univ. Press, Oxford. 2001. Pp.217-243.

Activities

- The women's movement comprises of individual and collective efforts of women? Explain what individual acts/expressions of women contributed to the women's movement.

- To what extent have women organised themselves collectively in Pakistan?

- What is the major success of the women's movement in Pakistan?

- Why does the women's movement protest against violence only in middle class families and not lower class families?

- What is the focus of women's NGOs?

5.2 WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AND FAMILY

Generally, women do not challenge patriarchy within their own families. Women have some economic and physical security in middle class families. But this is not the case for women of all strata and classes in Pakistan. The reluctance of women activists to criticise the family has marginalised the interests and problems of the majority of women who live in the rural areas and lower stratas.

The family, including women activists in their own families, reproduce the gender and power relations that can be seen in society at large. Women fear punishment from the family for challenging its control.

The cultural practices that discriminate against women have not been criticised by women activists. Women belonging to lower classes are affected on a daily basis by cruel practices, such as karo Kari etc., but women activists have failed to raise their voices against such acts. Cultural practices fall within the domain of the "private" or "family" rather than "public" or "state". Women activists who want to preserve the benefits they gain from the family institution in their own lives shy away from attacking the family. In other words, they do not want to criticise the acts of violence perpetuated by male relatives of women of lower classes because they want to overlook/ignore the more indirect forms of oppression used by their own. male relatives in the family.

Women belonging to the middle class do not speak openly about domestic abuse and violence. They have to protect the notion of "middle class respectability" while rural women are more open about these issues because they have less to lose. Silence of middle class women is encouraging violent customs to go on indicating that rural women have not found a spokesman for their problems in middle class women.

Reading

For more information, please read the following material:

Saigol, Rubina

"Family and Women's Movement" in Unveiling the Issues. ASR, Lahore.1995. Pp.160-166

ACTIVITY

Give one reason why women activists focus on discrimination against women in the public but not private.

5.3   SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

1.   The women's movement is made up of individual and collective acts of resistance. Explain with examples.

2.   Is there a women's movement with a collective awareness of injustices committed against women in Pakistan? Is it a widespread movement or limited to certain classes?

3.   What is the difference between women's movement and feminist movement? What type of movement do we have in Pakistan?

4.   What is the critique of NGOs in terms of their performance to assist women in overcoming discrimination against them?

5.   Women activists have overlooked discrimination in the private/domestic sphere or family. Discuss.

5.4 BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bari, Farzana and Khattak, Gul Sabah, "Power Configurations in Public and Private Arenas: The Women's Movement's Response" in Power and Civil Society in Pakistan. Oxford Univ. Press, Oxford. 2001.

Saigol, Rubina. "Family and Women's Movement" Unveiling the Issues. ASR, Lah. 1995

GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

In previous units we have discussed the idea that theories and research are not value free. This unit will give you an opportunity to better understand the basic principle that theories and research are value-laden because they are based on certain assumptions and beliefs. You will also see that international development assistance has a "nationality". It comes with the culture and value systems of the country or countries of origin.

In this unit you will focus on two readings about international development theory and practice with respect to women and gender issues. The unit ends with a discussion on women and their economic activity as perceive by world statistical documentations.

OBJECTIVES

After studying the unit you will be able to
1. Identify Modernization Theory as the dominant theory of global development and briefly describe its assumptions.
2. Describe the linkage or relationship between liberal feminists, WID (women in development) approach, and modernization theory of development.
3. Identify that there is a similar relationship between socialist feminism, GAD (gender and development), and dependency theory of development.
4. Describe and contrast WID and GAD approaches to development.
5. Describe differences between the basic belief systems supporting modernization theory as a theory of development and postmodernist thought as a worldview.

6.1 History of Development Theory

International development on a global scale is only about 50 years old. Two events during the late '1940's and 1950's drew the global community into the new business of financing development in specific countries. The first event was the devastation of Europe (and Japan) caused by World War II and the second was the rapid independence of colonies in Asia and Africa, and elsewhere. Prior to these events, monetary or other aid was occasionally given from one country to another, but there was no large network of global activity, nor were there international agencies such as the World Bank or the United Nations involved to the extent they are today.

When the richer world communities found themselves taking on this new "job" of financing improvement, there was no previous experience available to priority setting for development activities. Questions had to be answered. How can the money be most effective? Should the money be spent on education and Health? Building roads and electric power generating plants (infrastructure)? What improvements would help a country develop the fastest? Then there are the more provocative questions like, what should be the goals for this or that country? And even, how do we define development?

Development theory and strategies were needed to maximize the impact of the money being donated. The donors wanted control to make sure their money was being used properly and effectively to build the country. If you think about it, you'll understand that a donor country or agency couldn't just walk into another country with bags of money and say, "Here is money, do whatever you want." The theories about development that grew out of this period were often based on the values and self-interests of the donors.

The first major influence on development theory was the experience in rebuilding Europe after the war. Starting in the 1940s there was an infusion of money from abroad to rebuild European (and Japanese) factories, and infrastructure (communications systems, transportation systems, etc.). This approach was quite successful because the countries in Europe had already been operating at a fairly high level of development. They were educated, industrialized and economically sophisticated prior to the war. The European countries merely needed to be repaired, not build from scratch.

When it came to helping the newly independent colonial nations struggling to stand on their own feet, the re-building of Europe was the only development experience the Western world had to draw on. This approach of building physical things, technology and industrial base and infrastructure was applied to assistance projects in the developing countries. It didn't work .., but it took a decade or two to find that out.

Why didn't it work? Many reasons. The problems of the newly developing nations were very different than those of the war damaged European countries. As colonies, these countries had never been allowed to build independent economies, educated populations, or any other degree of development that might threaten the ruling power. They didn't have the educated population or physical infrastructure to support industrial and

economic development. The new nations needed to be built from the ground up-new governments, new educational systems, and so on.

6.2 Theoretical Influences on Global-Development Practices

Over the past 50-years major theories about development emerged. This section introduces two major development theories-modernization theory and dependency theory-and the influences of the feminist movement on development.

A.   Modernization Theory

The first global development theory was modernization theory. A very simple explanation of this theory is that it said, "To be a developed country you need to be like us!" In other words, it is based on the beliefs that western values and systems are superior, and that aIF countries need to become "modern" according to western patterns. The first emphasis and strategies were on promoting economic development through industrial, technological and physical infrastructure growth.

One critical assumption of modernization theory, which was later proved invalid, was the assumption of a "trickle down effect". That meant that if you helped one segment of the population, for example by building the urban industrial base, the economic prosperity would gradually move outward to give prosperity to rural and poor-or "trickle down".

Modernization theory was "linear". That means it was based on rigid idea of step by step actions (like a recipe for cooking). It said if we first do this, then build this ... in the end the country will be modern like the West. It did not take into consideration local ways of doing things, or local knowledge, or local social conditions and practices. (A cook using a new recipe knows they have to have some local knowledge. You have to know how old the rice is to determine how much water to use ... or how hot the wood from a certain tree burns so you can regulate your fire at the proper temperature ... whether you h-ave to add more sugar because the fruit isn't as sweet this season ... and whether or not the family likes that particular food. Having a step-by-step, linear, "recipe" doesn't always guarantee a good finished dish to serve, or that the "eaters" will like it.)

The first decade or so of global development was guided by the modernization theory strategy of technology transfer and industrial economic development. This resulted (in general) in the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer and more oppressed. While the overall modernization theory view remained, the strategies to achieve it shifted. Different things were tried during the following three decades. In the 1970's, the global assistance community was stressing aid to "the poorest of the poor", primary education and literacy, and health and other social sector items, and discouraging such things as expanding university education. More recent focus is on population control, appropriate technologies (instead of the most sophisticated technologies), and sustainable development (meaning development projects which have sufficient local resources that they will continue after external support is ended).

B.   Dependency Theory

While modernization theory still dominates the thinking in the global development field today, other influences have sometimes modified it, or opposed it. Among those is dependency theory. Dependency theorists see the unequal relations between the "North" (developed world) and "South" (under-developed world). Their view is comparable to Marx's social class inequality analysis, only on a national level instead of class level. They claim that the international system supports and perpetuates this inequality between North and South. Dependency theory focuses on issues of global redistribution of economic and political power.

C.   The Post-Modernists.

Post-modernist thought is a more recent influence on development theory and on feminist theory. You will learn more about this movement in a reading for this unit.

A note on terminology: Various phrases are commonly used to label the two sides of the global development equation. The "west" or "developed world" or "North" refers to the "haves" -the donor nations. The "Third World", or "underdeveloped" or "developing" nation/countries, or "South" refers to the "have riots" the recipient nations.

6.3 Women and Development Theory-Wid, Wad and Gad

Where were women in all of this early development activity? No place! Although the United Nations and it's various organizations and agencies, had set a global tone through its charter which made gender equality a fundamental human right, in general women's issues and women's welfare was not part of the consideration for the first decade of international development activity. Men were the primary beneficiaries of most technical and educational assistance programs. One assumption at the time was that the trickledown effect would help the women. If the husbands and fathers lives improved, then that would reach down to the wives and daughters.

By the late 1960's the women's movement in the West had begun to have substantial influence on the international development picture. Women around the world had also begun to clamor to be heard and included. Research, mostly done by feminists, was showing that development was having a negative impact on women. The message became loud and clear that development was not working for women. From this arose the women in development movement (WID).

The United Nations proclaimed 1975-1985 the "Decade for Women" or "Decade for the Advancement of Women". This formalized the focus for the development community. Women in development (WID) became a theme of the international assistance agencies. WID units were established in the various development agencies and government departments to raise awareness of the importance of WID, to pioneer projects with and for women, and to watchdog their agencies development activities to ensure gender considerations were taken into account.

There were several reactions and objections to the early WID movement. The first was a belief held by some men and women that women were not men's equals and that societies were correctly organized to reflect this belief. The second objection was against exporting a cultural ideology such as gender equality from one society to another, particularly from a dominant donor society to a-proper recipient country. This was considered a form of neo-cultural colonialism to some. A third objection centered around the problem of generalizing approaches to women and development when there was such enormous variation between and even within societies on women's and men's roles, etc.

Other theoretical approaches have challenged the WID approach. One is "women and development" (WAD) which grew out of the Marxist perspective. It focuses on the relationship between the development processes and women's roles. The first reading gives a brief description and critique of WAD.

A more significant challenge to the WID approach is labeled gender and development (GAD) also given in detail in your readings. (Reminder: "gender" is a concept that includes men, and how female and male roles mutually define each other.)

In general the liberal feminists want to work within the existing structure of society to make modifications which improve the situation for women. The socialist and radical feminists feel that the whole existing structure of society is what perpetuates patriarchy and the oppressed position of women. They want to make changes in, or rebuild the existing structure.

WID and GAD movements can be compared in a similar way. WID grew out of the liberal feminists ideas. In practice the WID philosophy tends to address women's problems in isolation from men, and recommends "add on" changes tended to modify the existing development programs and/or women's situation. (WID programs, for instance, might teach women some ways to earn extra money.) GAD recommends analysis of the relationships between females and males in the society which create the oppressive situation for women (gender issues). It then suggests changes in gender roles, both female and male, to support new relations.

GAD type changes often require changes in the social structure and order–changing men's roles and socialization. Thus, development programs designed with a GAD philosophy could become very threatening to the existing power structure (men, whether they be husbands, or head of the government.) Although GAD is on everyone's lips these days, GAD project initiatives have not yet become a significant part of development programs. At a theory and research level, however, GAD has had some impact.

The first reading, "WID, WAD, GAD: Trends in Research and Practice", reflects development community thinking about women during the 1970s and 1980s. This article has some interesting comments you should note on the WAD perspective. However, your primary focus should be to develop a clear understanding of the difference between WID and GAD perspectives, and strategies of implementation. The WID focus is understood to

mean the integration of women into global processes of economic, political, and social growth and change. It has a tendency to identify problems within the context of existing socioeconomic structures without questioning fundamental inequities WID development of strategies and action programs are aimed at minimizing the disadvantages of women in the productive sector and ending discrimination against them. Tends to focus exclusively on the productive aspects of women's work minimizing the reproductive side of women's lives. Tends to group women together without note of class, race, or ethnicity divisions… and/or actual social status. The WID perspective is the most common perspective followed by international development agencies. WID development strategies tend to integrate women into ongoing development initiatives. They typically involve some income generating project with welfare activities (hygiene, literacy or childcare) taught at the same time.

WID assumptions about the proper approach to development is the modernization theory approach; need for global modernization; bring backward people into the modern (developed) world; the superiority of western values and systems; belief that western economic and political systems should be the model for all nations. WID assumptions about what Third World women are like helpless victims trapped by tradition and incompetence in an endless cycle of poverty and despair; uniformly poor, powerless and vulnerable (who should be like western women—modern, educated, sexually liberated).

GAD's holistic perspective looking at the totality of social, economic and political organization and questions underlying assumptions of these structures questions the validity of gender roles and existing patterns of inequality… examining why women are systematically assigned inferior and/ or secondary roles challenges male-oriented cultural patterns and traditional views of gender roles and responsibilities. It links relations of production to the relations of reproduction ... as the basis of women's oppression focuses on women's contribution inside and outside the house including non commodity production sees women as agents of change (as an organized political voice) rather than as passive recipients of development assistance… emphasizes participation of the state in promoting women's emancipation appears to be difficult to implement in development projects, however GAD oriented research is being done.

The GAD perspective leads to fundamental reexamination of social structure and institutions including the social relations of gender. Thus, unlike WID, it does not easily lend itself to integration into ongoing development strategies and programs. It demands commitment to structural change and power shifts. Fully articulated GAD perspectives are rarely found in the projects and activities of international development agencies. GAD projects are difficult to find because they emphasize fundamental societal change. GAD research, focusing on such things as the strengthening of women's legal rights, is in process.

Reading
For more information please read the following material:

Activity
Find and list five phrases from the reading that describe key aspects of the WID thinking or perspective. Do the same for the GAD focus.

6.4 Women and Development Theory from a Postmodernists Perspective

The next reading is by Jane L. Parpart. She discusses postmodernist thought and critiques of current development practices regarding women from that perspective. This reading explains many of the ideas you have previously touched on in this unit.

The reading begins with an introduction of postmodernist thought. It then summarizes the debate between feminists regarding the value of the postmodernist perspective for feminism. The reading starts with an abbreviated and complex discussion of the philosophical background of postmodern thinking. The basic idea is that knowledge is not universal, but rather socially constructed by the people who experience things. following from this idea, postmodern thought proposes that there are multiple realities and truths, not just one.

Postmodernism is the thinking of a number of scholars. It challenges the belief that reason and scientific research can provide an objective, universal foundation for knowledge. You have touched on these ideas when you were reading previous units on knowledge. Postmodernists believe that the claims that there are universally correct concepts such as knowledge and justice, are a form of discourse designed to deny and silence competing discourse, and thus maintain the power held by universities. You may recall that some feminists expressed similar thinking, by asserting that there was only one way of continuing male power over knowledge, over male created and male dominated social and natural sciences.

Michel Foucault, one of the leading postmodern thinkers, proposes that discourse (about knowledge) is the site where power relations are determined… and that power (knowledge) is diffused through society, not just in the hands of a few institutions or the state. Postmodernists hold that the search for knowledge should become more pragmatic, contextual and local.

"Difference" is an important concept for postmodernists. They feel that knowledge as a social construction is created from comparisons of different things. Or to say it another way: Meaning is created because of difference. It is created when it is defined. in comparison with an 'other'. (You have met this idea of dualities or opposites before when we discussed women and their qualities being defined as the opposite of men and their qualities.)

The emphasis on dualities and differences leads to an argument that meanings must be analyzed according to the way they are constructed and used by people. This also rejects universal, simplified definitions of social phenomena in favor of the complexity of life as a lived experience of individuals and groups. The postmodernist approach emphasizes local, specific and historically informed analysis of multiple different realities, the importance of difference, and the pitfalls of universalizing essentialism. (Essentialism: saying all members of a group or class are alike with respect to a certain essential characteristic(s). In the context of feminism and development, this could refer to assuming all women, or all Third World women are essentially alike with essentially the same problems.)

Feminists have responded to postmodern ideas different ways, and a debate has been going on over the value of postmodernism to feminism. Postmodern thinking suggests that universal ideas such as "modernization" and "progress" may be unobtainable. Thus, liberal feminists working in development oppose or ignore it Similarly, Marxist feminists argue against it because it tends to fragment the (universal) concepts of sex, race, and class… and deny (universalist-type) theories of patriarchy, racism and capitalism. Other feminists see postmodernism as threatening the, feminist's transformative agendas.

Some feminists feel that postmodernism cap contribute to feminist theorizing and action is care is taken not to take postmodernism to an extreme. We join the article at this point, and it's discussion of the aspects of postmodernism which have appeal for feminists. Begin reading with the first full paragraph at the top of page 159 (443).

Reading
For more information please study the following material:

6.2
Catherine, Scott. Transition' and Gender in moderijah theory, Gender and Development, 1996. pp. 23-41.

Postmodernism and Feminism (177-193) Pafricia Waugh 1998.

The postmodern (PO perspective might improve or change the following:
- As development plans based on inadequate knowledge of women's lives and attitudes have consistently failed, a PM focus would encourage more attention being given to the lived realities of Third World women their goals and aspirations. Development strategies could be constructed on the basis of actual experiences and needs.
- Post modernist attention to difference reminds westerners that women (Third World or Western) cannot be lumped into one undifferentiated category ... elite with poor ... etc.
- Combining Post modernist feminist analysis of discourse, knowledge/ power relations and difference with socialist-feminist interests in gender and class would provide a more nuance approach to understanding how gender ideology shapes and

limits women. Western WID practitioners tend to hold the belief that only real expertise is from the west.

• PM thinking would encourage recognition of highly skilled indigenous women with much to offer development in their own countries. PM thinking would bring into question the uncritical acceptance of modernity.

• PM urges a closer, more localized and specific examination of Third World women's strategies for survival... and recognition of them as persons. PM challenges persuasive assumption that development equals modernization.

6.5 Women and Economic Analysis

In this and some other units you have come across references to the economic under evaluation of women with respect to their productive aril reproductive roles and their participation in economic activities. Productivities have sometimes further been divided into a) production for sale or barter, b) production for home use). However, the work of women is named Or labeled in general, it has been vastly ignored when economists measure the world population labour force participation. How did this come about?

One of the primary causes was the lack of available statistics to capture their participation. A 1982 International Labour Organization (ILO). article suggests the following:

> Women's work is obscure and low-valued because of the tendency to regard women's work as secondary and subordinate to men's; and because a large part of women's work is unpaid. Work is generally considered participation in paid production or income–earning activity. This is an ideological bias that is deeply rooted in social science concepts. Statistical evaluation and accounting of women's work is done as either participation in the labour force or in terms of GNP estimations (gross national product: measure of a countries economic flow). Both labour force and national accounting statistics grossly underestimate women's participation in economic activity from a statistical vantage point.

The roots of these statistical biases are to be found in the conceptual categories used to define what is to be measured. League of Nations committee (1938) drew up proposals to standardize census data for international comparisons. Their concerns were identifying "gainfully occupied" and "unemployed" populations to provide some measure of labor availability. The labor force was defined as the economically active population (which included the unemployed). Housework done by members of a family in their own homes was not included in the description of "employed", but work done by family members in helping the head of a family in his occupation was included even if the family members weren't paid. In 1966 the definitions were updated by the U.N. The economically active population included all persons who furnished labor for the production of economic goods and services (those exchanged in the market).

Both definitions lead to questionable, and less than complete measurement of the labor force. For example, a domestic activity such as cooking would be included only if the food was sold, not if it were consumed by the family… yet the labor would be the same. Despite the considerable effort made since 1938 to improve labor force statistics, the problem of underestimation of women's participation in the labor force has not .disappeared.

Not all problems stem from the definitions behind statistical research. There is often a difference between countries regarding what is counted. Under-reporting of women's participation in production has other basis as well.

- Women as wage laborers tend to be automatically included in the labor force in all countries, but women working in agriculture or other jobs not clearly connected with the market might not be included in some countries.

- Unpaid female workers are not recorded in censuses or surveys in some countries. Unpaid family workers' labor is usually mixed with other domestic activities, and difficult to estimate.

- Many income generating activities such as the sale of food or drinks in or near the home, cloth making, making handicrafts or other products for sale are integrated into the domestic activities, so become "invisible".

- Women's work outside the household is often irregular-seasonal or marginal work-so not recorded as regular work.

- Hiding women's income-earning activities may be done for purposes of prestige (women shouldn't work...or work outside the house).

- Women s income may also be hidden for fear of loss of social benefits and family subsidies from government agencies.

Thus, the statistics evaluating women's participation in the labor force must be approached with great skepticism. Another basis for the under-estimation of women's labor can be found in the classic economic (Adam Smith view) analysis of economic activity where the production of exchange values is viewed as economic activity, whereas production of use values normally is not. (Feminists would be quick to point out that economics was a male-created and dominated field with male- defined theory. Thus it couldn't avoid patriarchal interpretation and definition). In recent years, probably because of the feminist theorist pressure, the world community has shown: an increasing realization of the importance of non market production and its role in an economic system. Current thinking says that economic activity should include the production of use values as well as of exchange values. And, that the conceptualization of active labor should be defined in relation to the production of goods and services for satisfaction of human needs.

It is not within the scope of this course to give the detailed the statistical or research difficulties being encountered by attempts to achieve a more valid measurement of women's work, or to put a value on women's reproductive labors. For the purpose of this section it is sufficient to note that these issues have become highly visible, and their proper role within the economic system is being re-evaluated. Third World women would become the subject rather than the object of WID theory and practice.

6.6 Self Assessment Questions

Q.1   What do you know about the history of development Theory? Explain.
Q.2   How would you describe the following terms WID, WAD and GAD. Support your answer with example?
Q.3   What is Post modernist perspective of Development Theory regarding women? Discuss.
Q.4   Women play a major role in economic activity but their work is considered obscure and low valued. Comment on this statement and support your opinion with examples.

6.7 Bibliography

ILO publication. "Accounting for Women's Work" in Women and Development: The Sexual Division of Labour in Rural Societies. Praeger Publishers, USA. 1982.

Parpart, J.L. "Who is the 'Other'?: A Postmodern Feminist Critique of Women and Development Theory and Practice." Development and Change, Vol. 24, 1993. Sage Publications; London, Newbury Park, New Delhi.

Rathgeber, E. M. "WID, WAD, GAD: Trends in Research and Practice" in Journal of Developing Areas, Vol 24, 1990. Western Illinois University.

FOCUS ON WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

In this unit you will focus on four readings, which discuss the impact of development planning on women's lives. The first two readings discuss how development planning in agriculture, industry and the social sector has affected the quality of life of women living in Pakistan. You will know the biases of development planners towards recognizing women's participation in productive activities of the economy. Women have been denied any share in development planning so that the state or dominant classes can derive high rates of economic growth made possible by and based on women's unrecognized, underpaid or free labour in the domestic and public sphere. The third reading suggests what type of alternate development can be used to help improve the lives of women and the fourth reading discusses the changes being made in Pakistani women's lives since the Beijing Conference in 1995.

OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit you will be able to:
1. Explain what gender stereotypes are and how they affect the thinking of development planners.
2. Evaluate different development approaches and measure their effect on women
3. Discuss the impact of agriculture development planning on women
4. Highlight the impact of industrial development planning on women

7.1 Development Planners and Gender Biases

Women have not been integrated or mainstreamed into national development projects and programmes. Women play a central role in economy; they provide free services in the household and they contribute significantly to agriculture and industry. Yet they are sidelined in major projects designed by development planners. Marker in "Alternatives in Development for Women" discusses how development planners in Pakistan have made women "invisible" in their projects/plans and how economic development based on such projects is damaging women's interests. Development thinker sometimes have false assumptions regarding women's participation in development that are discussed below:

- Development thinking reproduces gender divisions. Women are not given any share in projects/plans. They are not integrated into the programmes. Planners limit women a role to the domestic space and men to the public space. As women are marginalized from new industrial and agricultural projects/programmes consequently women are denied from the fruits and benefits of development.
- Women cannot participate equally in the labour market with men because of the constraints of purdah, restrictions on mobility, and lack of education and training Development planners have failed to consider the special conditions under which women live and work. They assume that women can access employment opportunities, training opportunities, credit etc. equally with men.
- The developed countries were able to build their strong industrial base from the resources extracted from former colonies (developing countries). Today the developed countries buy the resources for meagre compensation in return. It is difficult for the developing countries to "catch-up" with the developed countries under this situation of unequal economic exchange. Planners ignore the special conditions of the developing countries and mistakenly assume that these countries can follow the same pattern of development in the West.
- Development has economically marginalised women. Women who produced handicrafts have been economically marginalised by the introduction of machine made goods and women who worked on farms have been marginalised by introduction of machinery. Women cannot operate farm machinery nor do they possess skills and training which could help them find employment in factories. Consequently women cannot access the labour market as easily as men.
- Development thinkers 'lump all women together as one group. It does not recognise that development has different impact on women belonging to different classes and strata.
- Women's share in development projects is reduced to their participation in: poultry care, sewing programmes etc. Women have to be equipped with new skills. Teaching women traditional skills means that they will continue to play a marginal role in the economy.

Marker (1995) discussed the myths related to women's role in development and has shown how planners marginalise them from economic plans. She also discusses how

colonialism reduced the economic status of women. Colonialism introduced institutions and ideology to the sub-continent that gave a stronger economic status to men than women. For example head of the household was recognised only as a man. Women's control or share over property under the local traditions and communal ownership of land ended.

Western models of development divide the economy into many categories Such as agriculture, rural development, social welfare etc. Men are associated with the departments like agriculture and industry that receive most funds whereas women are associated with social welfare, family planning, health. and education with less funding.

If women are to be mainstreamed into 'development these false divisions of the economy have to be overcome. In other words, women's interests have to be integrated into every department instead of being marginalised in "special" women departments. However Marker adopts a cautious note in the case of Pakistan. She says that special departments can help cause of the women of Pakistan; it is the first step, to integrate them into planning that should be followed by the second step, of their complete integration into every department.

Marker dismisses "Income generating projects" as part of social welfare approach to women's development. Income generating projects fail to provide women with those skills to enter mainstream labour market and compete with men. These projects reinforce the traditional role of women by teaching them only those skills such as tailoring, dressmaking, weaving etc. These skills are only useful for producing handicrafts that are now less popular items after the introduction of machine made goods.

United Nations introduced a new approach to women's development, integration development, in the 1970's. However how can women be integrated into economic production when they are already playing a central role in agriculture and industrial production – a fact that is ignored by planners. Women need integration in the policy level not in the field. But most planners are educated, upper class men who use international and national development funds to promote the interests of their own class.

The integration approach, however, has one flaw that is it does not give economic value to the work women do in the household or to their role in the reproduction of the workforce. In addition women who are burdened by heavy household responsibilities cannot participate in productive activities in the economic sphere because of scarcity of time.

"Basic needs approach" is a new approach toward development, which focuses on enabling women to contribute to the families' basic needs through self- reliant incomes. It does not challenge gender inequalities, however, because it emphasises acquiring traditional skills such as weaving, sewing etc. Marker says it can be used as a first step lowards women's eventual integration into development. Marker, is also cautious about adopting Western models for women in Pakistan. In the West women are focussing on

the recognition of women as free and independent individuals. But in developing countries women, first have to focus on the question of survival under poverty-ridden conditions. Also western models find objection to segregation but in rural areas segregated programmes ensure that women will get at least some share in development. These segregated women's programmes can be slowly integrated into rural development programmes that already exist in rural areas so that the women's projects do not remain isolated.

The author argues that at a practical level in Pakistan, first, basic needs approach or women's departments need to. be protected. These give women a certain degree of importance in planning. Without these special women departments, women would become invisible in planning. Basic needs should be a first step and integration the long-term goal.

Reading
For more information please read the following material:

Marker, Meher
"Alternatives in Development for Women" in finding Our Way. ASR, Lahore. 1995. Pp 71-86.

ACTIVITY

* List 5 false assumptions of Development Planners?
* Social Welfare, Integration, and Basic Needs approach have been discussed in the reading. How do these models approach women's development?
* Why does marker argue that basic needs should be the first step that should be supported by integration in the long run?

7.2 Impact of Industrial and Agricultural Development Planning on Women in-Pakistan

In "Integrating Women in Development" Ahmed and Zia, discuss how income inequalities are worsening in the country despite high growth rates in agriculture and industry. Women from different socio-economic backgrounds have been affected differently by growing income inequalities. Investment in social sectors like health, education etc. could have reduced the impact of increasing poverty on women, however only a small amount is spent on the social sector. Women can increase their personal income if they become producers in the public (economy) or if the planners and state in women make more investment by recognising women's contribution to the economy inside and outside the domestic sphere. A correct estimate of the value of the work women undertake in the household, informal sector and agriculture has to be calculated so that women can get a share in future development planning.

Women are not given the status of "producers" or "labour" in economic plans. Consequently no investment is made in women's health, education, training etc. because they appear only to be "dependants" on the economy. However women can become producers if they are provided with resources (capital), mobility and technology. Women household load also has to be lightened if they are to take up work outside the home.

I.   Impact of Agricultural Development Planning on Women

Development planning led to growth in the agriculture sector but this growth was not accompanied by a more equitable distribution of income. Consequently income inequalities have worsened in the rural areas. The-number of rural households at subsistence level or below the poverty line has increased. Investment in health, education etc. could have offset the effects of unequal growth but the social sector was ignored.

The impact of growth is different on women from different socio-economic backgrounds. The living standards of women who live on large farms, which used the technology of the green revolution most efficiently, improved. Households of small farms were not affected by increasing inequalities as small farmer hired out their labour. Women, who lived on middle -sized farms did not benefit from the changes introduced by the green revolution. The green revolution introduced .a biological-chemical package that is labour intensive. Consequently middle farmwomen had to put in more hours of work in the fields. Also any increase in the income of middle farmers has not led to any improvement in women's diet or any reduction in women's share of workload.

The effect of the green revolution on women of tenants has been adverse. These women are now responsible for agricultural production and household chores as the male tenants have had to move to work on larger farms or to urban areas to hire out their labour. These women lack mobility and cannot hire out their own labour, hence they lose a source of income and become more dependent on males for the remittances (income) they send home.

ii.   Impact of Industrial Development Planning on Women

At independence there were only few industries in Pakistan and heavy investment was made in setting up new industries. However the planners did not formulate any policy for the fair and just distribution. Growth and rapid industrial growth only led to the concentration of wealth in a few hands. As capital intensive rather than labour intensive industries was set up there was an increase in unemployment.

Prior to 1979, planners believed men and women benefited from development equally and there was no special provision for women's development. In 1979, the Women's Division was established to ensure women were given importance in policy making, conduct research on women's issues, and increase women's participation in education and employment with a view to integrating them into every sphere of national life. The women's division financed and planned women's programmes. It has faced difficulties due to shortage of resources and lack of experience of departments in the area of women's development programmes. The Women's division with the help of provincial governments has

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taken -up the following projects in rural areas and urban slums, adult literacy centres, industrial homes, vocational institutions, mobile dispensaries, and small credit programmes.

Rural women carry out household work as well as productive work in the fields. Urban women also carry out household responsibilities and work in formal or non-formal industry. The women who work in formal industrial sector are employed in the category of casual labour, therefore their exact numbers is not known. And women who work in the informal industry are not counted / included in economic statistics as they carry out piecemeal work at home. Planners will have to recognise women's work in the household in terms of time and energy, and their participation in the factories and informal sector to get a correct estimate of the value and amount of work that women do.

Planners have to keep in mind that as inflation rises more and more women will work outside the household for sake of the economic survival of the family. But as women's household activities do not decrease with work outside the home, most women will go for the informal sector, where the timings are flexible. There is a danger, these women will not counted in the official labour statistics.

Women's labour is not as mobile as men's. Lack of mobility means women cannot go to those areas where more labour is needed or demanded Women from different socio-economic backgrounds will have different access to resources. A woman who owns her own resources does not necessarily have control over these resources. She may not be able to invest her resources in any productive venture without the consent of other members of the family. Even if a woman invests capital in productive activities she is hampered by difficult administrative procedures and social and economic conditions as production is still considered the prerogative of the male by society.

Women are seen as 'non-producers' or 'dependants'. Planners overlook the fact that women own labour power and should be put under a separate category from their fathers/husbands. Even if a woman's major work is limited to the household she is contributing to economic production by freeing time for male relatives to work in the public space. If a woman has to forgo these activities men would be forced to buy and pay for these services from the market. Women's free labour helps free resources for capitalistic development. Furthermore official figures grossly underestimate the number of women who work in agriculture and industry.

Planners invest on "labour" to increase production. As women's labour is not recognized. Women get marginalised in plans. Women do not get any share in programmes for credit, training, education etc. Furthermore planners have failed to recognize that women have been marginalised by their own polices and that they could bring women into mainstream production simply by making it easier for women to get access to resources, mobility and technology.

Women and men are not feeling the effects of development planning equally. Women's access to productive resources (by which they could generate more wealth) remains limited. Women's income is decreasing. As women lack access to resources it means they cannot participate in the production of more wealth in the future.

Reading
For more information please read the following material:

7.2
Shehla and Ahmed, Nigar "Integrating Women in Development" in Finding Our Way. ASR, Lahore.1995 pp. 87-110.

Activities

- What three factors can help women become producers?
- What was the impact of agriculture growth on rural women in three different socio-economic classes?
- What obstacles do Pakistani women face if they want to become producers in regard to their gaining access to resources (credit), mobility (transportation), and a technology (modern machinery and techniques)?

7.3 Women and New Meaning for Development

Khan in "Redefining Development" describes how development planning is shifting its focus to the production of more and more goods rather than on meeting human needs, as the ideas of free trade and liberalisation are rising to dominance in the international community with the emergence of the America as the sole superpower in the world.

Today America is the only superpower in the world. The Soviet Union collapsed in 1988 and with its fall economic development based on the socialist and communist model lost its popularity. Consequently the ideology of the only remaining superpower has dominant in the world, which is based on the idea of liberalisation and free trade.

First World Countries having owned major shares control the multilateral lending agencies like the World Bank and International Monetary Funds that lend credit to the corrupt governments of the Third World. Third World countries can obtain credit on the conditions that they adopt a Structural Adjustment Policy (SAP). SAP, consequently, is being used by first world countries and their institutions, the World Bank and IMF to promote the ideals of capitalism around the world without any consideration of what impact it will have on poverty ridden masses living in the Third World.

SAP demands privatisation of the economy. Women's interests are hurt by privatisation because there are less government hospitals and schools and consequently the quality of life of women, especially poor women decrease. Development planning is and rocentric

(centred/focused on men's interests) and Eurocentric (based on a European model of growth). Development planning focuses only on material growth and not on the growth of humans.

Women are valued in development only if they can produce more goods and services. Consequently women are rendered "invisible" in development planning.

Women development professionals have failed to reject the current model of development. They have reinforced the notion that women are only important if they have some economic and monetary value, produce goods and services, and contribute to the GNP.

But this development model is one sided and ignores the human side of development. It is important to liberate people's genius, creativity and potential in the development process as much as it is to increase the material base of the economy. Women have to challenge the masculinist concept of development and imagine an alternative development. Such an alternative development will allow women to participate in development individually and collectively. It will be based on women's self-expression and self-development rather than having notions of development imposed on women from above. It will lead to radical restructuring of society and break down gender and power hierarchies at every level of society.

Reading

For more information please read the following material:

Khan, Saeed Nighat "Redefining Development" in A Celebration of Women. ASR, Lahore. 1995 pp.23-25.

Activities

- List 3 disadvantages of the current development model that is being followed in the world.
- The current development is and rocentric, Eurocentric and materialistic; therefore women should provide an alternate development model. How can an alternate model of development based on women's views, experiences, needs, and interests be constructed?

7.4 Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, 1995

International conferences such as the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing provides women from the international community an opportunity to meet and share their problems. Participation in international conferences has led to the emergence of a consciousness among women a6tivists about the global magnitude or scale of women's issues. Women discovered that the problems that affect them like poverty, inequity, and denial of human rights have no borders.

The Fourth World Conference on Women, 1995, brought about a new international commitment to the goals of gender equality, development and peace for all women. Women who participated in Beijing Conference identified 12 areas of concern for removal of obstacles in women's advancement;
- Women and poverty
- Education and training of women
- Women and health
- Violence against women
- Women and armed conflict
- Women and the economy
- Women in power and decision making
- Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women
- Human rights for women
- Women and the media
- Women and the environment; and
- The girl-child

The Platform of Action has defined the actions that the international community, NGOs and the private sector should take for the removal of obstacles in the way of advancement of women in coming years. The next reading – "The Pakistan National Report on the Fourth World Conference on Women' discusses what steps are being taken to change the lives of Pakistani women in the context of the goals set in the Beijing Conference, 1995.

Pakistan has adopted the following international commitments to protect basic human rights and gender equality:
- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)
- International Labour Standards and ILO Basic Human Rights Conventions e.g. Freedom of Association and Protection of the Rights to Organise 1948; Discrimination in Employment and Occupation 1958;
- The Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women (1985);
- Education for All, Jomtien, 1990;
- Convention on the Rights of the Child, (CRC) ratified by Pakistan in 1990;
- Agenda 21, United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Rio, 1992;
- Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, Vienna Conference on Human Rights, 1993;

- The Programme of Action, International Conference on Population and Development, Cairo, 1994.
- Platform for Social Development, World Summit on Social Development, Copenhagen, 1995;
- Beijing Platform for Action, Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, 1995;
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, (CEDAW), Pakistan acceded in 1996.

Reading

For more information please read the following material:

Pakistan National Report Fourth World Conference on Women Beijing. September 1995. pp 1-8

7.5 Self Assessment Questions

Q.1 Explain why women are "invisible" in development planning or how does development planning reproduce gender divisions?
Q.2 What types of constraints prevent women from accessing the labour market equally with men?
Q.3 Should there be special women's planning departments or should women be integrated into the mainstream planning departments?
Q.4 How women's economic contribution are underestimated in data, statistics?
Q.5 Are women really "non-producers" or "dependants" as planners view them? Discuss how women play a central role in the economy through their contribution in household, agriculture, industry, informal sector, and service sector.
Q.6 Current development thinking focuses on producing more and more goods rather than meeting human needs. Explain.

7.6 Bibliography

Khan, Saeed Nighat. "Redefining Development" in A Celebration of Women. ASR, Lahore. 1995.

Marker, Meher. "Alternatives in Development for Women" in Finding Our Way. ASR, Lahore. 1995.

"Women's Development: A National Imperative — Seventh Five Year Plan, 1988-93" in Finding Our Way ASR, Lahore.1995.

Zia, Shehla and Ahmed, Nigar. "Integrating Women in Development" in Finding Our Way. ASR, Lahore.1995.

THE SPECIFIC ROLE OF DONOR AGENCIES

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

In this Unit you will focus on two readings. The first reading "The New Economic Order" discusses how (SAP) the Social Action Programme is affecting the quality of life of the millions of women who live in the Third World. The second reading, discusses how donor agencies and national governments have shaped women's development programmes.

OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to:
1.   Identify how SAP and GATT is affecting women's lives
2.   Analyse the role donor agencies play in women's development programmes

8.1 THE NEW ECONOMIC ORDER

Sadeque (1995) discusses three important international agreements SAP, GATT/VVIO and Intellectual Property Rights. These agreements have serious repercussions or effects on women and the poor living in the Third World.

Third World countries (South) have become tied to the First World (North) through trade links. Third World countries used to be self-sufficient in food. But as they increased trade links with the First World this self-sufficiency decreased as production of cash crops replaced that of food crops.

The New Economic Order supports this unequal trade between the Third World and First World through GATT (General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs), the VVTO (World Trade Order) and SAP '(Structural Adjustment Policies). These agreements ensure that Third World countries go on producing raw materials (food crops, cash crops) at cheap rates for First World industries to process into food products and finished goods that can be sold at a higher rate than the raw materials.

The Third World has millions of variety of plants (bio-diversity). Scientists from the North take these plants to their laboratories to make hybrid seeds.

High yielding hybrid seeds produce large quantities of food crops. These hybrid seeds can be patented under Intellectual Property Rights denying Third World Farmers the right to use these seeds unless they buy them back from the First World. In addition, the food produced with hybrid seeds requires tractors, chemical fertilisers and pesticides; the First World provides these and earns a profit.

Two hundred companies in the First World control almost all the agriculture and agricultural products in South America, Africa and Asia. The food and cash crops e.g. banana, cocoa, tobacco that are grown in plantations in South America, Africa and Asia are processed and marketed by multinational companies who reap huge profits by .selling finished products. Many multinational companies are richer than the governments of poor companies. They bribe the governments of poor countries to overlook labour laws and they use the cheap labour from Third World countries to make goods and products at a lower cost.

Unequal trade relations between the First World and Third World are exacerbated by the role of Multinational Banks. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund provide credit to Third World governments not for humanitarian purposes but to earn interest on loans. The United Nations is limited in its work by funding; the majority of which comes from the USA. The USA influences the decisions, programmes and focus of the United Nations.

IMF and World Bank provide loans to Third World countries and impose SAP (Structural Adjustment Programme) on them. Under SAP the Third World economies have to

liberalise national export and labour regulations. Liberalisation permits multinational companies to set up factories in Third World countries and produce the same goods at lower costs by using the cheaper labour of the Third World. Women are worst hit by SAP because they cannot take advantage of public education and health services any more. Health, education services etc. are privatised and investment in the social sector falls as it is redirected toward the infrastructure/commercial sector under the conditions imposed by IMF/World Bank.

The IMF and World Bank also direct the Third World national governments to raise taxes on people so that these lending institutions can recover their loans. In fact poverty is increasing in the Third World since the 1980s, since SAP programmes have been imposed on them, because of rising commodity taxes. The higher taxes on goods means people are not able to buy/afford the basic necessities of life anymore.

GATT/WTO promotes free trade between Countries. Free trade is not beneficial to the Third World economies. These economies ¯are young economies and they cannot produce high quality goods yet. If foreign goods flood the markets of Third World countries the local industries will collapse. This is in the interest of First World countries who want the Third World people to become entirely dependent on their products and goods.

New Economic Order is helping the First World to exploit the Third World economically through the instruments of Intellectual Property Rights, SAP and GATT / WTO. Intellectual Property Rights means that the First World does not have to share its technological secrets with the rest of the world so that it can keep on producing and selling innovations and new goods. SAP ensures that Multinationals can open local factory branches, use cheap labour, pay low taxes and produce goods at low cost and high profit. GATT / WTO ensure that products produced by First World multinationals will be bought by the Third World masses ensuring huge sales and profits for them.

Reading
For more information please read the following material:

SADEQUE, NAJMA
"The New Economic Order" in Unveiling the Issues. ASR, Lahore. 1995. pp. 25-32.

Activities

- Women's quality of life has been declining since the introduction of SAP programmes in many Third World countries. SAP has led to the raising of taxes on people and reduction in the number of government run schools and hospitals, Yet governments agree to SAP conditions to get more loans. Discuss with members of a study group the effects that SAP, privatisation, and reduction in spending on the social sector have on the lives of women.
- Industries in Third World countries are weak and if these economies are flooded by better quality imported goods the local industries will collapse. People will be

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forced to buy more expensive imported goods and will become dependent on the processed food products and finished goods of the First World. How will such a situation affect women, especially those women who belong to the lower strata of society?

8.2 THE ROLE OF DONOR AGENCIES IN WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT

International organisations, like the United Nations, and national governments have started acknowledging women in their policies. International development agencies and government departments have had to give more importance to women's issues, after years of struggle on the part of women's movement around the world, to get women's issues recognised. These women activists are invited by these agencies to help them draw up policies or programmes for women. These agencies adopt a cautious and careful approach in dealing with women's issues - they want to promote women's rights by working within the existing system. This approach sometimes clashes with the personal views and ideas of women activists who believe that women's conditions will only change if there is radical restructuring of power and gender relations at every level of society.

Careful observers have noted a change in the women's movement since women activists began helping the international developing agencies and government departments — and that is women have less time and energy left for women's activism. As more and more women activists join developing agencies the women's movement is losing its political edge. Women activists cannot criticise as sharply the failure and shortcomings of these agencies and departments anymore since they are now part of them.

If women activists are being employed by donor agencies and government departments they have to be accountable for the way they spend their funds and implement their projects as "professionals". But women should also continue their individual and collective actions for women's emancipation as activists. Working in development agencies and NGOs is not enough as these institutions follow a moderate policy for bringing about changes in women's conditions so as not to upset powerful elements in society.

Participation in these agencies should help women activists strengthen the women's movement but not weaken the movement (as it appears to be doing). The experience of women who worked in these agencies can help to add to the knowledge base of the women's movement and raise it to a higher stage of politics. And women who are working as professionals with these institutions should use their own influence to change the policies of international development agencies and government departments to remove the false barriers of the private and public.

READING

For more information please read the following material: **8.2**

Khan, Nighat Saeed "The Women's Movement Revisited; Areas of Concern for the Future" in Unveiling the Issues. ASR, Lahore. 1995. pp. 187-194

ACTIVITY

- International organisations and national governments focus on women's issues today as a result of the successful efforts of women activists to bring to their notice problems of women. Women activists have joined various departments to work for the cause of women. This has changed them from activists to professionals. They now have less time for activism. How should they guarantee that women rights should not be compromised by international organisations and national governments for the sake of pleasing the powerful elements of society?

8.3 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

Q.1 How is reduction in public services such as public hospitals and public schools, as a result of privatisation under SAP, affecting women?

Q.2 What will be the impact of rising inflation, rising higher and higher indirect taxation under SAP, on women belonging to different economic strata, especially the women of the lower economic strata?

Q.3 What will be the impact of free trade between the developing and developed countries on the women living in Pakistan and other Third world countries?

Q.4 Are donor agencies and international development agencies weakening of strengthening the women's movement. Justify your answer.

8.4 BIBLIOGRAPHY

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2. Sadeque, Najma. "The New Economic Order" in Unveiling the Issues. ASR, Lahore. 1995. Pp 25-32.

WOMEN IN CONFLICT AND WAR SITUATIONS

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

In this unit you will read four readings that will discuss how war, militarisation, and domestic violence is affecting women. You will study how the media can perpetuate violence against women. You will also study about the particular forms of violence used against women.

OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you will be able to:

1. Discuss how gender biases in society give rise to the institution of the military and how the military reproduces these biases in society

2. Highlight the link between the military, state and capitalism which strengthens patriarchy and goes against women's interests

3. Argue resources are being eaten up by high rates of military spending around the world that could have been spent on meeting the basic needs of people

4. Identify how the Afghan War and the imposition of Martial Law within the country led to militarisation of society which had negative repercussions for women

5. Discuss that violence against women occurs in the domestic space and public space

6. Describe the particular forms of violence that women face -

9.1 ROLE OF GENDER STEREOTYPES IN PRODUCING WAR

Gender stereotypes in society give rise to military institutions. Women are characterised as "passive" and "submissive" while men are characterised as "aggressive" and "competitive". Women are associated with peace and men with war. Women are seen as "life-givers" and men as "life-takers". In addition, men go to the battlefield (public) while women stay at home (domestic) or in other words, men are the "protectors" and women the "protected" (A 81-2).

Boys are encouraged to play rough and tough in the playground. When they grow up they are under constant pressure to prove their manhood through acts of aggression. By joining the military, they can prove their masculinity. Military, consequently, reproduces masculinity and femininity in society.

Military institutions, being exclusively for men, lead us to believe that women are not in any way associated with war. However, the impact of having a military institution is felt economically, politically, socially etc. Women are not spared from the effects of militarisation.

The production of war and consequences of war both involve women. Women bear the sons who become soldiers who fight in wars. They are expected to take care of soldiers after they return from the war. Militarisation encourages high rates of prostitution related to overseas military bases.

War has claimed the lives of more than 13 million men, women, and children, most of who were non-combatants. The majority of the millions of refugees in the world who fleeing from war are women and children.

Militaries, worldwide, consume large amounts of resources. Unprecedented military expenditure in the pastthree decades has led to reductions of spending in health, education and social service sectors both in the developed and developing countries. Given the relatively low rates of female employment in state militaries around the world it is obvious that most women are not direct recipients of military spending. None of the important decision-making positions have been occupied by women in militaries, which indicate women are marginalised from any decisions related to military spending.

Sadeque, in "Global Militarisation" discusses the different political, economic, cultural effects that the military institution can have on a society - this is known as the militarisation of society. Industry begins producing weapons instead of consumer products for civilians. Scientists begin inventing weapons rather than working on technologies that could improve the quality of life of the people. The weapons industry, at times, can develop into a source of income for the state producing the "military-bureaucratic-industrial complex" for example, in the United States, weapons sales is the main source of funds (Sadeque 1995 23).

Militarisation also has ideological ramifications on society; to ensure that men will enlist in society the idea that men are strong and protectors and women are weak and dependent is promoted. This adversely affects the position of women. In addition, violence is promoted within society and between nations due to the military notion that disagreements and disputes can only be settled by use of force.

The number of weapons in the world is increasing because arms sales have become a profitable business for weapons producers who gain huge profits from selling arms. The military's interest is that new weapons should-keep being invented so that they can maintain a military lead or edge over the militaries of other nations. A link develops between politicians, industrialists, and the military that profit from the export of weapons to other governments.

Khattak, in "Militarisation, Masculinity and Identity in Pakistan — Effects on Women" looks at militarisation in Pakistani society. She finds that militarisation occurred as a result of the Afghan war and the imposition of Martial Law (1977-85) in Pakistan. Women have had to pay heavy costs for militarisation of society. Violence against women has increased in many forms from anti-women laws and policies; direct battering of women protesters/demonstrators, and restriction on the movement of women under the excuse that they need protection. The quality of life of women has decreased because of the influx of refugees that has increased the pressure of the population on hospitals, clinics, schools etc. Military rule led to subordination of civil institutions, which continues to this day, and is facilitating the diversion of valuable national resources for defence spending.

Zia and Hussain correct the misconception that violence against women occurs in the public space only in "Defining, Understanding and Challenging Violence Against Women". The domestic space is the most frequent cite where violence occurs against women Most aggressors are men whom women are familiar with such as relatives or co-workers. Zia and Hussain, also touch upon the different types of violence that affect women that include physical, emotional and psychological violence. There is an absence of institutions of support for helping women cope with effects of violence at home, in the workplace and public space. Violence against women is used as an instrument of social control to keep women subordinate.

Reading

For more information, please read the following material.

Sadeque, Najma

"Global Militarisation" in Unveiling the Issues. ASR, Lahore. 1995. pp 17-24,

Activities

- What gender stereotypes of women and men support the creation of the military and production of war?

- How do women participate in the production and consequences of war?

- What is the industrial-military-bureaucratic complex? Explain how the relationship between industrialists, the military, and politicians is leading to an arms race? What affect is this having on women and other disadvantaged groups?

9.2 IMPACT OF WAR AND MILITARISATION ON SOCIETY AND WOMEN IN PAKISTAN

War is fought in a battlefield but the effects of war can be felt beyond the battlefield. The war in Afghanistan affected Afghan refugee women -and Pakistani women living in Pakistan. The imposition of Martial Law in Pakistan also affected Pakistani women. The Afghan War and Martial Law has led to a "militirisation" of society in Pakistan even though the Afghan war was being fought in another country and military withdrew from power after 1988.

The military directly ruled the country from 1977 to 1985. It controlled the civilian institutions at that time. However, the civilian institutions continue to serve military interests today, even after military returned to the barracks. For example, resources are diverted from the social sector to defence. The military's perception of events determines foreign policy. The Afghan war also contributed to militirisation of society.

War in a neighbouring country increased repression of women because of the notion of male honour under threat. A war in the neighbourhood and imposition of Martial Law at home reduced women's mobility andconsequently, their right to work. Women became poorer because with the influx of refugees, rents increased. and the schools and hospitals could not meet the needs of all the people.

Mujahideen, during the war, became powerful elements of society with the possession of weapons during the Afghan war. They held conservative ideas of the position of women in society and began to dictate to women how-to dress, act and behave. Women were turned into symbols of honour, religion and culture, which had to be protected and saved in the battle and war being fought between Afghanistan and USSR. Women were easily controlled by confining them to a fixed space, in this case refugees camp

Reading

For more information, please read the following material.

Khattak, Saba Gul "Militarisation".Masculinity and IdentityinPakistan — Effects on Women" in Unveiling the Issues. ASR, Lahore. 1995. pp. 52-61

Activity

- The war in Afghanistan and imposition of Martial Law at home led to militansation of society. How women are affected by the militarization of society?   .

9.3   VIOLENCE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Violence is the use of physical cruelty against women but it is also the use of the threat of violence against women. Any behaviour that hurts women emotionally and psychologically or physically can also be counted as violence Women can be targets of violence in any space; including the domestic space, the workplace and other public space.

Police, courts, and family counsellors have failed to decrease violence against women. Women who turn to these institutions for help are disappointed by their inability to provide them with protection. These institutions do not focus on changing behaviour of men who exhibit violence rather they try to "teach"women to become more docile indicating that these institutions extend support to the patriarchal structure of society.

Weaker social classes are vulnerable to violence committed by the dominating classes and women of the weaker social classes are even more vulnerable to violence. Peasant classes. or ethnic and religious minorities, at times, are punished and controlled by dominating classes, through the use of violence against their women.

Men use sexual harassment as a tacric to force women to leave the work place. Violence can be institutionalised in the form of laws and policies e.g. any laws and policies that control women's dress, sexuality, and presence in public spaces. Violence in the public space includes baton charging against women demonstrators/protesters.

The media is also responsible for perpetuating violence against women. The media represents women as sex objects. It reinforces the subordination of women to men in society by projecting that women are inferior to men.

Biological. cultural. institutional factors have been provided as explanation for men s violence against women The state can discourage use of violence against women by acknowledging that women have full and equal citizenship to men and taking steps to ensure that women can exercise their equal rights in everyday life.

Reading

For more information, please read the following material:

Afia. S. and Haroon, Anis "Defining, Understanding and Challenging Violence against Women" in Unveiling the Issues. ASR, Lahore. 1995. pp 65-72

Activities

- Physical, emotional, sexual violence is perpetuated against women. The media does not represent women favourably. Also there are laws that invade on the privacy of women. These forms of direct and indirectviolence are used to subordinate women. Discuss these forms of violence against women in a group study.
- What are the three spaces in which violence against women occurs?
- Do you think violence against women be reduced if women-friendly police stations, courts, etc. were set-up?
- List three explanations for violent behaviour in men. Have these explanations incorporated women's view of violence or not?

9.4 CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN

The Report of the Commission of Inquiry for Women (1997) has described the violence that occurs against women at all levels of society. It discusses the incidence of domestic violence, stove burnings, sexual harassment, rape, custodial violence, child sexual abuse. trafficking and enforced prostitution of women. The report also suggests various measures to end violence against women.

Reading

For more information, please read the following material:

Report of the Commission of Inquiry for Women, Ministry of Women.

"Violence against Women" in Report of the Commission of Inquiry for Women, 1997. Pp. 78-89.

9.5 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

1.   What types of stereotypes of women and men reinforce the military institution?

2.   What is meant by militansation of society and what is its impact on women?

3.   What types of violence are used against women?

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