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- Book Reviews

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July 2006

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Human Trafficking in Pakistan

SADIQ A. GILL

In the current age of globalization, human trafficking is a phenomenon that concerns all countries, all peoples, and all the races. This phenomenon has provided for an easier means of exploiting those living in poverty and seeking better lives. It has also provided for dramatic improvements in transportation and communications with which to facilitate the physical processing of persons.

In the context of Pakistan, the problem of human trafficking is grave and multidimensional. First of all, it is the destination point for those being trafficked from Bangladesh, Burma, Afghanistan and Central Asia. Secondly, a transit point for those brought in from Far East Asia and Bangladesh to be taken elsewhere. Finally, it is a recruiting ground for those who are internally (inter-provincially) trafficked, or sent to Afghanistan and the Gulf.¹

Pakistan is a source, transit, and destination country for trafficked persons. Women and girls are trafficked to Pakistan from Bangladesh, Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan, Iran, and Central Asia for forced commercial sexual exploitation and bonded labour. Girls and women from rural areas are trafficked to urban centers for commercial sexual exploitation and labour. Women trafficked from East Asian countries and Bangladesh to the Middle East often transit through Pakistan. According to Caritas Pakistan :

"More than 200,000 foreign women had been trafficked from their home countries to Pakistan. More than 10,000 women are now working as dancing girls and sex

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workers in Lahore and nearly 15,000 child sex workers are operating near the Lahore railway station. The majority of trafficked women in Pakistan come from Bangladesh and Burma. Bangladeshis comprise 80 percent, and Burmese 14 percent, of Karachi's undocumented immigrants. A Bengali or Burmese woman could be sold in Pakistan for US\$1,500-2,500 depending on age, looks, docility and virginity. There are about 2000 Bengali women languishing in Pakistani jails²."

Migration from Pakistan gained momentum from 1950's onward. A large number of people, mostly migrants from the Azad Jammu and Kashmir (Mirpur) and later on from other areas like Gujrat and Jhelum started to migrate from Pakistan. Subsequently, the oil boom in the Middle East and the lure of better economic prospects in the Gulf (Saudi Arabia, Libya, UAE etc.) resulted in a mass exodus from the Pakistan. This period also marked the beginning of irregular migration and human trafficking from Pakistan. The unstable political conditions and a deteriorating socio-economic situation in the country added to the desperation of the people and provided the impetus for the trafficking business to flourish.

According to International Organization for Migration (IOM)³ Pakistan is a source country for Middle East (women and children trafficked for sexual exploitation, bonded labour, domestic servants and camel jockeys). A transit point for East Asian countries and Bangladesh and a destination point for women from Bangladesh, Myanmar, Afghanistan and Central Asia. Around the world and particularly in Pakistan, trafficking has come to be recognized as an extension of a very serious economic and social problem of chronic poverty, illiteracy, and unemployment. Trafficking of women and children for entertainment and commercial sex industry is reported to be on a high scale. In addition, labour trafficking (trafficking of human beings for the purpose of forced labour) is also prevalent in which humans are forced into servitude for all forms of exploitative work including domestic servants, bonded labour, agriculture workers and sweatshop factories, etc.

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

Poverty and gender discrimination are two major factors that contribute towards human trafficking in Pakistan. In addition, there are other contributing factors such as illiteracy, lack of knowledge, information, discriminatory laws, traditional customs, lack of economic opportunities, increasing population pressure, unstable political and socio-economic system and ineffective law enforcement institutions in the country.

The multidimensional problem of poverty in Pakistan includes besides economic poverty, poverty of opportunity, deprivation of social justice, lack of political participation and lack of economic empowerment. The inability of the poor to make decisions affecting their lives, limited mobility, poor access to resources and social services such as health and education etc., are also aspects of poverty that foster a favourable environment for trafficking.

The globalization of the world economy and the increasing competition in the industrial sector have created a high demand for cheap labour from developing countries that lead to situations where the poor are trapped and manipulated by traffickers. The increasing trends in rural-urban migration and faulty immigration policies also trigger trafficking. Ignorance of basic human and legal rights and the consequences of trafficking are also considered as major factors that leads to trafficking in Pakistan.

Discriminatory laws and the subordinate position of women in a predominantly male society are identified as core factors. These patriarchal structures are embedded in socio-cultural and religious systems that severely limit women's basic human rights. Certain tradition or customary practices that allow or sanction the trade and transfer of women for dispute settlement (*Vani*) or other forms of exploitation such as *walwar* or *ser paisay* (bride money) and *swara*

(compensation for murder/exchange of women for settling blood feuds) are practiced in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Baluchistan and are viewed as major cause of trafficking in women. This is exacerbated by the ethnic and religious conflict within³

Pakistan Thematic Group's Position Paper on Human Trafficking (PTGHT)⁴ has identified the following factors that influence human trafficking :

TABLE
Factors Influencing Trafficking

Economic	Political	Socio-Cultural	Institutional
Poverty	Unstable Political System	Customary/traditional practices	Weak judiciary/denial of justice
Deteriorating economic situation in the country	Conflicts Post conflict environment	Education	Lack of support systems for women and children
Lack of job opportunities	Violation of human rights	Population pressure/large household size	Ineffective law enforcement
Countries offering better opportunities	Mismanagement of resources	Gender inequalities	Immigration laws (unawareness)
Improve quality of life	Security concerns	Fake marriages	Lack of judicial accountability
Economic gains		Family feuds/conflicts	Corruption
Desire to migrate		Lack of knowledge	
Push and pull factors in migration			

Poverty, lack of employment and economic opportunity, exploitation, corruption, nepotism, and capitalization are the fundamental rationales behind trafficking of human beings (men, women and children). The overall patriarchal relation and culture operating within the culture of oppression and greed in the era of 'globalization' have made women extremely vulnerable. This situation exists despite the rhetoric of women's empowerment and the serialized generation of intellectually grand concepts that set the pace of discourses on women's plight under one or the other banner like Gender and Development (GAD), Women and Development (WAD), and Women in Development (WID), etc.⁵.

Free market forces and ventures of economic growth have not contributed towards the overall well being and development of those whose subsistence is uncertain and are suffering below the poverty lines. Many old trades have been rendered financially unproductive; displacement on account of huge financial ventures such as dams in tribal areas, mismanagement and corruption in handling anti-poverty programs, poor implementation of agrarian reforms and land distribution laws have created conditions leading to poverty, weakening of village/small industries have further eroded the already frail economic base of rural areas, which provide fertile recruitment ground. On the other hand, extension of road networks to remote corners has opened up rural supply routes for urban consumption.

The traditional employment in the agricultural sector also leads to avenues for more abuse under the feudal set-up. The urban areas are segmented and labor markets highly saturated, offering a limited job arena. These are mostly unskilled, uneducated people. In industrial sectors such as the garment industries, the wage rate is low and the owners and managers may seek sexual favours from the weak and the helpless employees. This can often lead to unmitigated prostitution. In case the victims appeal to authorities for help, the police are another source of abuse. There have been countless cases of rape and abuse in custody. The mass production of goods and their relatively easy

accessibility in the market, that personify modernity, development, and improved quality of life have adversely affected the growth and expansion of indigenous and cottage industries. It is not poverty as such, but exploitation of that poverty by anti-social elements that leads to the phenomenon of human trafficking.

Action Aid Pakistan (NGO)⁶ has also highlighted various factors that are believed to have led to the burgeoning trade in women and children in this region and also all over the world. These factors are :

Social Factors

- Disintegration of rural communities and familial and social nexus
- Urbanization
- Attitudes towards women
- Dowry
- Polygamy
- Marital problems, desertion etc.
- Media images of women as sex objects
- Perceived sanction by religious institutions
- Prostitution as a survival workers
- Forced sexual exploitation
- Associating family honour with women's chastity and ostracization
- Lack of education
- Prevalence of feudal culture
- Disenfranchisement

Economic Factors

- Industrialization
- Development of road links
- Crisis of livelihood and job opportunities
- Desirability of easy life promoted by consumerism
- Large families and contracting economical resources

leading children to be viewed as marketable commodities and productive units

- Concentration of wealth
- Liberalization of economies without offsetting negative impact.
- Reduction in subsistence agricultural practices
- Inflation and withdrawal of subsidies
- Under development

Legal Factors

- Status of women and children in relation to property rights
- Exploitative practices institutionalized
- Lack of awareness about legal protection and rights
- Insensitivity of judiciary in implementation of laws regarding women
- Perceived immunity from law enforcement agencies owing to corruption and ineffectiveness
- Discriminatory laws such as the Hudood Ordinances, Foreigner's Act, Law of Evidence etc.
- Endorsement of international legal instruments working against under development nations such as WTO's and Trips agreement

Demographic Factors

- Internal, regional and international migration and the freedom of movement defined by political and state boundaries
- Overpopulation
- Lack of documentation
- Labour profile and unemployment
- Disintegration of rural support systems
- Family size and your dependents

The above mentioned concerns, along with political and economic instabilities, spread of health issues such as HIV/AIDS, extreme economic deprivation, man made and natural disasters and general powerlessness and lack of control over life and uncertain future combine to produce push and pull factors which create conditions conducive for the flesh trade.

Undoubtedly poverty is one of the most significant factors in the spread of trafficking. However, the social and cultural factors play an equally important role. In particular gender discrimination and low esteem of women are prime reasons. The girl child from her birth is discriminated against in all spheres of life, be it existence (infanticide), food, health, education or love. She is always treated as a second-class member of the family, community and society. This causes women to hold themselves in low self-respect and makes them weak, frightened, and vulnerable powerless to resist the might of patriarchy.

The existing unfavorable situation for Pakistani women that adds to their victimization also assists in the exploitation of those women and children who are brought in illegally from other countries. These women suffer from poverty, with no provision for health, education, shelter; have no rights and no recourse to legal help especially since they are here illegally. They are totally at the mercy of the agents, pimps or brothel owners who work under the conniving protection of law enforcing agencies and exploit the vulnerability of these helpless people⁷.

According to the Red Cross,⁸ human trafficking is a multifaceted and complex problem with broad implications for stability, democratization, rule of law as well as the public health situation of the countries of origin, transit and destination. It has a range of root causes, some of which are listed below.

Victims of Human Trafficking are Trapped in their Situation

The victims of human trafficking have difficulties escaping their situation. They are often threatened, beaten and held by their traffickers.

They avoid authorities out of fear of being imprisoned or deported, especially if they have fraudulent personal papers. They often do not speak the language and are unfamiliar with the culture of their destination countries. In addition, they do not know their rights and status as victims (as opposed to criminals).

Demand

As with all industries, human trafficking is demand driven. The demand for foreign prostitutes and other kinds of slave work encourage human trafficking. This is further enforced by the changing demography patterns of destination countries leading to a reduced work force. Human trafficking thus constitutes a grim symbol of the relations between rich and poor parts of the world, the first exploiting the powerlessness and poverty of the latter.

The Organisational Character of Human Trafficking

Human trafficking is believed to be organised by small as well as large, international and organised groups. The often high level of professionalism curtails the efforts of police and other authorities to combat human trafficking. Of special concern is the fact that traffickers often have an extra strain on the victims of human trafficking in the sense that they can hurt their family members or tell their family members about the shameful occupation.

The Low-risk High-income Character of Human Trafficking

Human trafficking being a highly lucrative business for traffickers with a risk far smaller than for other types of organised crime, such as drugs or arms smuggling, creates a favourable environment for human trafficking.

Migration

The limited opportunities of legal immigrating forces poor people to put their destinies in the hands of traffickers.

Push and Pull Factors

There are many incentives, both real and perceived, for people to migrate to richer countries through legal or illegal channels. Typically, the origin and destination of countries are distinguished by considerable wealth disparities. People from poorer countries are understandably attracted by the higher income, better standards of living and employment prospect in richer countries.

IOM has asserted⁹ that push factors are those that motivate/compel a person to move/migrate from their place of origin. It is important to understand both types of factors influencing human trafficking and how they co-relate with age and gender difference. Push and pull factors can be classified into immediate or direct factors and structural and underlying factors. PTGHT has categorized push and pull factors under the following broad categories :

	Push factors	Pull factors
Economic	Poverty, unemployment, disillusionment about job opportunities, ignorance about rights, desire for better future, low wages, high population growth, unequal labour economies, environment	Economic benefits, economic disparities among countries, consumerism demand for cheap labour, wage differences, quality of life, corruption, perceptions about destination place
Political	Lack of policy, limited political participation, political conflict, asylum related issues, political instability, lack of respect for human rights, insecurity	Absence of enforcement mechanisms for fair labour practices, respect for human rights, legal system, humanitarian relief
Socio-cultural	Social inequalities, injustices in society (esp. for women and children), cultural norms and values, fake/early marriages, domestic violence, insecurity, inequitable service provision, copying neighbours	Media, corruption, liberal life style, professional respect, dignity of work, demand for services (hazardous professions, entertainment, domestic services illegal work) for specific and gender
Environmental	Natural disasters, e.g. tsunami, earthquakes, epidemics and floods etc.	

Global security constraints have compelled countries to enforce strict immigration rules and there is therefore, little room for people to migrate to other countries. Restricted labour movement coupled with poverty, population pressure and the desire for improving one's quality of life attracts people to move from their places of origin. Traffickers also take advantage of people's vulnerability and their lack of knowledge about the consequences of trafficking, their knowledge regarding destination countries and the available opportunities. The absence of an enforcement mechanism for fair labour practices, corruption and the break-down of the law and order structures, the Afghan war, influx of refugees, environmental disasters such as the persistent drought conditions (Sindh and Balochistan) and ineffective border forces are some of the commonly cited reasons contributing to human trafficking in Pakistan¹⁰.

Globalization has further marginalized the already marginalized segments of the society. Such a grim environment leads to the exploitation of the weak; women and children being the target as men are the perpetrators of this exploitation. There are incidents where husbands sell off their wives and fathers trade away their daughters in the vain hope of improving their quality of life. Trafficking is seen as the worst, and most inhuman aspect of genderization of poverty. The bright lights of the city act as a mirage for the downtrodden in the hope of a better life; they become easy prey for the agents and recruiters who are working for international rings involved in the flesh trade. Industrialization and urbanization has been major catalyst in the movement of unemployed from the rural to the urban areas. Male migration to the cities has also given an impetus to the supply of women for physical pleasure¹¹

Methods and Techniques of Traffickers

The scale of crime is very wide with thousands of Pakistanis being deported from Middle East, Europe, America, Canada, and passengers getting off loaded at all major international ports. Further compounding

this situation is the fact that it is a highly invisible and under reported crime with many hidden organized underground networks operating. There are also allegations that human trafficking in Pakistan is aided or facilitated by the involvement of certain public authorities. A number of men, women and children are trafficked to the Middle East to work as bonded labour or as domestic servants.

Within Pakistan, many different trafficking networks and routes are being used which vary according to the purpose of trafficking but the methods of operation and the element of fraud and deception that characterize the crime are more or less standardized. The modes of transportation and methods involved in a trafficking process are many and vary according to the nature of the crime. Forged or fake travel documents such as passports and visas and other types of document fraud and alterations are common. Victims are trafficked within and outside the country by sea, road and air¹².

Bangladeshi and Burmese women are being kidnapped, married to agents by unsuspecting parents, trafficked under false pretense, or enticed by prospects of better life, into brothels in Pakistan. Border police and other law enforcement agencies are well aware of the trafficking through entry points into Pakistan like Lahore, Kasur, Bahawalpur, Chhor and Badin¹³. It has been estimated that 100 - 150 women enter Pakistan illegally every day. Few ever return to their homes¹⁴:

"A Bengali or Burmese woman could be sold in Pakistan for US\$1,500 - 2,500 - depending on age, looks, docility and virginity. For each child or woman sold, the police claim a 15 to 20 percent commission¹⁵".

The Association for Community Development (ACD)¹⁶, an NGO that works in poor rural communities in Bangladesh, has found that large numbers of girls from poor families are trafficked to India or Pakistan through "marriages" arranged with Indian or Pakistani men

who do not insist on a dowry. The marriages typically are not registered, and when the girls arrive in the destination country, they may be sold to brothels or factory owners, or kept in slave-like conditions to perform domestic work and provide sex to their "husbands" or other men.

Bangladesh National Women Lawyers Association has also highlighted the above mentioned fact by stating the story of a young Bangladeshi women, trafficked to Pakistan, in the following words :

"When Ruma was about 14, she was married to a bus helper. She lived with her husband in a bustee (cluster of thatched houses) at Demra, and after 4 years her husband demanded dowry. As Ruma's mother failed to give dowry, she was abandoned by her husband. One day Mustafa in the guise of a job procurer approached Ruma with an offer of a job in a garment factory at Dhaka. Ruma thought the offer to be genuine one and agreed to accompany the man. Ruma had never been to the city of Dhaka. So when she was being transported from one bus to another and then taken in a train, she queried Mustafa as to why the journey was so long. ... She and three other girls were taken to India where they stayed for 10-12 days. Then they crossed the border and went to Lahore in Pakistan. Then they again traveled by bus to Karachi where they were interred in a house at Musa Colony. According to Ruma the owner of the house... works in collusion with Mustafa in Bangladesh¹⁷".

According to a study conducted by Save the Children¹⁸ on Camel Jockies of Rahim Yar Khan, the sheikh's or Bedu's agent in UAE (a Pakistani) is asked to provide X number of children and is paid by the sheikh or the Bedu at the rate of Rs. 300,000 to 500,000 per child. The Pakistani agent in UAE contacts his agent in Pakistan to send children to UAE. The agent in Pakistan has already collected information on the poorest of the poor families in the area and also knows about the number of children they have and the type of economic problems the family is

facing. The family is offered a job for the child in UAE and is asked to pay Rs.20,000 to 30,000 to get travel documents for the child. This happens despite the fact that the sheikh or bedu had already paid the main agent in UAE. The family takes a loan from someone in order to pay for the child's visa, passport fees and air fare. In the case of the family not being able to pay the required amount, the agent takes the child on the condition that he will deduct the amount from the salary of the child in UAE. After identifying the children the agent contacts a female agent and a male agent to take the children to UAE. A fake marriage certificate (Nikahnama) is made in which both the agents are shown as husband and wife. Then a passport is made for both the agents and the names of children (normally two) who are to be trafficked to UAE are endorsed in the female agent's passport. In this way four or five strangers become a 'family'. After completing this formality, the 'family' sends the passport details to the main agent in UAE who manages to get a visit visa to UAE for the 'family' through the good offices of sheikh or bedu. Once the visa arrives, the family departs for UAE. As soon as the 'family' arrives at Dubai or Abu Dhabi airport, the children are taken to an Azba in the desert and the female agent goes to the city for prostitution purposes. Normally these women stay in Abu Dhabi or Dubai for three months which is the visit visa's time frame.

Crossing Boundaries : Trafficking Routes

The coastline between Karachi and Gawadar is often used for transporting victims to Gulf States or by road to the border of Iran where they can be picked up by gangs and transported by road or ships to Greece or Italy and Spain. The three main routes frequently used by traffickers in Pakistan are the Makran coast, Thar and the Porous border with Afghanistan. In addition, the sea routes of Karachi, Ormara, Pasni, Gawadar and Jiwani are easy routes to get to the Gulf. The favourite destinations of traffickers remain the South East Asian countries such as Malaysia, Hong Kong and South Korea that are popular with the semi-educated, labour class. The common destination countries include the

Gulf and Saudi Arabia and amongst the Western Europe, the UK is the most favourite followed by Italy, Spain, Greece, Cyprus and Scandinavian countries. Typically, the main actors involved in the trafficking process include illegal recruiting agents, corrupt officials, parents, family friends, relatives and the community. The public departments that can aid or abet this process may include immigration authorities, travel agents and passport issuing authorities¹⁹.

Zubair in his research study "Trafficking of Punjabi Children to Europe"²¹ explored that there exists a complete mechanism depending upon the type of voyage. For instance, in the case of a direct flight to Paris, the trafficker prepares a fictitious passport that is issued by the passport office with original stamps. Thus, it is difficult for it to be recognized as a false document at ports. According to immigration regulations of countries of origin, the name of a child up to 12 years of age can be registered on his parents' passport. Therefore, a child can travel out of country with one of his parents. The traffickers frequently use this option if a child is 12-14 years of age. At first, they prepare false birth documents and then with the help of passport officials, they get the child's name on an elder's passport. Many times trafficker prepares a true passport of child and acquires a true visa by bribing an official working in the visa section. To achieve this, not necessarily, the trafficker has to have connections in the visa sections of States at Islamabad or New Delhi. They can have such connections anywhere in the world. In that case, the child first travels to that country and after getting a visa, travels further. Some cases of this kind are reported.

As another option, someone else's passport is used for the travel. In this case either a child travels on the passport resembling the image or the photo on the passport bearing a visa is changed. A valid passport bearing a visa can be sold for a significant price and can be reported lost, later on. In all above-mentioned options, the cost of travel remains very high. Currently, it ranges from 15000 to 20000 Euros. Usually a single trafficker is involved for such cases. On

arriving at the destination; the passport is taken back by the trafficker for future use. This is, usually, decided at the time of the initial deal.

In contrast to air travel, traveling by road and by ship involves a full network of traffickers. Traffickers are well connected with each other; however, every one is responsible for his section. For instance, a trafficker makes a deal to take one person from Pakistan to Iran, in Iran the traveler will be handed over to another trafficker who works between Iran and Turkey and so it continues till the ultimate destination. Children move from one place to another in the groups of adults. On the way, they are accommodated in very rough places such as shepherd's huts. They are given minimum quantity of nutrition, essential for survival. Such voyages take a long time. It varies from 1 to 6 months. Since this kind of option is not an easy one, the cost of travel is not very high. In this instance one reaches France with the cost ranging from 5000 to 10000 Euros.

According to the Pakistan's Ministry of Interior,²⁹ during the last 3 years human trafficking has increased manifold between Pakistan, Iran and Oman. After extensive interrogation by the embassies of the deportees, it was revealed that these people started from Mand Billo and traveled upto 300 Kms in Iran to a village called Kunarook from where they boarded the boats and entered Turkey/Oman etc. Local Pakistani agents are spread all over the country even in remote areas of Larkana, Nawab Shah, Rajanpur, Sialkot, Gujrat, Gujranwala.

The Interior Ministry has identified following routes ordinarily used for cross-border smuggling and trafficking of human beings to Iran and onwards :

a. Land Routes

- Route-1. Quetta - Chaman, Quetta - Nushki - Nokkundi - Taftan
- Route-2. Quetta - Kalat - Basima - Panjgur — Mand

Unfrequented routes. Besides, there are numerous unfrequented routes which provide easy access to Iran, Afghanistan and vice-versa.

b. Sea Routes

The sea ports of Karachi, Gwadar and Jiwani etc are the easiest routes to get to gulf states. Personnel involved in children's smuggling to Middle East countries commonly use these routes.

Children Trafficking in Pakistan

The trafficking of human beings is unacceptable under any circumstances, but the trafficking of vulnerable children and young people is a violation of their rights to protection from exploitation, to play, to education, health, and family life. According to the Constitution of Pakistan, the term "child" applies to all persons less than 14 years of age while the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 182 on the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour considers any person a "child" who is less than 18 years of age. The P&CHTO 2002 also specifies *all* those less than 18 years of age as children²².

Children represent a special category because of their ignorance about their rights and their dependent position on parents/guardians. Trafficking in children is triggered by lack of economic opportunities and lack of access to educational opportunities. The push and pull factors for children are different, for example in the case of camel jockeys, parents perceive an economic opportunity (pull factor) to send them abroad and may also get duped into sending them abroad for the sake of job opportunities due to their poverty (push factor). Child prostitutes, camel jockey kids, street children and children in the entertainment industry (dancers etc.) are well known vulnerable groups amongst children. Child domestic servants, kidnapped, abandoned and adopted children are also vulnerable to trafficking. Some studies reveal that a majority of trafficked children are those who have never received any formal education or are school dropouts.

The incidence of internal trafficking and the sale of child brides in Sindh and Southern Punjab are well-known and it is alleged that there is a high number of child prostitutes. Moreover, there are perceptions that begging, sex work and camels racing are the three main reasons for which children are trafficked. In addition, other reasons may include illegal adoption, organ transplants, brick, carpet and garment industries and domestic work etc. Children that are un-registered are already at a higher risk of falling prey to organized crime, as they tend to come from poor, geographically isolated, or minority populations. Non-access to birth registration adds to the vulnerability, as lack of official "existence" can lead to isolation and lack of access to other social services such as health and education²³

Zubair Tahir in his research study "Trafficking of Punjabi Children to Europe" explored that :

The demonstration effect plays an essential role. People see other families and neighbors who sent their children abroad a few years ago with a changed life style thanks to remittances. Even by working a lifetime, these families would not have improved their standard of living. Therefore it gives an incentive to the others to do the same. Consequently, the parents are ready to risk the life of young member of the family. The traffickers attract the people by depicting a better future. They are able to convince them to regard the cost of the voyage as an investment for their future. Thus, sometime poorer people also borrow the money to pay this cost. People with the help of traffickers prepare false bank documents in order to prove that they are rich and obtain student visas for their children²⁴.

He further elaborates :

"In Pakistan, pimps approach families and offer money to place the child in work or a suitable marriage-thus putting the child in debt bondage - or they seek out runaway or otherwise vulnerable children directly²⁵.

Camel Jockeys

The child trafficking to the Gulf States for camel race began in the mid seventies when the Arab Sheikhs who visited Pakistan for hunting purposes started buying children from the poor areas in Pakistan for a sport which had a traditional base in their countries²⁶. In the beginning children were trafficked by air; but due to protest against this crime by the press and the people, the traffickers began using the alternate route from the sea through the coastal ports of Pasni, Gwadar, Jivani and Ormara. The Arabs used little boys as camel jockeys for various reasons. First, being young and thin, they are light-weight. Secondly screaming and crying sounds push the camels to run faster. There have been reports of children falling off the camels during the race and getting killed. Ofcourse the Arabs are influential and the parents of the little boys too poor and weak to raise voice of protest and thus the abuse continues. Growth of tourism has also contributed to the growth of sexual exploitation of children. There are indications that traffickers who earlier on targeted South East Asia as their choicest destination are now shifting their focus to South Asia because of cheaper availability and legislative loopholes²⁷.

According to the research study conducted on the camel jockeys of Rahim Yar Khan, the exact number of children trafficked as camel jockeys is unknown, rough estimates by those involved in the camel racing industry put the number at around 15,000 from the Rahimyar Khan district alone. Most are forced to go by their parents who are very poor, and see it as an easy way to get money. Besides the agents normally work closely with the families of trafficked children, the research also uncovered information on other groups of individuals who are kidnapping children and selling them on to the trafficking mafia. About nine of the ex-camel jockeys narrated their personal experience of being kidnapped or seeing other children kidnapped by different people. It also shows that as soon as a child weighs over 20 kgs, he is of no use and is returned. Children who cross this age barrier may be kept on because of being underweight or for other labour at the Azbas or camel

farms. In one particular case the child informed that he had returned to Pakistan after becoming overweight. However he soon returned (to UAE to join his two elder brothers as a labourer on an azba or camel farm²⁸ The bidders of the race treat these miserable children just as fuel to pacify their barbarianism. In the course of action, many children lose their lives or become disabled but fail to extract any sympathy from the stone hearts³⁰. Poor people are tricked by giving them false pictures, they are told that their children will be used as players, but they are unaware of the consequences, they don't know that their children might get killed³⁰.

Children belonging to Rahim Yar Khan and other parts of Southern Punjab where climatic conditions similar to the Gulf region exist are particularly vulnerable to getting trafficked to Arab Countries as camel jockeys. Widespread poverty and lack of economic opportunities in the region encourage child trafficking as camel jockeys. Camel racing has turned into a big sport involving huge amounts of money. These children are usually young and are tortured, forced to work for long hours and are often sexually abused. Trafficking of children for use as camel jockeys is prohibited by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and by ILO Conventions 29, 138 and 182 - all of which have been ratified by the UAE. On 29th July 2002, UAE prohibited the employment of children under 15 or weighing less than 45 kilograms as camel jockeys and imposed a fine of US\$5,500 for a first offence. A second offence was to lead to a ban from camel racing for one year and prison sentences imposed for subsequent offences. The UAE had in principle already banned the use of children under 15 since 1993, but abuses remain widespread and no one has ever been prosecuted.³¹

Abu Dhabi has framed a new law with effect from 31 March, 2005 that prohibits the participation of jockeys less than 16 years old from participation in the camel races. The new law stipulates that the jockeys weight should not be less than 45 kg, while his age, according to passport, should not be less than 16 years and a medical committee will conduct tests on all jockeys as part of the pre-race handicapping. All

camel breeders who employ children less than 16 as jockeys are being called upon to return them to their countries and violators face legal action. Following international criticism on the use of child camel jockeys, Qatar has issued a law banning the use of children in camel races in the state and has also announced plans to start using remote controlled robots as riders in camel races from 2005³².

Children are also abducted for drug trafficking and beggary. They are forced to beg for their masters and their hands and limbs are cruelly broken down so that they cannot escape anywhere. Similarly children are forced to deliver drugs from one place to another after subjection to physical abuses. A large number of such children exist in jails who were caught redhanded during trafficking. With no parents to claim them, their entire life is spent behind bars. At home, children are abducted to serve as un-paid workers or slaves in remote areas. Another unfortunate aspect of child abduction is stealing of babies from hospitals of both urban and remote areas. The runaway children are more vulnerable to abduction and trafficking. Physical abuse due to their parent's poverty, leads to lack of interest in school etc, forces such children to leave their homes and they fall easy victim to the abductors. The killing of 100 children in Lahore by Javed Iqbal is a tragic example of runaway children getting abducted.³³

Child trafficking has over the time flourished in Pakistan. This criminal trade needs to be curbed in all its form with the help of a special law dealing with all sort of child abuse. Children are the wealth of a nation and they require special protection. People involved in the exploitation of children should be punished severely and no leniency should be granted to these criminals. Special efforts are required to eliminate this menace from our society and it is high time to recognize the rights of children.

Women Trafficking

In Pakistan, women have been particularly vulnerable to trafficking largely due to the persistent inequalities they face in status and in access.

to resources. In addition, the tribal/feudal lords and the male dominated institution of the Jirga aid or abet such crimes allowing the exploitation of women to take place with impunity. The abdication of responsibility by the state agencies in internal matters of the families or where a Jirga is concerned compounds the situation.

The first incidence of trafficking of women into Pakistan was brought to light in the early 1980s when a number of Bangladeshi women were found languishing in Karachi jail. On investigation it was revealed that these women had been brought to Pakistan through illegal means by agents who recruited them in Bangladesh and promised them better job opportunities and quality of life. These Bangladeshi women traveled by bus, train and walked, crossing borders from Bangladesh into India and from India into Pakistan via Lahore and then Karachi³⁴. In the last ten years an estimated number of 200,000 women and girls between the ages of 12 to 30 years have been trafficked from Bangladesh to Pakistan³⁵.

According to Shamim and Kabir :

"There are over 200,000 undocumented Bangladeshi women in Pakistan, including some 2,000 in jails and shelters. Bangladeshis comprise 80 percent and Burmese 14 percent of Karachi's undocumented immigrants³⁶.

It is reported that a large number of Afghan, Nepalese, Burmese and Bangladeshi women are trafficked into Pakistan for the purposes of slave trade and sexual exploitation. The refugees and internally displaced women are more vulnerable to being trafficked as are women in a war or post conflict situation where they become victims of rape and sexual abuse. On average 100 to 150 women are estimated to enter Pakistan illegally every day and few ever return to their homes³⁷.

Women trafficked for prostitution is a special category that is highly vulnerable with regard to the demand for these services. Trafficking in

women for exploitation and commercial/sexual gains is a pervasive form of violence where these women are harassed, abused and mistreated for personal, sexual and financial gains of different types. Women represent a more vulnerable group as compared to men and there is evidence of an increasing number of young girls and women in the sex industry in Pakistan and in South East Asia as a whole. The discriminatory practices that subjugate and suppress women to be used as a commodity are central to this problem.

In India devadasi is sanctioned by religion and here the young girls are sent to the temples to please the gods. These women are then used for sexual pleasures in the name of religion. In certain areas of Nepal, prostitution is a way of life, a means of livelihood. This practice of selling women for prostitution dates back to the rule of the Ranas. During this time beautiful mountain girls were sold to the palaces where they lived and learnt the art of singing and dancing besides providing sexual services to the Ranas. At the end of Rana's rule and the advent of democracy, women from these areas went to the brothels of Nepal and India. However, Pakistan does not have a history of prostitution as sanctioned by any tradition or religion, as seen in Nepal and India. While it has existed all along, but has never been legitimized by any system and as such is not as widespread, when compared to other countries in the region. That is perhaps one reason why Pakistan has largely remained a transit point for women trafficked from other countries of the region. Although there are some reports of internal trafficking of women but by no means, these indicate that Pakistan is a party to the inhuman practice of trafficking of women. After the emergence of Bangladesh, about 50,000 poor and unemployed Bangladeshis migrated to Pakistan in search of livelihood. From this pool of immigrants, emerged groups of people who became agents and traffickers with links, on one hand, with rural Bangladesh, their home land and contact in Pakistan, built over years of domicile.³⁸ Since then the traffic of both Bangladeshi and Burmese women into Pakistan has continued. Women are trafficked to Gulf countries as sex-slaves and there is a trend of temporary marriage with Arab princes during the hunting season³⁹.

According to United Nations Development Fund for Women, (UNIFEM)⁴⁰ women and girls are more vulnerable to being trafficked because of the following supply and demand factors:

Factors Contributing to Demand	Factors Contributing to Supply
Women's Perceived suitable for work in labour-intensive production and the growing informal sector which is characterized by low wages, casual employment, hazardous work conditions and the absence of collective bargaining mechanisms;	Unequal access to education that limits women's opportunities to increase their earning in more skilled occupations;
The increasing demand for foreign workers for domestic and care-given roles, and lack of adequate regulatory frameworks to support this;	Lack of legitimate and fulfilling employment opportunities particularly in rural communities;
The growth of the billion-dollar sex and entertainment industry, tolerated as a necessary evil, while women in prostitution are criminalized and discriminated against;	Sex selective migration policies and restrictive emigration policies/laws, instituted often as a 'protective' measure, limit women's legitimate migration. Most legal channels of migration offer opportunities in typically male-dominated Sectors (construction and agriculture work);
The low risk-high profit nature of trafficking encouraged by a lack of will on the part of enforcement agencies to prosecute traffickers (which includes owners/managers of institutions into which persons are trafficked);	Less access to information on migration/job opportunities, recruitment channels, and a greater lack of awareness of the risks of migration compared to men;
The ease in controlling and manipulating vulnerable women;	Disruption of support systems due to natural and human created catastrophes;
Lack of access to legal redress or remedies, for victims of traffickers; and	Traditional community attitudes and practices, which tolerate violence against women.
Devaluation of women and children's human rights.	

The discriminatory laws such as Hudood Ordinance have ruined many women's life. The Hudood Ordinance criminalizes Zina, which is

defined as extramarital sex including adultery or fornication. It also criminalizes Zina-bil-Jabr, (forced rape) which is defined as rape outside a valid marriage. However, in case of rape, if the victim goes to the court, and is unable to prove, the victim's statement is considered as her confession and is then treated as a partner in adultery. In the case of trafficking, to save their neck the agents or pimps often marry the women and then sell them to the brothels or individual buyers. These women are then silenced through blackmail, because they are illegal migrants and cannot seek help from the law or the law enforcing agencies. Therefore it is extremely important and must be continually emphasized that the agents, recruiters, pimps and gang leaders should bear the brunt of legislation and penal action, and not let the victims be criminalized⁴¹.

Pakistan having Porous borders have attracted large-scale trafficking of women from the regional states. An increase has been seen not only of those being brought in from across the borders; but, also in the trafficking of women within Pakistan and hence, exists a need of understanding the issue as two separate challenges. One comprises of foreign women being further trafficked and the second category constitutes local women. If, in the first category, it is extremely challenging to keep track of the changing modes and pattern, then it is even more daunting a task to trace the locally generated cases.

The Consequences of Human Trafficking

The menace of human trafficking may have multiple consequences. IOM⁴² has highlighted consequences of human trafficking at two levels (a) on the trafficked victims and (b) at the country level.

On the Victim

Trafficking is a coercive and violent process that has serious repercussions on the physical, mental and psychological make-up of the victims—if they are able to come out of a trafficked situation alive. The

consequences of the phenomenon on the victims are damaging, diverse and long term. First of all, in a trafficking situation, victims are denied their basic human rights. More often than not, victims of trafficking are forced to live and work under inhuman conditions. Trafficking is largely the work of organized criminal networks, which are often the same as those involved in drugs and weapon smuggling. The victims of trafficking are not aware of what is going to happen to them and are therefore, unprepared for sex help from support services. There is a misconception that the trafficked persons often know what is in store for them; but are still willing to take the risks and endure the hardships involved. In any case, ignorance about the potential hardships does not justify the basic human rights violations and the injustices that the victims are subjected to.

The dependency of the victims on their employers and/or agents exposes them to all sorts of exploitation. The lack of access to any medical or legal help can make them suffer severe physical, emotional and psychological trauma. For the survivors of trafficking the future is grim; as the stigma attached to the victims (especially for women) is so great that they are socially excluded and find it hard to resettle as they are often unwelcome in their families and community even after they are out of the situation.

There are different stages of trafficking. The exploitation of the victim can start from any stage, e.g. at the very beginning when the person is recruited, sold or transported and it can continue throughout (the process during which victims are tortured, abused and threatened. Victims are tortured, sexually abused, threatened and made drug addicts so that they can be manipulated for any exploitative purpose. Trafficked victims are forced to live in dangerous or unsafe and hazardous conditions. They are forced to work long hours, have limited freedom to move, their legal documents, if any, are confiscated and they are kept in a state of isolation from their families. Often the stigma attached to the trafficked victim is so great that this itself prevents them from contacting others for help.

Human trafficking is a business that may have huge profits for traffickers but has severe negative repercussions for the victims. The trafficked men, women and children are generally used for degrading and dangerous work; prostitution, camel jockeys, entertainment industry, illegal adoption, forced marriages, organ transplant, forced labour etc. The victims suffer serious human rights violations both at the hands of the traffickers and subsequently the law enforcement agencies where they are treated as criminals rather than as victims of a serious crime.

Victims of trafficking are lured by showing them a very rosy, but false picture. For instance, the women coming voluntarily from Bangladesh to perform domestic work in Pakistan fall into the hands of traffickers and are made to work as prostitutes and in other hazardous professions. They mostly do not have citizenship and the traffickers confiscate their travel documents. Fake marriages also force women into a trafficking situation where a woman is married to a person after which she is sold and resold to others is practiced in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and North West Frontier of Pakistan (NWFP).

Regardless of the nature and purpose of trafficking or where smuggling turns into trafficking, the consequences for the victims are always bad - their lives are put at risk in unsafe and risky travel routes and transportation, they get trapped at destinations as bonded labourers or at points en route. Due to their illegal status they are at great risk to be caught, deported and prosecuted and more often than not, they lose all their money in fraudulent and under-hand deals. In case of a smuggling situation that turns into trafficking, the traffickers threaten and harass the victims' relatives to repay debts. Last, but not the least, the health consequences on the trafficked victims are extremely damaging, and often, fatal. Victims are often exposed to serious health risks including HIV/AIDS and suffer other serious crimes such as rape, forced multiple sex partners and other sexual atrocities.

At the Country Level

Human trafficking as a modern day slave trade comes with heavy costs for the countries as well. Firstly, it represents a breakdown of

security conditions in the country as the traffickers and their trafficked victims are made to travel on fake or forged documents. The illegal entry of trafficked victims into a country implies a breach of law and loss of control over national borders and territory. The huge profits involved in the business of trafficking also promotes corruption and lack of accountability in government, in particular, the law enforcement agencies and the judiciary.

In addition to this, trafficking is generally linked to organized crime and often leads to drugs and weapons smuggling. Trafficking, therefore, poses serious threats to the country's security conditions and also has serious repercussions for public health as trafficked victims are extremely vulnerable to contracting HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases such as in prostitution and commercial sex trades. Victims who recover also remain vulnerable to getting re-victimized or getting addicted to subsequent abuse. The great stress and trauma experienced by them can result in a long lasting mental, psychological and other communicable illnesses. Children who are a future asset of any country for its national development, are affected most severely.

Trafficking affects the social and moral fabric of the country by leading to disintegration of family and community structures, especially when children are taken away from their family units. The economic costs of trafficking on a country can also be high because it leaves the victims' out of the society mainstream, education and employment opportunities. Being a highly lucrative enterprise, the illegal returns from trafficking lead to a host of criminal activities such as human smuggling, money laundering and other organized crimes. The flourishing of trafficking in a country almost always weakens economic, legal and social structures of that country. The loss of human capital is another great disadvantage as trafficking negatively impacts the labour markets and can distort wage levels and productivity levels.

Red Cross⁴³ has observed the following impacts of human trafficking on the society:

Human Trafficking Encourages Social Breakdown and Promotes Crime

Human trafficking causes disrupted family structures and interrupts the passage of knowledge, moral and cultural values from parent to child, weakening a core pillar of society, thereby promoting crime and subverted moral standards.

Human Trafficking Deprives Countries of Human Capital

On long term, human trafficking effects depressed wages for all workers, a lower number of individuals left to care for an increasing number of elderly persons, social imbalances in the proportion of males to females, and an under educated generation.

Human Trafficking Undermines Public Health

Human trafficking exposes victims to HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted and infectious diseases. Violence, dangerous working conditions, poor nutrition, and drug and alcohol addiction. Trafficked children are less likely to participate in immunization programs.

Human Trafficking Subverts Government Authority

Many governments do not exercise control over the entire national territory. Human trafficking operations thwart government attempts to exert that authority while undermining public safety, particularly the security of vulnerable populations. Some governments are unable to protect women and children, who have been kidnapped from their homes, schools, or refugee camps. Moreover, the bribes traffickers pay challenge a government's ability to combat corruption among law enforcement, immigration, and judicial officials.

Human Trafficking Funds can feed Organized Crime

The profits from human trafficking may strengthen criminal groups by funding other illicit activities while weakening government's attempts

to establish rule of law. Human traffickers are often successful because of links with other transnational criminal groups, such as arms dealers, drug traffickers, and car theft rings.

Psychological Impact

According to a research study conducted by Lawyers for Human Rights and Legal Aid⁴⁴, in the South Asian Context as well as within Pakistan, trafficking creates assorted and severe psychological impact on its victims and therefore causes intense physical and emotional health disorders. These, for instance, are trauma, depression, stress, anxiety, anger, grievances, violent behavior.

Once confronted with the agonizing situation the victim may live in persistent agony and fear. For a vast majority of trafficked victims to have a normal life remains a dream. Even if they do get a better life, their past continues to haunt them and thus they continue to live in constant pain, emotional torture and fear with low-self esteem.

The above mentioned research study revealed the following psychological impacts on the victims of trafficking :

Psychological Impact	Percentage
Change in thinking Pattern	71.10%
Lack of self-confidence	50.00%
In need of sympathy	59.61%
Persistent feeling of emptiness	59.61%
Victim of circumstances (situation)	96.15%
Anger for no apparent reason	69.23%
Exhaustion/Fatigue for no apparent reason	82.69%
Loss of appetite	48.07%
Constant feeling of dejection	78.84%
Agitation	59.62%
Crying for no apparent reason	55.76%
Weakening of mental abilities	36.53%
Non-Valuable member of society	57.60%
Decrease in sleeping hours	51.92%

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Gender Preferences for Children in South Asia : A Case Study of Lahore - Pakistan

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and

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Abstract

In many South Asian countries, including Pakistan, there is a strong preference for sons over daughters. In fact, son preference has been considered to be one of the factors responsible for the high fertility in these countries, and it is argued that such gender preferences for children may act as a major constraint in the implementation of family planning programs, particularly in countries which are beginning to experience a fertility transition. Recently, gender preference for children has become a matter of public concern and an important issue for research in Pakistan, where demand for high number of male children is believed to be a major reason for high fertility levels. The present paper, based on a micro-study, investigates the gender preferences for children of the sample population of Lahore, and how they vary with differences in their socio-economic and demographic characteristics. In this article, we shall review therefore the factors responsible for strong son preference among four representative groups of the population of Lahore. Based on the findings of the study, this paper suggests an emphasis on female education, to conduct IEC (information, education and communication) programme in the country to change the attitude and norms of the masses towards female child and promotion of gender equity as means to lower the existing high levels of fertility in the country.

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INTRODUCTION

In Pakistan, sons are considered the parents only source of security in old age. Son preference is also strong when daughters are more expensive to marry off than sons owing to the dowry system. In Pakistan, strong son preference has been noticed because sons have been regarded as economic assets and old-age security (Khan & Serageldin, 1977; Ali, 1989; NIPS, 1992; Hussain and others, 2000). Various studies documenting the pervasiveness of son preference and various discriminatory practices against daughters exist for Pakistan as in other South Asian countries (Ali, 1989; Mahmood, 1992; Nag, 1991; Nayab, 1999). Persistently high level of fertility in Pakistan has been attributed to the desire on the part of parents and families to insure a certain number of living children and in particularly sons. Sons are highly valued primarily for providing economic help on the farm or in the family business, for security in old age, for carrying on the family line and for strengthening the social position of women in the household (Cain, 1984; Dyson and Moore, 1983; Arnold, 1996). It's more often seen that son preference results into large family size particularly in developing countries. The women are compelled to reproduce and continue to do so until they achieved at least one or two living sons regardless of the hazard to their health. Recently, gender preference for children has become a matter of public concern and an important issue for research. It has become more important issue especially in Pakistan. Demand for high number of male children is believed to be a major reason for high fertility levels in Pakistan. The present paper, based on a micro-study, investigates the gender preferences for children of the sample population of Lahore, and how they vary with differences in their socio-economic and demographic characteristics. Study is based to achieve three objectives: 1) to investigate firstly, what are the gender preferences i.e; the ideal and desired number of children (both sons and daughters), 2) the fertility behaviour i.e; the actual number of children of the sample population of Lahore and 3) how do these preferences vary with change in the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the respondents.

Materials and Methods

Lahore is the second largest city of Pakistan in terms of population and the administrative headquarters of the province of Punjab and second highest in commerce, trade and industry among the urban hierarchy of the country. In addition, it has specialized functions regarding education, health, culture and transportation of the highest order. The total population of Lahore is estimated about 7.8 million in 2004. Lahore city is bounded on the north and west by the Sheikhpura District, on the east by India and on the south Kasur District. The Ravi River flows on the northern side of Lahore. Lahore city covers a total land area of 404 km², but the city is still growing at a considerable rate. The city lies between 31°15' and 31°45' North latitude and 74°01' and 74°39' East longitude. The City-District of Lahore comprises of nine administrative towns and one separate military cantonment but there are also some historic neighbourhoods of Lahore. Out of these administrative towns we have selected four, keeping in view socioeconomic and demographic differences, which lays the foundation of present paper.

- A : Model Town
- B : Town Ship
- C : Green Town
- D : Burki: a village near Lahore

A sample of 280 households was selected from above four selected areas of Lahore. While selecting household to be included in the sample efforts were made to have representation from household belonging to all economic ranks to avoid any bias due to economic differences. Income data was used and found to be the most useful and appropriate means of categorizes the sample. Therefore, of these selected household women in the reproductive age groups i.e; 15-49 years, comprised the actual research sample. Since one of the purpose of the study was fertility (reproductive) behaviour, so currently married women in the childbearing ages were selected. For the collection of quantitative data, a questionnaire was formulated. In depth, informal interviews were conducted to gather qualitative data, to substantiate the collected quantitative data; the qualitative data were analyzed manually.

Survey was carried out in December 2004. Samples were selected in such a way that it had to cover the area and people of different socioeconomic conditions in both urban and rural areas. A total of 280 respondents were interviewed, 70 from each sampling unit. 75 percent of the sample was of urban Lahore while rest constitutes the households in rural areas of Lahore. Mostly nuclear as well as extended families were interviewed and survey was conducted through personal interviewing method. To make the study as comprehensive as possible both the quantitative and qualitative methods were combined to infer the results. The social setup and the developing nature of Pakistan's economy, together with high desired family size, provide the traditional scenario in which it becomes difficult to motivate couples to adopt innovative reproductive behaviour. Additionally, Pakistani society, in common with most societies in South Asia, exhibits a strong son preference, which accounts for the desire to have a large-size family, as many couples with three or more living children want to have more births in the hope of having a son. Given these sociocultural patterns and assuming that gender roles and women's status are important in influencing reproductive behaviour, the effects of some selected factors on fertility and the practice of family planning are examined and discussed below, with empirical evidence derived from various sources. These factors include education, age at marriage, son preference, family structure, religious values, women's status and autonomy, all of which have relevance in the sociocultural context and play a role in affecting reproductive behaviour.

Size and Gender Preferences

In this study, two measures of gender preferences have been used, namely the desired family size and ideal family size. Along with asking questions on the total size of the preferred family, its preferred gender composition was also probed. As Table 1 shows, the majority of the women idealize a family with two children followed by those preferring three. Though the percentage varies from locality to locality with different socioeconomic background but very few women preferred more than five children. However, the non-numerical response is not quite high (Only 2.4 and 1.0 in locality C & D). Such a low non-numerical response means that

many respondents had started thinking in terms of a concrete family size. But this does not imply that these respondents had no preferences regarding the number of children they thought they would like to have. Table-1 also reveal the gender preference of respondents in the areas. For 2.8, 3.1, 6.7 and 13.7 percent of the respondents of the locality A, B, C and D respectively, an ideal family can be without a daughter while there was not even a single woman who thought the same for sons. On the other hand, the highest number of daughters that have preferred by women of locality A, B, C and D is one, where as for sons this goes up to two (Table-1). The most preferred number of daughters was one in all the localities while for sons the number was two and three respectively for A, B and C, D. Many respondents wish to have five or more sons in village Burki. The maximum number for daughters, the respondents wish for was three while in case of sons the number was six.

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TABLE I

Percentage of Respondents by Ideal Family Size and Gender Composition in Lahore-2004

Ideal No. of Children	FAMILY SIZE				DAUGHTERS				SONS				
	% of Respondents				Ideal No. of Daughters	% of Respondents			Ideal No. of Sons	% of Respondents			
	A	B	C	D		A	B	C		D	A	B	C
0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	2.8	3.1	6.7	13.7	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
1	12.7	11.7	5.2	1.1	1	47.1	49.3	56.1	61.8	1	20.1	19.1	7.9
2	40.8	39.4	30.0	10.7	2	29.1	27.7	28.1	21.9	2	50.9	40.2	25.8
3	20.1	25.1	22.1	17.6	3	5.9	6.8	5.7	1.9	3	18.9	17.9	30.4
4	15.4	17.7	19.5	37.3	4	-	-	-	-	4	7.8	11.9	29.9
5	11.0	5.4	9.7	14.9	5	-	-	-	-	5	1.3	7.8	5.6
6	-	0.7	7.9	10.1	6	-	-	-	-	6	-	2.0	0.4
7+	-	-	3.2	7.3	7+	-	-	-	-	7+	-	-	-
Non-num	-	-	2.4	1.0	Non-num	15.1	13.1	3.4	0.7	Non-num	1.0	1.1	-
Total	100	100	100	100	Total	100	100	100	100	Total	100	100	100

Source : Field Survey-2004.

Non-num : Numerical Response.

Desire for Additional Children

The proportion of women who do not want any more children is considered a useful indicator of the extent of the desire to stop child bearing (UN, 1987; NIPS, 1992) as it indicates that there is an awareness of the need to regulate fertility behaviour. Similar trends can be seen regarding gender composition. Table 2 shows that out of the total respondents in locality A, B, C and D, 1.7, 2.7, 3.1 and 6.9 percent respectively did not desire to have even one daughter but in case of sons this proportion declines to a small proportion i.e. 1.2, 1.0, 1.1 and zero percent. The zero percentage has been observed in village Burki. A majority of the women desired two sons followed by those who wanted three sons (Table-2). In case of daughters, a major proportion of the respondents wanted single daughter, followed by those who wanted two. The desire for more children on part of the women is also a useful index of the extent of the desire to stop child bearing and is a reflection of awareness of the need to regulate women's fertility behaviour.

TABLE 2

Percentage of Respondents by Desired Family Size and Desired Gender Composition in Lahore-2004

Desired No of Children	FAMILY SIZE				DAUGHTERS				SONS					
	% of Respondents				Desired No. of Daughters	% of Respondents			Desired No. of Sons	% of Respondents				
	A	B	C	D		A	B	C		D	A	B	C	D
0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	1.7	2.7	3.1	6.9	0	1.2	1.0	1.1	0.0
1	15.1	12.9	8.9	2.1	1	46.9	44.7	39.0	25.7	1	26.1	30.7	33.4	18.9
2	56.0	42.7	36.7	13.9	2	35.9	36.1	40.0	57.1	2	36.7	40.1	42.1	29.9
3	20.1	23.8	24.1	18.7	3	12.9	14.7	15.0	8.7	3	25.1	27.1	20.0	35.7
4	5.9	14.4	20.3	25.9	4	1.6	1.0	1.9	-	4	9.9	1.1	2.4	9.7
5	-	5.4	6.7	26.5	5	1.0	1.8	1.0	-	5	-	-	1.0	4.2
6	-	-	-	6.3	6	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	1.0
7+	-	-	-	5.1	7+	-	-	-	-	7+	-	-	-	0.6
Non-num	1.8	6.2	3.3	1.5	Non-num	-	-	-	1.6	Non-num	1.0	0.0	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	Total	100	100	100	100	Total	100	100	100	100

Source : Field Survey-2004

Non-num : Non Numerical Response.

Table 3 reveals that 65.4, 59.8, 53.4 and 46.7 per cent of the women in surveyed localities viz; Model Town, Town ship, GreenTown and village Burki did not want to have additional children. The desire to have more children declines with age, indicating that desires for children are strongly affected by the life cycle of a woman. The negative relationship between the desire to have more children and the total number of living children is also affected by the number of living sons and daughters. It has also been observed that the proportion of women who wanted to stop child bearing increased once their gender preference was achieved (Table-4).

TABLE 3
Desire for more children by age of the respondents

Age groups	Yes				No				Total
	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	
15-24	69.4	70.6	75.9	80.8	30.6	29.4	24.1	19.2	100.0
25-29	56.7	58.9	70.0	75.8	43.3	41.1	30.0	24.2	100.0
30-34	40.8	47.9	56.9	69.6	59.2	52.1	43.1	30.4	100.0
35-39	20.8	37.4	42.3	56.8	79.2	62.6	57.7	43.2	100.0
40-44	10.5	14.7	18.9	20.0	89.5	85.3	81.1	80.0	100.0
45-49	9.5	11.9	15.7	17.0	90.5	88.1	84.3	83.0	100.0
Total	34.6	40.2	46.6	53.3	65.4	59.8	53.4	46.7	100.0

Source : Field Survey-2004

Table 4 shows that 91.1, 70.1, 70.0 and 50.0 percent of the women in areas A, B, C and D did not desire to have additional children, once they have 3 living sons in the family. It is also evident from the field data that number of children ever born and still living generally increases with age. It could therefore be deduced that the number of living children also has a negative relationship with the desire for more children. Once the women had two sons the desire for no more children is apparent from the Table 4. But in the case of daughters the "no more" response is less strong with increasing numbers. This indicates that the living daughters do not motivate the women to stop child bearing as does the presence of sons. Table 4 clearly reveals that presence of sons in the family is a predictor for women to stop child bearing.

TABLE 4
**Percentage of Women Desiring no more Children by Total Number of Living Children and Gender
 Composition in Lahore-2004**

No. of living Children	Family Size				Daughters				Sons					
	% of desiring no more children				Number of living daughters	% of Desiring no more Children				Number of living Sons	% of Desiring No more Children			
	A	B	C	D		A	B	C	D		A	B	C	D
0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	10.9	7.9	6.7	5.9	0	5.0	4.7	4.3	2.1
1	16.0	19.1	30.1	25.0	1	25.1	27.2	30.1	29.9	1	47.5	46.0	37.1	25.2
2	39.3	40.1	35.0	31.1	2	56.1	60.3	65.7	72.9	2	76.6	66.1	60.2	45.3
3	56.1	49.1	39.1	40.1	3	70.1	72.9	73.0	76.0	3	91.1	70.1	70.0	50.0
4	80.0	70.1	50.1	49.1	4	80.7	84.0	85.0	90.0	4	90.5	76.0	75.0	65.7
5	80.9	80.7	60.1	55.1	5	80.2	85.0	86.0	91.0	5	85.6	80.0	81.0	67.9
6	84.1	85.0	70.9	65.1	6	84.0	86.0	86.2	92.0	6	100	99	99	77.9
7+	88.1	90.0	80.0	72.3	7+	89.0	88.0	87.0	90.0	7+	100	100	100	95.7

Source : Field Survey-2004

Education

Many individual-level studies indicate that education increases an individual's knowledge, awareness, social and economic aspirations and ability to make independent choices and decisions which are likely to have a negative impact on fertility (Cochrane, 1983; Sathar and Mason, 1993; Mahmood and Ringheim, 1997).

The impact of education may operate through many different paths to reduce fertility levels. These factors include delayed age at marriage, increase in woman's individuality and aspirations for the quality of children, increased opportunities for personal advancement, awareness of social mobility, and most importantly a desire for a reduced number of children and a greater exposure to knowledge of means to regulate fertility (Oppong, 1983; Mahmood and Khan, 1985; Mahmood, 1992; Sathar, 1984; Caldwell, 1981). In the study areas a large proportion of the respondents had been to school. Relatively more educated respondents were younger in age compared to the older respondents most of whom had never been to school. Similar conclusions could also be drawn with respect to the educational attainment of respondents, indicating a possible upward trend in educational levels in Pakistan. It is obvious from Table 5 that there was a strong negative association between gender preferences and education, and that the impact of wife's education was stronger impact. The illiterate respondents did not seem to have any significant impact on the gender preferences and behaviour. But after primary and secondary education there was a significant decline in the number of children ever born and living, and also the desired and ideal number of children the women would like to have. The mean number of children ever born to women who had never been to school was 4.8 and 4.9, which reduces to 3.0 for women who have been graduated or more. A similar pattern is visible for women's education in Table 5 for other indicators of gender preferences and behaviour.

TABLE 5

Percentage of Respondents according to their educational attainments And Mean Ideal, Desired and Average Family size in Lahore-2004

Level of Education	Mean Ideal Family Size*				Mean Desired Family Size*				Average Family Size*			
	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
Illiterate(41)	3.1*	3.2*	3.9	4.4*	3.3*	3.5*	4.3*	4.6*	2.9*	3.2*	4.0*	4.2*
Literate (64)	-	-	4.8	4.9	-	-	5.0	5.2	-	-	4.5	4.7
Primary (52)	-	-	4.6	4.7	-	-	4.8	5.0	-	-	4.4	4.5
Secondary (46)	3.5	3.6	4.4	4.6	3.6	3.8	4.5	4.8	3.2	3.5	4.1	4.4
H-secondary (35)	3.4	3.5	4.1	4.5	3.5	3.6	4.4	4.6	3.1	3.3	4.0	4.2
Graduate (23)	3.1	3.3	3.6	4.2	3.5	3.5	4.1	4.4	3.0	3.2	3.9	4.0
Post-graduate (19)	3.0	3.1	3.4	4.0	3.2	3.3	3.8	4.2	2.8	3.0	3.8	3.9
	2.7	2.8	3.0	3.9	3.0	3.2	3.5	4.0	2.6	2.9	3.7	3.8

Source : Field Survey-2004.

Age at marriage

The proportion married is also a proximate determinant of fertility preference and the evidence shows that the changing marriage patterns have significantly contributed to explaining the fertility transition in Pakistan (Soomro, 2000, 2003; Hakim, 1994). High age at marriage is also found to be directly linked to female autonomy and lower fertility as it reduces the chances to control younger women's sexuality and independence (Sathar and others, 1988; Mason, 1993; Abadian, 1996). Table 6 shows that the mean ideal number of children remains almost constant for women in different age categories and different socioeconomic background. Since the desired number of children is related to the current number of living children of women it is not unexpected to find that with increasing age the desired number of children increases, adjusting their preferences with their changing life situations. More than age, it is the number of living children that has a stronger influence on desired fertility. The slightly lower MIFS and MDPS for the age group 30 & above years in Table 6 give an impression that the older women had lower fertility levels, which would not be true. The problem that any micro study can face due to comparatively fewer cases in each category, as compared to a large study, is the basic reason for these low values. There were nine women in this age group (30 & above years) who had fewer children, and because of them the mean value for this age category is slightly lowered. The mean ideal family size and mean desired family size varies among the representative classes of Lahore, which is 3.1, 3.2, 3.9 and 4.4 respectively for each sample group. Similarly the mean ideal family size also depicts more or less the same picture as that in the case of mean ideal family size. Our research reveals that the average family size is little less than that of mean ideal and mean desired family size in each category, proving the fact that even people think and desire to have more children but due to socioeconomic constraints they can not achieve the ideal or desired family life. The average family size in Model Town, Township, Green Town and Burki is 2.9, 3.2, 4.0 and 4.2 respectively; proving the fact that the family size norms vary with socioeconomic and sociocultural setting of Lahore city. Similarly the age at marriage is also one of the indicators of the family size. The women married at younger ages have large families as compared with those who married late because of some valid reasons. With the increase of age at marriage the mean ideal, mean desired and average family size also changes (Table-6)

TABLE 6

Percentage of Respondents according to their age at Marriage And Mean Ideal, Desired and Average Family size in Lahore-2004

Age at Marriage	Mean Ideal Family Size				Mean Desired Family Size				Average Family Size			
	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
Under 14	-	-	-	3.6	-	-	-	4.2	-	-	-	5.2
15-19	2.8	2.7	2.9	3.5	3.0	3.1	3.6	4.0	3.0	3.2	3.5	5.0
20-24	2.6	2.6	2.8	3.3	2.7	3.0	3.4	3.8	2.6	3.0	3.4	4.8
25-29	2.5	2.4	2.7	3.2	2.6	2.8	3.2	3.6	2.4	2.8	3.2	4.6
30 & above	2.5	2.4	2.7	3.2	2.6	2.8	3.2	3.6	2.4	2.8	3.2	4.6
Average Family Size*	3.1*	3.2*	3.9	4.4*	3.3*	3.5*	4.3*	4.6*	2.9*	3.2*	4.0*	4.2*

Source : Field Survey-2004.

Son preferences:

In present research, an attempt has also been made to know the desire behind the gender /son preferences in the sample areas. The respondents were given the following four options :

- ❖ Source of income at early age.
- ❖ Sons are assumed to be the strength of family.
- ❖ Old age security
- ❖ Rearing of daughter is difficult.
- ❖ Dowry system.

The respondents were given with the above four options to justify their attitude towards son preference. An inverse relationship between the average family size and the percentage of those who believe in son preference has been observed in present research (Table 7). Locality A with the average family size of 2.9 had 31.9 % of the total respondents who believe in son preference. The ratio is 43.7 % in B while highest in D with 75.9 % of the total respondents who believe in son preference. 15.6 %, 16.1 % and 10.0 % in A, B and C classes respectively of the total respondents who believe in son preference and consider sons as the strength of family. But in area C the 14.8 % of the respondents prefers sons for the reason that sons are considered as the source of income at early age. While in locality, A 10.1 % has expressed the same reason for preferring son. In B the ratio is only 12.0 %. With regard to the prevailing dowry system in Pakistani society the opinion of the respondents was almost the same i.e; 7.3, 6.7, 8.4 and 9.9 respectively in the sample localities. This shows that there exist difference in believe regarding son preference in the four socioeconomic classes which could be related to the difference in their educational, economic and social actors.

In village Burki it was revealed that 75.9 % of the total surveyed families believes in son preference and they go for large families in order to have at least two living sons, out of which 11.1 % prefers sons as may be the source of income at their early ages, 30.9 % of the total consider them as strength for family while 37.0 % are of the view that care for elderly parents depends on their sons and the same ratio prefer sons over daughters as, for them, rearing of a daughter is difficult than son (Table 8).

TABLE 7
Percent of Respondents who believe in Gender (son) Preference in Lahore-2004

Response	A	B	C	D
Yes	31.9	43.7	60.3	75.9
No	68.1	56.3	39.7	24.1
Total	100	100	100	100

Source : Field Survey 2004

TABLE 8
Percentage of respondents who believe in son preference by reason of preference in Lahore -2004

Reason for Preference	Sample Locality & Avg. Family Size*			
	A 2.9*	B 3.2*	C 4.0*	D 4.2*
Source of income at early age	10.1	12.0	14.8	11.1
Strength of family	15.6	16.1	10.0	30.9
Old age security	50.6	51.1	49.6	37.0
Rearing of daughter is difficult	16.4	14.1	17.2	11.1
Dowry system	7.3	6.7	8.4	9.9
Total	100	100	100	100

Source : Field Survey-2004

Results and Discussion

Our study confirms that a preference for sons is widespread in Lahore-Pakistan and that son preference affects fertility behavior in all the four surveyed areas. In Pakistan as a whole, both attitudes and behavior are vitally influenced by a long-standing preference for sons that is deeply rooted in the cultural traditions of the society. Women express a strong preference for having at least one son, and often at least two sons, among their children. There is some evidence, as well, of a desire to have one daughter, but having more than one daughter is generally not considered desirable. Our study has focused on the gender preferences for children and its impact on reproductive behavior, which we have found to vary substantially across the surveyed areas.

The study shows that despite the preferred fertility levels of the

respondents being quite high the actual reproductive behaviour still exceeded the preferred levels. Son preference was found to be a major reason for women to continue child bearing. Only when the desired number of sons, rather than the overall family size, was achieved did women consider stopping child bearing. On the other hand, the educational attainment of women, and increased age at marriage were found to have a lowering effect on both, their gender preferences and fertility behaviour, as compared to those who had never been to school, were married younger, and were lifetime rural residents, respectively. The need to lower fertility levels in Pakistan cannot be overstressed, and for this there is a need to investigate the reasons that are keeping it high. Though the findings presented in this paper are derived from a study conducted in four localities of the second largest city of Pakistan, and may be generalized for the whole country, it could however be premised that given similar social, cultural, demographic and normative characteristics, the gender preferences and behaviour of women in other regions would not be very different. So as the findings of the study show, removal of illiteracy among women should be the top priority to help lower the existing high levels of fertility in the country. There is also a need to broaden the employment opportunities available to women. Further these opportunities should not be confined to low paying informal sector activities, as they are not found to have any significant effect on the status of women or their fertility levels. There is a need to create an atmosphere of gender equality, which can help to reduce the existing son preference, and also the high fertility levels in Pakistan.

Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

Although gender/son preference in Pakistan will be difficult to change dramatically in the short run, the study recommends a number of programs that could expedite the transition toward more gender-neutral attitudes and behavior. These include expanded efforts to encourage equal education for daughters and sons (such as educational savings accounts for girls and the provision of free midday meals at schools) and education and motivational programs to encourage equal treatment of daughters and sons, particularly with respect to medical care. Without a basic change in the dowry system and the other traditions that engender a preference for sons, however, it is unlikely that son preference will decline sufficiently to transform fertility behavior in the near future. The

imbalance in sex ratio of children less than five years of age resulting from the discrimination against female children may lead to female sex imbalance in the marriageable ages in the future. If female become scarce, the situation may improve the status of women in the long run. The decline of family size and the availability of sex-selective technologies among subgroups of the population in Pakistan in the course of its demographic transition may contribute to the widening of the social gap between males and females in future, as children of smaller families who are predominantly males may be advantaged in the allocation of household resources for education, nutrition and health care. The gradual erosion of the wide spread societal preference for sons may be brought about, by raising the economic and social value of the girl child through education. There is no doubt that state intervention in primary education and health care including family planning ensuring wide spread. Social and cultural factors are likely to be substantial determinants of gender preferences in Lahore as in the case elsewhere in other areas of Pakistan. Laws and regulations alone may temporarily alleviate the problem, but cannot transform attitudes, norms and beliefs that are hidden in cultural settings and in the minds of the people. The role of women in itself will be very important in shaping future fertility behaviour. Though improving women's status in society like ours is important but can not work without changing people's attitudes and norms. Therefore, removal of illiteracy among the females as well as by broadens the employment opportunities available to them are recommended as short-term strategy. Emphasis shall be put on women higher education and income generation activities to make them economically more independent. Strict disciplines shall be imposed on dowry and related problems to outweigh the idea of women being more expensive while getting married as compared to males. Mass awareness shall be created among the people through special propagation and proper redress of cultural misbeliefs to avoid preferential sex treatment and gave women due status in the society. For long-term it is suggested to initiate an IEC (information, education and communication) programme to change the attitudes of the people in the region. Also needed is a programme to changes the attitudes and norms of people in the very young age groups especially the school-going students. Such attempts may take time, but the results will be worthwhile in future

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Towards a South-Asian Model of Human Resource Management? A Comparative Analysis of India and Pakistan

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INTRODUCTION

The field human resource management has been the one which is continuously developing. It began with the distinction between personnel management and Human Resource Management (HRM) then later shifted to devolving HRM to line managers (Budhwar & Sparrow, 1997). Currently the hot debate in HRM is related to its contribution to firm's performance (see, for example, Guest, 1997; Huselid, 1995; MacDuffie, 1995; Schuler & Jackson, 1999). At the same time forces of ever increasing internationalization and globalization have given rise to debate on *convergence* and *divergence* in the study of international human resource management. Simultaneously this has led to a strong need for more cross-national HRM studies (Brewster et al. 1996; Cavusgil & Das, 1997). As world develops into a global village, there is a greater need to know how managers in various parts of the world cope with issues and problems related to the management of human resources and what major factors impact on HR policies and practices in different contexts (Hofstede, 1993; Poole, 1990). As a result of above mentioned developments, the HR function has changed from being reactive, prescriptive and administrative to being proactive, descriptive and executive (Boxall, 1994).

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Management practices, including HRM, are not universal but socially constructed in each society (Boxall, 1995). The *divergence* view, 'becoming more dissimilar'. (McGaughey & De Cieri, 1999) proposes that differences among societies result from their parochial sets of values and that individuals maintain diverse, culturally based values despite growing economic and social similarities between nations. Laurent (1991) points out that that HR practices and philosophies are deeply grounded in the surrounding national culture. Also, the nature of HRM is known to be context specific (Boxall, 1995; Brewster, 1995). By contrast, the convergence approach 'becoming more similar' (McGaughey & de Cieri, 1999), proposes that managers around the world embrace attitudes and behaviours common to managers in other countries, despite cultural differences. Factors such as globalization, contextual contingencies and business environment are viewed as cosmopolitan forces leading to more homogeneity among organizations (Ralson *et al.*, 1993, 1997). Proponents of this approach suggest that traditional contrasts between countries, as depicted by the cultural effect approach, have been over-emphasized.

According to Rowley, Benson, and Warner (2004) due to this convergence theory there is a strong argument for a common 'Asian' HRM model, given the presence of factors such as geographical and cultural closeness, openness to the same economic forces, globalization and penetration of foreign direct investment (FDI). These factors might be postulated can also provide a strong momentum towards convergence in HRM of 'South-Asian' model of India and Pakistan. In the past decade, both in India and Pakistan, changes are leading away from traditional management practices and towards increasing foreign investment by deregulating the economy, thus facilitating the convergence of management practices. The investigation of HRM in a cross-national context is crucial for the growth and development of the field of HRM in view of the major development that both these countries has undergone by liberalizing their economic policies and opening gates to foreign investors. Also at present there is dearth of research on cross-national HRM issues (Brewster *et al.*, 1996; Clark *et al.*, 1999). That is

why there is a strong need for detailed analysis of convergence and HRM and this becomes the purpose of this comparative analysis between two developing countries of India and Pakistan.

But why focus on the possible convergence of HRM in India and Pakistan? It is argued that it is important for at least three main reasons. *First* as noted above the need for more cross-national HRM studies, especially between developing nations, is currently strong (Brewster et al., 1996; Budhwar & Sparrow, 1998, Clark et al., 1999). *Second* personnel specialists in India and Pakistan are under pressure to manage their human resources within a dynamic and competitive environment due to increased level of competition by overseas firms. *Third* it would be of great interest to western firms, seeking entry into the Asian markets, to know what is happening between India and Pakistan as they find both countries attractive places to invest in because of huge domestic market. *Fourth* it will be beneficial for governments and policy makers, as the economic basis for reform.

In the article HRM developments in India and Pakistan are analysed to test the following three empirical propositions :

Propositions 1 : Convergence in HRM is occurring between India and Pakistan. *2* : This convergence is leading to a distinctive South-Asian model of HRM. *3* : The key drivers of the process involve geographic proximity, cultural closeness and openness to similar economic pressures.

The focus of this research is on the large indigenous companies to be found in the two countries as studied by Khilji (2002) and Budhwar and Khatri (2001). The two national cases studied in this research provide for the greatest possibility of convergence towards one HRM system owing to geographic and cultural closeness and similar economic pressures as suggested by Rowley *et al.* (2004). This idea of South-Asian model of HRM has to be established first in order to prove the existence of other, Pan-Asian or Asian models of HRM.

The framework of this article is based upon a study already conducted by Rowley et al. (2004) between China, Japan and Korea. Their study is applied in this setting to study another entirely different regional cluster of two developing countries of India and Pakistan to see the presence of identifiable 'South-Asian' model of HRM. This study is also warranted since, in contrast to China, Japan and Korea, it will be focusing on two developing countries- India and Pakistan. So the above framework is applied to another entirely different sort of regional cluster of developing countries to see its applicability in such a case. This paper will first describe an analytical framework of occurrence and acceptance of HRM change as proposed by Rowley et al. (2004) that will be used to study the extent of convergence in two national cases. This section emphasizes the need to distinguish between levels of occurrence and acceptance of change. The next part presents the country studies. Each country is analyzed based upon a common framework of context and then an assessment of change is made towards an idealized version of the HRM model. The fourth and fifth sections provide the results and explanations. The discussion, implications and conclusion of this work are then outlined.

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

As described earlier, the nature of HRM is known to be 'context specific' and as a result the degree and direction of influence of both culture-bound and culture-free factors on HRM varies from country to country and is responsible for the context-specific nature of HRM (Locke & Thelen, 1995). And convergence, therefore, demonstrates change towards greater similarity and homogeneity (see Warner, 2003). While change is most readily recognized between national systems, it can also occur at different speeds within countries and at variegated levels and degrees of acceptance. As a consequence there is a need to identify both levels, as well as degrees, of change. There may be changes and possible convergence not only at societal and economic levels, but also at management and HRM levels within this. In addition, the degree of acceptance of this change may vary. (Rowley et al. 2004).

LEVELS OF OCCURRENCE

One way of examining level of occurrence is to use the concept of HRM system structure (Becker and Gerhart, 1996). In this instance, HRM structure is conceived in terms of architecture (or 'deep structure'), policies and practices. System architecture is the basic principles and assumptions underlying HRM. Policies are the guiding principles of HRM. Practices are the day-to-day strategies designed to help policy implementation. Clearly, change at one level does not necessarily imply change at the other levels. The value of using this classification is that we can move from stark 'yes' or 'no' answers and towards one with more calibration and the possibility of simultaneous 'yes' and 'no' answers, with change (and hence convergence) at some levels, but not others. (Rowley *et al.*, 2004).

TABLE I
Occurrence and acceptance of HRM change

Occurrence (Level)	Acceptance (Institutionalization)	
	Implementation	Internalization
Architecture	5	6
Policy	3	4
Practice	1	2

Source : See Rowley *et al.*, (2004)

Degree of Acceptance

Within these different levels, there are a number of components to the acceptance of HRM. The concept of 'institutionalization' (Kostova, 1999) can be profitably used here. This framework requires not just the 'implementation' but also its 'internalization' with commitment to, satisfaction with and psychological ownership of practices. Combining these concepts produce a wide range of possibilities; these can be seen in Table 1. The first column scores the implementation of change. These scores are 1, 3 or 5 as the change progresses from practices, through

policy to architecture. The second column indicates the internalization of change. These scores are 2, 4 or 6 as the particular practice becomes widely accepted at the level of basic practices, policy or system architecture. Thus, if a practice is simply at the experimentation stage it would score 1, while if the practice is fully accepted and built in to the firm's HRM architecture then it would score 6. This framework also indicates that some change may be easier (1) than others (6) to implement, even within the same HRM system. (Rowley et al., 2004).

COUNTRY STUDIES

India and Pakistan share a common past and people of both countries stayed together for centuries before independence in 1947 from British rule. Due to this very reason Pakistani and Indian culture holds many similarities and it is argued that such similarities can pave the way for a South-Asian model of HRM. Pakistani culture has been characterized as an amalgam of religion, India origins, British colonialism and American influences (Khilji, 1999). Similarly Indian culture can be characterized by long British rule, a strong caste system, religion, agrarian-based society and extended family system (Budhwar, 1999).

Between 1980 and 2003, economic and social forces have been quite similar in the two countries. Both countries experienced population increase although this increase was slightly more pronounced in Pakistan. Similarly increase in labor force also occurred in both countries on a similar pattern. Also per capita income has almost doubled for both countries in this period although this rise is more pronounced for India. Inflation for both countries has not remained low although current trend shows a declining figure. Details are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2

**Comparative economic statistics for the
two countries (1980-2003)**

ASPECTS	PAKISTAN				INDIA			
	1980	1990	2000	2003	1980	1990	2000	2003
Population (Million)	82.7	108.0	138.1	148.4	687.3	849.5	1015.9	1064.4
Labor Force (Million)	30	39	51	56	300	361	445	473
GNP/Capita (US\$)	330	420	480	520	270	39	450	540
Inflation(%)			4.4	3.6			4.0	3.8

Source : The World Bank Group

Before applying the framework of analysis brief country studies of their general HRM systems are presented. First of all a review of past research relating to context of HRM in that particular country is described. After that developments in four key areas of HR namely 'flexible resourcing, 'employee development', 'performance-based rewards' and 'enterprise focused employee relations" are discussed. These areas have been chosen for two basic reasons. First these areas are broad enough to encompass much of what the main terrain of HRM is commonly taken to include in standard books on the subject (Rowley, 2003). Second they operationalize the key tenants of the HRM model, namely, that it is HR that gives economies and enterprises a competitive edge, that employee commitment is paramount and that employees should be carefully selected and developed. (Storey, 1995).

INDIA

Context

India is a democratic republic, comprising twenty-five states and seven union territories. It occupies a strategic location in South-Asia for international trade. India is the second largest country in Asia and the

seventh largest in the world. Though rich in culture and natural resources, India currently faces a number of problems: political and religious instability; ever-increasing levels of population; unemployment and poverty; corruption in government offices; castism; a low per capita income; instability of output in agriculture and related sectors; slow privatization of the bloated public sector; lack of adequate intellectual property protection; excessive bureaucracy; and an increasing gap between rich and poor. (Budhwar & Debrah, 2001).

After independence, the government set up a 'planning commission' in 1950 to formulate national plans. Economic planning is mainly carried out through the five year plans and industrial policies. The personnel function in India originated in the 1920s with the concern for labor welfare in factories. The Trade Union Act of 1926 gave formal recognition to workers' unions. The Royal Commission of 1932 recommended the appointment of labor officers and the Factories Act of 1948 laid down the duties and qualifications of labor welfare officers. All these developments formed the foundation of the personnel function in India (Balasubramanian, 1994, 1995).

After independence in the 1950s, two professional bodies emerged: the Indian Institute of Personnel Management (IIPM) was formed at Calcutta and the National Institute of Labor Management (NILM) at Bombay. In the 1960s, the personnel function began to expand beyond the welfare aspect with three areas of labor welfare, industrial relations and personnel administration developing as the constituent roles for the emerging profession (Venkata Ratnam & Shrivastava, 1991). In the 1970s, the thrust of personnel function shifted towards greater organizational 'efficiency', and by the 1980s it had begun to use and focus on terms and issues such as HRM and human resource development (HRD). Thus we see that the status of the personnel function in India has changed over the years. However, the influence of social contracts, caste, relationships and politics on Indian HRM policies and practices remain very prominent (Amba-Rao, 1994; Sparrow & Budhwar, 1997).

HRM SYSTEM

Flexible Resourcing

Sharma (1984) reported that staffing in Indian organizations is primarily governed by familial and communal and political considerations. Moreover, rules regarding practices such as recruitment, training, promotions and lay-off are *ad-hoc* in nature and subject to easy manipulations by the employers (Venkata Ratnam, 1995). Social and political pressures significantly tamper with and influence selection and promotion decisions (Kanungo & Mendonca, 1994; Sparrow & Budhwar, 1997).

According to Budhwar and Khatri (2001) Indian organizations in the private sector are more likely to recruit their management employees from their current employees. Indian companies in the growth cycle and pursuing talent acquisition and talent improvement HR strategies make greater use of internal advertisements. Indian private sector organizations use a word-of-mouth strategy more often and make less use of search firms or consultants. There is a strong reliance in the Indian private sector on recruiting top level employees base on social contacts and in an informal way i-e these positions are never advertised, but are generally created to accommodate family members, relatives or friends (Kanungo & Mendonca, 1994; Sparrow & Budhwar, 1996). Unionized Indian private sector organizations were more likely to adopt a word-of-mouth method to recruit their lower level employees. So there was relatively more emphasis in India on recruiting staff by advertising internally (white collar) and by adopting a word-of-mouth method. However, this happens more in the Indian private sector.

Employees Training and Development

Although there has been a significant increase in the level of training and development of employees (Budhwar & Sparrow, 1997; Sharma, 1992), but still quite a lot of Indian organizations still lack in this

important HRM function. This lack of training in Indian organizations is mainly due to financial constraints, non-availability of required courses, fear of losing trained managers or poaching and possibility of external recruitment (Sharma, 1992). On the other hand the adoption of formal career plans, annual career development interviews, assessment centers, succession plans and planned job rotation depict the existence of a structured training and development system. To a great extent organizations in India seem to be pursuing this. However, one has to be cautious in generalizing this to Indian public sector organizations. (Budhwar and Khari, 2001).

Performance-Based Remuneration

According to Bordia and Blau (1998) there had been evidence of simple rudimentary pay system in Indian organizations. Findings of study suggested that unionized firms in India are likely to pursue a compensation system based on work experience or seniority. Most public sector organizations in India adhere to this mechanism because this is a legal requirement (Budhwar & Khatri, 2001). Though there are also indications of a movement towards performance-related pay and promotions. However, these are more evident in the private sector. The emphasis on performance related pay and skill or competency-based pay in India reveals the existence of a national pay system. There is a subtle transition taking place away from seniority based to performance-based pay in India (Bordia & Blau, 1998). However this is true only for Indian private sector. Lifetime employment and seniority based pay are still very prevalent in the Indian public sector (Venkata Ratnam, 1995).

Enterprise-Focused Employee Relations

A review of literature suggests that trade unions are still strong in India. Though, in terms of percentage, unions in India are on a decline, in absolute terms there is an increase in union membership (Das, 1999). Moreover as has happened in the west, the Indian unions are playing a more cooperative role and are less militant (Venkata Ratnam, 1995).

Nevertheless they still greatly influence HR policies and practices in Indian companies, for example, in the recruitment of new employees, payment of bonuses and internal transfers. This is due to the strong political support they enjoy and the existence of strong pro-labor laws in India (Sodhi, 1994; Sparrow & Budhwar, 1997; Venkata Ratnam, 1996). The antagonistic role of trade unions is on the verge of change in India. However, due to strong political support, the pace of this change is very slow.

PAKISTAN

Context

Pakistan is the seventh most populous country of the world, with a total population of 148.4 million. The total employed labor force is estimated at 56 million which is only 37.7 percent of the total population. The economy is agrarian in nature as 46 percent of the labor force is employed in the agriculture sector. Pakistan has a unique cultural set up, liberal privatization and investment policies and strategic geographic importance. Religion is prominent in Pakistan and 95 percent of the population is of Muslim faith (Government of Pakistan, 2006)

The corporate culture of Pakistan, like many developing countries, has been characterized as collectives, associative and having a high uncertainty avoidance and a high power distance (Hofstede, 1980, 1991; Khilji, 1995; Trompenaars, 1994). Having a family-oriented social set-up, organization life is also community life. Employees tend to form social circles within organizations. Meritocracy does not prevail, as relationship takes precedence over rules and can guide HRM decisions such as hiring and promotions. There is limited employees autonomy and involvement. Since the deregulation of the economy, American influences have diluted the impact of British inheritance and have gained significance, both in educational institutions and in the workplace. Management faculties of government universities also follow American syllabus. Many training institutes (such as PIM, the Pakistan Institute of Management) were established with the aid from Ford foundation and

Harvard, in terms of both money and of content of their training programs, Zakaria (1994) and Khilji (1995) have observed that Pakistani managers want to follow the American model in managing organizations. American management is considered to be progressive and result oriented while British managers are labeled as slow and bureaucratic, as are the Pakistani civil service, inherited from the British (Khilji, 2002).

People of Pakistan are open to foreign influences and change, and as such, organizations are caught in between the preservation of their core cultural values and the need to modernize in an era of globalization. Khilji (1999) explained that Pakistani organizations and their culture are undergoing a dramatic change. A deregulation of the economy has added impetus, private local organizations are being set-up and multinationals are expanding. It has indeed added a fresh perspective to HRM systems. In an environment with low creativity and innovation, multinationals are expected to act as 'agents of change'. In addition disappointment with the existing traditional HRM practices of the public sector increases openness to influences of modern HRM techniques. In sum, multinationals are not really expected to adopt local practices. It follows that subsidiaries of multinationals operating in Pakistan are free to assimilate foreign HRM practices (Khilji, 2002).

HRM SYSTEM

Flexible Resourcing

In a typical Pakistani organization rigid HRM practice is the norm. In large public sector enterprises decisions are made by government appointed committees (Klein, 1992). Managers are often forced to hire staff, not necessarily on the basis of merit, but on the recommendations of their committees or unions (Khilji, 1999). In less successful and smaller local organizations, the social status of candidates often guides recruitment decisions. On the other hand multinationals are actually acting as agents of change in this regard and their practices are also adopted by larger and more successful local organizations. They

emphasize the use of merit alone or in conjunction with contacts in the recruitment process. So practices followed by multinationals are creating changes in the overall corporate culture of Pakistan but the pace of this change is very slow (Khilji, 2002).

Employee Training and Development

In Pakistan's less successful and smaller local organization, training is considered an expense and is limited to a bare minimum. Despite increasing availability of training institutes, dedicated to employee development, many organizations fail to benefit from them because of a lack of planning. No systems of priorities driven by strategic considerations or career employees' development plans have been established. This lack of strategic emphasis on training needs has led to continued acceptance of a questionable range of motivations in securing these opportunities, particularly those involving overseas visits (Eldridge, 1992). As a result training has not created a real impact.

Management has failed to develop or implement systems that are fair, led by assessment of training needs and linked to career development plans of individual employees (Qureshi, 1995). On the other hand multinationals, the change agents, have set-up in house training facilities to expose their employees to different ideas. However, unlike the multinationals, training is neither organized nor actually tied to individual career development in local organizations and public sector of Pakistan.

Performance-Based Remuneration

In Pakistani organizations seniority-based remuneration is practiced. Employees' initiative is not encouraged due to low incentives. Wages and salaries are not competitive with those of multinationals (Khilji, 2000). But now the trend is changing and multinationals have also started conducting salary surveys, like their multinational counterparts, in order to attract and retain the best employees.

Enterprise-Focused Employee Relations

In Pakistan, unions, which had special political protection and did not necessarily represent worker's interests, made it very difficult to lay off excess staff. As a result of this political patronage in Pakistan unions are instantly equated with corruption and misuse of power by employees and management, alike. In 1997, the government introduced a new policy, article 27b, to free the work environment from the influences of unions, and as a result union activities have been deprived of power they once enjoyed and exploited; and the impact of unions on businesses in Pakistan is reduced to an insignificant level. New organizations and multinationals, though previously unionized, now discourage employees from forming unions. Some organizations take extra caution by obtaining an 'undertaking' from new employees that they will not involve themselves in union activities of any kind (Budhwar & Debrah, 2001).

RESULTS

The context of HRM differs in each of the two countries. Nevertheless the country studies highlight some important similarities in HRM. First changes in resourcing have occurred in both countries where the move has been from lifetime, secure employment towards more flexible patterns. Second in both countries remuneration is moving from a seniority-based towards a more performance-based system. Although the pace of this change is slow again in both countries and this change is more pronounced in their private sectors as well.

However, there are differences as well in both countries, First unlike Pakistan's unions, Indian unions are still strong and progressing and enjoy political patronage. The significance of unions in Pakistan has diminished over the years and the government has made certain efforts to free the work environment from the influences of unions.

Second difference is the level and pace at which change is taking place in HRM in both countries. This is particularly noticeable with the

introduction of improved employee training and development. While clearly both countries are improving in training and development, in India this change has been more pronounced as compared to Pakistan and implementation as well as internalization of this function is seen at policy level. On the other hand, in Pakistan level of occurrence in change in training and development is only at the practice level where it is implemented and internalized.

Why are there similarities and differences in both countries? In Pakistan, foreign multinational corporations (MNCs) and HR managers have become increasing by important. In India, the increased global competitiveness faced by Indian companies on both the domestic and international markets has been important. But the question is how far do these similarities and differences indicate a degree of convergence between the HRM practices in each country? Table 3 presents a comparative profile of each country on the four HRM key practices of 'enterprise unionism', 'flexible resourcing', 'training and development' and 'performance remuneration'. Two issues are addressed in this table. First the present structure of HRM in each country is represented by a score between 1 and 6 for each practice (refer to table 1). Second, whether in recent years, there has been change in HRM and the direction of the change is represented by +, 0 or -. The totals, although, somewhat artificial, provide an indication of how widespread the HRM practices are and the degree of convergence towards the HRM model.

Table 3
Predominant form and degree of HRM change

Hrm practice	India	Pakistan	Total
Flexible Resourcing	1-2(+)	2(+)	3-4(+)
Employee Training and development	4(+)	2(+)	6(+)
Performance-based Remuneration	2(+)	1-2(+)	3-4(+)
Enterprise focused employee relations	5-6(+)	1-2(+)	6-8(+)
Total	12-14(+)	6-8(+)	

Source : Studies on India (Budhwar & Khatri) and Pakistan (Khilji, S.E.) Conducted in 2001 and 2002 form the basis of this assessment.
 See Rowley et. al. (2002)

Notes : Predominant form scores are based on table 1

Degree of change indicated as +, 0 -

A+ for change indicates change in the direction of the idealized HRM model, 0 represents no change and - represents a change away from the HRM model.

For India, there has been a slow movement towards the HRM model. This shift is illustrated in its (+) score on all HRM dimensions. The drive for flexible resourcing the performance related remuneration schemes is in its infancy. Clearly some change is occurring in both these areas, although this is really at the practice level with little evidence that the practices have entered policy level or achieved widespread acceptance. Employee training and development have clearly moved beyond practice level and are in policy stage where this change is implemented and internalized. For India, unionism is entrenched in the system architecture and is internalized by most employees and firms.

On the other hand for Pakistan all of the four HRM dimensions are at infancy level and none of them has entrenched itself in the system architecture. In Pakistan the enterprise structure of unionism is diminishing due to governmental efforts and change is therefore

negative. Also this unionism is prevalent only at the practice level of occurrence of change. In Pakistan due to influence of multinationals in private and public sector alike, the change has started taking place towards an HRM model but the pace of this change is slow as compared to India.

Overall, based on this empirical analysis it appears that India has made more rapid move towards western forms of HRM, at least at the level of large foreign-partnered or private enterprises. In employee training and development and unionism, Indian enterprises have either internalized these at the policy level or have attempted to build them into the system architecture. In contrast in Pakistan all of the four HRM dimensions have not fully embraced the HRM model. Although some change is clearly occurring the pace of that change has not resulted in system-wide reform. Of the four HRM structures considered, enterprise unionism and training and development seem to be the most visible signs of the adoption of the HRM model.

What conclusions can then be drawn about the three propositions presented earlier? The first proposition is that relative convergence in HRM is occurring between the two countries. This proposition is accepted as in all cases, some convergence of HRM structures has occurred. The second proposition was that this convergence is slowly leading to a distinctive Asian Model of HRM. This proposition cannot be accepted as change is accruing in the direction of the Western HRM model. The third proposition is that the key drivers of the process involve geographic proximity, cultural closeness and openness to similar economic pressures. As although it is clear that globalization has created substantial economic pressure for reform but still again this proposition cannot be accepted completely. There is little evidence to suggest that cultural and geographical closeness have had some influence. The conclusions drawn in this section are similar to Rowley et al. (2004) study of China, Japan and Korea where they failed to conclude as existence of identifiable Asian model of HRM.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

India

The future of HRM in India is characterized by many challenges. Restructuring is on the increase and will no doubt persist over the coming years, particularly with WTO entry. More and more people are becoming unemployed due to population increase. Conversely the non-state sector is expanding, providing more jobs and generally in better shape although with sluggish growth due to current increase in economic competition. The relative change in the balance between these two sets will dominate Indian HRM for many years to come. The previous personnel administration practices in India still pervade the institutional framework to a degree and the mind set they engendered have been relatively slow to change. However, the larger MNC's, often seen as the pattern setting employers, are in the main the firm's practicing HR practices, such as HRM borrowed from the west. They may, of course, have to adapt their practices to Indian conditions but this is the nearest one may get to HRM in strict sense.

Pakistan

The pressure for change is getting momentum in Pakistan. The rising unemployment and drastic increase in population mean that some change is inevitable. On the other hand, the considerable barriers to change and the desire not to destroy what was, and in many cases still is, means that change will be gradual and incremental. Short-term contracts and casualization of employment will continue to increase and remuneration will increasingly be tied to performance. The domestic economy of Pakistan has become more open, with inward FDI bringing contact with 'foreign' HRM. It is how these newer forces interact and relate with countervailing traditional factors, such as cultural and institutional ones, that will determine the final pattern of HRM.

Reasons of Change

Why has HRM change occurred in these two countries? One

explanation concerns range of pressures from convergence that include globalization, FDI and competition. In addition, there are changes in both cultures, with the opening up to the spread of more global and ubiquitous cultures and institutions. These pressures may be seen as being opposed by the forces that work in opposition to convergence. Such forces include the country's particular and specific culture and institutions. For these two countries ideas concerning respect for elders and strong family ties, mean that any imported HRM system will need to accommodate such traits. It is, however, important to recognize that such traits may vary across the countries and also appear in other systems, for example Confucianism and Victorian values etc. The role of the state is an important explanation for the change in HRM. This case is obvious in both Pakistan and India where legislative change and economic reforms have been actively promoted by government as key players.

IMPLICATIONS AND RELEVANCE OF ANALYSIS

The above analysis has significant relevance for both management and academia. For management there are several implications that can be seen in terms of not just indigenous, but also other Asian and Western management. The first implication relates to the growing need to manage diversity (Rowley et al., 2004). There is a fair degree of contrast from the traditionally very ethnically and socially homogenous urban workforces in India and Pakistan, with the heterogeneous labor force that has to be managed in other parts of the world.

A second implication concerns management perennial search for the 'one best' way to manage people, while overlooking the difficulties inherent in universalistic 'best practices'. The area of HRM is probably the most context sensitive aspect of management. History, culture and institutions retain their power and influence even into the twenty first century. This point is highly relevant for the operation of management and points to falseness, and even costs, of any 'one best' way prescription for the management of people.

In short, the implications for management for this research are that a more subtle cross-cultural approach is needed in dealing with HRM in South Asia, one that includes both the 'Asian' and the 'global' template. The idea of the 'South Asian area' as a unified bloc for management clearly needs to be addressed. More cross-cultural training is needed, especially for expatriate managers in dealing with HR problems in more locally adaptive contexts.

For academia, a number of theory methodology and research issues arise. In terms of theory, the concept of convergence has to be further differentiated and developed. In most areas of HRM studied the direction was clearly towards convergence. It was, however, the case that there were instances of growing diversity. As such, models of change must be able to accommodate tendencies towards convergence while at the same time recognizing growing areas of diversity. In short, not all HRM practices will be adopted with equal speed or in a similar direction (Rowley *et al.*, 2004).

In terms of methodology it is clear that more refined measures of change are required. In this study, three levels of change were considered and whether the changes are implemented and institutionalized. This approach extended previous research by allowing for 'deep structure' or HRM architecture to be considered. What is now needed is a means of systematically measuring this HRM architecture. Such an approach would need to operationalize HRM architecture as well as attempt to measure the underlying characteristics of architecture such as values and beliefs (Rowley *et al.*, 2004).

Finally, the types of research questions considered need to be extended. In this study focus has been on the existence of HRM practices but has not attempted to measure the adoption of such practices in the day to day work of employees and managers. This approach would involve detailed case studies where a variety of methods are employed. As part of this process, the research issues under examination will need to be extended to issues such as leadership approaches and collective

workplace activity. In summary, research will need to broaden comparisons and issues and carry out more longitudinal studies (Rowley *et al.*, 2004).

CONCLUSION

This article has been concerned with changes in HRM system and possible convergence towards a South-Asian model of HRM. Addressing these issues has cast light on whether HRM is 'culture specific' or 'culture free' and also whether it is 'institution specific' or 'institution free'. This is important to practitioners and businesses seeking entry into south Asia markets, as well as theory and issues of 'best practice' and policy reforms'. A more disaggregated and calibrated framework was used that allowed the analysis to move beyond the stark 'yes' or 'no' responses of much of the previous work in the area. Thus, the analysis involved a consideration of HRM changes at different levels and by degrees within the one HRM system. (Rowley *et al.*, 2004).

As postulated by Rowley *et al.* (2004) it might be concluded that the results do indicate that there has been some convergence in HRM and that there have been some common environmental factors operating in these countries. Yet, the outcome of this, while producing change in indigenous HRM, is not necessarily towards some model of South Asian HRM. While we remain with HRM with South-Asian characteristics, these in turn are sometimes even more specific to the country concerned and its historical and economic development.

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Demographic Characteristics and Women's Status in Cholistan

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This paper is an attempt to explore the various aspects of the status of women in Cholistan and to highlight the reasons for their low status in this area. Socio-economic determinants has been explored in this regard to represent the deprivation of average Cholistani women in the use of social and economic resources e.g. education, family planning measures, ownership of assets along with the rights of their sale and purchase. Status of women is determined through factors that contribute in giving status to women and these are proxy variables. These factors are categorized into three indices showing authority, empowerment and violence against women in this area. It is found that on average women posses low status in this area and the major reasons for this low status are lack of education and awareness, lack of facilities available to them and poverty.

INTRODUCTION

The overwhelming majority of population of Pakistan is rural resident and village oriented. In Pakistan the extended family is the basic functional unit. Such a family might include the dominant male usually but not always the eldest. For most Pakistanis, the family is the only source of security. It is the fundamental social and economic unit. The eldest male of the family occupies the position of paramount authority. The low status of women is one of the many factors in Pakistani society, which interfere with achievement of development goals. Multifaceted

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factors contribute to the subservient role played by Pakistani women in the society, which lead to conservative society and perpetuate vicious cycle of poverty under-nutrition and low level of education amongst Pakistani women.

Estimated population of Pakistan is around 142.5 million in mid 2001 (World Bank Report 2002). It stands at seventh most populous country in the world and the fourth among Asian countries. The area now constituting Pakistan consisted of population 16.6 million in 1901, which approximately seemed to be eight times lower than the existing number of populace.

Women constitute approximately half of population in Pakistan. There are many faces to Pakistani women. At the one edge of thread these possessed power and authority to control the governance of the territory while at the other edge in the same territory welfare and status of women in backward areas is among the lowest in the world. For this reason Pakistan's ball of pendulum of economic, social, political and cultural progress is swinging. Though these indicators have been improved regarding women in absolute terms yet the scenario does not show relative improvement in comparison of status of women against men.

The end of second millennium has witnessed a formidable paradox as regards rural women and information. On one hand women are projected into the middle of global market realities by the revolution of information technology but on the other hand they are left out of the mainstream of development programmes. Consequently, women are not drawing benefits from this changing pattern and are impacted by globalization in reverse order. Rural women are not part of communication system, which is turning the world into "Global Village".

Defining status of women is a complex phenomenon and is defined in different societies with different interpretation of relative importance of variables necessary to elaborate situations and its stagnancies prevailing for different time horizons.

Very generally speaking variables used to discover status of women are :

- 1) Life expectancy rate.
- 2) Human resource development regarding (their education and health).
- 3) Participation of women in economic activities.

These variables are again related with other variables, it would rather seem plausible to say are dependent on other variables also. In Pakistan these key indicators were stagnant in 1970's after showing a reasonable increase in 1960's (World Bank Women in Pakistan 1989). Pakistan is facing formidable challenges in the pace of economic development. The most direct and socially explosive impact of Pakistan's high population growth rate is on its employment situation. The situation encompasses fundamental premises that an increase in female educational levels lead to lower fertility rates and more productive employment status hence increase in income through relatively productive employment status in formal and informal sector gives them confidence to become a participates in decisions regarding household matters and a good decision maker for themselves. A Pakistani woman grows up in a fairly sheltered environment. Her most decisions are tabooed by male members of the family. These male members are of course father, brothers and husband needless to say mother in law.

Women play a key role in generating good nutrition and household food security. They have the greatest potential to make decisions that positively affect child survival. However the position and status of women strongly influences their ability to make decisions to realize that potential. Women's position and status is formed around a series of factors such as resource use, ownership control, legal and ideological structures, and education and information. The status and position of women is reflected by their ability to take decisions in the spending of household income, the quantity and quality of childcare they are able to provide, and health-seeking behaviour (including family planning

decisions) (the outcome of decisions based on women's status and position also inform us about (their say (Hadded 1999).

On economic front it is equally disappointing for a woman status analyser to see that there is lack of progress in providing economic opportunities to women. Low level of education is primarily responsible for high reproductive rate and is negating the improvement in economic growth. Most of the studies made in Pakistan found female education to be the single most important determinant of reproductive behaviour. Many researchers while determining the status of women concluded that in Pakistan, female education remains a powerful indicator of relative status, which for various reasons is associated with significant differentials in fertility. These differentials are most apparent when the total fertility rates for women with more than primary education are compared to those for women with no education. On the economic front, it is important to note that the most of work done by women is invisible. Rural women work from dawn to dusk for 14 to 18 hours daily. Women from small land holding, tenant and landless families bear heavy burden of both productive and household maintenance activities. Such as cooking and taking food to the field, water fetching, cleaning both house and shed, firewood gathering, livestock production, crop production and cottage industry.

Whenever the surveys are conducted to take into account the participation of rural as well as urban women in economic activities of the country results always show a declining trend was noted for a rural woman in spite of her too much participation in farm activities, in agrarian sector and in other productive activities. Rural women are engaged in economic activities and mostly work as unpaid family helpers. This help by them is non-reported or under reported by length of working hours as well as wage if earned on the basis of work.

Thinking at the national level portrays that level of growth affects situation of women in a country. As total available income determines the consumption and investment pattern in a country, and necessitates the

ultimate economic welfare. GDP is the most common measure of economic production. Women's average economic situation in many countries is worse than the GDP measure show because GDP measure never elaborates the distributional aspects in the economy. Despite this uneven measure women are doing very poorly in these economies to add in the financial arrangements of the household sustainably and in the economy inevitably

Increased economic crises and stabilization and adjustment programmes have increased hardships to much of the developing world, especially the heavily indebt countries, and these have particularly affected women. In these developing countries with the stabilization and adjustment processes relying heavily on cuts in government spending, women have been disproportionately squeezed out of public sector employment. Cuts in such government services as health, childcare, family planning and education have hit women, particularly hard setting back women's earlier gains (The United Nations 1991). The burden of inflation has fallen heavily on women who are responsible for procuring staple goods for the household. Often stabilization and adjustment plans have mandated wage freezes, the resources for obtaining goods have dwindled, and women have had to increase their working hours just to ensure their families survival (The United Nations 1991).

Above interpretations regarding stabilization and adjustment programmes against dwindling stance of the economy have affected women directly and their working hours increase and vulnerability in the usage of services available in the services sector indirectly.

The recent history of women's movements is critical in understanding current attempts to link gender and sustainability. Feminism has presented quite a heterogeneous front at any one time, and it has evolved considerably in recent decades.

In the first two decades after the concepts of development and underdevelopment were first voiced in President Truman's 1994

inaugural speech, the economic role of women was perceived basically in the area of reproduction; the contribution of women to the economy was largely overlooked. However, in reaction to criticism of this approach, the term woman in development was coined, and the development initiatives promoted for alleviation of poverty in these decades failed to address women's need in the scenario of development to fulfil the needs of this perspective WID (women in development) approach emerged. This emerged approach gradually promoted (their participation of women in development programmes to incorporate women in those currently initiated programmes, focus of this approach was on women as a special group and success was measured in terms of number of women participating in such development actions.

The economic crises of the 1980s led to increasing poverty among developing countries and affected women seriously, so the term "feminization of poverty" was coined. The 1980s were also marked by a considerable growth of women's movements in developing countries and some of these groups began to assail the very notion of development. At the end of the 1980s a new approach thus emerged which was GAD (Gender and Development) this approach sought to express the mobilization and integration of women in development programmes. The GAD approach emerged as a reaction to the meagre result of the WID. The issue was no longer to incorporate women in development programmes (who were involved in much of the work, continued to be left out of most of the benefits) but to empower them in order to transform unequal relations and give them awareness of their rights. The point of the GAD approach is to examine how the relative positions of men and women in society, and the system governing the relation between them affect their ability to participate in development. Whereas the WID approach had attempted to increase women's participation and benefits, thereby making development more effective, GAD sought to empower women and to transform unequal, social gender relations aiming at full equality of women within (the framework of economic development (Braidotti 1994).

In Pakistan women considerably contribute to the food security and also contribute in household income by acting as wage earners. However, these remain busy in household activities and these domestic tasks also include their responsibility for household food security. Women dominate in food processing thereby contribute in diversity in diet, by supplying important vitamins and minerals and reduce food losses. For example, Sindhi women indigenously practice drying vegetables and different kinds of pickles. While women in Punjab has great involvement in crop and livestock production. Moreover women prepare food for their household and thus are responsible for ensuring nutrition and healthy lives of the family members. These women as wage earners provide cash income to purchase food for the families. In the poorest families women's earnings are critical to the subsistence of the households and considerable number of workingwomen are the principal income earners in the low-income families (ESCAP, 1997).

Development of a nation cannot only be achieved by the development of economic status of the family but the social set up of the surroundings as well as the awareness among the community. Putting women who almost count half of the population of the country in hard physical and mental tasks is the spoilage of the most precious nation-building source. Women are the prolific source of economic development because many women add in the financial position of the family, and become the part of manpower of a country, this manpower determines the rate of its economic development.

In Pakistan most of the data set take household as the unit of observation. A number of representative household surveys have been conducted in Pakistan. These surveys mainly include Household Income and Expenditure Surveys (H.I.H.S.), The Pakistan Integrated Household Surveys (P.I.H.S.); the above-mentioned surveys give information on household income and consumption pattern and many other household and community level variables. The Pakistan micro-nutrient Survey (M.N.S.) 1976-77, the National Nutrition Survey 1985-87, the National Health Survey (N.H.S.), provide information regarding intake of micro-

nutrient by adult males and females, and boys and girls of different age groups. The Pakistan Demographic and Health Surveys (P.D.H.S) 1990-91, and the Pakistan Demographic Surveys (P.D.S.) portrays the picture of fertility decisions and other related informations.

Punjab has the greatest number of poor households in Pakistan, and, consisting of mainly Bahawalpur division, is the poorest. The highest density of poverty in Pakistan is in Southern rural Punjab. The incidence of poverty is most widely visible in the newly settled areas of Lesser Cholistan. This study is undertaken to determine the status of women in Lesser Cholistan.

Main reasons for focussing the study on Cholistan Women are as under :

- a) Women in the rural areas of Pakistan are unaware of their rights. Cholistan women fall in the same category where they do not exercise their rights.
- b) Performing hard tasks in the area for household like collection of water, fuel wood and management of livestock.
- c) An average Cholistan woman is more deprived in the usage of social and economic resources of the area *e.g.*
 - i. Health facility
 - ii. Education
 - iii. Family planning measures
 - iv. Decision making authority
 - v. Ownership of land and livestock along with the rights of (their sale and purchase.

Therefore it seems that Cholistan women are relatively more deprived of the accessibility and availability of various basic human needs.

Following are the major objectives of the study :

1. To highlight various aspects of the status of women in the area
2. To highlight various reasons determining the low status of women in this area
3. To calculate their average level in the indices made to show their autonomy in the family
4. To make suggestions in the light of the main findings of the study and their policy implications on the economy.

THE HYPOTHESIS

Demographic characteristics of the respondents and household all are the contributory factors to women's empowerment in Cholistan.

STUDY INCLUDES FOUR SECTIONS.

Section 1 presents introduction. Section 2 of the study presents the review of the major studies and literature available on this subject. Section 3 presents detailed scenario of the socio-economic determinants of status of women along with the reasons showing their deprivations from the use of social and domestic rights. Section 4 presents empirical results and draws the levels and consequences of low status of Cholistan women. Section 5 deals with the conclusion and recommendations to improve the status of women in the area.

AUTONOMY AND STATUS OF WOMEN : REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Many studies in different formulation are carried out in Pakistan to determine the status of women. Major determinants considered determining the empowerment of women mainly included their contraceptive use, their labour force participation and participation in other activities, female education and even sometimes education of their

parents, their time allocation towards different household activities mainly water collection in rural areas even in the presence of complex phenomenon of *purdah* and going out for water collection, asset ownership and resource use and discrimination in giving them opportunity for resource use.

Wilber (1964), P.5 argues, "A person brought up under this rather rigid system with its overtones of authoritarianism generally lacks any training in responsibility. In adult life this early pattern contributes to acceptance of authority to the detriments of individual initiative and belief in the effectiveness of collective efforts. A son is regarded as permanent part of the family and an asset who will reinforce the family power and status".

In almost all families of Pakistani societies daughters are not generally considered equal to the status of son, and are not regarded as an asset. The family unit is conscious in thinking that a female belongs to her future husband and is a liability in a sense. A wife is always a subordinate to the authority of husband. An issueless wife as well as the wife only having female children suffers the disgrace of having her husband take a second wife.

Pakistani society is kinship oriented where other family members strongly influence decisions regarding contraceptive use. The husband is traditionally less concerned with the social companionship of his wife than with her ability to bear him sons and carry on the family name. The birth of son ensures her position in the family (Nyrop 1971).

Farooq (1981) observed that changes in the environment of the individual, including social economic and demographic conditions could make the individual formulate his/her fertility preferences. In developing countries like Pakistan where the contraceptive prevalence rate is low, he observed that measures of fertility preference, even if they do not completely translate into actual behaviour do provide an insight into preferred family size and its composition. For explaining social and

economic conditions for the prevalence of contraceptive use, Oppong (1983), Mahmood (1992) reported the impact of education on the reduced level of fertility. In determining the impact of education on fertility behaviour include the factors like age at marriage, increase in women's individuality and aspiration for the equality of children, increased opportunities for personal advancement, awareness of social mobility, a desire for reduced number of children and a greater exposure to knowledge of means to regulate fertility.

Findings provided by Williamson (1983) and Cain (1982) in findings of their study concluded that strong relationship between the desire to have more children and the total number of living children is affected by the number of living sons and daughters. Findings of their study showed that sex preference exerts a strong influence on fertility. They reported that women who wanted to stop child bearing increased once their sex preference is achieved. Ideal family size has an ideal sex composition, which is not necessarily matched by the actual births. Women in order to achieve the preferred number of children of a particular sex could continue child bearing, thus leading the desired family size to be larger than the ideal family size.

Hakim (1994) analysed differentials in contraceptive use by women's demographic and socio-economic status. The author analysis indicated that current use of contraception increases with an increase in age and number of living children while among the socio-economic factors influencing contraceptive use is women's education. The current use of contraception in analysing status of women show that women working as professional employees have a higher level of contraceptive use than do women performing home duties.

Fundamental characteristics of strong tradition binding cultural societies is kinship relationship also. Mahmood (1992) observed that traditional culture societies of developing world like Pakistan have strong kinship relationship and influence of other family members on the fertility decisions. Nuclear living arrangements are generally reported

with less number of children than those having joint households. In different countries status of women is demonstrated by variety of indicators like their resource use, their time allocation and their participation in household decisions.

In different countries status of women is demonstrated by Hadded Lawrence (1999) used a variety of indicators to demonstrate the variations in status of women relative to men in seven countries. They observed that status of women is lower in Bangladesh, India and Pakistan than in other countries in South and East Asia and in more other countries in the world. Women status is perpetuated from one generation to the next through less health seeking behaviour for girls, less food given to girls, lower educational investment in girls, 'preference for boys for sex of next child and higher rates of female infant mortality. The above-mentioned measures give the speculation that discrimination against women is deeply rooted in cultural and traditional values in these countries.

Ali and Hussain (2001) analysed that proportion of married women over four decades suggests a continuous reduction in their proportions. They made efforts to estimate the level of vital statistics through sample surveys and observed that in 1984-85 Pakistan Contraceptive Prevalence Survey (P.C.P.S.) estimated a Total Fertility Rate (T.F.R.) of 6 children, which seemed to be a ray of hope for Pakistani Demographers. In 1990-91 Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey estimated a T.F.R. of 5.4 children. Nevertheless their study also shows, in mid 90's a T.F.R. of 5.6 children for the period 1994-95 was estimated from the 1994-95 Pakistan Contraceptive Prevalence Survey Data (Population Council 1998) while Preliminary results of 2000-01 Pakistan Reproductive Health and Family Planning Survey estimated a T.F.R. of 4.8 children for the period 1997-2001.

Chaudhry and Khan (1987) focused on female labour force participation rates in rural Pakistan. According to their analysis female participation rates may be of critical importance in determining the rates

of saving investment and productivity in agriculture even they find that magnitude, and trend of the participation rates of rural females in Pakistan have been low and tending falling with the passage of time. As a consequence productivities in agriculture remained low and the rising dependence ratio add a special dimension to the problems of agriculture in the sense that it becomes increasingly difficult to raise agricultural productivity without large expenditures on input subsidies, price supports, institutional credit and education of the masses for work.

Afzal and Nasir (1987) observed that the labour force surveys, the fertility related surveys and agricultural censuses suggest that the female work participation especially in the rural areas has gone up substantially. The findings in this paper also suggest that sample surveys, how-so-ever routinely conducted, show relatively better results than the population censuses and the improvement can be attributed to factors such as better training to the smaller number of enumerators used in the survey as compared to the census.

Women fully participate their strength in activities performed by men. They work alongside men in most of the processes involved in the production of crops but men take over the charge of the whole process when the crop is ready for sale in the market. It is also keenly observed that women are involved extensively in activities relating to the care of livestock, they cannot buy or sell animals in the market. Even in most cases payment of the work done by women is made to the male members of the family (Shaheed 1992).

Women in rural community participate in activities and produce utilities. These utilities may be income generating and expenditure saving. Though women work in the pursuit of some goal just like men and remain involved in many agriculture and livestock tending operations in addition to their involvement in poultry tending, processing of dairy products and handicrafts, yet their role remains unrecognised and does not let their status elevate within society (Saeed 1993).

Deaton (1989) examined the issue of gender discrimination in the allocation of goods by developing an technique. This technique establishes a link between consumption of food relative to non-food and ratio of males to female in household. He applied this technique on Pakistan's data derived from HIES for the year 1984-85 and took tobacco and pan and men's footwear and women's footwear as adult goods. He found that the expenditure on tobacco and pan did not decline with the preference of children of either sex but the expenditure on men's footwear and women's footwear declined with the increase in number of children irrespective of their sex.

Ilahi and Grimard (2000) focused on the relationship between access to water both at community and household level along with the time allocation of women who are the prime victim to collect water. At household level their results show that poor water-supply reduces the market-oriented work of females and increases their contribution to household activities and decreases their leisure time. They suggested in their results that improvement in water supply infrastructure will increase the participation of women in income generating activities and resultantly poverty will get down trend.

Alongwith these tasks performed that household level women also contribute in the financial position of the family but suffer social and cultural limitations.

Azid, Aslam and Omer (2001) estimated the female labour supply in the cottage industry. The major determinant, which compelled women to be the part of the cottage industry, is poverty. They based their hypothesis on this fact and found in their estimation technique that poverty variable is strong and statistically significant which other way round proved the effort of females in pulling the household out of poverty. Age of the women and their hours spend on work gave positive relationship. They also observed that women living in far off areas work fewer hours than their other counterparts. In their study hours of female work respond to their income while they observed that the female labour

supply decrease with the increase in the number of adults, and number of children under 5 years of age in the household. The ultimate effect of education of females on their labour supply is indeterminate because holding wages constant; increase in level of women's education can increase the probability of women's participation and time allocation in market production.

Papanek (1982) pointed out that "*Purdah*" is a real limitation on interaction between women and men outside certain well-defined and peculiar categories. It is required to not here that one of definitive feature of Muslim *purdah* is that social intercourse between men and women is delimited by the criterion of kinship. In this regard social interaction of men and women is possible if they are related through blood or marriage. According to Mernissi (1987) *Purdah* and segregation of sexes in a society limit woman's physical mobility and social contacts by making them subordinate of the male members of the family who ought to be the final decision makers of the family. Status of women in developing countries, which intensively looked into male-female earning differential, is given by Ashraf and Ashraf (1993). In the light of findings they concluded that status and position of women need to be strengthened through wider opportunities for education, paid employment and other opportunities for self-development in order to increase their participation in socio-economic development. These provisions of opportunities will to an ultimate decline in fertility.

Due to the price instability of essential food items, the incidence of malnutrition and poverty is growing in Pakistan. He pointed out that nutritional security should be recognized as a policy objective that is distinct from food security and high lightened the intra-household distribution of issues in Pakistan (Malik 1994).

Haq (1997) reports a considerably low value of Gender Development Index (G.D.I.) and Gender Empowerment Measure (G.E.M.) for this region only .41 and 0.23 respectively. The value of GDI for Pakistan is 0.383 that is higher than Bangladesh (0.336) and Nepal (0.308) and

lower than India (0.410), Maldives (0.599) and Sri Lanka (0.699). The value of G.E.M. is found to be lowest for Pakistan among the five countries that indicates the lack of opportunities for women to participate in economic and political activities as compare with men.

Gender Development Index (G.D.I) Gender Empowerment Measure (G.E.M) has low value for the South Asian region of the world including Pakistan. This portrays their lesser access and ownership of resources.

In rural Pakistan only 16% of the total women were the borrower which is basically due to the lack of collateral. Less than 0.4% were able to obtain loan from institutional sources. 94% borrowed to fulfil the needs of the household, 4% borrowed for agriculture and 2% for non-agriculture purposes. Women have very little access and ownership of assets especially in terms of land. Traditionally gold jewellery is the most commonly owned asset by the Pakistani women AERC and PIDE (1998).

Various dimensions of women's autonomy by conducting a survey in the rural areas of Punjab are examined by Sathar and Kazi (1997). This survey covered 1036 currently married women of the ages 15-40 years, 473 husbands, focus group interviews in each site with groups of 6-10 individuals, and separate focus group discussions for men and women. The data set includes information on full birth history, contraceptive knowledge and use, and employment history. They used several indicators to measure autonomy including women's freedom of movement, their decision making authority in both the economic and social spheres, their access to and control over resources and power relations within the household.

Nazli and Hamid (1999) quoted that in Pakistan the general level of human deprivation is extremely high; population density is 163 persons per square kilometer; population growth rate is 2.6 percent, nearly 45 million individuals do not have enough income to finance the basic necessities of life; about 40 percent people do not have access to safe

water; 53 percent are living without sanitation facilities; and 23 percent die before the age of 40 years (Human Development Report (1997). In Pakistan, women are usually subordinate to men and their role is confined to the household chores and childcare. They rarely have access to productive resources and have very limited participation in important household decisions. Even most of the decisions of a women's life, such as, education, work, marriage, major purchases, number of children and decisions regarding children education and marriage are taken by the male members. Their low relative status in the household is reflected in their high illiteracy, low educational attainment, fewer opportunities for skill development and lower participation in economic and political activities.

DETERMINANTS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF CHOLISTANI WOMEN SURVEY ANALYSIS

In Pakistan women play an active role in contributing in household and other activities but their contribution is underreported and their efforts are not recognized in their families and in the society also. They are not allowed to take decisions regarding their own matters. Chapter 3 contains three parts. Part 1 includes terms of reference in which brief introduction of the area is made regarding its location and culture. Part 2 includes data source and methodology in which model applied for quantitative analysis of the data is introduced along with the sample design and dependent and independent variables abbreviation and explanation. Part 3 contains detailed survey analysis.

1. Terms of Reference

Cholistan desert, an extension of the Great Indian Desert, lying in the south of Punjab is spreading over an area of 26,000 km. This desert is comprised of about 2.6 million hacters (FAO 1993; Akber 1996 and Chaudhary 1997). It has a length of about 480 km while its width varies from 32 to 192 km (Khan 1987; Chaudhary 1992). It is based on the topography, parent material soil and vegetation etc. The whole Cholistan

desert can be divided into two geomorphic regions (See pictures in Appendix A,B and C); the northern region is called Lesser Cholistan bordering canal irrigated areas covering about 7770 km and the southern region is called Greater Cholistan comprised of 18130 km(Khan 1987; Baig 1980; Ahmed 1992; Arshad and Rao 1994; Chaudhry 1997). The Lesser Cholistan consists of saline alluvial flats locally called "dahars" altering with low sandy ridges dunes. The clayey flats of Lesser Cholistan are generally homogenous to a depth ranging from 30 to 90 cm. These soils are classified as either saline or saline sodic. The Greater Cholistan is a wind resorted sandy desert and comprised of old river terraces, large sand dunes, ridges and depressions (Baig 1980; Khan 1987; Arshad and Rao 1994). Its climate is very harsh where summer temperature exceeds 50 °C with abysmally low rainfall of 100-250 mm per annum (Akbar 1996 Akbar and Arsluid 2000, F.A.O. 1993). Periodic draughts are rampant and adversely affect the inhabitants, livestock, flora and fauna of the area. Life in Cholistan desert revolves around the sources of sweet water, which is harnessed after the rainfall in open low-lying or dugout ponds locally called as "Toba" or "Kund" In the events of prolonged and serious droughts the nomad pastor lists continue moving within the desert from place to place following the news of rain but when unable to bear the onslaught and hardship of this adversity they migrate to the areas irrigated by canals (Rao 1989, Arshad 1999).

Around 4000 B.C. the Cholistan was a cradle of civilization commonly known as the "Hakra Valley civilization". This was when the river Hakra flowed through the region. The river supplied permanent water until 1200 B.C. Around 600 B.C. it became irregular in flow and consequently vanished within a century or so. The Hakra civilization that flourished here was one of the longest in the course of world history (FAO 1993; Arshad 1996). It was also one of earliest civilization of the Indo-Pak subcontinent.

The under ground water in Cholistan desert is blackish ranging salts 368 to 34,000mg/l thus remain un-usable. The soils are highly

undulating lumps of stabilized and unstabilized dunes with clayey, locally called as "Dahars". Cholistan when lively it supports a populace of 1,10,000 herdsmen, dependent upon their domestic animals namely sheep, goat, cow and camel. Semi-permanent settlements are a few and scattered, which became abandoned during prolonged draughts. This exodus is repeated every few years partially or fully depending upon the occurrence of draughts (Rao 1989, Akbar 1996).

The total human population of this desert is around 1.2 million with a density of about 3.73 persons per km (Chaudhary 1997). Interior of the desert is thinly populated than the peripheral zone. Semi permanent and nomade inhabitants roam about measuring length and breadth of the desert continuously looking for forage for their livestock and more strongly for drinkable water. The economy of the region is predominantly pastoral. People have practiced a nomadic life style for centuries. Smaller to large herds of camels, cattle, sheep and goats are owned by the nomads. The area is not saved by modern communication system and can be traversed by camels or jeeps. Local people use camels as a mode of transportation. Habitations are small and extremely scattered (Baig 1980; Qureshi and Javed 1984; Chaudhry 1991; Baksh 1993; Akbar 1996).

The pastoral system is characterised by mass migrations of animals and people throughout the year in search of water and forage. The onset of monsoon and the distribution of rainfall mainly dictate the pattern of movement of nomadic herders. Around the months of March or April, nomadic households move towards surrounding irrigated areas forced thereby rising temperature in the desert and depleted feed and water resources. The incentives for this movement also include temporary employment opportunities with the irrigated farming community, grazing of livestock on wheat stubbles, drinking water for human and livestock and readily available markets for livestock and their by-products. Farmers in the irrigated areas in return obtain sufficient labour for crop harvesting and other farming operations and animal manure to enhance soil fertility through camping of livestock on fellow fields. The

nomads and their herds return to the desert around July or August with news of first monsoon shower. Distances travelled during this migration vary from 10 to 100 km. While in the desert the natural vegetation is the main source of fodder. 'Tobas' low lying or dug out rainwater reserves serve as source of drinking water both for nomads and their livestock. Tobas are made in clayey flats locally called dahars with a large catchments area to avoid the loss of run off and water percolation. Tobas belonging to the one clan are generally located close to each other, often within 1km radius. On the start of rainy season, livestock graze within 1 or 2 km radius of each toba. This distance increases to about 15 km when the summer progresses. During October and November, when monsoon water resources get depleted, the each clan move its herds to semi permanent centres equipped with a series of traditional physically dug out and unlined wells and 'Kunds' (usually lined) (FAO 1993; Akbar 1996). On exhaustion of these water resources, the desert is vacated quickly to avoid miseries and mortality of livestock.

A few nomads manage their mixed livestock in such a way that milking cows are moved nearby the urban centres to sell milk while other animals are grazed in the desert. Thus the nomads attach high values to their herds. Livestock are the main source of their survival and the number of cultural norms are linked with the animals.

This livestock the major asset of the Cholistan households is mainly taken care and managed by the women in this way, women in these households become the major contributors in the asset building and income generation. Despite, this overwhelming contribution. Cholistan women do not have any say in many decisions that directly or indirectly affect their well-being. The women of Cholistan have no access to basic amenities. Sanitation, safe water, and health facility. Many women in this area perform hard tasks such as: firewood gathering, livestock management, harvesting, cotton picking, ploughing, etc.

Women in this area are making vital contribution in agricultural activities. Women's contribution is highly concentrated during the planting and harvesting season but mainly unreported and unpaid.

2. Data Source and Methodology

Interview technique is used to collect data by going door to door in Cholistan. Number of respondents are 200. All women taken in the sample are ever married. Women taken in sample are of different ages. We limited the study to the set of household in which women answered the questions not in the presence of any male member of the family and is independent in giving answers to the questions interviewer asked. The households from which data is collected are located through a random sampling technique.

The interview schedule was a set of questions, which was filled in by the interviewer. It has been conducted at different villages of Cholistan by door-to-door contact by the interviewee. The interviewer had to fill in the questionnaire entirely by herself. Except few numbers of respondents, none of the respondent could speak Urdu.

2.1 Sample Design

A sample of size 200 was designed to present the population density in Cholistan. The sample design was based on the population census 1998. For sample framework all data was taken from statistical division which provided :

- a) Enumeration Block in Cholistan
- b) Households within each enumeration block

The systematic random sampling was used. On sampling frame a two stage sampling technique was used. In the first stage enumeration block in Cholistan were selected and in the second stage households were selected from those pre-selected enumeration blocks and the selection was based on systematic random sampling.

2.2 Dependent Variables

The study is an effort to ascertain the factors that contribute in

giving status to women impel them to take decisions. The three indices reflecting authority, empowerment and violence against women are constructed.

The questions that have been used to construct the authority index represents women's self-reported decision-making power regarding some important aspects of their family life. Traditionally decision-making authority is in the hands of men making women powerless and subjugated to men even in the decisions related with their family life. The authority index is based on answers to the following questions :

1. Decision about sending female children to school.
2. Decision about using contraceptive measures.
3. Decision about purchase of household items.
4. Decision about treatment of children in case of their health problems.

Another index showing empowerment of women is constructed through gathering information related with the ownership of assets by the household. These questions constructed empowerment index can not be restricted to the ownership of assets by the respondent alone because women in the area data is collected can not have authority to manage the assets she even herself owns so these are related mostly with the questions showing asset ownership by the household. The answers from the questions show the following :

1. Land ownership by the respondent.
2. Livestock ownership by the respondent.
3. Employment status of respondent in monetary rewards.

Index showing the violence against women is constructed through answers from the questions related with :

1. Fear from husband to be beaten by him.

2. Fear to usually disagree with him.
3. Fear to be sent back to parents home as a result of even a domestic dispute.

The responses in the above questions are ranked 0 and 1. The value assigned to the decision made by the respondent is given value 1 while the rank given to the decision taken by husband alone is 0.

2.3 Independent Variables

The variables used as independent variables are as under :

1. Age of the respondent.
2. Per capita income.
3. Education of the respondent.
4. Education of husband of the respondent.
5. Livestock ownership by the household.
6. Land ownership by the household.
7. No. of alive sons the respondent has.
8. Family size.
9. Total No. of earners in the family irrespective of the respondent.

2.4 LOCH MODEL

Binary logit model

A non-linear model to handle the limited (Binary choice) variable case is known as logistic or logit model. The model presents the following cumulative probability density function:

$$p = 1 / [1 + \exp \{ -(\beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots + \beta_k X_k) \}$$

Where p is the probability that a married woman is having autonomy (variables showing decision making, empowerment and violence against women) \exp is an exponential value

X_i 's ($i = 1, 2 = k$) are k explanatory variables

β_i 's are the corresponding regression parameters and (V , is the constant term.

Since the variables representative of status of women are not directly observable, dichotomous (0 - 1) variables are constructed. In each dependent variable 1 is used when married woman has a say in decision of household, has empowerment and is observing low level of violence, and 0 is used when a married woman is not having say in decisions of household, has not empowerment and is observing high level of violence against her.

From the logistic probability equation we can derive the following regression equation;

$$\log_e (p/1-p) = -[\beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots + \beta_k X_k]$$

Equation for the model is written as;

$$\text{Proxy variables} = f(\beta_0 + \beta_1 EF + \beta_2 EM + \beta_3 Age + \beta_4 LSO + \beta_5 LO + \beta_6 AS + \beta_7 OF + \beta_8 PS + \beta_9 PCI + U)$$

Proxy variables used in the equation as dependent variable are abbreviated as;

Proxy Variables = (CU, DPH, DCH, DSFS, LOR, LSOR, SER, FBH, FRDH, FRS)

Variables used in the equation as independent variables are explained as under;

Independent variables	Explanation
EF	Education of the respondent
EM	Education of the husband of the respondent
Age	Age of the respondent
LSO	Livestock ownership by the household
LO	Land ownership by the household
AS	No. of alive sons of the respondent
OE	No. of earning members of the family other than the respondent
FS	Family size
PCI	Per capita income

Variables used as proxy variables (dependent variable) to calculate status of women are explained for their abbreviation as under;

Dependent variables	Explanation
CU	Use of contraceptive measures by the respondent
DPH	Decision in purchase of household items
DCH	Decision in children Health
DSFS	Decision in sending female children to school
LOR	Land ownership by the respondent
LSOR	Livestock ownership by the respondent
SER	Self employment of the respondent
FBH	Fear of the respondent to be beaten by the husband
FRDH	Fear of the respondent to disagree with husband
FRS	Fear of the respondent to be sent back to the parents in case of disagreement

3.3 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

3.3.1 Survey Analysis

The term gender refers to not only sexually difference between men and women but to consequences of this interpretation on the balance of power, rights, responsibilities and opportunities between men and women. The low status of women is because of the position of male in the family as a paramount authority.

Education of women is the measure most widely used a measure of their relative status and autonomy (Jejjcbhoy 1995); Jeffery and (Basu 1996). In the Pakistani context, women's education has been found to be a strong explanatory factor for differences in contraceptive use, infant mortality and children's schooling level (Sathar et al. 1998); (Sathar 1987) (Mahmood and Ringheim 1993). Education is hardly associated at all with the perception of economic autonomy and decision making inside or outside home. This the first indication that female education, perhaps because of its low overall attainment level in rural areas is not a strong indicator of women's status as was the case in urban Pakistan (Sathar and Mason 1993).

TABLE 1-3
 Respondents' Family Profile

Characteristics	All Ages	14-31 years	31-45 years	45 years & above
Average age of respondents	32.86	24.91	38.39	54.62
% Of respondents with no education	94.50	-----	-----	-----
% Of respondents with no education of husband	79.50	-----	-----	-----
Average annual household income.	9893.00	-----	-----	-----
Average annual per capita income	1620.40	-----	-----	-----
Average No. of family members of respondents	6.10	5.13	7.01	7.59
Average No. of children ever born	5.28	4.65	6.1	5.78
Proportion of children dead	0.19	0.12	0.25	0.29
% Of respondents with still no child.	6.00	5.50	0.00	0.50
% Of respondents own land in household	24.10	8.60	4.40	11.10

* Value shows the deduction of women divorced in this age group.

Source : Survey

Table 1-3 presents the socio-economic characteristics of women in the area under study (Cholistan). Data showing the above characteristics seem to suggest that women of relatively lower age group are ahead in socio-economic status, reproductive innovation, and participation in

household decision making, decision about children education and in purchase of household items etc. The relative status of women from all age groups in income, education, and children education is low. Women from highest age group show slightly more children ever born and proportion of children dead.

Many successful interventions have been carried out since the early 1980s to increase the involvement of men regarding contraception and encouraging results have been attained in keeping to the planned family. However, in one-way or the other these efforts are very limited nowadays, probably due to general lack of interest. Men's general knowledge and attitude towards the ideal family size, gender preferences of children, ideal spacing between child births and using contraceptive methods, generally influence women's preferences and opinions. In the area under study survey depicts this increasing trend even drags down the annual per capita income in the area.

The poverty profile of the respondents' showing average annual household income reflects that they are having very low status in income profile because they earn income which is very low than the defined national poverty line. They are not absolutely poor but dirt poor.

The improved economic condition of the family sometimes gives autonomy and authority in decision-making and welcomes the participation of family members in key decision of the household. As the income of the households is very low so the decision making authority of the respondents is also very weak.

Women in the many third world countries have to face the lack of freedom to do other things that goes with high frequency of births not to mention the medical dangers of repeated pregnancy and high maternal mortality that is characteristic of many developing countries. It is thus not surprising that reductions in birth rates have been often associated with enhancement of women's status and voice, related to educational expansion and political activism of women (Sen 1994).

According to (Nazli and Hamid 1999) these biased preferences are reflected in the lifelong neglect of a woman in terms of their extremely low status that not only limit their access to good nutrition, health, education and employment opportunities and also restricts their taking part in key household decisions.

Findings given by the author presents the same scenario. Above table presents strong preference for male child next. Respondents from age group under 31 show strong desire for male child next while women from age group 31-45 responded for male child next in all cases where they have even a single female child before among average no children 6. From age group 45 and above average response is zero it may be due to the reason that they have completed their period of reproduction. The respondents only argued against question of why they prefer male child next that they give security in future and add themselves as earning members of the family.

In response of questions related with fertility behaviour and use of contraceptive most of the respondents have never used contraceptive and gave different reasons for not using contraceptive which include their husband do not allow for using birth control methods, they observe natural birth space of 4 years, poverty, unawareness of the use of contraceptive, fear of illness after use of these methods and even fear of death after use of these methods.

Because of the meagre health facilities, especially in the rural areas female mortality rate is considerably high, particularly during their reproductive period. In addition to supply constraints, various domestic and cultural barriers limit the access of women to the health care services. For example many women do not like to be examined by the male doctors for their health problems. Because of the shortage of lady doctors, some women remain unattended and therefore suffer immensely.

People from the surveyed area often reported for the diseases like malaria, typhoid, jointed, diarraha and gynecological complaints. They

described practitioners by their suitability for treating their illness. They reported that in case of some severe problems in labour they call *diaee* who belongs to the village and sometimes give them 30 to 40 Rs. They reported for even not affording this meagre amount of money. A woman in this area is pregnant, cost conscious and unwilling to use any health service sometimes accessible to her. Same happens in their decisions for treatment of children in case of health problem. Mostly husband has the authority or women of high age group have say in this decision that may be due to the experience they have gained in taking care of the children.

Moreover low levels of knowledge, illiteracy, and low per capita income as well as low household income level prove them major constraints in getting higher health status by respondents. The results from study (Nazli and Hamid et al. 1999) suggest that general policies aimed at reducing poverty and increasing income would help in reducing gender discrimination in human capital investment. They also reported that lack of access to health services and ignorance about the preventive medicines and immunization sometimes leads to disabilities. According to the census of 1981, 371420 persons were disabled. Among them 55% were females. In women various disabilities are caused by complications during pregnancies. Findings given by the author presented above correlate with this also because many women feel fear of getting ill with the use of contraceptive measures.

It is commonly seen that female education and education of husband almost is at same level. In the surveyed communities it is observed that sometimes husband is educated but wife is illiterate. It is commonly observed by researchers that educated females have a clear future perception for their children education but in the scenario of Cholistan as females are mostly illiterate and may consider education an important aspect of life but the proportion of female children going to school is very low. Main reason the reported is poverty. As they do not have enough to eat how they manage to spend on their female children education because female children are not rated equally with brothers.

TABLE 2-3

Women's status by their decision-making authority

	14-31 years	31-45 years	45 years & above
% Of respondents decide jointly with husband for purchase of household items	1.90	19.11	22.22
% Of respondents decide either alone or jointly for sending children to school.	34.34	33.33	18.52
% Of respondents decide jointly for treatment of a child in case of health problem with husband.	42.86	19.05	33.33
% Of respondents ever used contraceptive by taking decision either alone or jointly with husband	16.39	8.74	7.10
% Of respondents never used contraceptive due to any reason.	82.51	42.62	26.77

Source : Survey

Table 2-3 presents the scenario of decision-making authority of respondents. The literature suggests several separate but interdependent components of status of women. These include the status conferred by the decision-making authority, the extent to which has said in decision-making concerning their own lives and well beings and the family decisions as well. Economic decision-making authority is represented by information on the participation of women in economic decisions, selected to capture a range of decisions and also to capture the extend to which women simply participate in the decision or actually perceive themselves to have a major say in it. Above table presents the percentage values of different socio economic variable. But respondents,¹ education at first because of its low over all attainment, level in Cholistan is not strong indicator of women's autonomy.

Respondents from age group under 31 show maximum value for authority in decision-making profile for few decisions. The reason may be the awareness; respondents from this age group have got which respondents from other age groups did not have when they were in that age group. Respondents from age group 45 and above show least level of authority in categories of decision for sending children to school. Respondents from age group 14-31 got highest category regarding decision in case of health problem. Respondents from highest age group show highest percentage value for decision in case of purchase of household items.

Majority of women are not found as major decision maker in domestic matters either these are related to purchase of items or decisions about letting children to go to school etc. The author found many facets of not letting especially female children to school. These include school is situated at far distance from home, the respondent may not have female children, some reported that teachers are not available in nearby school, poverty may be the main reason for not letting children especially female children to school.

Another indication of women's status is their empowerment used in this study and the indicators used to represent the empowerment status are presented in the table below.

TABLE 3-3
Women status by their empowerment

% Of respondents where husband own land	83.93	20.90	37.10	25.93
% Of respondents she herself as well as the husband own land	1.90	1.90	0.00	0.00
% Of respondents where household own livestock	----	77.33	75.00	96.30
% Of respondents which are paid workers	----	17.10	10.30	7.41

Source : Survey

The term empowerment is now in wide spread use in development circle. It is still a relatively recent development concept. At the theoretical level there is much debate as to what empowerment comprises and how best can be achieved. There seems to be a consensus among scholars that it is a process of "giving power to developing conditions for generating power within facilitating acquisition of power and lastly building capacities for utilization of power."

The distribution and allocation of resources and responsibilities between household members have profound implications for the welfare of the households. Its realism recognizes that women are generally more disadvantageous as compare to men in all aspects of human's life and across all socio-economic and cultural settings. Examining the situation requires individual level information on various socio-economic variables and few of these variables are considered and studied in the area (Cholistan), the scenario present in the table in percentage form shows lower level of percentages indicating the empowerment of the women. It can be expected that gender relation will continue to effect population growth throughout the world, because there is a close connection between women's well being and women's agency in bringing about a change in pattern.² It is generally believed that the distribution of household resources is biased against girls and women, especially in rural areas. Sons are desired and valued for carrying forward the family name and providing security to their parents in old age. A considerably high demand for additional children among women with no children or with more only daughter as compare to the women with more sons has been observed.

Universally defined violence against women or gender-based violence is a broad term, which include physical, sexual, psychological, and economic abuse. Usually physical abuses are frequently described by using terms such as discipline or punishment. When men feel it is justified to beat a woman they do it. In this sense it is indicated that violence against woman has become socially normalized. "Women feel sometimes that it is normal behaviour of men. They cannot just point at

him and say "Look at that one, he beats his wife". Women in the selected area (Cholistan) acknowledge the social normalization of such violence. These acts of husband are socially accepted and even encouraged. Unfortunately, it is widely regarded as a man's right to have extramarital affairs. Sometime women's lack of co-operation in accommodating these relationships might also be an occasion for her physical abuse.

Among the men battering is described as a means of expressing forgiveness for a woman's perceived transgression. If men do not beat them, they won't forgive them for the rest of their life. If they did it is another way of forgiving. In reporting physical violence developing countries women equate such abuse with an expression of love and men phrased it "women enjoy punishment". Unlike men, the women frequently describe gender-base violence in terms of emotional or psychological abuse, referring to situation in which a man might constantly insult or undermine a woman (Heise, Ellsberg, Gottemoeller, 1999).

It is interesting to note that women also raise economic abuse. They reported that husband generally exercise complete control over financial decisions, their wives were compelled to repeatedly ask for small amount of cash for any household or personal expenses regardless of their own income earning status.

TABLE 4-3
Violence Against Women

Violence of different kinds	All ages
% Of respondents usually beaten by husband.	82.00
% Of respondents usually fear to disagree with husband.	87.50
% Of respondents usually asked to go back to the parents in case of dispute	88.00

Source : survey

Women in rural Pakistan are subjugated to men and never feel freedom even in their personal life. It is an increasingly important area of women's position, which gathers the questions related with domestic violence. As regards the women from surveyed communities reported that they fear husband. Here we asked questions about whether they often afraid to disagree with husband and are beaten by husband. Are they ever beaten by husband or beaten regularly. Unfortunately it is noted from surveyed communities that women often fear husband and are beaten by husband not only in cases where they disagree with husband but are beaten by husband when do not wash clothes timely, do not cook timely and even when presentation of meal is not according to the taste of husband.

Violence cannot only be shown by the profile of fear from husband regarding disagreement in different household matters and afraid of being beaten by husband. In the context of socio-economic scenario of the area (Cholistan) hard physical tasks performed by the females in the household also show violence against women. Not only this but the poor sanitation facilities at home encircle many women in the orbit of violence.

TABLE 5-3
Average status of respondents in different indices

Average status of respondents	% Of respondents getting below average level	% Of respondents getting above average level
Authority index	31.00	69.00
Empowerment index	18.50	81.50
Violence index	63.00	37.00

Source : Survey

Table 5-3 presents that majority of women get above average status in authority index and empowerment index. The average value the authority and empowerment index got are 0.975 and 0.98

respectively. The average value in case of both indices is very close to 1. A large no. of respondents in both indices are getting average value. The violence index taking the respondent at negative value reveals that almost more than half of the respondents suffer from violence. Three kinds of violence were asked and their answers are coded. No respondent was found who never suffered any kind of violence and obtained the value 0 in the index. The average value of the violence index got is 2.575.

DECISION MAKING AUTHORITY OF THE WOMEN IN CHOLISTAN

Statistical findings

Decision making authority of women of Cholistan is determined by using different proxy variables, which are taken as dependent variables in the model.

Equation for the model is written as;

$$\text{Proxy variables} = f(\beta_0 + \beta_1 EF + \beta_2 EM + \beta_3 Age + \beta_4 LSO + \beta_5 LO + \beta_6 AS + \beta_7 OE + \beta_8 FS + \beta_9 PC + U)$$

Where U represents the error term

Proxy variables used in the equation as dependent variable are abbreviated as;

Proxy Variables = (CU, DPH, DCH, DSFS, LOR, LSOR, SER, FBH, FRDH, FRS)

The dependent variables in this case takes the value 1 in the representative variable showing the decision – making authority of women at a better status and 0 otherwise. Logit model is used for testing the significance of explanatory variables. Results are provided as under;

Table:
Results of the Binary Logit Model
Dependent Variables

Explanatory Variables	CU	DPH	DCH	DSFS	LOR	LSOR	SER	FBH	FRDH	FRS
Constant	-4.264 (1.416)*	-1.235 1.085	1.699 (.946)**	-1.435 .900	-15.919 10372.821	.529 .972	.101 1.337	1.848 (1.088)**	.536 1.225	2.131 (1.293)**
EF	.613 (.367)**	-.396 .378	-.309 .394	.021 .352	-.454 7172.269	.617 .531	.338 .381	-.059 .411	-.071 .587	-.621 .476
EM	.425 (.194)**	.299 (.167)**	.225 .167	.075 .159	.375 1691.386	-.297 (.165)**	.282 .211	-.229 .212	.163 .248	.078 .252
Age	-.018 .023	-.004 .019	-.034 (.018)**	.029 (.016)**	-.074 273.972	-.013 .017	-.056 (.027)*	-.014 .019	-.014 .025	-.011 .024
LSO	.162 (.082)*	-.005 .068	-.214 (.067)**	-.034 .060	.003 714.630	.008 .064	-.010 .082	-.098 .059	.213 (.090)*	.191 (.096)**
LO	-9.637 41.617	.260 .249	.546 (.263)*	-.056 .275	71.298 7716.664	.382 .502	-11.523 42.332	.049 .310	7.686 25.282	.767 .847
AS	-.010 .205	-.346 (.169)*	.158 .143	.174 .140	-.493 1884.220	.163 .153	.716 (* 2.21)	.008 1.67	-.341 (.203)**	-.492 (2.16)*
OE	.100 .261	.114 .248	-.325 .203	.156 .184	.523 3472.321	.114 .236	.427 .271	.349 .303	.250 .304	-.095 .222
FS	.219 (.116)**	.055 .103	.138 .086	-.130 .083	.180 1293.702	.044 .094	.234 (.125)**	.081 .101	.122 .114	.044 .108
PCI	.000 .000	.000 .000	.000 .000	.000 .000	-.001 2.181	.000 .000	.000 .000	.000 .000	.000 .000	.000 .000
R	19.2%	9.9%	20.4%	4.4%	100%	8.7%	21.3%	6.4%	14.6%	14.1%

* Shows significant at 5% level and ** shows significant at 10% level

Discussion on Results

Positive relationship is found between husband's education and the use of contraceptive measures by the respondent. It is commonly believed in our society that women are not allowed using contraceptive measures independently without the consent of husband. The husband's education gives him sense to allow the wife using these measures. The Education of the respondent also shows its positive relationship with the use of contraceptive measures. (Shah and Shah in 1994) also showed that better educated women are more able to be motivated towards the use of contraceptive measures. The age of the respondent has negative relationship with the use of contraceptive measures. As the age of woman increases her reproductive tendency decreases and the lady is in the lessened of using contraceptive measures. Livestock ownership by the household is significantly related with the use of contraceptive. In Cholistan livestock is considered an asset. As many of the respondents reported while interviewing that they feel fear of illness for the use of contraceptive because they are poor and cannot remedy for the side effects. Another variable, family size is showing better significant level for the use of contraceptive measures. With large family size respondent may or may not have large number of sons in the family. If the large family size includes large number of female children then she may not get the permission for the use of contraceptive. Findings given by (Williamson 1983) and (Cain 1982) also support the fact that sex preference exerts a strong influence on fertility. In Cholistan families also prefer large number of sons. Couples for the sake of having large number of sons possess large families.

The low status of women in Cholistan is not only affecting women in this area but also the future generation as well. Not only these women are the victims but are transmitting the rays of this system next in their female children by giving them discrimination against sons not only in the sex preference attitude but also in giving them status, food and health facilities etc. This low status of women is not only keeping them

subjugated at the hands of men and undernourished but are also underreporting their activities even the tough duties they perform at home and are under investing in females and the female children also. Nationally representative samples from Egypt (1997) and Mozambique (1996) have shown that mothers' education is an important element in poverty reduction (Datt 1999, Datt and Jolliffe 1998). They concluded that increasing mothers schooling from none to completed primary schooling reduced the proportion of population below the poverty line by 33.7 percent and 23.2 percent respectively in the countries.

In the area under study Cholistan women showed skewed preference towards the male child for their next baby. Those households having lesser proportion of male child showed strong preference for next male child as well as those who have no male child even in many case mothers of only having sons and greater proportion of sons in their kinds showed preference for male child. Only reason the researcher found out is poverty and they think their male children are their future assets as they become the earning members of the family and give them security as well.

Women low status and the undernourished children are the two sides of the same coin. Women in Cholistan as are deprived of medical care and facilities and do not consult doctors in case of health problems and mostly think not to bring child to the doctor. Their poor health status give birth to weak, underweight and undernourished child.

The education of female is negatively related to the decision in purchase of household items. The reason may be the fact that in Cholistan small number of women are educated and this low level of education among a few number of respondents does not matter. These women are not even allowed to take decisions for the matters entirely related with them. Husband's education is positively related to the purchase of household items. It seems that educated husband gives authority to the women in taking decisions for the purchase of household

items. The age of the respondent is found negatively related to the participation in decision for household items. The reason may be that the aged women are not aware of the needs of the day. Though in this area the older women are having more authority in taking decisions regarding household matters and sometimes have more say before male members of the family who are considered to be the ultimate are found insignificant in giving authority to the respondents to have a say in decision of letting female children to go to school. Families in this area consider female children a burden on the family and do not want to spend more on them. Saeed 1993, Sathar and Lloyed 1993 also observed this discriminating attitude. Only age of the respondent is going to matter for this decision because aged respondent has an added advantage of experience from her past life and is considered to know better for decision making in this sensitive matter.

All the determinants considered as independent variable in this model are found insignificant for land ownership by the respondent. In this area few families own cultivable land and among those families a few give ownership of land to the females in the household.

The respondent finds all the independent variables except education of husband insignificant in livestock ownership. In this area livestock is the main earning source for the household. Women even getting livestock in dowry do not have authority to sale it independently. The every matter of property ownership is in the hands of the male members of the family. Indirectly this lady is also not the independent owner of the livestock. Only educated husbands give authority to the women to act as independent owner of the livestock. So husband's education is a variable, which is found significant for livestock ownership by the respondent.

The education of the respondent and husband's education are not going to matter for the self-employment of the respondent. The women in this area are not allowed to go outside their circle, which may be called their settlement. Only aged women may get this advantage of going outside home independently and get some employment for

themselves but age of the respondent is also negatively related with their self employment. This may be the reason that the higher is the age the lesser is the working capacity of the women. Livestock ownership and land ownership by the household have negative relationship with the self employment of the respondent. As these variables are indirect source of income for the household which may reduce the probability for the respondent to have self employment. The earning members in the family and per capita income are not found significant for self employment of the respondent because sometimes many earning members even can not maintain the financial position of the family so they are dirt poor. Number of alive sons and family size are found significant for self employment of the respondent because these variables show number of dependents in the family. As the number of dependents increases in the household probability of the respondent to get herself self employed increases and female participation in the rural areas increase because of large family sizes (Chaudhary and Khan 1987), (Afzal and Nasir 1987).

Violence against women is shown by the variable showing females beaten by a husband. The education of the respondent grows negative relationship because educated female do not tolerate violence always. Education of the husband is also insignificant in this regard because violence against women becomes the part of the culture in the surroundings and if the male member in family is educated even families are bound in their surroundings by the threads of culture. The age of the respondent is having negative relationship in this regard because as the age increases the probability of suffering the violence decreases. Livestock ownership by the household also shows negative trend for suffering the violence because women sometimes also have ownership of livestock and get it in dowry which gives them autonomy and better position in the family. Land ownership, number of alive sons, family size, earning members and per capita income are all found insignificant in this regard. Increased family size and number of alive sons increase the number of dependents in the household, which indirectly reduces the per capita income and adds financial tensions in the family and increase violence against women as women are the prime victim of sufferings in the family.

The women in this area have fear of disagreement with husband and are forced to be sent back to the parents in case of disagreement which are indirect indications of violence against women. Education of the respondent reduces the sufferings through the violence against them and shows negative relationship with these proxies of the violence. As these sufferings have become the part of culture of the area so the husband's education does not matter for the violence against women. Aged women suffer lesser violence because age factor reduces the chance of suffering the violence against them. Livestock ownership is found significant for violence against women because it is the source of income and also stability in the financial position of the family reduces the violence against women. As sons are considered asset of the family and a woman having large number of sons is respectable in the eyes of the family and the husband as well so these women have less sufferings in the family.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In Pakistan concept of role and status of women vary but their access to services and opportunities is restricted. Women get the education only due to need of financial position and wage earning member of the family. In many families labour force participation is considered as prestige reducing rather than prestige enhancing. In rural areas of Pakistan women status is calculated by her reproduction power. Not only it is a measure of her status in many families rather she herself feels that her status depends upon her child bearing attitude. This behaviour was also observed in Cholistan. It was found that this attitude condemns the use of contraceptive measures and increases the number of children per family. This increased number of dependents drags the family in the situation of dirt poverty. Awareness regarding the situation is necessary to reduce the population increase so is to decrease poverty level of the family.

Usually education of women and education of husband are considered proxy variables to show the status of women but in Cholistan very small number of women are found educated and those who are considered educated have hardly completed the cycle of their primary

education and very few of them are having secondary education. Less educated and uneducated mother does not need to give education to her children though other factors also affect the education of children and especially female children yet education of mother is important in this regard. Pakistani children are faced with relative low probability of entering school, and completion of at least primary education. In Cholistan female children have lesser probability of entering school due to many reasons this may be attributed to the high schooling cost and lack of compulsory education laws, and no education by parents because of which the decisions regarding child enrolment remain, fairly, within the family. In Cholistan attitude towards female education is biased because these are taken as burden on the family in future and sons are desired because they give security to the family in the future and add in the financial position of the family.

Supply side factors such as, reduction in school expenditures by the provision of free education, and reduction in the distance from school can help in increasing the probability for female children to enter in the school. Various demand side factors such as income of the household, education level of the father and mother may help in increasing the probability of getting education by the female children in the area. Lower perceived rates of returns from girl's education and prevalence of social norms and customs are major reasons for this biased behaviour.

These findings have several policy implications. It is imperative that the government must ensure the free provision of education in order to reduce the parental expenses on education. This would be a step in increasing the enrolment and lowering the discrimination in female child education. If government provides this facility, parents will have less reason to discriminate against the girls. Thus, these supply side policy interventions have significant potential for reducing gender biases in human capital investments.

Livestock in this area is major contributing factor in the financial position of the family. Produce of the livestock has no market in that area

and the livestock holders do not have advantage of selling the products to the purchaser. No milkman goes to the area to fetch milk from there. Reason for this disadvantage is too much distance of road from the settlements. Government should take step to do this favour to the people of the area by giving cost incentive to the factories using dairy products and asking them to go there and fetch livestock produce.

Land holdings by the people are low in this area. Those who are landholders are not at the advantage because land is barren in this area especially in the area of greater Cholistan. Productivity of land is addition in the family income only where landholders hold cultivable land meaning in the areas where water is available. Government should take step in helping people of the area by the provision of canal system in the area. Regarding questions of dietary intake after asking about their livestock ownership majority of the women indicated that their families consume some dairy products e.g. milk, yoghurt and butter, but the consumption for individual member of the family is very low. Reason may be their large family sizes. Only few respondents reported about more than enough amount of milk available to them, which they do not sell but give it to the neighbours and very few to nearby communities. These surveyed communities never sold this amount to milkmen because of lack of infrastructure facilities. Neither milkman can reach to the community nor can any household member have daily access to the market or to the milkman safely and timely. On average surveyed communities have 15-16 kilometers of distance from road.

Women make a considerable contribution to livestock production and this contribution is mere visible than their work in crop production. A rural woman in Pakistan works 15.50 hrs a day, spending 5.50 hrs in caring for livestock (Hashmi 1988). Women involved in caring and rearing of livestock and poultry carry out wide range of tasks such as making feed concentrates, feeding, collecting fodder, grazing, cleaning animals and their sheds, making dung cakes, collecting manure for organic fertilizer, as well as milking, processing and marketing of animal

products, making butter, selling eggs, etc. (ESCAP 1997). Women in such culture perform hard task as unpaid family workers. In the past decade, many economic anthropologists have began to examine the multiple effects of economic change on women in developing countries and to analyse the methodological problems that have permitted this topic to go unnoticed for so long (Zia and Anania 1998). Much of the work that women do is not effectively counted and recorded. Table below gives the time allocation pattern of the women in surveyed communities. Irrespective of the very simple pattern of life women commit to work for very long daily hours of work.

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1. Education is an important factor in determining the amount of decision-making powers with the women concerned. The higher the education the greater the probability that the female makes her own decisions. With education females invest greatly in their own capabilities and gain confidence in exercising their own judgment (Kozel and Alderman et al., 1990)
2. Women in the many third world countries have to face the lack of freedom to do other things that goes with high frequency of births not to mention the medical dangers of repeated pregnancy and high maternal mortality that is characteristic of many developing countries. It is thus not surprising that reductions in birth rates have been often associated with enhancement of women's status and voice, related to educational expansion and political activism of women (Sen 1994).

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NGOs and Empowerment of Women In Rural Bangladesh : An Overview

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Abstract

Empowerment of women is a widely-discussed issue as well as a global concern. Women account for half of the population of Bangladesh yet they remain mostly invisible in the social, economic and political realms. Multipurpose plans and programmes are being formulated by the NGO's to empower women. Women mobility has already been increased a lot due to having many activities of NGOs for empowering women. They have developed linkages with various services. The paper highlights the activities of NGOs in empowering women as well their limitations in brief in rural Bangladesh.

INTRODUCTION

After the independence of Bangladesh, the government through, 'The National Order' of 1972 took possession of all major industries. The private sector was left with no areas to operate in except in cottage and small-scale industries. (Reza, Sadrel and Shelly, 1994) The country's economy suffered major set-backs due to wholesale nationalisation and financial mismanagement. The situation worsened further when a devastating famine hit Bangladesh in 1974. Against this backdrop a number of humanitarian organisations set up relief and rehabilitation camps throughout Bangladesh. Their rehabilitation activities in a devastated economy gained popularity. Since after the liberation of Bangladesh, a large number of NGOs both national and international, have been operating in the rural areas for improving rural conditions the some of

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them have been able to provide their ability to involve local people successfully in the process of development. (Rushidan, 1985) Today after more than thirty-three years of independence of Bangladesh, the NGOs are present in every remote corner of the country performing a myriad of functions ranging from relief for the disaster-stricken and destitute people in providing training for empowering women. (Mandal, 1994) All this against a backdrop of active NGOs involvement in development activities such as health, gender, micro-finance, education, agriculture and environment. In many cases, the NGOs work on projects those are complementary to the state programmes or as a part of the state programme (e.g. approximately 400 NGOs help the government to deliver adult education programmes). In several areas, Bangladesh NGOs are recognised globally as trailblazers and have received recognition worldwide. This is specially true of micro-credit, non-formal education and women's empowerment. (Bangladesh NGO Alternative Report Women 2000: Gender, Equality, Development and Peace, 2002).

Background

The statement of the United Nations declaring 1976-86 as the Decade for Women Development observed that women perform two-thirds of the world's work receive only ten percent of the world's income and only one percent of the means of production. Women are thus the "world's largest excluded category." The UN Report observes:

The scales of the world's equality are out of balance.. The side marked 'women' is weighed down with responsibility, while the side marked 'men' rides high with power. Tilting first under the rules that say women must do all domestic work, the scales are tipped further by men's greater opportunities to earn wages. Advantage builds on advantage until today they are tilted so steeply that almost all the world's wealth is on men's side, while most of the work is on women's (Naarayanan, 1994)

In many industrial countries the female human development index is only around eighty percent of the males. Women participate inadequately

in employment and in some industrial countries women's earnings are less than half those of men. Many developing countries excluded women from both political participation and productive work. In the countries for which data are available female human development index is only sixty percent that of males. Indeed for decades, life has changed very little for five hundred million rural women in the developing world (Datta, 1997).

According the United Nation Report of 2002, women's position is as follows :

1. Generally, men dominate over women both in the society and family life.
2. Tow-third of the world's illiterate adults are women.
3. More boys than girls attend school.
4. Women earn three-fourth of what men earn.
5. Women's health concerns are often ignored.
6. Women are vastly under represented in position of power.
7. Violence against women is global epidemic. (Maung, 2003)

In Bangladesh, women bear many of the marks of a "disadvantage minority" in the social, economic and political realms. The traditional society of Bangladesh is permeated with patriarchal values and norms of female subordination, subservience and segregation resulting from discrimination at birth leading to deprivation, and access to all opportunities and benefits in family and societal life, thus putting them in the most disadvantageous position. (Nelson and Choudhry, 1994).

In a male dominated patriarchal society like Bangladesh, women have been victims of religious prejudices, superstitions, oppression, exploitation and negligence, and various kinds of discriminations. The women work hard all the day long in the domestic sphere and sometimes outside the home. In some cases, they even undertake assigned works of

men in relation to household division of labour. Nevertheless their efforts are generally not recognised by the male members of the family as well as by the larger society. (Begum, 2005)

Though women constitute nearly half of the population of Bangladesh their situation has traditionally been adverse on account of complex cultural factors shaped by historical evolution and traditional societal expectations. At present women are making progresses in each and every sector of the economy by dint of their merits and skills. Their contributions to each field are immense, but they hardly receive recognition for their relentless efforts. They are ever being deprived of their fair wages. In Bangladesh, over 21 million women are economically active and their participation in various economic activities in rural area is 43%. But their labour is not recognized and hardly do they get wages equal to men. When a female day labour gets taka (Bangladesh Currency) 25 in wages a day, her male counterpart gets taka 45 for the same work and hours. (Ain-O-Salish Kendra, 1998).

Traditional socio- cultural practices circumscribe women's opportunities in education, skill development and participation in the overall development process. Women are being desired from ideal point of view in the decision-making process, which is very important in the context of balanced development of the country. Without development of women, it is not possible to develop the country. (Begum, 2005)

Observing the overall situation of women in Bangladesh, NGOs have been taken various plans, policy initiatives and activities in empowering women in Bangladesh.

Objective

The main objective of the study is to evaluate the changes of women after the joining the NGOs in development activities.

Methodology

This study is basically based on the information that includes books,

journals, research articles etc. Relevant literature was also collected through browsing Internet.

Women Empowerment and NGOs

Women empowerment and freedom of women have become a common term nowadays in every corner of the globe. The term 'empowerment' contains a variety of uses. It includes self-strength, self-power, self-reliance, self-confidence, own choice, self-dignity in accordance with one's values, and capacity to fight for one's values, capacity to fight for one's right, awaking capability and control. But what does women empowerment mean?

Women empowerment is the process by which women gain greater control over material and intellectual resources and challenge the ideology of patriarchy and the gender based discrimination against women in all institutions and structures of society. (Narasaiah, 2004)

Women empowerment not only means broadening the choices and expanding the options and alternatives available to women, but also creating an atmosphere where they will be able to independently assess the course of their lives and determine their destinies. (News Network, 2003).

It means, enabling women to participate fully in decision-making process both at home and in the public arena and creating the atmosphere and awareness in social, political and economic values and opportunities for women. (Khan, 2005)

Women empowerment depends on how much right and power a woman has in the society or state and how much scope and right is there for women to utilise their talent or physical labour participating actively in development activities. (Urme, 2005)

Women empowerment entails a wide range of aspects including

financial and decision-making capacities of women. The key point of women empowerment is economic emancipation, which plays the vital role to cause the repression of women in the lower class and lower-middle class people. (Billah, 2005)

According to the UNICEF, women empowerment is particularly described in five levels.

- a) Welfare
- b) Access to resources
- c) Conscientisation
- d) Participation and
- e) Control (News Network, 2003)

TABLE 1
Theorized Chain of Events in Empowering Process

Micro Level	Macro Level
Greater freedom and sense of personal competence, reshaped motherhood values, renegotiation of domestic relations.	Expanded political agenda, new collective arrangements, and transformed citizenship

Source: Rao and Lata, International Encyclopedia of Women, Vol. 2, 1998

NGOs are known now as PVDOs (Private Voluntary Development Organizations or NGDOs (Non-Governmental Development Organisations. NGOs are sometimes mentioned with a broader meaning, even occasionally as encompassing all kinds of voluntary and private non-profit organisations. (DaLe, 2000)

As per the UNDP Report of 1996, in Bangladesh, the NGOs have been defined as association of people formed through initiatives of a few

committed people dedicated to the design, study and implementation of development projects at the grass root level. They work outside government structure, but operate within the legal framework of the country. They are involved in direct action oriented projects, sometimes combined with study and research. Their target populations are primarily rural poor women. (Bangladesh NGO Alternative Report Women 2000: Gender, Equality, Development and Peace, 2002).

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Initially involved in relief and rehabilitation programmes the NGOs eventually changed to a more development oriented approach and focused on a specific target group, the rural poor. They adopted strategies with support services such as training, credit, and health (Hamid. 1996).

The NGOs in Bangladesh began their work as village cooperative systems. Even though the development of the community's motivation, education and training was important, the work did not alone change the greater structural problems of the society. The focus is now on the grass-root level. NGOs have emerged with a new generation of ideas to fight against poverty and gender inequality. Their approach is to address the strategic needs of the disorganized poor rural women. (Hadi, 1997)

NGOS in Empowering Women in Bangladesh

Women empowerment can not be expected to be carried out by the

government alone, so help from another hand was essential and NGOs are known to have been doing that function of another hand. NGOs are committed for empowering the rural women in Bangladesh.

Literature suggest that NGOs interventions positively contribute to women empowerment, while some social scientists believe that NGOs interventions contributed a little to improve gender relations in favour of female but in fact may contribute to reinforce existing gender imbalances. (Mustafa, 1996) NGOs invite them to come out of their home and engage themselves in economic activities to stand on their own feet, which would consolidate their position in the family. (Billah, 2005) But how far it is going is a question. Are women empowered or not, by the NGO activities and plans? This article is an attempt to discuss the impact of the NGOs development activities in empowering women in rural Bangladesh.

Savings

After participating in the activities of NGOs women have realized the importance of savings. NGOs have taught them that it is not wise to spend all of their earnings. Now they realize the utility of saving for the bad days. They have been familiar with the banking system and can put signature. They save their money in the bank in their own name. This is an important sign of empowerment. (Halder and Akhtar, 1999)

Control and Use of Income

Poverty is the chronic and complex problem for Bangladesh and women are severely affected by it due to lack of access to resources, income generating activities, decision- making process, and political participation. Society, culture and even "ethos" of Bangladesh do not allow women as active partner of development. At this stage NGOs take multiple means for empowering women by enhancing their income generation capacity, which leads them in participating politics, having access to property and decision-making. (Begum, 2005).

Income generating activities help women to win family support. NGOs have encouraged women to take up income generating activities. In Bangladesh, it is seen that men who earn money spend in whatever way they like. But women do not enjoy much liberty in spending money. Exceptions are those women whose husbands work and live away from home. Now many women after getting credit or loan from the NGOs have established their rights to spend the money according to their own interest. With their own income women do the following.

- Entertain guests.
- Fulfill the small demands of children.
- Purchase dresses for them.
- Procure poultry and plants. (Ullah and Routray, 2003)

The income generating activities have a visible impact on the women empowerment. The women's bargaining position in the home increases as they enhance their economic contribution to the family. (Hadi, 1997)

More than 60 million people of Bangladesh live below the poverty line and among them 74% are women. With a view to consolidating the message of women empowerment NGOs have been trying to stand beside the poverty-stricken women. (Billah, 2005)

Women are more valued in the Family

In general, in rural Bangladesh women are not valued in the family. But after participating in the activities of NGOs women feel that they are valued in the family for bringing the credit and contributing to family welfare. Women are now more valued and men care more now for women. With this new role in the family women are now less prone to being victims of violence and family feuds. Now a husband is not as ill tempered, as he happened to be earlier. He does not abuse his wife as he

used to do, because he knows that now if he has no income his wife is able to manage somehow. (Naved, 1994)

New Economic Status

Women have achieved a new economic status by working and producing something after joining the NGOs and taking loan from the NGOs. It is their main power that they are earning. They keep information about rise and fall of the prices of the goods. They are no longer dependent on their husbands. Now they can help their family in need. NGOs in this way have created new economic status of women. Economic contribution of NGOs are-

- Increased household income
 - Increased employment opportunity
 - Increased purchasing power
 - Increased expenditure on food items
 - Increased Overall expenditure*
 - Increased land asset
 - Increased food security and
 - Reduced indebtedness.
- * Food and non-food expenditure (Ullah and Routray, 2003)

Stepping out beyond household confines

The culture of work for women is socially determined in Bangladesh. Society prescribes that comfortable financial circumstances do not necessitate women's working outside the home. (Haider, 2000) Women in Bangladesh are restricted to activities within their homestead. The isolation of women thus kept busy, puts the seal on her powerlessness and ensures male dominance. For reasons of respectability women are not allowed to trade in public. NGOs have tended to break down this

tradition and tried as much as possible to engage them in income generation activities at par with men beyond the domestic confinement. Their activities are:

- Nursery
- Poultry
- Livestock
- Health and Hygiene related
- Fish fanning (Ullah and Routray, 2003)

Influence on Decision-making

After participating in the activities of NGOs women are now able to take their own decisions. Some aspects of household decision-making are changed as a result of women's contribution to family income. Husbands now consult their wives in important family matters. There are still some men who take decisions on their own without having any consultation with women. Nevertheless, the tendency to discuss problems at least with wives is seen very positive for empowering women. It is obvious that women participation in decision-making process has increased over the last decade by NGOs help.

Reduced Domestic Violence against Women

In general verbal and physical abuse of women has significantly been reduced in recent years. By participating in the activities of NGOs women have developed a sense of solidarity among themselves. They have learnt to recognise their common interests and undertake actions to defend themselves when required. Women are now perceived to be contributors to family income, which has enhanced their status in the family. They are now respected in the family. This has enhanced their relationship with the family members. All of these factors have finally

contributed to the reduction of violence against women specially within the family.

Participation in Election

Women and the community leaders perceive that NGOs programmes have indirectly contributed to increase female participation in elections. Even though in most cases women still cast their votes according to their husband's preferences, there are some indications that women are gradually becoming more politically aware, forming their own choices and taking advantages of the privacy of polling booths to act on their own. Women seem more openly assertive about their right to vote for whom they wished. Women are now participating in the Union Parishad (UP) elections both as chairmen and members. They said that earlier they used to cast votes according to husband's choice. Now they are more aware to cast vote according to their will.

TABLE 2
Elected Women in the Local Government
(Union Parishad) in Bangladesh

Year	Number of Union Parishad	Number of seats in Union Parishad		Directly Elected Chairman in Union Parishad		Elected Members in Union Parishad	
		General Seats	Seats Reserved for Women	Men	Women	In General Seats	In Reserved seats for Women
1997	4427	39843	13281	-	20	120	12828
2003	4490	40410	13470	-	22	85	12681

Source: Government of Bangladesh, Beijing + 10 Global Review Bangladesh Country Paper, 2005.

Training and Workshop on Status and Role of Women

A number of NGOs have been organizing workshops to discuss and bring changes in the area of women's participation in politics in order to make people aware about women's role particularly at the local level. They have also been conducting voter education programme and training on campaign techniques for women candidates. Some of the organizations have been conducting training on capacity building and gender issues for the local level elected members specially for women.

Mobility of Women in Different Network

Women's mobility has increased alot. Earlier they used to borrow money for purchasing household commodities in time of necessity. Now they receive loan from their 'samity' (an organisation of a small group members in a NGO). This indicates that they are more empowered than they were. Many women now go to school to pay tuition fees, to fill in the form and to bring the results of their children, which they did not do before. After getting health related information from the 'samity' many of them have started to go to the hospital for their children's treatment and for other health problems in their family. Women are sharing religious and social festivals. Their sense of responsibility has increased and they come forward to help others.

Property Ownership

Women are trying their best to establish their rights in ownership of property. Now most of them have got the registration of their own property in their own names. They no longer want to depend on their husbands and sons. They are giving the ownership of their property to their daughters. Now they are realizing that Allah has not created the male and female differently. On the whole it is clear that the women have become aware of having property in their own names.

Awareness of Law and it's Practice

- Many rural women are quite alert about different laws and their

rights. They have learnt from samity about dowry law, divorce law. Now men can not do whatever they like. Now they know the laws and rights in the country. The laws are as follows.

- Laws to protect their prestige.
- Women's equal right to their parental property.
- Right to get compulsory education.
- Right to have equal opportunity to work outside.

Many NGOs like Bangladesh Mahila Parishad, Acid Survivors Foundation, Bangladesh Nari Progati Sangha, Durber Network, Ain-o-Salish Kendra, Madaripur Legal Aid Association, and Bangladesh National Women's Lawyers Association (BNWLA) are giving legal aid and support to the women, when necessary.

Improved Control on Women Health

The issue of contraceptive use is well researched in Bangladesh. It has been found that the engagement of women in credit group activities and empowerment are positively linked. NGOs development programmes tackle the sources of subordination, provide access to information, help women to gain self-esteem and ability to control their own affairs, they increase the possibilities of creating a context in which use of contraceptives rise. Many women have accepted the use of contraception can be economically beneficial as fewer children are born. Women's growing sense of self-respect and bargaining capability within the household many has diminished the men's resistance towards contraceptives.

Limitations of NGOs

NGOs of Bangladesh are playing a very significant role in the development activities specially for rural women. The vital instrument is supporting them with micro-credit and micro-finance is comprehensive

and social programme. Bangladesh is the birth place of micro-credit. The model of micro-credit is highly appreciated and accepted by the United Nations (UN). The UN declared 2005 as, "International Micro-Credit Year". Many things were received by Bangladesh from the world but micro-credit model is a gift to the world of Bangladesh. Micro-credit is a major tool of women's self-employment generation as well as mainstreaming in development process. (Begum, 2005)

NGOs are working in empowering women in rural area specially through micro-credit. As per the World Bank Report -2004, about 12 million women are the micro-credit borrows with loan of the US Dollar 1.2 billion and the loan repayment rate of over 90% in Bangladesh. Allocations for "Allowances for the Widows and Husband Deserted Destitute Women Programme" have been increased to taka 1.2 billion in the fiscal year of 2004-2005 from taka 0.90 billion in the fiscal year of 2003-2004. (Bangladesh NGO Alternative Report Women 2000: Gender, Equality, Development and Peace, 2002) NGO have many activities and programmes to mobilise women in the society. But they have some limitations too. The limitations are briefly as follows.

Increased Workload

Taking out a loan can provide access to economic activities outside the home, but without a change in women's domestic responsibilities, women may feel more pressure. Benefits of the increase in income outweigh the burden of added work. (Women for Women International, 2005)

Lack of Skill Building

Skill building is an asset for poor rural women. Due to the lack of the skill, a good portion of the beneficiaries hands over their loan money to their husbands. So, skill and capacity building should get priority by the NGOs.

Untimely Loan Disbursement

Very few of the NGOs could use their loan in a productive investment. One of the main reasons is untimely loan disbursement. NGOs should make a need assessment before disbursing loan on how to help the members to ensure the optimal use of the credit.

Inadequate Time for the First Installment

The NGO members have to start paying back their installment from the next week of the credit disbursement. As a result they are compelled to pay the installment from the principal and can not invest it for productive purposes. So, initial loan repayment has to be staggered in line with the time frame of loan's investment returns.

CONCLUSION

NGOs have undertaken a wide range of activities in empowering women in Bangladesh. The issues involve economic, political, social as well as environmental concerns of women. In the economic and political sectors important motivational and institutional measures have been undertaken to empower women. Today women are of the same opinion about the question of women empowerment that the main foundation is right, freedom and liberty. Bangladeshi women are revealing their identity of talent and efficiency in both the labour-based and dignified fields even in the unfavourable environment. Women are seated in the important responsibilities like the state management, Women empowerment is a dire need for national development focusing on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of the UN, the government and all the national and international organizations are concern for the betterment of women. So, both the government and NGOs should work together in empowering women in rural Bangladesh.

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Disaster in Disaster

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Abstract

Nowadays, earthquake happen everyday in the world and wreak great havoc. While these disasters come unannounced and cause great deal of panic, some countries are always better prepared than the others to mitigate their disastrous consequences. Countries that lie on the seismic belts or are constantly threatened by earthquakes have taken permanent measures to counter the dreadful outcomes and reduce the immense loss of human life and property.

However, it does not mean that the countries not under direct threat by the natural calamity don't take any preventive measures to lessen the ensuing pain and suffering. Not only that, but the countries that even have a formal disaster management policy need to conduct rigorous audits to make sure that there is no misuse of funds, just as it happened in Pakistan's case. In this research paper, we take a close look at the underlying causes behind Pakistan's haphazard and rushed disaster management that rather than help the victims, resulted in a bigger disaster in itself.

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INTRODUCTION

Pakistan is a country of diversity not only of people, cultures and traditions but also topography. The topography varies from coastal beaches, sandy deserts, plateaus, plains, and high mountains to snow-covered peaks. Perhaps a quotation from the book *Pakistan Handbook* by Dave Winter and Ivan Mannheim can convey what one can observe: "Everyone paints a picture of stunning natural beauty, an almost unbelievable range of landscapes and environments; mighty rivers, huge deserts; fertile plains, thick forests and towering mountains... and for once nobody has got it wrong¹."

Pakistan lies between latitudes 24 and 37 degrees north and longitudes 62 and 75 degrees east covering a total land area of 796,095 sq km. The country shares its borders with Iran to the west, India in the Southeast, Afghanistan in the northwest, and China in the north. The Arabian Sea lies to its south. The country is geographically divided into three areas, the northern highlands, the Indus river plains and the Balochistan plateau.

Like other South Asian countries, Pakistan continues to suffer from a plethora of natural and human induced hazards that threaten to affect the lives and livelihood of millions of people — natural disasters including floods, earthquakes, landslides, cyclones, and drought to human induced disasters such as fires, civil unrest and terrorism, refugees and internally displaced people, health epidemics, transport accidents, industrial accidents and war.² Throughout the history of mankind, disasters like these and many others have wreaked havoc claiming millions of innocent lives and causing enormous damage to property and infrastructure.

While all the disasters contribute to misery and helplessness of their victims, not all the disasters are of the same scale. Some of them threaten and are restricted to only a small geographic plain, while others wipe entire colonies and towns from face of the earth, the latter representing a more severe case. Recently the world saw the tsunami wave wash vast

population from existence and causing damage unparalleled in a long time. It was a tragedy that was to be remembered for a long time since nothing like this was expected so sudden and so harsh-but 8 : h of October proved that to be a wrong presumption.

WHAT IS AN EARTHQUAKE?

Earthquakes are described as the sudden release of energy occurring from the collision of crustal plates on the earth's surface or from the fracture of stressed rock formations in that crust. Though it can be said that there are many technical differences in the rocking, rolling, jarring and jolting felt during an earthquake, they can be devastatingly damaging and seriously unnerving. (*See Exhibit 1*)

EARTHQUAKES AND PAKISTAN

Almost all of Pakistan regularly experiences earthquakes ranging from moderate to severe in intensity and no part of Pakistan is completely safe from earthquakes.³ Pakistan lies in a seismic belt and therefore suffers from frequent earthquakes of small magnitudes. Mountain ranges of Koh-e-Sulieman, Hindu Kush and Korakuram are significantly vulnerable. The devastation can be immense because of the poor quality of buildings. There was a major earthquake in Quetta, Balochistan, in 1935 when the entire city was destroyed. From 1974 to 1990, approximately 5669 people were killed due to earthquakes in the Northern Areas (NA), NWFP and Balochistan. The most recent significant earthquake occurred in February 2004, in NWFP resulting in 24 deaths and over 129,000 becoming affected.⁴

8th OF OCTOBER: PAKISTAN'S BLACK DAY

It was a fine Saturday morning, the faithful including men, women and children after "sehri" were getting ready to go to the places of work, schools and colleges. They were either out on the road or getting ready to move out. Then suddenly the mother earth started

shaking left and right. Ceiling fans swayed around and iron gates vibrated. After initial jolts it dawned, it was an earthquake. The earthquake did not just end after some seconds but continued causing alarm and panic and forcing the people out in the open. A couple of minutes more were consumed in aftershocks and then people rushed to switch on their TV sets to hear the news. It turned out to be much more than expected.⁵

The earthquake that struck northern Pakistan and neighboring regions of India and Afghanistan, measuring 7.6 on the Richter scale, was the most serious earthquake to hit the area in over a century. The epicenter was about 90 kilometers northeast of the Pakistani capital, Islamabad, and close to Muzaffarabad, the capital of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. The earthquake struck at 0850 hours Pakistan time on Saturday, 8th of October. Strong aftershocks continued to be felt throughout Saturday and Sunday, further complicating rescue and relief.⁶

The magnitude of the earthquake was such that it collapsed mountains, altered the course of waterways, and wiped entire villages off the face of the earth. Some 400,000 houses were destroyed and over 73,000 people perished—including some 35,000 children. On that fateful Saturday morning, tens of thousands of families lost an entire generation—children who left for school but never returned. Over 135,000 people were injured—mostly women, children and the elderly—with thousands becoming disabled and paraplegics.⁷

WHAT IS DISASTER MANAGEMENT?

Disaster Management refers to a plan of how a government deals with potential disasters—precautions that ought to be taken so that the effects of a disaster are mitigated, if not completely averted and that the government is able to either sustain or quickly resume mission of critical functions. Recently times have marked a large increase in disasters, whether they are human induced or because of nature unleashing its brute force. This has caused disaster management to become a pivotal part of survival in today's world. This increase in the number of disasters has affected people in that it has made them much more interested and aware of disaster management and its effects.

8TH OF OCTOBER : PAKISTAN'S DEPLORABLE DISASTER MANAGEMENT

The 8th of October earthquake was the worst form of natural disaster Pakistan had ever faced. It was tough for the authorities to manage the crisis as the terrains of tremor-hit northern areas and Azad Jammu and Kashmir were remote and literally inaccessible. The resultant land sliding further exacerbated the already malicious situation blocking off most of the roads. UN Emergency Relief Coordinator Jan Egeland called for better coordination of relief efforts to save lives in earthquake-hit areas of Pakistan and warned the disaster would require years of reconstruction work. The UN relief chief said the international community had not allocated sufficient resources for relief measures and called on the Pakistan government to renew appeals for aid.⁸ The number of helicopters operational needed to be tripled.

The whole of Muzaffarabad and the roads leading to it were clogged and this signaled disaster in itself. Pakistan authorities sent squads of motorway police to help manage traffic on roads to Muzaffarabad, Battagram, Balakot and Bagh. Egeland also called for relief efforts to be prioritized, so that the communities that had not yet been reached could receive immediate relief. As the roads reopened, there was a rush of earthquake survivors in Islamabad because the weather worsened in Kashmir as the winter approached. The authorities dashed to set up two temporary camps in addition to the three it had thrown together already.

Following are some of the documented facts gathered by *PATTAN* Development Organization⁹ that highlight the disaster in itself in wake of the 8th of October tragedy:

1. Complete Failure of the State

- (i) Looting became commonplace in affected areas
- (ii) Law and order was in complete tatters
- (iii) Local administration was not visible
- (iv) There was lack of coordination among various government departments

- (v) No official responsible at local level
- (vi) Unidentified roles of local government functionaries in disaster mitigation

2. Distribution of Relief Goods

- (i) Glut of edibles
- (ii) Perishable items
- (iii) No guidance to local donors from around the country
- (iv) Overlapping of relief distribution in few areas
- (v) Lack of involvement of local people in distribution, allowing relatively less affected people to accumulate relief goods
- (vi) Male majority of recipients of relief in religiously conservative affected areas
- (vii) Absence of female volunteers in distribution
- (viii) Absence of female doctors, nursing staff and paramedics

3. Lack of Coordination Between Public and Private Effort

- (i) No designated official at the local level supervising relief operation
- (ii) Private relief efforts driven by sentiments, not strategy
- (iii) No information booths at local level identifying areas with most emergent needs
- (iv) Rushed action leading to concentration of relief effort

4. Lack of coordination among local and international NGOs, UN and international agencies

- (i) NGOs and international agencies coordinating in Islamabad but not in affected areas
- (ii) Duplication of effort and multiplication of work
- (iii) No exchange of information on available stock of relief goods
- (iv) No sharing of resources among the aforementioned
- (v) Solo action

5. Completely neglected pockets of population

- (i) Completely neglected partially or completely damaged valleys
- (ii) Completely neglected clusters of population on mountain terraces, even in accessible areas
- (iii) Severe food and water shortages
- (iv) None or inappropriate shelters
- (v) Blocked physical access due to land-sliding, road cracks and shifting of rocks
- (vi) Rescue teams focusing on easily accessible areas or the ones highlighted by the media
- (vii) The injured, mostly with fractures and open wounds of various degrees, in inaccessible areas developing trace of gangrene.
- (viii) Scarce facilitates in some medical camps to operate patients.

6. Migration towards the twin cities

Large number of people from affected areas, tentative and frightened, marched towards the twin cities without any consideration. People left their homes in panic and brought not even the most essential settlement items.

7. Margalla Towers Debacle

The scene at the site of the doomed Margalla towers was even more pitiable. The local CDA (Capital Development Authority) had failed to get any air support and the heavy machinery summoned for lifting the rubble was not only needless and irrelevant but also inadequate¹⁰. It was revealed in bright day light that even the capital, which happens to be the most developed city of the country, lacked the sufficient equipment to lift the heavy blocks and clear the debris.

Not only that, but the authorities lacked any heat sensors or motion detectors to perceive any movement or sign of human life. The problem was solved when the British team brought the aforementioned equipment with sniffing dogs.

DISASTER MANAGEMENT POLICIES AT NATIONAL LEVEL

According to a report "A Review of Disaster Management Policies and System in Pakistan" for WCDR 2005 published in January 2005,¹¹ applied disaster management policy sometimes carries strategic biases that are aimed at protecting locations and infrastructure of greater economic, political and strategic significance at the cost of areas and communities with lesser influence and importance. Within disaster management bodies in Pakistan, there is a dearth of knowledge and information about hazard identification, risk assessment & management, and linkages between livelihoods and disaster preparedness. There are no long-term inclusive and coherent institutional arrangements to address disaster issues with a long-term vision.

Disasters are viewed in isolation from the processes of mainstream development and poverty alleviation planning. There is an absence of a central authority for integrated disaster management and a lack of coordination between disaster-related organizations. State-level disaster preparedness and mitigation measures are heavily tilted towards structural aspects and undermine non-structural elements such as the knowledge and capacities of local people, and the related livelihood protection issues.

Disaster and relief departments and organizations largely remain under-resourced, untrained, and not given required importance within administrative hierarchy. The officials of important organizations engaged in disaster management like Emergency Relief Cell (ERC) are not provided with adequate training. A great

deal of uncertainty prevails among government employees about their stay in any disaster related organization/department, which contributes towards working with less interest and efficiency.

ORGANIZATIONS WITH OVERALL DISASTER MANAGEMENT RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE COUNTRY

A brief description of responsibilities of disaster management organizations in the country¹² is given below.

1. Emergency Relief Cell (ERC)

Responsibilities of the ERC in connection with disaster relief are :

- (i) To provide in cash as well as in kind to supplement the resources of the provincial governments in the event of major disasters (See Exhibit 2)
- (ii) To coordinate the activities of federal division, provincial governments as well as governmental, semi-governmental, international and national aid-giving agencies in the conduct of relief operations.
- (iii) To maintain contact with international aid-giving agencies/voluntary organizations and donor countries for disaster relief measures
- (iv) To administer relief funds being maintained at the Federal Level
- (v) To stockpile certain items of basic necessity and establish central inventory of resources
- (vi) To provide assistance to the calamity-stricken friendly countries

2. National Crisis Management Cell (NCCM)

The National Crisis Management Cell, under the Ministry of Interior, has a round the clock operational control room for collecting

information on emergencies of all sorts in the country. It coordinates with the Provincial Crisis Management Cells (PCMCs) and other security agencies to gather relevant information. It is also responsible for coordinating plans for emergency response services in case of emergency situations/disasters.

3. Civil Defence

The Civil Defence Department was established through an ordinance in 1951. It is now governed through 1952 Civil Defense Act. Before 1993, it was mandated to "take measures not amounting to actual combat, for affording defense against any form of hostile attack by a foreign power or for depriving any form of hostile attack by a foreign power of its effect, wholly or in part, whether such measures are taken before, during or after the time of the attack". But then it was assigned with an additional task during peace times to take remedial measures against natural or man-made disasters. Specifically, the Civil Defense is to assist local administration/ army in rescue, evacuation and relief measures.

4. Provincial Relief Departments

- (i) Provide adequate resource support to area administration through co-ordination with provincial government departments/agencies
- (ii) Provision of necessary funds to the area administration for relief work.
- (iii) Oversee the working of area administration for relief work.
- (iv) Obtain field reports of losses and apprise the provincial government/federal government
- (v) Assess and evaluate losses and suggest to the federal/provincial governments for providing relief to the affected persons

5. Provincial Health Departments

- (i) Establish a system of high readiness and list of personnel to be mobilized when warning is received or impact of disaster reported
- (ii) Establish an Emergency Cell (Medical) to ensure better coordination in disaster situations
- (iii) Set-up medical camps and organize Medical Mobile Teams (MMTs) to be sent to the scene of disaster with a minimum of delay
- (iv) Ensure communication links between hospitals and the scene of disaster
- (v) Activate emergency field medical units

6. Provincial Food Departments

- (i) To ensure adequate availability of food stocks in disaster situation
- (ii) To organize ration depots at location required by the local authorities

7. Communication & Works

- (i) To supervise, direct and control protection of roads and structures
- (ii) To coordinate survey investigation to the extent of damage to roads and structures
- (iii) To organize emergency repairs for restoration of public transport routes

8. Planning & Development Departments

- (i) To assist in obtaining of information and data for pre-disaster survey and planning to serve as a basis for prevention measures and for relief operations.
- (ii) To assist in evaluation of losses and damages

9. Army

- (i) Assess resources for relief, rescue and evacuation work
- (ii) Position personnel, material and equipment at planned pre-determined location
- (iii) Review the logistics of ration, POL, arms and ammunition, medical cover, tentage, communications and allied measures for movement of troops in aid of civil powers.

It is perplexing how all these organization failed to coordinate effectively in wake of the 8th of October disaster. Now discussed under is the audit of natural disasters assistance projects by Muhammad Mohsin Khan, Director General (Government Audit)¹³ to ascertain how much of it is owed to corruption or to other factors.

AUDIT OF NATURAL DISASTERS ASSISTANCE PROJECTS

No Government can be oblivious to the need for disaster management programs and their efficient, economical and effective operation. The Federal Government of Pakistan launched the "Prime Minister's Disaster Relief Fund" (PMDRF) during the year 1990-92 in all the four provinces of Pakistan. A total of Rs. 245.470 million was allocated for providing relief to those affected by natural calamities. Thereafter additional funds were released also from the Zakat (religious tax levied for poverty alleviation). It was in 1999 that the Auditor-General was requested by the executive agencies concerned to do a special audit of the PMDRF and of subsequent releases.

The Audit conducted was basically a regularity audit but a performance audit orientation did exist in case where project audits were conducted. The approach was as follow :

- Auditors identified the objectives of the project
- They audited the project planning and financing processes commenting on project viability
- Identified failure (defective planning, cost overrun, time overrun and linked them to systemic weaknesses.
- Made recommendations in case of on-going projects.
- Conducted sample-based audit and categorized irregularities / audit findings.
- In categorizing the audit finding, guidelines issued by the Auditor-General were followed.

A sample from the audit report is a shown on the following page :

Special Audit Report on Prime Minister's Disaster Relief Fund-Baluchistan Province only

Sr. No	Title	No. of Cases	Amount : Rs. in million
1	Fraud, Misues, Embezzlement	2	21.789
2	Violation of Rules	4	3.289
3	Recoverable	2	4.709
4	Non-availability of complete records	1	90.791
	Total	9	120.578

The audit guidelines issues by the Auditor-General, however, contain a comprehensive categorization of audit observations such as Fraud, Misuse and Thefts, Accidents, Overpayment, Accounting Errors, Negligence, Violation of Rules, Violation of Propriety, Recoverable, Non-production of Record amongst others.

Details were provided on the above classification in the audit reports regarding the various categories e.g.

- (i) Type of irregularity and modus operandi,
- (ii) Place of occurrence,
- (iii) Responsibility centers and
- (iv) Action taken or otherwise to report criminal action. Major irregularities related to procurement and distribution procedure of relief goods including foodstuffs. Major findings on systemic issues were as under:

- In most cases there was absence of proper accounting record and missing audit trails
- Distribution was made in certain cases without proper survey to identify the real victims of disaster
- Internal control was almost non-existent and where some procedures existed, there was an override and instructions not followed
- Proper guidelines were not prepared
- Lack of training in financial management procedures was identified as a major cause of rule violations
- Most of system collapse occurred because of compromising the standard financial management procedure for Government operations to favor procedures supposed to speed up operations and cut red tape
- Payments were made for the purpose other than disaster relief. In their replies, the executive agencies erroneously tried to establish linkages pointing towards faulty planning (e.g. purchase of air conditioners, water coolers for offices of District Officers given additional duties for disaster relief)
- System did not ensure income tax deductions from contractors

Keeping in view the nature of irregularities committed in disaster management and prevention programs, the Cabinet Division of the country has asked the Auditor-General to conduct special audits of all the projects financed by the PMDRF. Although the audits, relating to Disaster Relief and Prevention Projects, done by the Auditor-General have mostly an ex-post facto exercise, there is an increasing awareness of the need for real-time audits. An initiative is underway currently to do an evaluation exercise regarding ability and state of readiness of disaster management agencies to handle major earthquakes. In a country that is threatened by so many potential natural and man-made disasters, the state of readiness of the disaster relief agencies must be assured. The Auditor-General has decided to take the initiative in at least establishing the need to address the important issue.

This report was published in 16th Annual Conference of International Consortium of Governmental Financial Management in 2002 — three years before the 8th of October tragedy. But still the government failed to take any notice. It would not be wrong to articulate that in Pakistan, there exists this deeply profound notion that there is no such thing as a disaster until it actually occurs, so why worry? But that draws us to some significant lessons learnt.

CONCLUSION

There are certain lessons learnt. Disaster management is in fact crisis management. Not all crises can be anticipated. Even those that can be done may not be rigid enough to be free from surprises. The ideal course of action is to go into a preventive mode and prepare a set of guidelines for categorized set of disaster relief or management projects. These should spell out operating procedures for administrative actions by project executing agencies, financial releases to further authorization and payment checks other internal controls and post-audit.

Especially with foreign aid pouring in the country, the system of audit must be rigorous and visible. Pakistan is being recipient of huge

amount of foreign aid and donations sent from all over the world. Pakistan must make sure that this aid is positively utilized and kept well track of. The allocation to various organizations should rest upon their nature and role in relief efforts and also their reach to the affected areas.

Also, it is evident that Pakistan has excessive number of organizations responsible for handling the disaster management and mitigation situations, but don't have active or transparent coordination at any level, often resulting in solo action. There needs to be a central authority that monitors all of them from top-level and summon different organizations for different purposes. Organizations need to receive adequate training for handling the disaster situations and must be well-equipped, always in a state of readiness.

APPENDIX

EXHIBIT I

Earthquake Probability and Impact

High Probability Low Impact	High Probability Moderate Impact	High Probability High Impact
Moderate Probability Low Impact	Moderate Probability Moderate Impact	Moderate Probability High Impact
Low Probability Low Impact	Mow Probability Moderate Impact	Low Probability High Impact

EXHIBIT 2
Relief Assistance (in cash) through Emergency Relief Cell
since 1966 (Rs. In million)

Year	Disaster	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Balochistan	AJK	NAs	FATA	ICT
1996	Flood	66.211	-	1.709	11.05	-	-	1.098	-
1997	Flood & Earthquake	237.476	0.541	7.913	15.142	0.810	11.787	-	0.196
1998	Flood	-	-	-	21	100	-	-	-
1999	Cyclone	-	500	-	-	-	-	-	-
2000	Drought	-	900	-	905	-	-	-	-
2001	Rain / Flood	20	-	20	-	-	-	-	-
2002	Drought	-	18.2	-	-	-	-	-	2
2003	Rain / Flood	-	110	-	50	-	-	-	-
2003	Sectarian violence	-	-	-	48.8	-	-	-	-
2003	Diamir Explosion	-	-	-	-	-	6.2	-	-
2003	Earthquake	-	-	-	-	-	74.36	-	-
Total		323.687	1528.741	29.622	1050.992	100.81	92.347	1.098	2.196

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Utmost care should be taken to prepare statistical data for publication. All headings, columns, rows, symbols, units of measurement, periods, political and geographical areas, and sources should be clearly stated in each statistical table, instead of giving such explanations in the text.

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