

**Study Guide**

# IMPACT OF SOCIAL CHANGE ON RURAL WOMEN

**Code 9184**

**Units 1-9**

**Credit Hours: 3**



**Department of Gender & Women Studies  
Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities  
Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad**

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**ALLAMA IQBAL OPEN UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD**

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## CONTENTS

	<b>Page No</b>
Preface .....	v
Acknowledgement .....	vi
Course Introduction .....	vii
How to Study .....	viii
Tutors Guidance .....	ix
Assessment and Evaluation .....	x
Unit-1 Introduction to Social Change .....	1
Unit-2 Patriarchal Relation and Division of Labour in Rural Context .....	49
Unit- 3 Migration and Social Change .....	81
Unit- 4 Participation of Rural women in National Politics .....	109
Unit-5 Economic Contribution of Rural women.....	147
Unit-6 Changing Pattern in Family Structure .....	169
Unit-7 Impact of Education in a Rural Society.....	191
Unit-8 Agricultural Technology and Rural Women .....	211
Unit-9 Impact of ICTs in Agricultural Societies.....	243

## **PREFACE**

Allama Iqbal Open University is one of the pioneers among the universities of Pakistan to introduce the discipline of Gender and Women Studies at the university level. This discipline draws on the strengths of many disciplines and has been instrumental in creating awareness about women's critical issues and their changing status. Being a distance learning institution, university is serving the society by creating consciousness and providing sensitive study regarding women and gender issues through the discipline of Gender and Women Studies.

This course will explore how the status of Rural Pakistani Women is changing and how the concept of modernization, urbanization and industrialization has affected the rural women? How migration is bringing change in the Pakistani society. What is role of education in empowerment of rural women and how modern technology is transforming the lives of rural Pakistani women? This course will enable students to get an insight about local perspective about issues of Rural Pakistani women.

**Vice-Chancellor**

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

Gender and Women Studies with its interdisciplinary approach, offer students of Gender and Women Studies Department, Allama Iqbal Open University an opportunity to explore a variety of important topics by studying various courses. We would like to acknowledge the inputs of the members committee of courses, unit writers, unit reviewers, and writers who worked with me and their worked is cited in the study guide.

I am really thankful to Incharge of Gender & Women Studies Department Dr. Atifa Nasir for trusting on me and to provide necessary support for the completion of Unit Writing of this Study Guide.

**Dr. Mamonah Ambreen**

Course Coordinator/Lecturer

## **COURSE INTRODUCTION**

Dear Students, Welcome to the course “Impact of Social Change on Rural Women. This three credit hours course comprises nine units. This study guide will introduce and familiarize you to the core concepts of the above-mentioned course. Social change is an important concept. Change is always happening. We accept change as inevitable, and no society has ever remained the same. Sociologists define social change as changes in human interactions and relationships that transform cultural and social institutions. These changes occur over time and often have profound and long-term consequences for society. Well-known examples of such change have resulted from social movements in civil rights, women's rights, to name just a few. Relationships, institutions and cultural norms have changed as a result of these social change movements. This course will introduce dimensions of social change in the context of rural women. There is slow and gradual change in the gender roles of the society. Rural women are major contributor in all sectors of rural economy. Education is an important tool to empower rural women. This course will familiarize you to role, contribution of rural women in Pakistan.

## **LEARNING OBJECTIVES AND OUTCOMES OF THE COURSE**

After reading this course you will be able:

1. to develop an awareness of Social change as a concept
2. to highlight the dimension of social change in connection with rural women.
3. to see impact of education on women's life in rural society.
4. to find out participation of rural women in political process
5. to explore the new trends in decision making.
6. to observe Impact of social change on rural women
7. to examine the impact of modernization, urbanization and migration in the rural society's context.
8. to analyze gender roles are affected by the process of social change

## **HOW TO STUDY:**

For studying material, you need to follow the given instructions

- This study guide presents an overview. You are encouraged to study at your own by studying the suggested readings given under each topic for preparation of assignments / exams. Since, BS Gender & Women Studies aims to prepare a lot of social scientists and researchers in gender and women issues. Thereby, being a researcher, the more you will equip yourself by studying available online materials, the more you will be aptly fulfilling the role of a social scientist and researcher and will successfully complete your degree.
- If you spend one hour daily to study your course, you will be able to complete your course in eighteen (18) weeks.
- As soon as you are assigned tutors, you start working on your assignments. Try to contact your tutors, if you need to understand any topic, or call to GWS Faculty members (phone numbers are in your prospectus/on AIOU web) for guidance. Assignments are your personal notes, so always keep a copy with you before uploading it on AIOU Website LMS Aagahi Portal.
- In the mid/quarter of your study period, a workshop will be arranged for you, which is a compulsory component of your study. This workshop gives you more clarity about topics. You interact with your peers, internal and external resource persons in the workshop. Therefore, avail the best of information at the workshop and take notes of the lectures as well. Extensively use internet and Library for better understanding of the topics.

## **TUTORS GUIDANCE:**

In distance learning system basically, the students have to study on their own. However, the university appoints tutors for the guidance of students. Part time tutors hold scheduled tutorial meetings online or in study centers established by the university. The students are required to regularly attend these scheduled meetings. Most probably in this course you will be assigned a correspondence tutor who not only checks your assignments, but you are also encouraged to be in contact with the tutors for guidance regarding the course as it is convenient for both of you. The Regional Office as well as your tutor will inform you about the appointment of the tutor.

## **ASSESSMENT AND EVALUATION**

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

- Home Assignments
- Final Examination
  - You will be required to prepare two assignments (composed in PDF Format) for this course. The assignments are spread over course units and according to the schedule provided on aiou.edu.pk Allama Iqbal Open University website. Each assignment is to be submitted /uploading online through AGAHI portal for checking.
  - The main objective of the assignments is to encourage you to study and appraise your performance. The tutor's assessment will guide you for the preparation of your next assignment.
  - The marks obtained in assignments add up to the final examination. The papers for final examinations are prepared, based on the complete course. The final examinations are held in specified examination centers. For passing a course, one has to pass both the components of assessment and final examination.

Best wishes for your studies

**Dr. Mamonah Ambreen**

Course Development Coordinator/ Course Coordinator

**UNIT-1**

# **INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL CHANGE**

Written by: **Dr. Mamonah Ambreen**

Reviewed by: **Ms. Mehreen Qaisar**

## **CONTENTS**

Introduction .....	3
Objectives .....	3
1.1 Introduction to Social Change .....	4
1.2 Barrier to Social Change .....	5
1.3 Agents of Social Change .....	10
1.4 Theories of Social Change .....	14
1.5 Process of Social Change.....	32
1.6 Process of Acceptance to Social Change.....	36
Self-Assessment Questions.....	47
References.....	48

## **INTRODUCTION**

Social change can be defined as the way in which human interactions, relationships, behavior patterns, and cultural norms change over time. These changes ultimately transform cultural and social institutions, concepts, and rules, which will inevitably impact society for the long-haul. When change in social structure, social order, social values, certain customs and traditions, socio-cultural norms, code of conduct, way of conducting oneself in the society, standards, attitudes, customs and traditions of the society and related factors take place, it is said that there is social change. When there is social change, the process of socialization also changes accordingly. The individual who is an active member of the society becomes an agent and target of social change. He brings social changes and also is influenced by such changes. In this unit you will learn how social change is defined what is process the process of social change and what are barriers to the social change will discuss important theoretical concepts related to social change.

## **OBJECTIVES**

After reading this unit, you will be able,

- to understand basic concepts and theories of social change and
- to familiarize yourself with the process of social change.

## 1.1 INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL CHANGE

According to MacIver and Page, social change is a change in social relationship. It is a process responsive to many types of changes, to changes in man-made conditions of living, to changes in attitudes and beliefs of men and to changes that go beyond human control to the biological and physical nature of things. In sociology, social change is the alteration of mechanisms within the social structure, characterized by changes in cultural symbols, rules of behavior, social organizations or value systems.

Throughout the historical development of their discipline, sociologists have borrowed models of social change from other academic fields. In the late 19th century, when evolution became the predominant model for understanding biological change, ideas of social change took on an evolutionary cast, and, though other models have refined modern notions of social change, evolution persists as an underlying principle.

Other sociological models created analogies between social change and the West's technological progress. In the mid-20th century, anthropologists borrowed from the linguistic theory of structuralism to elaborate an approach to social change called structural functionalism. This theory postulated the existence of certain basic institutions (including kinship relations and division of labour) that determine social behavior. Because of their interrelated nature, a change in one institution will affect other institutions.

Various theoretical schools emphasize different aspects of change. Marxist theory suggests that changes in modes of production can lead to changes in class systems, which can prompt other new forms of change or incite class conflict. A different view is conflict theory, which operates on a broad base that includes all institutions. The focus is not only on the purely divisive aspects of conflict, because conflict, while inevitable, also brings about changes that promote social integration. Taking yet another approach, structural-functional theory emphasizes the integrating forces in society that ultimately minimize instability.

Social change can evolve from a number of different sources, including contact with other societies (diffusion), changes in the ecosystem (which can cause the loss of natural resources or widespread disease), technological change (epitomized by the Industrial Revolution, which created a new social group, the urban proletariat), and population growth and other demographic variables. Social change is also spurred by ideological, economic, and political movements.

Social change in the broadest sense is any change in social relations. Viewed this way, social change is an ever-present phenomenon in any society. A distinction is sometimes made then between processes of change within the social structure, which serve in part to maintain the structure, and processes that modify the structure (societal change). The specific meaning of social change depends first on the social entity considered. Changes in a small group may be important on the level of that group itself but negligible on the level of the larger society. Similarly, the observation of social change depends on the time span

studied; most short-term changes are negligible when examined in the long run. Small-scale and short-term changes are characteristic of human societies, because customs and norms change, new techniques and technologies are invented, environmental changes spur new adaptations, and conflicts result in redistributions of power.

This universal human potential for social change has a biological basis. It is rooted in the flexibility and adaptability of the human species the near absence of biologically fixed action patterns (instincts) on the one hand and the enormous capacity for learning, symbolizing, and creating on the other hand. The human constitution makes possible changes that are not biologically (that is to say, genetically) determined. Social change, in other words, is possible only by virtue of biological characteristics of the human species, but the nature of the actual changes cannot be reduced to these species traits.

## **1.2 BARRIER TO SOCIAL CHANGE**

Typical barriers to changing how things are done include: **Social barriers:** lack of community support, social norms and group conformity. **Cultural barriers:** tradition, culture, customs, religion. **Economic barriers:** lack of property rights, corruption, fiscal infrastructure

### **1.2.1 Cultural Barriers to Change**

Zaltman and Duncan identified four types of cultural barriers that can create resistance to change. These types of barriers are:

- Values and beliefs
- Cultural ethnocentrism
- Saving face
- Incompatibility of a cultural trait with change

#### **1.2.1.1 Values and Beliefs**

When looking into values and beliefs, it is important to know that often barriers may be religious in nature but may also be secular, relating to work ethic, competition, and pride. Beliefs and values differ from person to person so it is hard to categorize what is and is not a cultural norm within a group. It is advised that a change agent make him or herself aware of the values and beliefs of the community in which the changes are meant for.

Change agents need to be aware of how they introduce changes so that they are doing it in ways that achieve their goals while minimizing disturbance with the values and beliefs of the change clients. An example could consist of a workplace that terminates the annual end of the year pay bonuses meeting resistance from workers who feel that they have worked hard all year for this bonus and that their efforts are not being rewarded. It may be advisable to phase the automatic bonus out but replace it with incentive and quota-based bonuses instead that still reward the workers efforts but remove the automatic bonus.

By making change appear less threatening to established beliefs and values, the change agent can create a change that reduces the risk of resistance.

### **1.2.1.2 Cultural Ethnocentrism**

Cultural ethnocentrism can be seen from two sides: the side that has the change agent projecting his or her culture as superior through the change efforts, or from the side of the client who views his or her culture as superior in response to the change being implemented. This can lead to an “our way is better than yours” turf war. Cultural ethnocentrism can relate to:

Race	Regional
Gender	Religious
Worker/ Management	Socio-Economic Status

Most of the problems that arise from cultural ethnocentrism can be avoided or resolved by involving the clients throughout the change process. This will help to relieve any feeling of a party being estranged during the process. A wise change agent should also be aware of the language used in presenting a change so that it may avoid words and phrases that promote a certain identity. Change should be universal and appealing to cultures and, in a sense, would do well to be blind to bias.

### **1.2.2.3 Saving Face**

The advantages of change can be seen differently between parties due to how the change impacts each party member. Sometimes change is seen as something good replacing something that is bad and that might not necessarily be the case. Replacing something good with something better may be viewed by change client as an attack on themselves and how they perform a duty. When taken personally, it would be natural for someone to resist the change and defend themselves.

Also, resistance in the form of saving face may be caused by an underlying issue. It could result from the client hiding their inadequate skill set, embarrassment about job performance, or any of a multitude of personal reasons. A change agent should be aware of these possibilities and investigate what may be the root cause of this resistance because it may not be related to what the change agent is or is not doing.

When encountering resistance in the form of saving face, it is advisable to be aware of how you are presenting the change. By presenting the improved benefits of the change and not focusing on how it is a replacement, or making it a comparison between a good and bad system, a change agent may be able to alleviate any doubts or worries that come from the client. In approaching the situation in a non-comparison way, a change agent may create a win-win situation where a change can be implemented in a way that allows those who are skeptical of the change for personal reasons to adopt the change without embarrassment and fear of ridicule.

#### **1.2.2.4 Incompatibility of A Cultural Trait With Change**

The most common cultural barrier, incompatibility of a cultural trait with change is also one of the hardest to resolve. This barrier involves making a change that goes directly against the established cultural norms of a group or institution, and even if the clients know it is a better choice, it is hard for them to accept it because “the incompatibility is often with the fundamental purpose of the innovation.” (Ellsworth, 2000 p. 170). Changes that could fall into this category could involve removal of a popular program from a school because the budget, implementation of a dress code to aid in removing distractions from the classroom, or expanding the school year into summer. The examples are drastic changes that may be for the good of the school, and the change clients may even recognize these benefits, but adopting them may be in such a conflict with established norms that it is hard to buck the existing trends and views.

Resolving a conflict that results from Incompatibility of a cultural trait with change must be made in a way that makes the offer beyond worthwhile. A large offering or compensation can be the carrot that drives a change initiative through an issue of incompatibility of a cultural trait with the change. In asking a lot, sometimes a change agent has to give a lot.

#### **1.2.3 Social Barriers to Change**

Zaltman and Duncan identified five types of social barriers that can create resistance to change. These types of barriers are:

- Group Solidarity
- Rejection of Outsiders
- Conformity to Norms
- Conflict
- Group Introspection

##### **1.2.3.1 Group Solidarity**

Sometimes resistance to change is rooted in concerns for how it will affect others in a group. Group Solidarity is a barrier to change that involves resistance to a change initiative out of concern for how it will affect the greater group of an organization. This type of resistance may be based on good intentions and concern for the group, but this concern and hesitation to rock the apple cart may lead to missing out on opportunities to improve an organization. An example by Ellsworth (2000) is of a department chair that resists implementing a new curriculum approach for teaching technology to pre-service teachers because she is concerned about the impact that it will have on her faculty.

While it is hard not to be concerned how a change initiative will impact others (and a smart change agent will be concerned) this should not lead to resisting change out of concern about possible impact. It is recommended that a change agent that encounters this type of resistance identify all the groups impacted by the proposed change and address their concerns with specific support that attends to their needs. By knowing the change clients concerns, resistance can be reduced by addressing concerns throughout the process.

### **1.2.3.2 Rejection of Outsiders**

Rejection of outsiders is something that occurs in many tight-knit organizations or groups. This barrier is created by the belief that no one outside of the group could possibly understand what they do on a day-by-day basis and therefore any change that comes from an outsider has little to no value for improving the group's situation. Ellsworth (2000) points out that this is related to Cultural Ethnocentrism but instead of one group being viewed as superior it is instead viewed as being uninformed by not actively being involved with the other group.

As with Cultural Ethnocentrism, it is advised that a change agent keep the change clients involved throughout the process in order to have a better understanding of their needs as well as receive feedback and input throughout the process that may help ease the client's transition towards the change.

### **1.2.3.3 Conformity to Norms**

Conforming to norms is part of what makes a group of people a group. Certain rules and practices are established and to be in the group a person has to follow and go along with these established norms. Failure to do so may result in a group member becoming an outsider and losing the support and solidarity of the group. So rather than adopt to a change that may be beneficial to an organization, group members may choose to stay with the familiarity of the norms of their group.

This type of resistance to change may be hard to overcome, as feelings of wanting to belong within the group may be stronger than the desire to adopt a change that may upset the group. In attempting to resolve this barrier, Zaltman and Duncan proposed that "the critical question for a change agent to ask is, 'Why do people participate in this norm?'" Knowing the answer to this question may enable a change agent to modify his change to meet the need satisfied by the norm" (1977, p. 74). By understanding why a group has taken a specific stance, a change agent may be better equipped to modify his or her approach in a way that courts a group by catering to its norms instead of contesting them.

### **1.2.3.4 Conflict**

While most of the barriers previously listed dealt with group dynamics and inter-group politics, outright conflict between groups is also a social barrier to change. Perhaps the most obvious to observe and diagnose, conflicts between parties can stymie and derail the change process. Based on differences in philosophy, culture, and belief, plain old conflicts can be one of the most difficult barriers to resolve simply due to not only the animosity between the change agent and client but also the conflict between client factions on opposite sides of the change initiative.

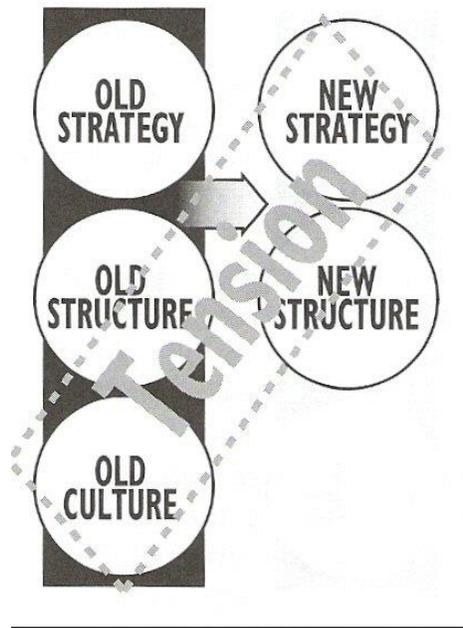
As with most types of conflict, it would be advised that the change agent take a neutral position between any rival factions and try to bring the factions together to reach a common ground involving the change initiative. By addressing the concerns of all parties a change agent may be able to, if only partially, resolve any issues that are prohibiting the smooth adoption of the proposed change.

### 1.2.3.5 Group Introspection

In any group setting it is possible to lose perspective of a situation when nothing appears to be wrong or needing change. Being on the inside of such a group can lead to a lack of perception when it comes to seeing a need for change. Group Introspection, according to Ellsworth can best be summed up “with the metaphor of not being able to ‘see the forest for the trees’” (2000, p. 173). When a group does something for so long one way and does not see any problems, it may be hard to reach them when the opportunity to implement a better system presents itself.

In dealing with this particular barrier to change, the change agent must actively involve both insiders and outsiders in the change movement. Outsiders will help to bring fresh ideas and views to the change initiative, while insiders may help to spread the message to other insiders that the change is indeed worthwhile and needed. The insiders help to wake up the collective group to the reality that a change may be needed and the benefits are worth the change.

### 1.2.4 Psychological Barriers



This category may be the most difficult to work with since it pretty much exists exclusively within the individual. There are four psychological barriers. These barriers are perception, homeostasis, conformity and commitment, and personality factors.

#### 1.2.4.1 Perception

There are different variations to perception. There is selective perception. This is when the person only chooses to remember certain details about the change. They cannot look

beyond the negative to see all the positives a change could make. Perception also becomes a problem when two people in the organization cannot agree on what problem is most important to make changes to. This causes them to be unable to agree on a resolution. Perception of the meaning of a change is also a barrier. This happens when there are different ideas of what a particular innovation means. For example, many teachers have different ideas of what integration means. Perception also is a barrier when the change agent may act in a way that someone in the organization may perceive as inappropriate. An example might be when a new administrator fires someone that has been an excellent teacher but they don't quite "hit it off".

#### **1.2.4.2 Homeostasis**

Homeostasis simply wants to stay in an environment where it is comfortable. The key to this barrier is to understand what the organization is going through at each stage of the change and maintaining a certain level of comfort as much as possible for the people affected.

#### **1.2.4.3 Conformity and Commitment**

This barrier to change is when people think that the change being implemented is not how everyone else in the same profession is doing things. In addition, they don't see themselves putting more time and energy into some new innovation when they have already put a significant amount of time and energy into something that has worked well for many years.

#### **1.2.4.4 Personality Factors**

The final type of psychological barriers to change is personality factors. This barrier is seen when individuals have certain personality traits that disallow them to see change as positive or needed.

### **1.3 AGENTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE**

Positive social change occurs when individuals strongly believe they have the power to make a difference and they take action. On average, 92 percent of adults say they have done something to engage in positive social change at some point in their lives. But who are these people creating and contributing to positive social change?

As revealed in Walden University's 2013 Social Change Impact Report, released in December, there are six distinct types of social change agents around the world: Ultracommitted Change-Makers, Faith-Inspired Givers, Socially Conscious Consumers, Purposeful Participants, Casual Contributors and Social Change Spectators. Each type of social change agent is unique in terms of engagement levels, motivating factors and issues of importance.

Commissioned by Walden University and conducted online by Harris Interactive in April-May 2013, the third-annual survey includes perspectives of more than 9,000 adults in Brazil, Canada, China, Germany, India, Jordan, Mexico and the United States. A

continuation of the 2011 and 2012 social change impact reports about the state of social change around the world, the 2013 study was designed to discover more about people who are involved in positive social change, ultimately putting a face on social change agents.

“Everyone has the power to make a difference, whether big or small or local or global. Our study has now identified the different kinds of individuals who are doing important work around the world,” says Dr. Cynthia Baum, president of Walden University. “By segmenting these groups in the 2013 survey, we find new insights to understanding the ways in which social change agents are alike and different.”

### **1.3.1 Ultracommitted Change-Makers**

True to the name, Ultracommitted Change-Makers have been known to dedicate their lives to leading positive social change. They may be interested in many different causes, believe strongly in their ability to make a real difference in their communities and feel happy as a result of their involvement. Plugged into technology, Change-Makers often can be found initiating conversations about social change to others online and feel social change should be taught at a young age. When growing up, many in this profile probably had parents who were active in social change. As adults, many members of this segment now engage in a social change activity at least once a month. Compared with social change agents overall:

- Most say it is very important to them personally to be involved in positive social change (71 percent, on average, of Ultracommitted Change-Makers vs. 39 percent, on average, of social change agents overall).
- Nearly half do something to engage in positive social change at least once a month (46 percent, on average vs. 30 percent, on average).
- Most say they engage in positive social change because it is a lifelong commitment (74 percent, on average, say this describes them completely or very well vs. 45 percent, on average).
- They want to make a difference in people’s lives because others have made a difference in theirs (92 percent, on average vs. 74 percent, on average).

### **1.3.2 Faith-Inspired Givers**

Religion is a driving force behind Faith-Inspired Givers who cite their faith, not work or school, as a major influence in their commitment to social change. Many sharing this profile tend to be older than other social change agents and tend to be less likely to connect online. Like many others, Faith-Inspired Givers’ parents participated in social change when they were growing up, and now they want to set an example for their own children. They may feel blessed in their lives and want to give back to their community, attend a religious service regularly and feel a moral obligation to participate in social change. Compared with social change agents overall:

- Three-quarters say they engage in positive social change because it is part of their faith or religious beliefs (75 percent, on average, of Faith-Inspired Givers say this describes them completely or very well vs. 39 percent, on average, of social change agents overall).
- Nine in 10 attend a religious service at least once a month (92 percent, on average vs. 35 percent, on average).

- Faith-Inspired Givers are less motivated by Web sites (23 percent, on average vs. 47 percent, on average).

### **1.3.3 Socially Conscious Consumers**

Supporting others who support social change, Socially Conscious Consumers often seek out products and services from companies they perceive as behaving responsibly toward the people and the environment in the communities where they operate. These social change agents tend to be influenced by a sense of social justice and drawn to the environment or green issues. You can often find this group connecting online, educating others about causes both local and global. For many, social change can be a lifelong commitment. Compared with social change agents overall:

- Nine in 10 report that when purchasing a product or service, they make an effort to choose a company that behaves responsibly toward the people and environment in the communities where it operates (91 percent, on average, of Socially Conscious Consumers vs. 82 percent, on average, of social change agents overall).
- Eight in 10 say that social justice (e.g., anti-discrimination, tolerance, civil rights, etc.) is among the social change topics that are most important to them (81 percent, on average vs. 71 percent on average).
- Three-quarters say that the environment and green issues (e.g., global warming, climate change, pollution, etc.) are among the social change topics that are most important to them (76 percent, on average vs. 60 percent, on average).

### **1.3.4 Purposeful Participants**

While other social change agents may be motivated by personal beliefs, Purposeful Participants tend to engage in social change primarily to help them succeed at school or work. Perhaps more pragmatic in nature, many place less importance on being personally involved in social change and are less likely to donate money or services. Among social change agents, Purposeful Participants tend to report the highest levels of personal sacrifice or risk in pursuing social change. Compared with social change agents overall:

- Six in 10 say it was important for applying to enter a college or university (58 percent, on average, of Purposeful Participants vs. 29 percent, on average, of social change agents overall), it was to fulfill a requirement for a class, school or education program (63 percent, on average vs. 33 percent, on average) or their employer or job encouraged it (60 percent, on average vs. 37 percent, on average).
- Two-thirds say it was important for their resume or applying for a job (65 percent, on average vs. 31 percent, on average).
- More than half have had relationships with friends or family suffer because of their beliefs about positive social change (52 percent, on average vs. 31 percent, on average).
- More than half have given up spending more time with their family in order to be involved in positive social change (56 percent, on average vs. 37 percent, on average).

### **1.3.5 Casual Contributors**

For Casual Contributors, local community issues are most likely to drive their social change activities. While they see social change as important, this group probably is not likely to make it a lifelong commitment or typically act on it. Many are older adults without children and often are not influenced by work or religious beliefs. Compared with social change agents overall:

- About one-quarter say it is very important to them personally to be involved in positive social change (27 percent, on average, of Casual Contributors vs. 39 percent, on average, of social change agents overall).
- About one-quarter do something to engage in positive social change at least once a month (24 percent, on average vs. 30 percent, on average).
- Casual Contributors are less likely to have participated in positive social change because they were motivated by something that they learned about on a website other than a social networking site (27 percent, on average vs. 47 percent, on average) and because it was important for their resume or applying for a job (9 percent, on average vs. 31 percent, on average).

### **1.3.6 Social Change Spectators**

While Social Change Spectators have engaged in social change at some point, they may not be active participants. In general, they do not see their actions as impacting positive change in their community and had little experience with participating in social change in their youth. Typically Social Change Spectators do not believe it is important to be personally involved in social change whether in person or online. Compared with social change agents overall:

- Hardly any say it is very important to them personally to be involved in positive social change (4 percent, on average, of Social Change Spectators vs. 39 percent, on average, of social change agents overall).
- About one in 10 do something to engage in positive social change at least once a month (9 percent, on average vs. 30 percent, on average).
- Very few say they engage in positive social change because it is a lifelong commitment (6 percent, on average, say this describes them completely or very well vs. 45 percent, on average).
- Social Change Spectators are less likely than other social change agents overall to have participated in positive social change activities or volunteered when they were in high school (46 percent, on average vs. 74 percent, on average). Furthermore, in each country a segment of the population says it never engages in positive social change.

In addition to establishing these profiles, the 2013 survey also found that participation in social change has maintained its importance, is widespread and is moving forward as a result of people working together to address the issues most important to them. What's more, findings reveal that education continues to play a vital role in providing opportunities for social change engagement, which, if modeled to children and started at a young age, may lead to more involvement in adulthood.

Visit [here](#) for more detailed findings from Walden’s Social Change Impact Report.

The 2013 Social Change Impact Report was conducted online by Harris Interactive on behalf of Walden University between April 9 and May 8, 2013, among a total 9,097 adults within Brazil (1,010 adults ages 18–59), Canada (1,010 adults ages 18 and older), China (1,010 adults ages 18–60), Germany (1,013 adults ages 16 and older), India (1,008 adults ages 18–64), Jordan (1,005 adults ages 18 and older), Mexico (1,021 adults ages 18–64), and the U.S. (2,020 adults ages 18 and older). Data for each country were weighted to the general or online population within each country. The “Average Result” is the arithmetic average across the countries. This measure does not account for differences in population size and thus is not representative. This online survey is not based on a probability sample and therefore no estimate of theoretical sampling error can be calculated.

- 1 In China and Germany, the Faith-Inspired Giver segment was too small in the survey (<50 respondents) to allow an examination of its characteristics and thus these countries are excluded from the analysis of this segment.
- 2 In India and Jordan, the Socially Conscious Consumer segment was too small in the survey (<50 respondents) to allow an examination of its characteristics and thus these countries are excluded from the analysis of this segment.
- 3 In Brazil, India and Mexico, the Social Change Spectator segment was too small in the survey (<50 respondents) to allow an examination of its characteristics and thus these countries are excluded from the analysis of this segment.

## 1.4 THEORIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE

### 1.4.1 Historical background

Several ideas of social change have been developed in various cultures and historical periods. Three may be distinguished as the most basic: (1) the idea of decline or degeneration, or, in religious terms, the fall from an original state of grace, (2) the idea of cyclic change, a pattern of subsequent and recurring phases of growth and decline, and (3) the idea of continuous progress. These three ideas were already prominent in Greek and Roman antiquity and have characterized Western social thought since that time. The concept of progress, however, has become the most influential idea, especially since the Enlightenment movement of the 17th and 18th centuries. Social thinkers such as Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot and the marquis de Condorcet in France and Adam Smith and John Millar in Scotland advanced theories on the progress of human knowledge and technology. Progress was also the key idea in 19th-century theories of social evolution, and evolutionism was the common core shared by the most influential social theories of that century. Evolutionism implied that humans progressed along one line of development that this development was predetermined and inevitable, since it corresponded to definite laws, that some societies were more advanced in this development than were others, and that Western

society was the most advanced of these and therefore indicated the future of the rest of the world's population. This line of thought has since been disputed and disproved.

Following a different approach, French philosopher and social theorist Auguste Comte advanced a "law of three stages," according to which human societies progress from a theological stage, which is dominated by religion, through a metaphysical stage, in which abstract speculative thinking is most prominent, and onward toward a positivist stage, in which empirically based scientific theories prevail.

The most encompassing theory of social evolution was developed by Herbert Spencer, who, unlike Comte, linked social evolution to biological evolution. According to Spencer, biological organisms and human societies follow the same universal, natural evolutionary law: "a change from a state of relatively indefinite, incoherent, homogeneity to a state of relatively definite, coherent, heterogeneity." In other words, as societies grow in size, they become more complex; their parts differentiate, specialize into different functions, and become, consequently, more interdependent.

Evolutionary thought also dominated the new field of social and cultural anthropology in the second half of the 19th century. Anthropologists such as Sir Edward Burnett Tylor and Lewis Henry Morgan classified contemporary societies on an evolutionary scale. Tylor postulated an evolution of religious ideas from animism through polytheism to monotheism. Morgan ranked societies from "savage" through "barbarian" to "civilized" and classified them according to their levels of technology or sources of subsistence, which he connected with the kinship system. He assumed that monogamy was preceded by polygamy and patrilineal descent by matrilineal descent.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels too were highly influenced by evolutionary ideas. The Marxian distinctions between primitive communism, the Asiatic mode of production, ancient slavery, feudalism, capitalism, and future socialism may be interpreted as a list of stages in one evolutionary development (although the Asiatic mode does not fit well in this scheme). Marx and Engels were impressed by Morgan's anthropological theory of evolution, which became evident in Engels's book *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884).

The originality of the Marxian theory of social development lay in its combination of dialectics and gradualism. In Marx's view social development was a dialectical process: the transition from one stage to another took place through a revolutionary transformation, which was preceded by increased deterioration of society and intensified class struggle. Underlying this discontinuous development was the more gradual development of the forces of production (technology and organization of labour).

Marx was also influenced by the countercurrent of Romanticism, which was opposed to the idea of progress. This influence was evident in Marx's notion of alienation, a consequence of social development that causes people to become distanced from the social forces that they had produced by their own activities. Romantic counter-progressivism

was, however, much stronger in the work of later 19th-century social theorists such as German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies. He distinguished between the community (Gemeinschaft), in which people were bound together by common traditions and ties of affection and solidarity, and the society (Gesellschaft), in which social relations had become contractual, rational, and non-emotional.

Émile Durkheim and Max Weber, sociologists who began their careers at the end of the 19th century, showed ambivalence toward the ideas of progress. Durkheim regarded the increasing division of labour as a basic process, rooted in modern individualism, that could lead to “anomie,” or lack of moral norms. Weber rejected evolutionism by arguing that the development of Western society was quite different from that of other civilizations and therefore historically unique. The West was characterized, according to Weber, by a peculiar type of rationality that had brought about modern capitalism, modern science, and rational law but that also created, on the negative side, a “disenchantment of the world” and increasing bureaucratization.

The work of Durkheim, Weber, and other social theorists around the turn of the century marked a transition from evolutionism toward more static theories. Evolutionary theories were criticized on empirical grounds they could be refuted by a growing mass of research findings and because of their determinism and Western-centred optimism. Theories of cyclic change that denied long-term progress gained popularity in the first half of the 20th century. These included the theory of the Italian economist and sociologist Vilfredo Pareto on the “circulation of elites” and those of Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee on the life cycle of civilizations. In the 1930s and '40s, Harvard professor Pitirim Sorokin developed a cyclic theory of cultural change in the West, describing repetitions of change from the ideational to the idealistic and sensate and back again.

Although the interest in long-term social change never disappeared, it faded into the background, especially when, from the 1920s until the 1950s, functionalism, emphasizing an interdependent social system, became the dominant paradigm both in anthropology and in sociology. “Social evolution” was substituted for the more general and neutral concept of “social change.”

The study of long-term social change revived in the 1950s and continued to develop through the 1960s and '70s. Neo-evolutionist theories were proclaimed by several anthropologists, including Ralph Linton, Leslie A. White, Julian H. Steward, Marshall D. Sahlins, and Elman Rogers Service. These authors held to the idea of social evolution as a long-term development that is both patterned and cumulative. Unlike 19th-century evolutionism, neo-evolutionism does not assume that all societies go through the same stages of development. Instead, much attention is paid to variations between societies as well as to relations of influence among them. The latter concept has come to be known by the term acculturation. In addition, social evolution is not regarded as predetermined or inevitable but is understood in terms of probabilities. Finally, evolutionary development is not equated with progress.

Revived interest in long-term social change was sparked by attempts to explain the gaps between rich and poor countries. In the 1950s and '60s, Western sociologists and economists developed modernization theories to help understand the problems of the so-called underdeveloped countries. Some modernization theories have been criticized, however, for implying that poor countries could and should develop or modernize in the manner of Western societies. Modernization theories have also been criticized for their lack of attention to international power relations, in which the richer countries dominate the poorer ones. These relations have been brought to the centre of attention by more recent theories of international dependency, typified by the "world capitalist system" described by American sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein. His world systems theory, however, has been attacked for empirical reasons and for its failure to account for the collapse of Soviet regimes and their subsequent movement toward capitalism and democracy. Wallerstein's theory has also drawn criticism for failing to explain significant Third World economic development such as that seen in South Korea, Singapore, and Hong Kong.

Every innovation, whether it be a new mechanical device, a new form of human relationship, an addition to the stock of knowledge, or a theory, such as that which will be presented here, is at once a utilization of established cultural elements and a violation of some aspect of the social status quo.

Through most of recorded social history men have apparently considered that change per se is undesirable and that the ideal social condition is stability. Whether society as they have known it has been stable or whether it has been undergoing rapid change, they have sought to maintain or to achieve continuity of social life to preserve for their descendants what they have inherited from their ancestors. Folklore, myth, legend, theology, social philosophy, ethical and aesthetic standards, and other symbolic constructs have reflected the traditional modes of social conduct and have operated as social controls, forcing the individual members of society to conform to the traditional ways of life. Even the philosophers of change, such as Plato and Marx, have usually granted the desirability of change only as a means to the achievement of the good-and stable-social order; men have, in fact, through most of social history maintained a considerable degree of social stability.

### **1.4.2 Evolutionism**

The idea that it is possible to improve society through deliberate human effort has persisted in one form or another and among various segments of society down to the present day. It has been the ideological basis for all sorts of efforts at social reform, legal and otherwise; but it does not define the course of social development and its consequences. Such indeterminacy was evident among nineteenth-century philosophers. In order to fit man and his society into that design, many social philosophers began to conceive of social progress as the manifestation of a natural law. Of these, Auguste Comte (1798-1857) is perhaps the most notable, not only because he coined the term "sociology" and became the founder of a field of science, but also because his theory has in part survived the test of time. To the idea of social progress by deliberate effort Comte added the concept of fixed stages from the theological to the scientific through which each society must progress; it is only when the final stage, the scientific, is reached that rational control of human affairs becomes

possible. Already, he believed, Western peoples had reached the scientific stage in respect to nature, and they were on the threshold of that stage in regard to social relations. Soon sociology, the scientific study of the laws of social life, would make it possible for social technicians to devise improved systems of social life through which men would ultimately achieve the good, because highly efficient, society.

Less optimistic was the cosmic philosophy of Herbert Spencer (1820- 1903). Every society, he thought, goes through a series of fixed and immutable stages, not because of deliberate effort on the part of man himself, but as a consequence of a cosmic design over which man has no control. With Spencer, therefore, the idea of social progress by human endeavor gives way to that of inevitable evolutionary development in directions dictated by natural law. With the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, the concept of evolutionary development, social as well as biological, captured the minds of many nineteenth-century intellectuals, and much attention was devoted to speculative consideration of the course and mechanism of social evolution. In all such speculation the idea of inevitability was strong; and although men differed greatly as to where evolution was taking them and how the process worked, they were inclined to accept constant social change as good if only because it was thought to be inevitable. That idea was resisted by Protestant theologians, some philosophers, and uninformed laymen who preferred to hold to the things and traditions. For most intellectuals, however, the concept of inevitable evolutionary development of society provided a reassuring mental scheme by which to order and interpret the many and extensive changes that were actually occurring in their society. It made all such changes meaningful and desirable; moreover, it offered a "scientific" justification for those events.

The anthropologists, such as Morgan, Maine, and Westermarck, incorporated the idea of stages that Comte and Spencer had propounded. Thus Westermarck, whose attention was focused on the institution of marriage, saw that institution as having evolved over the ages and through the fixed stages of primitive promiscuity, group marriage, polygamy, and polyandry to monogamy in which the uncertainty of fatherhood led to inheritance through the maternal line (the matrilinear system) and finally to the patriarchal family, the last, the perfected stage. In its evolution each society, he thought, must progress through these same fixed stages of family development.

#### **1.4.2.1 Neo-evolutionism**

The idea of social change as the normal and as proceeding inevitably from bad to good and from good toward better on the way to social perfection was an intellectual heritage from which the early modern sociologists could not entirely escape. The American Lester F. Ward blended Comtian positivism with Darwinism and the traditional American faith in the social benefits of public school education to produce his concept of "telic progress." Comte had expected the achievement of the scientific stage of social thought to lead to, the emergence of new social elite, the social engineers, who would apply to human welfare the findings of science, including those of the new science of society. Comte's perfected society would be autocratic and authoritarian in nature; for the social engineers would take over the directive functions that had previously been fulfilled by ignorant and self-seeking politicians and authoritatively apply law and government with scientific efficiency. Ward, on the other hand,

believed that the application of scientific knowledge, about social as well as natural phenomena, was to come about through increasingly rational conduct made possible by the fact that they had been taught in public schools the scientific facts of life-physical, biological, and social. Thus each individual would be a "social engineer"; and the good society, the society that would in this way be brought into being, would be both democratic and equalitarian. Even today Ward is considered by educators as the father of educational theory.

Ward was the only notable American sociologist to make the evolutionary concept his primary concern. Other American sociologists have been inclined to ignore the phenomenon of social change. Most of the early German sociologists, such as Weber, Tonnies, and Simmel, on the other hand, were much interested in the processes of change and were in one way or another evolutionary in their outlook. All believed that society, specifically the Western society, was moving inevitably from one stage or phase to another, better one.

Weber's theory of the role of the Protestant ethic in the emergence of capitalistic society, which will be given considerable attention later, had no evolutionary implications; it was, in fact, a truly scientific hypothesis of specific historical sequences; and while it has its limitations, it is one of the few usable concepts of social change that have been advanced by sociologists. Weber's theory of bureaucracy, however, incorporates the central concept of evolutionism—that change proceeds in some specified and irreversible direction.<sup>1</sup> For Weber this direction is one of ever-increasing rationality in social arrangements and practices. Capitalistic forms of social organization, produced by the rational conduct of individuals qua individuals, would, he thought, in due course give way to a bureaucratic society in which collective rationality would replace that of an individual character. The result would be the ultimate, if not perfect, society, a society in which all the various social functions would be efficiently fulfilled through bureaucratic organizations.

The *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* theory that was advanced by Tonnies is even more clearly an expression of nineteenth-century faith in evolution<sup>2</sup>. Although couched in the language of a hypothesis designed to put into order the observed facts of social change, it is actually an assumption that in the past men have always and everywhere lived together in tradition-bound modes of life (*Gemeinschaft*) but have now finally begun to evolve a new, more fruitful system of organization (*Gesellschaft*). In this new system the individual members will be relatively free to exercise reason in the conduct of their affairs; and they will be held together in loose collectivities, not through the dead hand of the past, but from a conscious awareness of the advantage to them of organization of this sort.

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<sup>1</sup> A summary of Weber's thesis is provided by H. G. Gerth and C. Wright Mills in *From Max Weber*, Oxford University Press, Fair Lawn, N.J., 1946, chap. VIII, "Bureaucracy." According to Weber, even the arts were evolving in the direction of greater rationality through increasing application of scientific thought and the scientific method. See Max Weber, *The Rational and Social Foundations of Music*, Don Martindale et al. (trans.), Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, Ill., 1960.

The imprint of evolutionism is also to be found in the theories of a number of early modern French sociologists, most clearly in the writings of Durkheim. Like Tonnies, Durkheim advanced a concept of social change that involved two stages. In the first stage, which has been characteristic of all pre-modern peoples, there is little division of labor, the members of a society are very much one like another, and they are all held together in social groups through what he termed "mechanical solidarity." The second, recently achieved stage has been forced into being by population pressures; it involves a progressive division of labor, which in turn produces marked and sharp differentiation of the members. The now highly divergent individuals are bound together in groups not, as Tonnies saw it, through rational self-interest but rather through a sub rational acceptance of group ideology, through "collective representations."

In Britain the rather pessimistic evolutionism of Spencer was given an optimistic turn by such early twentieth-century social scientists as Graham Wallas, Leonard Hobhouse, and Morris Ginsberg.<sup>2</sup> They all believed that social change is inevitable; they all held that the direction of social change is from simple, relatively weak forms of organization (tribal, feudal, familistic, etc.) toward the highly differentiated, but at the same time highly integrated, forms of organization that they believed to be the emergent characteristic of modern society; and they all regarded this change as desirable as well as inevitable, since it was bringing about greater human welfare.

### **1.4.3 Socialistic Concepts of Change**

Evolutionism tended to dominate Western social thought through the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century; but it was often combined with the earlier concept of progress through rational and deliberate social action to justify some sort of reformist program. They deviated from the true evolutionists, who were content to let natural law work itself out, in the belief that the evolutionary process was being upset by those who had a strong vested interest in the status quo-by persons and classes of persons who profited by the inadequacies of the existing, and imperfect, social system.

Particularly in America, the evolutionary reformers were prone to focus their attention upon specific social conditions that they defined as bad, rather than upon a class of persons presumed to be responsible for those conditions, and to direct their attacks toward improvement of those conditions. The reforms that they advocated the elimination of ignorance, of slavery, of poverty, and of drinking; the liberation of women; the unionization of workers; improvements in the penal system; etc. often became the cores of strong social movements and somewhat less often may actually have speeded changes in social organization. In Europe, on the other hand, the tendency was for social thinkers to take a broader and longer view and to advocate sweeping and systematic, rather than piecemeal, reform programs.

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<sup>2</sup>Morris Ginsberg, *The Idea of Progress: A Revaluation*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1953.

#### **1.4.4 Anarchism**

Building somewhat on the theories of Saint Simon, but taking their cue mainly from Rousseau, a school of French social thinkers and reformers developed around the idea that the barrier to social progress is government view that was also held, in more moderate degree, by the English economist Adam Smith. In this view, government is always and everywhere unfriendly to change, since it invariably represents the social elite, a parasitic class that has a vested interest in preserving those traditional forms of social life which enable them to live well on the miseries of common people. Political revolution is not the solution. Progress can come only when government per se is eliminated; the resulting condition will be that of anarchy, in which the true nature of man is permitted to become visible. Since the advocates of anarchy accepted Rousseau's saying that "natural man" is unselfish and that the evil deeds of men are all a manifestation of political constraint and repression, they believed that a state of social anarchy would be one of willing and blissful cooperation among individuals that is, that once government was destroyed, the truly natural and perfected society would quickly come into being.

Although the term "anarchy" currently implies total social chaos, a reversion to pre-social barbarism, to the anarchists of the nineteenth century, mainly French and some Russian, it meant quite the opposite. They often advocated violent and destructive attacks upon property, private and public, but only as a means toward the liquidation of government; for they considered property to be the material manifestation of the political order. What the anarchists did was to deny that the evil of government is in fact a necessary one, even temporarily, and to put their faith in man himself. For them, man the individual is inherently good. If left to his own devices, he will live and work with his fellow men in peace, plenty, and contentment. The end of government will not bring social chaos; on the contrary, it will bring the end of strife, including war, and the end of meanness and evil conduct of every sort, both individual and collective; and it will enable men to evolve, as nature has intended that they should, efficient and equable forms of nonpolitical social life. Specifically, the end of government will enable all men to live and work together in the same idealistic, self-sacrificing, and cooperative ways in which man now lives and works, despite the repressive force of government, within his family membership. All men will then be truly brothers. Although the anarchists considered organized religion as a servant of an evil government, in the good society that they envisioned the individual members would conduct themselves very much in accordance with the Ten Commandments; and it is not without reason that a latter-day offshoot of the anarchistic movement in France took the name of Christian socialism.

#### **1.4.5 Marxism**

Karl Marx was directly in the evolutionary tradition. He saw society moving inevitably through predetermined phases or stages as a consequence of a mystic force that he called "historical imperatives." The nineteenth-century phase, capitalism, was one which had brought a solution to the age-old problem of Production—the provision of material wealth sufficient to free men from bondage to nature. But this phase, which, by freeing the forces of individual initiative, had wrought such great advances in the techniques of production, had also made possible the systematic exploitation of the majority of the members of society by the holders of the tools of

production (the capitalists), with the result that, while these few profited hugely from the improvement of productive techniques, the masses (the workers) whose labor created wealth profited not at all.

The power of the capitalists to exploit the masses, to retain for their own use the surplus value (those goods and services that were not essential to the sheer physical survival of the workers), stemmed, Marx thought, from the fact that the capitalists controlled government, directing it, even as they did religion, to their own ends. In accordance with "historical imperatives," the industrial workers, then unaware of the extent to which they were being exploited, would eventually develop a class consciousness, realize that their interests as a class were antithetical to those of their capitalistic exploiters, and finally revolt. The revolution would be directed toward the destruction of the existing political system and the liquidation of the exploitative class. Out of the chaos of revolution there would arise a government of, for, and by the workers; and this government would legislate into existence a communal economic system that would operate on the principle of "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his need." During this transitional phase in the evolution of the good society, what Marx called the tutorial period, political control would dominate; but once the inherently good people, the workers, had learned to live together in the proper communal manner and had discovered the advantages of doing so, the need for political enforcement of the good life would disappear. In the end, therefore, communal forms of life would be self-maintaining and thus stable. For Marx, as for so many others, social change was only a means of achieving social stability at a utopian level.<sup>3</sup>

So far, Marx differed from other true evolutionists only in the particular sequence of stages through which he thought society was moving and would move. The fact that he believed political revolution to be one of the events in the evolutionary process does not make him any less an evolutionist. With the publication of the Communist Manifesto, however, he became the advocate of action intended to speed up the evolutionary process and thereby entered the ranks of the social reform.

#### **1.4.6 Fabian Socialism**

Actually, it is the theory of the Fabian socialists which came closest to predicting what has come to pass in Western societies during the present century. The Fabians, taking their name from the Roman general Quintus Fabius Maximus, whose nibbling tactics eventually brought the downfall of the conquering Hannibal, were mainly British intellectuals (Bernard Shaw was among their numbers) who were discouraged by some aspects of capitalistic society and yet violently opposed to Marx's solution.<sup>4</sup> They rejected the idea that revolution was necessary in order to bring about the evolution of the good society; they held, rather, that the transition from capitalism to socialism would and should be gradual and piecemeal. They were indifferent to the presumed class struggle; indeed, they did not perceive any sharp and irreconcilable conflict

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<sup>3</sup>For one of many recent reevaluations of Marxian theory see Robert C. Tucker, *Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1961.

<sup>4</sup>Margaret Cole, *The Story of Fabian Socialism*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif., 1922.

in interests among the various classes. The real struggle, the vital conflict, as they viewed the problem, was between old ideas of what is right and proper and rational perception of the advantages of a socialistic system of life. Bit by bit, they thought, the logical desirability of socialism would be discovered and socialistic forms would evolve. They were not clear concerning the role of government in this process; but on the whole they seem to have believed that it would be through specific political actions, as distinct from all-inclusive political action, that socialistic principles would be put into practice. Moreover, they considered that the core principle of socialism the greatest good to the greatest number was already implicit in many of the social reforms, such as the establishment of minimum standards of safety in mines and the construction of public housing for the poor, which had already been undertaken in England.

Fabian socialism was, thus, a projection into the future of certain of the changes that were already occurring in highly industrialized societies; and it has so happened that the kinds of changes that the Fabians considered to be socialistic in nature, mainly the assumption by governmental agencies of responsibility for the welfare of special classes of the population, in fact continued to occur and still continue to occur at a rate that the Fabians did not anticipate. Every modern Western country is today even less individualistic and capitalistic and even more socialistic than was the Fabian ideal; and the process by which socialistic principles have come into practice is very much that which the Fabians advocated—a piecemeal reduction of the personal rights of the individual and a concomitant piecemeal extension of his social right to economic maintenance.

#### **1.4.7 Moralistic Reformism**

Neither Marxism nor Fabian socialism acquired much of a following in the United States. In nineteenth-century America generated a great number and variety of short-lived mass movements, usually reformist in nature, and an even greater number of crusades against some specific social condition or in favor of some specific social change. Of the movements, that against the use of alcoholic beverages and in favor of the political enfranchisement of women were popular. What the various movements and crusades had in common was faith in the power of organized minority groups to bring about calculated social change and to prevent changes that were already in progress. In America, by contrast with Europe, most reform movements and many crusades had as their avowed goal, not the economic improvement of the condition of the masses, but moral elevation. In America the Protestant pulpit was commonly used to propagandize in favor of some social change or in protest against some other change. American churches were, therefore, often centers of social reform and of resistance to change, whereas in Europe the churches, both Catholic and Protestant, tended to remain outside the arena of organized social strife. At the same time churchmen, both American and European, were exceedingly busy reforming the natives of various non-Western lands by inducting them into the religious and social practices of the West. As agents of social change, they played an important role during the latter half of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth.

#### **1.4.8 Theories of Cyclical Change**

To support the theory of social evolution (social change is constant and in the direction of perfection) the evolutionists relied on historical data. They collected selected facts from

recent historical developments or to point out contrasts between primitive societies and contemporary Western societies. A searching study of historical and comparative materials would have disproved the thesis that societies move constantly in the direction of perfection and would have revealed that the rates of social change have varied widely from society to society and from time to time within a given society and in various directions.

#### **1.4.8.1 Theory of History**

The antithesis to the theory that social change is toward perfection is the old and intriguing idea that societies change, not toward perfection, but toward extinction. When attention is focused on human culture in general, particularly when it is focused on the material technology, which often leaves records in the form of artifacts, it is possible to trace over long periods of time a progressive refinement, a movement from the crude, simple, and inefficient toward ever-increasing complexity and efficiency.

When, however, attention is directed to the life of specific peoples of a single tribe, family line, town, or even the whole of a civilization, quite a different story emerges. The evolution of tools and other aspects of the material culture of the world were not accomplished by a single people, but rather by a great many peoples, each having made its own limited contribution and most having vanished from the earth. Culture in general may have evolved; but various peoples and their particular ways of social life have come and gone.

The apparent rise and subsequent decline of the civilizations of the past is all too easily equated with the life cycle of the individual human being, who is born, grows to maturity, ages, and then dies. The idea of a rise and decline fits into the mental framework through which, for evident reasons, all men view the phenomena of life. At any event a great many philosopher-historians have been inclined to impute a life cycle to societies, to their own as well as to those of peoples known to have preceded them.

Like the evolutionists, these theorists of history have considered social change to be normal and inevitable; but whereas the evolutionists believed that a society changes in the constant direction of perfection (upon reaching which, presumably, it then lives happily ever after), the theorists of history have been convinced that the contrary is the case; for the records of history demonstrate that, every specific society has had a comparatively brief period of glory and has then slid into obscurity.

#### **1.4.8.2 Recent Theories of History**

In any study of social change the cyclical theory cannot, however, be ignored. It has persisted in some form or the other. Perhaps the earliest of the modern versions was that which was presented in 1725 by Giovanni Battista Vico. Later in the same century, Edward Gibbon documented the cyclical theory of history in his monumental and very influential *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. For nearly two centuries thereafter, Gibbon's cyclical concept was the major, although not the only, theoretical framework that was used by historians. Thus, in 1920, when H. G. Wells compressed the known history of the world into his outline of *History*, each of the many civilizations that he discussed, followed the standard rise-and-fall pattern.

About the same time, Oswald Spengler advanced a special application of the cyclical concept: The West, which had given birth to industrial society, was now, he contended, losing vigor and beginning to stagnate.<sup>5</sup> The outcome of World War I had clearly demonstrated the venality of Western society-that Western society had come to depreciate strength, military and otherwise, and to sanction weakness and timidity, both individual and collective. Meanwhile, the peoples of Asia had emerged from their centuries of lethargy and were on the march, challenging the power and effectiveness of the West. "Political, military, technological, and organizational dominance was, therefore, about to shift from West to East. The next historic epoch would belong to Asia and the Asians, just as long centuries before it had shifted from the venal Greeks to the vigorous Romans.

Sorokin<sup>6</sup> came to his reassuring conclusion by an ingenious (creative) route. He rejected the standard rise-and-fall approach to the history of civilizations, with its stress upon such aspects of social life as the growth and contraction of political and military power, the expansion and loss of territory, the rise and decline of population, and evaluated the social histories of various peoples in terms of degrees of goodness and badness. Moreover, he focused not upon political and related events, but upon such cultural phenomena as art forms, music, literature, and modes of life, and upon the nature and frequency of wars and other evidences of social disorder. All societies, he decided, fluctuate through time and between two polar extremes-the ideational (the good) and the sensate (the bad). In its ideational phase, the members of a society are guided by idealistic considerations and tend therefore to subordinate crass, personal concerns to the social good; in its sensate phase, on the other hand, they are guided mainly by self-interest and thus put their own individual welfare above that of the common good. The whole of a social system does not move in one coordinated swing toward one pole or the other; one aspect of the system, such as sexual conduct, may be moving in the direction of the sensate while another, such as art forms, may be changing toward the ideational.

Sorokin's theory of social change actually differed only in one major respect from that of his predecessors: where they saw a succession of peoples entering and eventually departing from the cycle of history, Sorokin held to a version of collective reincarnation that is, a given people, in this case the people of the West, runs its life course and is then reborn. It is also through the concept of rebirth in what he calls the "response to the challenge of imminent destruction" that the historian Toynbee has found cause to hope for the future of Western civilization. He says that societies change for a time by growing larger, stronger, and more productive in a manner somewhat analogous to the physical maturation of an

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<sup>5</sup>Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, 2 vols., Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1939.

<sup>6</sup>Pitirim Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, 4 vols., American Book Company, New York, 1937-1941. A one-volume edition of this work is available under the same title published by Porter Sargent Publisher, Boston, 1957. For Toynbee's position, see Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, one-volume abridgement by D. C. Somervell, Oxford University Press, Fair Lawn, N.J., 1947.

organism; but as they in this sense approach maturity, they tend to develop organizational rigidity, until at length they become stiff and unyielding, even as does an organism in its later years. In this condition a society may persist until it encounters some major crisis war, plague, loss of material resources, or the like. Such a crisis constitutes a "challenge" to which an aging society may, but not always will, "respond." If the society responds, it recaptures something of the dynamic, adaptive quality that it has lost it is revitalized, reborn; if it does not respond, it continues down the historic path to oblivion.

#### **1.4.9 Particularistic Theories of Social Change**

During the past fifty years a number of theories of social change, less sweeping and less inclusive than those of evolution and the cyclical course of social history, have been advanced by men qualified as scientists in one field or another. These scientists illustrate a common hazard in the analysis of social change that of applying the scientifically untenable concept of simple cause and effect. In each instance, the theory involves an assumption that social change is the product of some particular variable, some single "cause," and that not only is every change attributable to that cause, but every change in that cause will produce a concomitant change in society.

#### **1.4.10 Diffusionism**

It has often been observed that in some historical periods someone people has maintained a sort of cultural dominance over many others, usually by providing them with new ideas, devices, and forms of organization. At one time, for example, Athens was for a century or more culturally dominant; it provided Rome, its successor, with such varied cultural attributes as philosophy, art, and construction techniques. France was to set the fashion in clothes, manners, and morals for the aristocratic elite of all Western Europe.

During the early years of this century the idea of culturally dominant centers was elaborated and made into a theory of social change by G. Elliot Smith, an Egyptologist. About 3000 B.C., according to Smith, an unusual constellation of circumstances produced a great spurt in cultural development among the people of the Nile Valley; agricultural technology was rapidly improved, geometry was invented, metalworking and tool making processes were evolved, a new and effective political order was devised, etc. From this center of cultural innovation new and improved cultural devices spread ' throughout the Mediterranean and thence to all the peoples of the world. Smith concluded that it was the inventiveness of the Egyptians of that period that was the "cause" of social change in the various societies of the world, that what the Egyptians invented was diffused to and adopted by these other societies.

To validate his theory, Smith tried to find cultural similarities between the early Egyptians and peoples as far removed in space and time as the Incas of Peru and the Melanesians of the South Pacific. The cultural characteristics of these and other later peoples were presumed to be cultural survivals from the waves of cultural diffusion that had, ages ago, swept about the world. Since few if any of the social practices of these later peoples were directly comparable to those of the ancient Egyptians, Smith resorted to the cabalistic principle that things-in this case cultural traits-are never what they seem, that beneath the evident lies the true reality (to be ascertained, of course, by Smith himself). Through the

application of this formula Smith was able to demonstrate to his and his disciples' satisfaction that a bone fishhook in Melanesia had been derived from a bronze spear developed by the Egyptians, that the Mayan practice of building pyramidal stone structures upon which to hold blood sacrifices to the sun-god was but a transmutation of the Egyptian practice of mummifying their dead and burying them in the great pyramids, etc.

For generation cultural anthropologists were split into two camps: the diffusionists, who tried to trace everything cultural to some particular center, most often Egypt, and the parallelists, who were inclined to think that each people had independently developed its own cultural devices. The former insisted that man is rarely original; the latter, that originality is a very common characteristic of man. The former held that there is but one history of culture--that of Egypt, or of wherever the center was located, and the world at large; the latter, that each people has its own special and independent history. Time, new evidences, and sober reflection have led to the conclusion that both positions are in error and that; on the other hand, there is a grain of truth in each of them.

#### **1.4.11 Geographic Determinism**

In many lands it is a durable folk belief that the people belonging to different areas have different characteristics, like those who live in the northern part are typically of stern and sturdy. The apparently this folk dichotomy of people into north and south does not mean that it is necessarily valid, but its implication that climate determines a people's character has often been used by social theorists to explain observed differences between societies. The result is a more or less inclusive theory of geographic determinism.

It was an American geographer, Ellsworth Huntington, who used the geographic factor to explain, not just why peoples differ, but why societies change<sup>7</sup>. If, he argued, some geographic condition or some combination of geographic conditions determines the characteristics of the people, it follows that only as geographic conditions change will their society changed unless, of course, they should migrate to some new location having different geographic characteristics. Huntington accepted uncritically the cyclical interpretation of the rise and fall of civilizations about the Mediterranean and set about to explain all such social change in terms of changing climatic conditions. Like Smith, he believed that the cradle of civilization was the valley of the Nile, where there had existed for a time a unique combination of conditions favorable to the development of highly complex and efficient modes of life. For Huntington, these favorable circumstances were a temperate climate, adequate but not excessive rainfall spread equably throughout the year, freedom from violent storms, and sufficient cloud cover to protect the land and its people from the sun. Thus for Huntington the cradle of civilization is a geographic setting such as most human beings dream about but never actually experience.

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<sup>7</sup>Ellsworth Huntington, *Climate and Civilization*, 3d ed., Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 1924, and *Mainsprings of Civilization*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1945.

In this perfect climatic setting men are freed from the normal necessity of diverting time and effort into protecting themselves from climatic adversity; their crops and herds thrive without undue attention; and men therefore have the opportunity to devote themselves to the finer things in life to devising new tools, developing the arts, working out elaborate and effective systems of organization, etc. It was in just such a physical setting and for just these reasons, according to Huntington, that the Egyptians evolved their complex, civilized mode of life. In time Egyptian civilization faded; the Sumerians rose to civilized estate, and then, they, too, returned to barbarism; and over the centuries the center of civilization shifted from people to people and region to region. Why? Because, Huntington concluded, climatic changes had reduced the valley of the Nile to a brutally hot, brilliantly lit, exceedingly dry land which in these and other ways had become climatically unfavorable to the maintenance of civilized life. Meanwhile, related climatic changes had made the valley of the Euphrates into a climatic cradle of civilization, with the consequence that a civilization arose there to replace that of Egypt.

#### **1.4.12 Biological Determinism**

During the nineteenth century the French savant J. A. De Gobineau gave a semblance of scientific respectability to the old folk idea that blood will tell. This idea has been almost universal, and the members of every tribe and nation have been inclined to subscribe to the view that they themselves are endowed with special and superior natural qualities.

The core of biological determinism is the assumption that the peoples of the world are divided into races, biologically distinct groups, that races have markedly different inherent abilities to develop and maintain social life, and that the forms and quality of the social life that a people lead are indications of the racial qualities of that people. In this way it is possible to explain not only the differences between social systems, but also changes that may occur within a given social system, especially deteriorative changes. Deteriorative changes may occur due to the adulteration of the racial bloodline by the infusion of inferior racial stock to the down breeding of the race; or to something called the "running out" of racial qualities. Conversely, the rise of a society can be traced to the flowering of latent racial greatness or to the appearance, presumably through the evolutionary process, of superior biological qualities in a population that has formerly been undistinguished. In comparatively modern times the idea that social stratification is simply the social manifestation of biological differences has been used to justify inequalities in educational and other kinds of opportunity, inequality in income, and resistance to social changes that have seemed to jeopardize the position of social elites.

If, the argument runs, the well to do, the educated, and the most socially productive members of society are what they are because they are biologically superior to their social inferiors, then social progress will come about through a numerical reduction of the latter and an increase in the numbers of the former. Unfortunately, Western societies have of late tended to down breed; the best biological stocks (the rich, the educated, etc.) have had a considerably lower birth rate than have the poor and ineffectual members of society. The result is a progressive deterioration of the biological quality of the social population. To

prevent such social decline and reverse the trend, it is necessary only to reduce the lower-class birth rate and increase that of the upper classes.

#### **1.4.13 Sociological Theories of Social Change**

Such nineteenth-century predecessors of modern sociology as Comte, Spencer, and Ward were preoccupied with the problem of social change. Their self-assigned task was to chart the past course of social development, using as their guide the idea of social evolution, in order to predict the future of Western civilization. In Germany sociologists continued for a time to take the long view and to study, or at least speculate about, the changes that were occurring in Western society. In America, however, where sociology as a special discipline within the social sciences developed with considerable rapidity, the attention of sociologists was directed almost exclusively to the study and theorizing about things as they are and the processes, such as socialization and social control, by which the social system is maintained; and so it has, for the most part, remained to the present day. As a consequence, very little sociological attention has been devoted to the study of how Western society came into being; and current theories about and knowledge of social change are but little advanced beyond what they were a quarter century and more ago.

#### **1.4.14 Assimilation**

A number of early sociologists, of whom W. I. Thomas was the outstanding representative, were interested in the scientific analysis of the process by which immigrants to America take over the customs, manners, values, etc., of American society. This process, assimilation, came to sociological attention mainly because it was not operating with the speed and effectiveness that had been expected. America had long held to the belief that the United States could make stalwart citizens out of any kind of human material that the American melting pot could render into good Americans people of any color, creed, or condition of servitude. Almost until the close of the nineteenth century all the immigrants except the Irish had in fact been absorbed with comparative ease; but the hordes of central and southern Europeans who toward the close of the century and during the two decades following came to make their fortunes in American industry formed into somewhat isolated foreign ghettos and proved resistant to assimilation.

The study of assimilation, of which a great deal was undertaken by sociologists, was tangential to that of social change per se. It was a sociological parallel to the study, which currently so much concerns anthropologists, of the acculturation of primitive and peasant peoples into the techniques, values, etc., of industrial life. The findings of such studies, old and new, have had some value to the study of change itself; for individual and group resistance to assimilation or acculturation is not unlike the resistance that a new social element may encounter; but in such studies attention has been on the spread to new people of social elements that are already well established in another social system, rather than on the essential problem of social change, on how various new elements come into being and gain acceptance in the society of their origin.

#### **1.4.15 Social Ecology**

During the 1920s American sociology was to a considerable extent dominated by what was known as the Chicago School. This school, under the stimulus of Robert E. Park, was concerned mainly with ascertaining the processes of social life, as distinct from the present American concentration on structure.<sup>8</sup> He and his associates did undertake one venture into the study of change per se under the rubric "social ecology." From plant and animal ecology the social ecologists drew the concepts of competition and conflict between species and of the invasion of an ecological area by a new species with a consequent change in which species dominated. They applied these concepts to the study of the spatial relationships and changes in the spatial relationships of the various classes in an urban population, each class being conceived of as comparable to a plant or animal species.

The social ecologists were endeavoring to ascertain the ways in which cities grow and, in the growing, change. They brought to this study the idea that the population of a city is governed by the same laws that regulate bacteria, plants, and animals in their use of a piece of land. Thus, they assumed that the social life of man and the sub-social actions of lower organisms are subject to the same basic laws. They tended to disregard the significant differences between man and other organisms that men have a culture and live in social ways, that men can upon occasion act to some extent as self-determining individuals rather than as members of a species, and that when men do act as individuals, they sometimes devise new forms of conduct.

#### **1.4.16 Social Lag**

It was, however, to provide a law of social change comparable to the laws of physics and biology that William F. Ogburn in 1922 advanced his theory of social lag.<sup>9</sup> The concept of social lag struck the fancy of American sociologists and was for long, and possibly indeed still is, the major idea regarding social change in the folklore of sociology. Ogburn pointed out, quite soundly, that social changes always originate in the invention by some individual of a new way of doing something or of something new to do. So far he was following in the tradition established by Gabriel Tarde; but Ogburn then began to wander in the tracks of Marx. Historically, he argued, inventions occur most often in the field of material technology, if only because the advantages of an improvement in technology are self-evident. With each development in technology, there comes, however, some disturbance to the effective working of the existing social order. A strain or stress is set up between the new technique and various organizational aspects of the social system, changes in which come slowly if at all; the result disequilibrium between new technology and old social organization, is social lag. (Ogburn was not clear regarding the process by which changes

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<sup>8</sup>The base document of what came to be known as the Chicago School of American sociology was *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* by Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1921.

<sup>9</sup>William F. Ogburn, *Social Change with Respect to Culture and Original Nature*, B. W. Huebsch, Inc., New York, 1922. A new edition has been issued under the same title by The Viking Press, Inc., New York, 1950.

in social organization come about; he did not, at any event, consider them to be inventions comparable to those of new techniques.)

The core of Ogburn's theory is the idea that change first occurs in the material technology, an idea borrowed directly from Marx and indirectly from Saint-Simon, Condorcet, and other French founders of the idea of progress. Ogburn eventually qualified his original statement, in reply to contrary evidences, to make it apply specifically to Western society since the industrial revolution; but even as a theory of change for this special time and place, the concept of social lag so oversimplifies historical realities that it contributes very little.<sup>10</sup>

#### **1.4.17 Cultural Acceleration**

Tarde had observed that, other things being equal, the more complex the society and therefore the more numerous the elements of a society, the greater the likelihood that two or more elements will meet and be synthesized into a unique combination, i.e., an invention.<sup>11</sup> In 1931 Hornell Hart used this idea as the basis for a new statement of the old idea of social progress. Culture, he held, accumulates through the addition of new inventions; and with each such addition, the chances are increased that still more inventions will occur. As a consequence, culture accumulates at an accelerative rate, much as money in the bank grows through compound interest. To substantiate his hypothesis, Hart offered in evidence historical data on such matters as the increasing range and destructive power of guns, the increasing efficiency of the cutting tools used by man, the increasing speed at which men could cover distance, the increasing power of steam-generating plants, and the increasing use of coal, oil, and such other industrial materials as steel. The rate of increase in these and other instances, he pointed out, has been constantly increasing; and when the changing distance, speed, size, or use is plotted over time, the result is in each case a close approximation to geometric progression. Hart concluded, therefore, that social change is linear and accelerative and that the direction of change is invariably toward increasing efficiency or effectiveness.<sup>12</sup>

The inadequacy of Hart's theory of change is easily demonstrated. If it were a universal principle that societies moved constantly and acceleratively toward greater effectiveness, how could the regression of specific societies, such as Roman, be explained? How, further,

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<sup>10</sup>This contrary evidence, the first serious criticism of the social-lag concept, was advanced by Richard T. LaPiere and Cheng Wang in "The Incidence and Sequence of Social Change," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 37, pp. 399-409, November, 1931. They demonstrated that the major change in Chinese society that had occurred within recent years had been ideological rather than technological and that the probable sequence would be ideological.organiizational.technological, rather than the reverse. The social history of China since then has tended to confirm this view.

<sup>11</sup>G. Tarde, *The Laws of Imitation*, Holt, New York, 1903.

<sup>12</sup>Hornell Hart, *The Technique of Social Progress*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., New York, 1931; "Acceleration in Social Change," in Francis R. Allen et al. (eds.), *Technology and Social Change*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1957; and "Social Theory and Social Change," in Llewellyn Gross (ed.), *Symposium on Sociological Theory*, Harper & Row, Publishers, Incorporated, New York, 1959.

could the fact be explained that China, which at the opening of the Christian era was by far the most complex society on earth in that it had the largest number of cultural elements, has remained comparatively stable for nearly two thousand years?

#### **1.4.18 Patterns of Social Change**

Theories of social change, both old and new, commonly assume that the course of social change is not arbitrary but is, to a certain degree, regular or patterned. The three traditional ideas of social change decline, cyclic change, and progress have unquestionably influenced modern theories. Yet because these theories are not scientifically determined, they fail to make an explicit distinction between decline and progress. In fact, the qualities of decline and progress cannot be derived scientifically (that is, from empirical observations) alone but are instead identified by normative evaluations and value judgments. If the study of social change is to be conducted on scientific and non-normative terms, then, only two basic patterns of social change can be considered: the cyclic, as identified above, and the one-directional. Often the time span of the change determines which pattern is observed.

#### **1.4.19 Cyclic Change**

Much of ordinary social life is organized in cyclic changes: those of the day, the week, and the year. These short-term cyclic changes may be regarded as conditions necessary for structural stability. Other changes that have a more or less cyclic pattern are less predictable. One example is the business cycle, a recurrent phenomenon of capitalism, which seems somewhat patterned yet is hard to predict. A prominent theory of the business cycle is that of the Soviet economist Nikolay D. Kondratyev, who tried to show the recurrence of long waves of economic boom and recession on an international scale. He charted the waves from the end of the 18th century, with each complete wave comprising a period of about 50 years. Subsequent research has shown, however, that the patterns in different countries have been far from identical.

Long-term cyclic changes are addressed in theories on the birth, growth, flourishing, decline, and death of civilizations. Toynbee conceived world history in this way in the first volumes of *A Study of History* (1934–61), as did Spengler in his *Decline of the West* (1918–22). These theories have been criticized for conceiving of civilizations as natural entities with sharp boundaries, thinking that neglects the interrelations between civilizations.

### **1.5 PROCESS OF SOCIAL CHANGE**

#### **1.5.1 One-directional Change**

This type of change continues more or less in the same direction. Such change is usually cumulative and implies growth or increase, such as that of population density, the size of organizations, or the level of production. The direction of the change could, however, be one of decrease or a combination of growth and decrease. An example of this last process is what the American cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz called “involution,” found in some agrarian societies when population growth is coupled with a decrease in per capita wealth.

Yet another change may be a shift from one pole to the other of a continuum from religious to secular ways of thinking, for example. Such a change may be defined as either growth (of scientific knowledge) or decline (of religion).

The simplest type of one-directional change is linear, occurring when the degree of social change is constant over time. Another type of social change is that of exponential growth, in which the percentage of growth is constant over time and the change accelerates correspondingly. Population growth and production growth are known to follow this pattern over certain time frames.

A pattern of long-term growth may also conform to a three-stage S curve. In the first phase the change is slow enough as to be almost imperceptible. Next the change accelerates. In the third phase the rate of change slackens until it approaches a supposed upper limit. The model of the demographic transition in industrializing countries exhibits this pattern. In the first (pre-modern or preindustrial) stage both the birth rate and the mortality rate are high, and, consequently, the population grows very slowly; then mortality decreases, and the population grows much faster; in the third stage both the birth rate and the mortality rate have become low, and population growth approaches zero. The same model has been suggested, more hypothetically, for the rates of technological and scientific change.

### **1.5.2 Combined Patterns of Change**

Cyclic and one-directional changes may be observed simultaneously. This occurs in part because short-term change tends to be cyclic while long-term change tends to follow one direction. For example, production rates of industrializing countries exhibit the pattern of short-term business cycles occurring within long-term economic development.

These patterns cannot be applied simply and easily to social reality. At best, they are approximations of social reality. Comparing the model with reality is not always possible, because reliable data are not always available. Moreover, and more important, many social processes do not lend themselves to precise quantitative measurement. Processes such as bureaucratization or secularization, for example, can be defined through changes in a certain direction, but it is hard to reach agreement on the dimensions to be measured.

It remains to be seen whether long-term social change in a certain direction will be maintained. The transformation of medieval society into the modern nations of the West may be conceived in terms of several interconnected long-term one-directional changes. Some of the more important of these changes include commercialization, increasing division of labour, growth of production, formation of nation-states, bureaucratization, growth of technology and science, secularization, urbanization, spread of literacy, increasing geographic and social mobility, and growth of organizations. Many of these changes have also occurred in non-Western societies. Most changes did not originate in the West, but some important changes did, such as the Industrial Revolution and the rise of capitalism. These changes subsequently had a strong impact on non-Western societies. Additionally, groups of people outside western Europe were drawn into a global division of labour, with Western nation-states gaining dominance both politically and economically.

The extent to which these changes are part of a global long-term social development is the central question of social evolution. Although knowledge concerning this question is far from complete, some general trends may be hypothesized. One trend is seen in the technological innovations and advances in scientific knowledge that has harnessed natural forces for the satisfaction of human needs. Among these innovations were the use of fire, the cultivation of plants, the domestication of animals (dating from about 8000 BCE), the use of metals, and the process of industrialization. These long-term developments, combined with long-term capital accumulation, led to rising production and paved the way for population growth and increasing population density. Energy production and consumption grew, if not per capita, then at least per square mile.

Another trend stems from production methods based on the division of labour and social differentiation. The control of natural forces, and the ensuing social progress, was achieved only by utilizing the division of labour and the corresponding specialization of knowledge to raise productivity beyond natural limits. One consequence of this growth of productivity and technological innovation, however, was social differentiation. More people, in other words, could specialize in activities that were not immediately necessary for survival. Growth in the size and density of populations and increases in social differentiation heightened the interdependence of more and more people over longer distances. In hunting-and-gathering societies people were strongly interdependent within their small bands, depending on very little from outside their groups. In modern times most of the world's people are linked by networks of interdependence that span the globe.

These processes are not inevitable in the sense that they correspond to any "law" of social change. They have had the tendency, however, to spread whenever they occurred. For example, once the set of transformations known as the agrarian revolution had taken place anywhere in the world, their extension over the rest of the world was predictable. Societies that adopted these innovations grew in size and became more powerful. As a consequence, other societies had only three options: to be conquered and incorporated by a more powerful agrarian society, to adopt the innovations, or to be driven to marginal places of the globe. Something similar might be said of the Industrial Revolution and other power-enhancing innovations, such as bureaucratization and the introduction of more destructive weapons. The example of weapons illustrates that these transformational processes should not be equated with progress in general.

### **1.5.3 Explanations of Social Change**

One way of explaining social change is to show causal connections between two or more processes. This may take the form of determinism or reductionism, both of which tend to explain social change by reducing it to one supposed autonomous and all-determining causal process. A more cautious assumption is that one process has relative causal priority, without implying that this process is completely autonomous and all-determining. What follows are some of the processes thought to contribute to social change?

#### **1.5.4 Natural Environment**

Changes in the natural environment may result from climatic variations, natural disasters, or the spread of disease. For example, both the worsening of climatic conditions and the Black Death epidemics are thought to have contributed to the crisis of feudalism in 14th-century Europe. Changes in the natural environment may be either independent of human activities or caused by them. Deforestation, erosion, air pollution, and contemporary climate change belong to the latter category, and they in turn may have far-reaching social consequences.

#### **1.5.5 Demographic Processes**

Population growth and increasing population density represent demographic forms of social change. Population growth may lead to geographic expansion of a society, military conflicts, and the intermingling of cultures. Increasing population density may stimulate technological innovations, which in turn may increase the division of labour, social differentiation, commercialization, and urbanization. This sort of process occurred in western Europe from the 11th to the 13th century and in England in the 18th century, where population growth spurred the Industrial Revolution. On the other hand, population growth may contribute to economic stagnation and increasing poverty, as may be witnessed in several developing countries today.

#### **1.5.6 Technological Innovations**

Several theories of social evolution identify technological innovations as the most important determinants of societal change. Such technological breakthroughs as the smelting of iron, the introduction of the plow in agriculture, the invention of the steam engine, and the development of computers and the Internet have had lasting social consequences.

#### **1.5.7 Economic Processes**

Technological changes are often considered in conjunction with economic processes. These include the formation and extension of markets, modifications of property relations (such as the change from feudal lord-peasant relations to contractual proprietor-tenant relations), and changes in the organization of labour (such as the change from independent craftsmen to factories). Historical materialism, as developed by Marx and Engels, is one of the more prominent theories that give priority to economic processes, but it is not the only one. Indeed, materialist theories have even been developed in opposition to Marxism. One of these theories, the “logic of industrialization” thesis by the American scholar Clark Kerr and his colleagues, states that industrialization everywhere, including in the mid-20th-century communist countries, has similar consequences.

#### **1.5.8 Ideas**

Other theories have stressed the significance of ideas as causes of social change. Comte’s law of three stages is such a theory. Weber regarded religious ideas as important contributors to economic development or stagnation; according to his controversial thesis,

the individualistic ethic of Christianity, and in particular Calvinism, partially explains the rise of the capitalist spirit, which led to economic dynamism in the West.

### **1.5.9 Social Movements**

A change in collective ideas is not merely an intellectual process; it is often connected to the formation of new social movements. This in itself might be regarded as a potential cause of social change. Weber called attention to this factor in conjunction with his concept of “charismatic leadership.” Charismatic leaders, by virtue of the extraordinary personal qualities attributed to them, are able to create a group of followers who are willing to break established rules. Examples include Jesus, Napoleon, and Hitler. In later social theory, however, the concept of charisma was trivialized to refer to almost any popular figure.

### **1.5.10 Political Processes**

Changes in the regulation of violence, in the organization of the state, and in international relations may also contribute to social change. For example, German sociologist Norbert Elias interpreted the formation of states in western Europe as a relatively autonomous process that led to increasing control of violence and, ultimately, to rising standards of self-control. According to other theories of political revolution, such as those proposed by the American historical sociologist Charles Tilly, the functioning of the state apparatus itself and the nature of interstate relations are of decisive importance in the outbreak of a revolution: it is only when the state is not able to fulfill its basic functions of maintaining law and order and defending territorial integrity that revolutionary groups have any chance of success.

Each of these processes may contribute to others; none is the sole determinant of social change. One reason why deterministic or reductionist theories are often disproved is that the method for explaining the processes is not autonomous but must itself be explained. Moreover, social processes are often so intertwined that it would be misleading to consider them separately. For example, there are no fixed borders between economic and political processes, nor are there fixed boundaries between economic and technological processes. Technological change may in itself be regarded as a specific type of organizational or conceptual change. The causal connections between distinguishable social processes are a matter of degree and vary over time.

## **1.6 PROCESS OF ACCEPTANCE TO SOCIAL CHANGE**

### **1.6.1 Attributes of Innovations**

We need a standard classification scheme for describing the perceived attributes of innovations in universal terms. One would not then have to study each innovation as a special case in order to predict its rate of adoption. We are working toward a comprehensive set of characteristics of innovations that are as mutually exclusive and as universally relevant as possible. The five attributes of innovations are (1) relative advantage, (2) compatibility, (3) complexity, (4) trialability, and (5) observability.

The ease or difficulty of introduction (of ideas) depends basically on the nature of the 'new' in the new product the new as the customer views the bundle of services he perceives in the newborn." It is the receivers' perceptions of the attributes of innovations, not the attributes as classified by experts or change agents, that affect their rate of adoption. Like beauty, innovations exist only in the eye of the beholder. And it is the beholder's perceptions that influence the beholder's behavior.

The results vary somewhat from study to study, but the strongest support is generally found for the attribute dimensions of relative advantage, compatibility, and complexity, with somewhat weaker support for the existence of trialability and observability. We conclude that the most important attributes of innovations for most respondents can be subsumed under the five attributes that we use as our general framework.

### **1.6.2 Relative Advantage**

Relative advantage is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as being better than the idea it supersedes. The degree of relative advantage is often expressed in economic profitability, in status giving, or in other ways. The nature of the innovation largely determines what specific type of relative advantage (such as economic, social, and the like) is important to adopters, although the characteristics of the potential adopters also affect which dimensions of relative advantage are most important (as we shall show in this section).

### **1.6.3 Economic Factors and Rate of Adoption**

Some new products involve a series of successful technological improvements that result in a reduced cost of production for the product, leading to a lower selling price to consumers. Economists call this "learning by doing" (Arrow, 1962). A good example is the pocket calculator, which sold for about \$250 in 1972; within a few years, thanks to technological improvements in the production of the semiconductors that are a vital part of the calculator, a similar (four-function) product sold for only about \$10.

When the price of a new product decreases so dramatically during its diffusion process, a rapid rate of adoption is obviously facilitated. In fact, one might even question whether an innovation like the pocket calculator is really the same in 1976, when it cost \$10, as in 1972 when it cost twenty-five times as much. Certainly, its absolute relative advantage has increased tremendously.

### **1.6.4 Status Aspects of Innovations**

Undoubtedly one of the important motivations for almost any individual to adopt an innovation is the desire to gain social status. For certain innovations, such as new clothing fashions, the social prestige that the innovation conveys to its wearer is almost the sole benefit that the adopter receives. In fact, when many other members of a system have also adopted the same fashion, the innovation (such as longer skirts or designer jeans) may lose much of its social value to the adopters. This gradual loss of status giving on the part of a particular clothing innovation provides a continual pressure for yet newer fashions.

The point here is not that certain new clothing styles do not have functional utility for the wearer; for instance, jeans are an eminently practical and durable type of clothing. But certainly the main reason for buying designer jeans has more to do with the designer's name on the rear pocket, a status-conferring attribute of the innovation, than with the durability, or utility, of the jeans. Perhaps the importance of social status in decisions to purchase new clothing is indicated by the fact that an individual's old clothing is very seldom really worn out before it is replaced by new clothes.

Clothing fashions are by no means the only class of innovations for which status-conferring considerations are a main reason for adoption, and upper-class women are by no means the only members of a population who are attracted to status-giving innovations. Generally speaking, the adoption of highly visible innovations (for instance, clothing, new cars, and hair styles) is especially likely to be status motivated.

As we stated previously, certain individuals (who adopt an innovation at a certain time) are more highly motivated by status seeking than are others. For example, many lower-income individuals could care less about clothing fashions. In general, the middle and upper middle class seem to exhibit a stronger concern with the status aspects of innovations. Status motivations for adoption seem to be more important for innovators, early adopters, and early majority, and less important for the late majority and laggards.

### **1.6.5 Relative Advantage and Rate of Adoption**

The diffusion of an innovation is an uncertainty-reduction process. When individuals (or an organization) pass through the innovation-decision process, they are motivated to seek information in order to decrease uncertainty about the relative advantage of an innovation. Potential adopters want to know the degree to which a new idea is better than an existing practice. So, relative advantage is often the content of the network messages about an innovation. The exchange of such innovation-evaluation information lies at the heart of the diffusion process.

Given this, it is not surprising that diffusion scholars have found relative advantage to be one of the best predictors of an innovation's rate of adoption. Relative advantage, in one sense, indicates the strength of the reward or punishment resulting from adoption of an innovation. There are a number of sub dimensions of relative advantage: the degree of economic profitability, low initial cost, a decrease in discomfort, a savings in time and effort, and the immediacy of the reward. This latter factor explains in part why preventive innovations have an especially low rate of adoption. A preventive innovation is a new idea that an individual adopts in order to avoid the possibility of some unwanted future event. Such ideas as buying insurance, using auto seat belts, adopting soil-conservation practices, getting inoculations against disease, and adopting contraceptive methods are examples. The relative advantage of preventive innovations is difficult for change agents to demonstrate to their clients, because it occurs at some future, unknown time.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>A lack of observability is also a characteristic of preventive innovations that slows their rate of adoption.

### 1.6.6 Effects of Incentives

Many change agencies award incentives or subsidies to clients in order to speed the rate of adoption of innovations. One function of an incentive for adopters is to increase the degree of relative advantage of the new idea. Incentives are direct or indirect payments of cash or in kind that are given to an individual or a system in order to encourage some overt behavioral change. Often, the change entails the adoption of an innovation.

Incentives have been paid in order to speed up the diffusion of innovations in a variety of fields: agriculture, health, medicine, and family planning. More research has undoubtedly been conducted on family-planning incentives than in any other field. Actually, there are many different forms that incentives can take (Rogers, 1973)

1. Adopter versus diffuser incentives. Incentives may be paid either directly to an adopter, or to another individual to encourage him or her to persuade an adopter. A diffuser incentive increases the observability of an innovation, rather than its relative advantage.
2. Individual versus system incentives. Payments may be paid to individual adopters or change agents, or to social systems to which they belong. For example, the government family-planning agency in Indonesia pays a community incentive to villages that achieve a high rate of adoption of contraceptives; such an incentive policy increases the relative advantage of birth control.
3. Positive versus negative incentives. Most incentives are positive in that they reward a desired behavior change (like adoption of a new idea), but it is also possible to penalize an individual by imposing an unwanted penalty or by withdrawing some desiderata for not adopting an innovation. For example, the government of Singapore has decreed that any family that has a third (or further) child is not eligible to receive maternity leave and must pay all hospital and delivery costs (which are otherwise free to all citizens).
4. Monetary versus nonmonetary incentives. While incentives are often financial payments, they may also take the form of some commodity or object that is desired by the recipient. For instance, in one state in India a sari with red triangles (the symbol of family planning in India) was awarded to each woman who was sterilized.
5. Immediate versus delayed incentives. Most incentives are paid at the time of adoption, but others can only be awarded at a later time. For example, some developing nations provide a cost-free education for the children of a couple who have a small family.

Any combination of these five types of incentive policies can be paid in any given situation. Gradually, evidence is being accumulated as to which particular combination has a desired influence on the diffusion of innovation. As such, incentives offer one diffusion strategy that affects the perceived attributes of innovations, especially relative advantage, and thus an innovation's rate of adoption. Some incentive policies are designed only to encourage trial of a new idea; an illustration is the free samples of a new product that many

commercial companies offer to their customers. The strategy here is that by facilitating trial use, full-scale adoption will follow (if the innovation possesses a potential relative advantage that can be perceived by the receiver).

On the basis of research and experience with family planning innovations, Rogers (1973, pp. 159-174) draws the following conclusions.

1. Incentives increase the rate of adoption of an innovation. Adopter incentives increase relative advantage, and diffuser incentives increase the communicability with which an innovation is perceived. Further, an adopter incentive can act as a cue-to-action (an event occurring at a point in time that crystallizes a favorable attitude into overt behavior change) in triggering the adoption of an innovation.
2. Adopter incentives lead to adoption of an innovation by individuals different from those who would otherwise adopt. Innovators and early adopters usually have higher socioeconomic status and other characteristics that set them off from later adopters. But when a large adopter incentive is paid to family planning accepters, individuals of lowest socioeconomic status seem to be most innovative.
3. Although incentives increase the quantity of adopters of an innovation, the quality of such adoption decisions may be relatively low, leading to limitations in the intended consequences of adoption. If individuals adopt an innovation partly in order to obtain an incentive, there is relatively less motivation to continue using the innovation (if it can be discontinued).

There are serious ethical aspects involved in paying incentives. But the design of incentive policies can be improved by empirical studies that evaluate the effects of incentives on the rate of adoption, continuation, and consequences of innovations.

### **1.6.7 Compatibility**

Compatibility is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as consistent with the existing values, past experiences, and needs of potential adopters. An idea that is more compatible is less uncertain to the potential adopter. An innovation can be compatible or incompatible (1) with socio-cultural values and beliefs, (2) with previously introduced ideas, or (3) with client needs for innovations.

### **1.6.8 Compatibility with Values and Beliefs**

Many illustrations can be provided of how the incompatibility of an innovation with cultural values blocks its adoption. In modern urban India there is a strong norm against eating food with the left hand, which is believed to be unclean. This habit began in past centuries when Indian villagers used their left hand for certain functions associated with defecation. At that time there were inadequate washing and sanitary facilities and the left-hand-as-unclean complex was functional. But today it is easy for urban, middle-class Indians to wash their hands before meals. Nevertheless, the unclean hand habit rigidly persists as an element in urban India. How would you like to be the change agent who is responsible for persuading Indians to eat

with their left hands? Many change agents face equally difficult assignments in promoting innovations that run counter to strongly held values.

### **1.6.9 Compatibility with Previously Introduced Ideas**

An innovation may be compatible not only with deeply imbedded cultural values but also with previously adopted ideas. Compatibility of an innovation with a preceding idea can either speed up or retard its rate of adoption. Old ideas are the main tools with which new ideas are assessed. One cannot deal with an innovation except on the basis of the familiar and the old fashioned. Previous practice is a familiar standard against which the innovation can be interpreted, thus decreasing uncertainty.

Examples of the use of past experience to judge new ideas come from a diffusion study in a Colombian peasant community (FalsBorda, 1960). At first, farmers applied chemical fertilizers on top of their potato seed (as they had done with cattle manure), thereby damaging their seed and causing a negative evaluation of the innovation. Other peasants excessively sprayed their potatoes with insecticides, transferring to the new idea their old methods of watering their plants.

The rate of adoption of a new idea is affected by the old idea that it supersedes. Obviously, however, if a new idea were completely matching with existing practice, there would be no innovation, at least in the mind of the potential adopters.<sup>14</sup> In other words the more compatible an innovation is, the less of change it represents. How useful, then, is the introduction of a very highly compatible innovation? Quite useful, perhaps, if the compatible innovation is seen as the first step in a series of innovations that are to be introduced sequentially. The compatible innovation paves the way for later, less compatible innovations.

A negative experience with one innovation can damn the adoption of future innovations. Such innovation negativism (Arensberg and Niehoff, 1964) is an undesirable aspect of compatibility. Innovation negativism is the degree to which an innovation's failure conditions a potential adopter to reject future innovations. When one idea fails, potential adopters are conditioned to view all future innovations with apprehension.

### **1.6.10 Compatibility with Needs**

One indication of the compatibility of an innovation is the degree to which it meets a need felt by the clients. Change agents seek to determine the needs of their clients, and then recommend innovations to fulfill these needs. The difficulty often lies in how to feel felt needs; change agents must have a high degree of empathy and rapport with their clients in order to assess their needs accurately. Informal probing in interpersonal contacts with individual clients, client advisory committees to change agencies, and surveys are sometimes used to determine needs for innovations.

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<sup>14</sup>Just such a case is reported by Hahn (1974), who found that the U.S. social studies teachers he studied rejected educational innovations that were too similar to existing practices. If an innovation is too similar, it appears to offer no advantage over the status quo.

Clients may not recognize that they have needs for an innovation until they are aware of the new idea or of its consequences. In these cases, change agents may seek to generate needs among their clients but this must be done carefully or else the felt needs upon which diffusion campaigns are based may be only a reflection of the change agent's needs, rather than those of his clients. Therefore, one dimension of compatibility is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as meeting the needs of the client system. When felt needs is met, a faster rate of adoption usually occurs.

### **1.6.11 Compatibility and Rate of Adoption**

The compatibility of an innovation, as perceived by members of a social system, is positively related to its rate of adoption. Statistical analyses of this proposition show compatibility to be of relatively less importance in predicting rate of adoption than other attributes, such as relative advantage. However compatibility was found to be positively related to rate of adoption, even though the correlation was often not significant when the effects of other attributes were removed statistically.

### **1.6.12 Technology Clusters**

Innovations often are not viewed singularly by individuals. They may be perceived as an interrelated bundle of new ideas. The adoption of one new idea may trigger the adoption of several others.

A technology cluster consists of one or more distinguishable elements of technology that are perceived as being closely interrelated. The boundaries around any given innovation are often not very clear cut or distinct. In the minds of potential adopters, one innovation may be perceived as closely related to another new idea. If this is the case, a change agency might find it useful to promote a cluster or package of innovations to clients, rather than to treat each new idea separately.

For instance, in Pakistan and other developing nations, a package of agricultural innovations, usually including improved crop varieties, fertilizer, and other agricultural chemicals, is recommended to the farmers. Experience indicates that villagers adopt the package more easily and rapidly than they would adopt if each of the innovations had been diffused individually. More importantly, by adopting all at once, farmers get the total yield effects of all the innovations, plus the interaction effects of each practice on the others.

Some merchandisers offer tie-in sales, a technique that recognizes the high degree of compatibility among several new products. A new clothes washer may be offered to housewives as a package deal along with a dryer. Some marketing schemes "hook on" an unwanted product to a compatible innovation that possesses a high degree of relative advantage.

### **1.6.13 Naming an Innovation**

The name given to an innovation often affects its compatibility, and therefore its rate of adoption. Not enough attention has been paid to what innovations are called by potential adopters, and as a result many serious mistakes have been made. For instance, a major U.S.

soap company introduced its trademarked product "Cue" into French-speaking nations, where the word has an obscene connotation. Such egregious errors have shown commercial companies the importance of market research to pretest the name for a new product prior to its release. On the other hand, public change agencies generally do not realize the importance of what an innovation is called.

The perception of an innovation is colored by the word-symbols used to refer to it. The selection of an innovation's name is a delicate and important matter. Words are the thought units that structure our perceptions. And of course it is the potential adopters' perceptions of an innovation's name that affect its rate of adoption. Sometimes a medical or a chemical name is used for an innovation that comes from medical or chemical research and development; unfortunately, such names are not very meaningful to potential adopters (unless they are physicians or chemists). The word "Nirodh" was carefully chosen in India in 1970 as the most appropriate term for condoms. Prior to this time, condoms had a very negative perception as a contraceptive method; they were thought of mainly as a means of preventing venereal disease. When the government of India decided to promote condoms as a contraceptive method, they pretested a variety of terms. "Nirodh," a Sanskrit word meaning "protection," was selected, and then promoted in a huge advertising campaign to the intended audience (Rogers, 1973, p. 237). The result was a sharp increase in the rate of adoption of "Nirodhs."<sup>15</sup>

#### **1.6.14 Positioning an Innovation**

A basic assumption of positioning research is that an individual will behave toward a new idea in a manner that is similar to the way he or she behaves toward other ideas that the individual perceives as similar to the new idea. For instance, consider a category of existing products consisting of products A, B, and C. If a new product, X, is introduced to the audience for these products, and if they perceive X as similar to B, but unlike A and C, then consumers who bought B will be just as likely to buy X as B. If other factors (like price) are equal, X should attain about one-half of the former B consumers, but the introduction of X should not affect the sales of products A and C. Further, if we can learn why consumers perceive B and X as similar, but different from A and C, X can be positioned (through its name, color, packaging, taste, and the like) so as to maximize its distance from A, B, and C in the minds of consumers, and thus to gain a unique niche for the new idea.

Obviously, the positioning of an innovation rests on accurately measuring its compatibility with previous ideas.

Research to position new products is often conducted by market researchers, and many of the methods for positioning an innovation have been developed by commercial researchers. But these positioning techniques can be used to ease the introduction of any type of innovation. Positioning research, thus, can help identify an ideal niche for an innovation to

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<sup>15</sup>In part, because use of the word "Nirodh" helped overcome the tabooess of condoms. *Taboo communication* is a type of message transfer in which the messages are perceived as extremely private and personal in nature because they deal with proscribed behavior.

fill relative to existing ideas in the same field. This ideal niche is determined on the basis of the new idea's position (in the perceptions of potential adopters) relative (1) to previous ideas, and (2) to the characteristics of the new idea that make it similar to, and different from, existing ideas. The positioning approach views an innovation's perceived characteristics (at least some of them) as changeable.

### **1.6.15 Complexity**

Complexity is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as relatively difficult to understand and use. The complexity of an innovation, as perceived by members of a social system, is negatively related to its rate of adoption. Graham (1956) sought to determine why canasta and television diffused at different adoption rates among the upper and lower socioeconomic classes. One reason was the difference in complexity of the two ideas. Canasta had to be learned through detailed personal explanation from other card players. Its procedures were complex and difficult to master. Television, however, appeared to be a relatively simple idea that required only the ability to turn a knob.

### **1.6.16 Trialability**

Trialability is the degree to which an innovation may be experimented with on a limited basis. New ideas that can be tried on the installment plan will generally be adopted more rapidly than innovations that are not divisible. An innovation that is trialable is less uncertain for the adopter. Some innovations are more difficult to divide for trial than others. Relatively earlier adopters perceive trialability as more important than do later adopters (Gross, 1942; Ryan, 1948). Laggards move from initial trial to full-scale use more rapidly than do innovators and early adopters. The more innovative individuals have no precedent to follow when they adopt, while the later adopters are surrounded by peers who have already adopted the innovation. These peers may act as a psychological or vicarious trial for the later adopters, and hence, the actual trial of a new idea is of less significance for them.

### **1.6.17 Observability**

Observability is the degree to which the results of an innovation are visible to others. The results of some ideas are easily observed and communicated to others, whereas some innovations are difficult to describe to others. Most of the innovations studied in diffusion research are technological ideas. A technology is a design for instrumental action that reduces the uncertainty in the cause-effect relationships involved in achieving a desired outcome. A technology has two components: (1) a hardware aspect that consists of the tool that embodies the technology as material or physical objects, and (2) a software aspect that consists of the information base for the tool. For example, computer hardware (the equipment) and software (the computer programs). Usually the software component of a technological innovation is not so apparent to observation, so innovations in which the software aspect is dominant possess less observability, and usually have relatively slower rates of adoption.

### **1.6.18 Adopter Categories**

Titles of adopter categories were once about as numerous as diffusion researchers themselves. The inability of diffusion researchers (in the early days of diffusion research) to agree on common semantic ground in assigning terminology led to a plethora of adopter descriptions. The most innovative individuals were termed "progressists," "hightriers," "experimentals," "lighthouses," "advance scouts," and "ultraadopters." Least innovative individuals were called "drones," "parochials," and "diehards." The fertile disarray of adopter categories and methods of categorization, illustrated by the adopter categories, emphasized the need for standardization.

A researcher seeking standardization of adopter categories faces three problems: (1) determining the number of adopter categories to conceptualize, (2) deciding on the portion of the members of a system to include in each category, and (3) determining the method, statistical or otherwise, of defining the adopter categories.

Finally, the researchers by using two statistical methods, i.e. the mean and the standard deviation were able to divide a normal adopter distribution into categories. These categories were: (1) innovators, (2) early adopters, (3) early majority, (4) later majority, and (5) laggards.

The first 2.5 percent of the individuals to adopt an innovation are the innovators. The next 13.5 percent to adopt the new idea are labeled as early adopters. The next 34 percent of the adopters are called as early majority. The next 34 percent to adopt the new idea are the late majority. The last 16 percent are called laggards. Following are the thumbnail sketches of the dominant characteristics and values of each adopter category.

### **1.6.19 Innovators: Venturesome**

Venturesome is almost an obsession with innovators. They are very eager to try new ideas. This interest leads them out of a local circle of peer networks and into more cosmopolitan social relationships. Communication patterns and friendships among a clique of innovators are common, even though the geographical distance between the innovators may be considerable. Being an innovator has several prerequisites. These include control of substantial financial resources to absorb the possible loss owing to an unprofitable innovation and the ability to understand and apply complex technical knowledge. The innovator must be able to cope with the high degree of uncertainty about an innovation at the time that the innovator adopts.

The salient value of the innovator is venture sameness. He or she desires the hazard, the rash, the daring, and the risky. The innovator must also be willing to accept an occasional setback when one of the new ideas he or she adopts proves unsuccessful, as inevitably happens. While an innovator may not be respected by the other members of a social system, the innovator plays an important role in the diffusion process: that of launching the new idea in the social system by importing the innovation from outside of the system's boundaries. Thus, the innovator plays a gate keeping role in the flow of new ideas into a social system.

### **1.6.20 Early Adopters: Respectable**

Early adopters are a more integrated part of the local social system than are innovators. Whereas innovators are cosmopolites, early adopters are localites. This adopter category, more than any other, has the greatest degree of opinion leadership in most social systems. Potential adopters look to early adopters for advice and information about the innovation. The early adopter is considered by many as "the individual to check with" before using a new idea. This adopter category is generally sought by change agents to be a local missionary for speeding the diffusion process. Because early adopters are not too far ahead of the average individual in innovativeness, they serve as a role model for many other members of a social system. The early adopter is respected by his or her peers, and is the embodiment of successful and discrete use of new ideas. And the early adopter knows that to continue to earn this esteem of colleagues and to maintain a central position in the communication structure of the system, he or she must make judicious innovation decisions. So the role of the early adopter is to decrease uncertainty about a new idea by adopting it, and then conveying a subjective evaluation of the innovation to near-peers by means of interpersonal networks.

### **1.6.21 Early Majority: Deliberate**

The early majority adopt new ideas just before the average member of a social system. The early majority interacts frequently with their peers, but seldom hold leadership positions. The early majority's unique position between the very early and the relatively late to adopt makes them an important link in the diffusion process. They provide interconnectedness in the system's networks.

The early majority may deliberate for some time before completely adopting a new idea. Their innovation-decision period is relatively longer than that of the innovator and the early adopter. "Be not the first by which the new is tried, / Nor the last to lay the old aside" (quoted from Alexander Pope at the beginning of this chapter), might be the early majority's motto. They follow with deliberate willingness in adopting innovations, but seldom lead.

### **1.6.22 Late Majorities: Skeptical**

The late majority adopt new ideas just after the average member of a social system. Adoption may be both an economic necessity and the answer to increasing network pressures. Innovations are approached with a skeptical and cautious air, and the late majority do not adopt until most others in their social system have done so. The weight of system norms must definitely favor the innovation before the late majority is convinced. They can be persuaded of the utility of new ideas, but the pressure of peers is necessary to motivate adoption. Their relatively scarce resources mean that almost all of the uncertainty about a new idea must be removed before the late majority feel that it is safe to adopt.

### **1.6.24 Laggards: Traditional**

Laggards are the last in a social system to adopt an innovation. They possess almost no opinion leadership. They are the most localite in their outlook of all adopter categories; many are near isolates in social networks. The point of reference for the laggard is the past. Decisions are often made in terms of what has been done in previous generations and these individuals interact primarily with others who also have relatively traditional values. When

laggards finally adopt an innovation, it may already have been superseded by another more recent idea that is already being used by the innovators. Laggards tend to be frankly suspicious of innovations and change agents. Their traditional orientation slows the innovation-decision process to a crawl, with adoption lagging far behind awareness-knowledge of a new idea. While most individuals in a social system are looking to the road of change ahead, the laggard's attention is fixed on the rear-view mirror. This resistance to innovations on the part of laggards may be entirely rational from the laggards' viewpoint, as their resources are limited and so they must be relatively certain that a new idea will not fail before they can afford to adopt. The laggard's precarious economic position forces these individuals to be extremely cautious in adopting innovations.

Many observers have noted that "laggard" is a bad name, and it is undoubtedly true that this title of the adopter category carries an invidious distinction (in much the same way that "lower class" is a negative nomenclature). Laggard is a bad name because most no laggards have a strong pro-innovation bias. Diffusion scholars who use adopter categories in their research do not mean any particular disrespect by the term "laggard." Indeed if they used any other term instead of laggards, it would soon have a similar negative connotation. But it is a mistake to imply that laggards are somehow at fault for being relatively late to adopt; this is an illustration of individual-blame where system-blame may more accurately describe much of the reality of the laggards' situation.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS ( SAQS)**

- Q#1: What are barriers to the social change in Pakistani society?
- Q#2: Discuss process of social change with reference to rural Pakistani society and what has been its impact in the last two decades?
- Q#3: Why do you think that innovation is not appreciated in Pakistani society?
- Q#4: What is the impact of technology on rural women?

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**UNIT-2**

**THE PATRIARCHAL RELATION  
AND DIVISION OF LABOR IN  
RURAL CONTEXT**

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## CONTENTS

Introduction.....	51
Objectives .....	51
2.1 Feminist Social & Political Philosophy .....	52
2.2 Feminist Ethics.....	53
2.3 Feminist Theories of Agency .....	54
2.4 Feminist Epistemology and Feminist & Philosophy of Science.....	55
2.5 Patriarchy .....	56
2.6 Women, Gender and Patriarchy: Conceptual Considerations for Development Context .....	56
2.7 Gender Power & Household .....	57
2.8 Gendering the Household .....	61
2.9 Physical Mobility .....	66
2.10 Social Interaction .....	71
2.11 Communication and Gender Cultures.....	72
2.12 Feminization of Poverty.....	73
2.13 Political Participation.....	74
2.14 Violence Against Women .....	77
2.15 Translation of Gender Commitments into Practice .....	78
Self Assessment Questions .....	79
References.....	80

## **INTRODUCTION**

This Unit is about what the feminist theories of agency are and how patriarchy affects rural household and how it affects on the physical mobility and social interaction of women. We will also discuss how rural households are victim of feminization of poverty and perpetuation of violence against women in rural areas and how rural women can be mobilized for the political participation and we will discuss how to improve rural women's status.

## **OBJECTIVES**

After studying this unit, you be able.

- to discuss how patriarchy affects Pakistani rural women in terms of their gender roles.
- to understand how we can achieve gender commitments regarding rural women.

## 2.1 FEMINIST SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

The earliest feminist philosophers examined gender bias in traditional social and political institutions. By asking the question “Who benefits?” they showed how mostly unspoken practices of gender-based exclusion and discrimination favoured the interests of men. Much of their analysis concerned sexual and family relations, which were then considered private or personal matters that could not (or should not) be addressed by political means. Accordingly, with a fine disregard, they adopted the rallying cry “The personal is political.”

The traditional political philosophies of liberalism and Marxism generally ignored sexual and family issues; in contrast, feminist philosophers made them the focus of political theory. Eventually three major schools of feminist political theory arose, each emphasizing a distinctive subset of issues: liberal feminism, socialist feminism, and radical feminism.

Liberal feminists, e.g., Susan Moller Okin pointed out the many ways in which gender discrimination defeats women’s aspirations, and they defended reforms designed to make women’s equality a social and political reality. Noting that differences in the ways in which girls and boys are raised served to channel women and men into different and unequal social roles, they advocated gender-neutral forms of education and child rearing. They particularly focused on protecting and extending the rights that enabled women to pursue self-chosen goals, such as reproductive rights (including the right to legally obtain an abortion) and rights to full educational and economic opportunities.

Whereas liberal feminists applied the core liberal values of freedom and equality to address women’s concerns, the socialist feminists Alison Jaggar and Iris Marion Young appropriated Marxist categories, which were based on labour and economic structures. Criticizing traditional Marxism for exaggerating the importance of waged labour outside the home, socialist feminists insisted that the unpaid care giving and homemaking that women are expected to perform are equally indispensable forms of labour and that the sexual division of labour that assigns most domestic work to women is exploitative. They also objected to the double day of work that burdens most women who have children and who work outside the home. Likewise, they condemned the economic dependency and insecurity of stay-at-home mothers and the low salaries of child-care workers.

Last, the school of radical feminism turned women’s attention to sexuality and to the disparities of power that pervade heterosexual relationships in patriarchal cultures. According to radical feminists, male heterosexuality objectifies the female body and makes the domination and degradation of women a source of erotic stimulation. Such assertions were the basis of Catharine MacKinnon’s and Andrea Dworkin’s campaigns in the 1980s and ’90s against sexual harassment and pornography. Likewise, those assertions provided the basis of Marilyn Frye’s endorsement of separatist feminist practices.

Liberal, socialist, and radical feminism continue to challenge standard philosophical assumptions about the scope of politics and the nature of justice. Yet, arguably, each of them rests on a flawed conception of gender. As Elizabeth V. Spelman, María Lugones,

and Judith Butler claimed, none adequately takes into account the ways in which gender is influenced by and interacts with sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, class, age, and ability, and none explicitly addresses how those factors affect the needs of diverse groups of women. Moreover, as Uma Narayan argued, none comes to grips with the complexities of advancing women's rights internationally or with the obstacles to coordinating feminist agendas in a globalized economy. Much current work in feminist social and political philosophy specifically in black feminist theory, queer theory, and feminist human rights theory takes on these urgent problems. Yet, despite advances in these fields, controversy persists between Luce Irigaray's view that gender is an ontological reality and Judith Butler's contention that it is an ontological illusion.

## **2.2 FEMINIST ETHICS**

Whereas feminist social and political philosophy arose from consciousness-raising groups, feminist ethics was initially developed by women who were or had been full-time homemakers or mothers and who felt excluded (and in some cases offended) by the women's movement's emphasis on dismantling barriers to professional careers for women. These women's moral worlds were less concerned with rights and justice and instead revolved around care giving and maintaining networks of relationships. Inspired by Carol Gilligan's work on care ethics, early projects in feminist ethics shifted the focus of ethics from relations between citizens or strangers to close relationships rooted in emotional attachments, including friends, lovers, and mothers and children. In those intimate relationships, the parties respond to each other as unique individuals, not merely as typical human beings. Although they are vulnerable to each other in many of the same ways that strangers are, they are far more vulnerable to insensitivity, indifference, unkindness, and the threat of abandonment. Moreover, personal relationships are not always reciprocal. Because one of the individuals may be temporarily or chronically dependent on the other for sustenance, the other may shoulder a greater share of the burdens of the relationship. In those contexts, then, moral reciprocity is not reducible to equal respect or equal contribution.

The focus on interpersonal morality showed that general moral rules, which some traditional ethical theories strove to develop, were rather crude instruments for conducting a moral life. Consequently, feminist ethical philosophers notably Sara Ruddick, Virginia Held, and Annette Baier sought to explicate virtues and values suitable to everyday sociability. They questioned the tenability of basing moral relations on an implied social contract in which individuals promise to behave morally toward others on the condition they behave morally toward them and they demonstrated the critical role of trust in establishing an environment conducive to moral interaction. Although they did not repudiate the rational calculation of consequences in evaluating actions, they saw empathy and emotional responsiveness as vital to moral judgment. That general approach came to be known as the ethics of care.

Because the demands of care giving often prevented women from pursuing other projects and goals, striking a proper balance between caring for others and caring for oneself became a key problem for feminist ethics. In work since the 1990s e.g., by Margaret Walker the concerns addressed by the ethics of care have been reframed in sophisticated

accounts of the social processes through which individuals consolidate their moral identities, enter into and sustain relationships, and negotiate responsibilities.

### **2.3 FEMINIST THEORIES OF AGENCY**

Both feminist social and political philosophy and feminist ethics presuppose a theory of women's agency i.e., an account of their capacity for individualized choice and action. The question of women's agency was salient for feminist philosophers because women's identities took shape in settings that were in some respects inimical to their interests. A prime motivation for all feminist scholarship was the knowledge that institutions and practices throughout human history have subordinated women albeit in different ways and to different degrees at different times and in different places. Because children assimilate cultural norms and form interpersonal bonds long before they are able to assess the desirability of these life-shaping influences, it is to be expected that many women will be predisposed to accept a subordinate social position. Thus, when opponents of feminist principles and initiatives pointed out that most women willingly comply with prevailing feminine norms, feminist philosophers replied that women might well choose to live differently were it not for the omnipresence of traditional heterosexual role models and media representations, not to mention the disadvantages of nonconformity. The problem of women's agency was thus inextricable from the theme of voice. What was at issue was how to discern when women are speaking in their own voices and doing what they really want to do.

There was considerable consensus among feminist philosophers regarding the criteria that a feminist theory of agency must satisfy, but there was also heated controversy about which theory best meets those criteria. At a minimum, a feminist theory of agency must explain how it is possible for women in male-dominated societies to live in ways that reflect their genuine needs and concerns, and it must explain how it is possible for women to develop critiques of sexist social and political institutions and to mount active resistance. Moreover, it must accomplish both of those tasks without pretending that people are capable of stepping outside their own socially determined viewpoints to attain a God-like perspective.

Building on the consciousness-raising model of the 1970s, Nancy Hartsock held that women discover their own values and gain authentic agency only through acts of solidarity with feminist protesters and dissenters. Sandra Bartky pointed to the usefulness of discovering contradictions within the gender norms imposed upon women e.g., women are supposed to dedicate themselves to being beautiful and attractive to men but then are derided for being narcissistic. Such conflicts, they held, provide a basis for questioning prevailing notions of the proper role of women in society and the home.

Another approach invoked narration to account for agency. Hilde Lindemann urged that individuals articulate their sense of themselves by telling stories. Since the narrative form opens up the possibility of reinterpreting past events as well as of devising different continuations of a story in progress, it enables women to mobilize creative powers and thereby to reshape their lives. For example, by identifying some customary behaviours in the workplace as "sexual harassment," women workers validated the anger and humiliation they felt, which in turn enabled them to envisage ways of combating those discriminatory practices.

Finally, an approach to agency that complemented those views focused on the epistemological question of how individuals can distinguish desires, values, and the like that are truly their own from those that they have merely absorbed from their social environments. The proposed solution was that agency requires a well-developed repertoire of skills in self-discovery, self-definition, and self-direction. By using those skills, individuals may identify beliefs, desires, projects, and so forth that promote their own flourishing as well as that of others and disavow beliefs, desires, and projects that they deem unfair and detrimental.

## **2.4 FEMINIST EPISTEMOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE**

The assumptions about the nature of persons that anchored feminist agency theory also informed feminist epistemology and philosophy of science. In Western culture, women often have been represented as essentially unknowable by men, in large part because men have been seen as rational and women as irrational. According to feminist philosophers, whatever cognitive deficits women may continue to have can be attributed to the fact that in the past women were rarely educated or encouraged to engage in intellectual pursuits. Even today girls in Western countries sometimes are discouraged from studying mathematics and science, in some cases directly and in others through the sexist attitudes and expectations of teachers or parents.

Amplifying this point, the feminist philosophers Sandra Harding, Lorraine Code, and Helen Longino noted that “communities of knowers” those recognized as experts in some field of inquiry were remarkably homogeneous, not only with respect to sex but also with respect to race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. Most such knowers, in other words, were white, Western, heterosexual men. To account for this fact, feminist epistemologists contended that the standards for judging who deserves credibility and authority as an expert are social constructions that help to reinforce the political and economic status quo. Moreover, because so many people’s experience, reasoning, and testimony are discounted, feminist epistemologists are skeptical that science and the philosophy of science are as objective as they purport to be. Because vetting knowledge claims involves gaining a consensus among peer researchers as well as checking such claims against data, some feminist epistemologists concluded that the agents of knowledge acquisition are best understood not as individual experts but as communities of inquirers. Arguing, moreover, that knowledge cannot be value-free and that it always reflects the interests of the knower, those philosophers maintained that the only way to approximate the ideal of objectivity is to welcome diverse voices into the epistemic community. Today, as feminist historians of philosophy continue to unearth more and more work by forgotten female philosophers, it is becoming increasingly clear that the epistemic community was never quite as exclusive as Western philosophy and science imagined.

## **2.5 PATRIARCHY**

Patriarchy is an analytical concept referring to a system of political, social, and economic relations and institutions structured around the gender inequality of socially defined men and women. Within patriarchal relations, women are collectively excluded from full participation in political and economic life. Those attributes seen as 'feminine' or as pertaining to women are undervalued. Patriarchal relations structure both the private and public spheres, with men dominating both domestic and public life. Feminist scholarship has theorized linkages between patriarchy and capitalism, colonialism and nationalism. Feminist geographers argue patriarchal relations operate across and between a number of scales in ways that both constitute those scales themselves and order social relations and identities in hierarchical relationships. Research has examined patriarchal relations at the level of the body; the public private divide; nationalism and citizenship; colonialism and globalization. Patriarchy as an analytical tool, has also been criticized as too universal and overarching in its conceptualization of the unequal relations between men and women as an a historical and a cultural structured set of inequalities, seeming inflexible and resistant to change.

## **2.6 WOMEN, GENDER AND PATRIARCHY: CONCEPTUAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT CONTEXT**

The term "gender" is defined as a reference to the unequal power relations that result when men and women are assigned structurally different positions in a patriarchy. While women can sometimes negotiate participation in the male realm, the reverse is almost always considered inappropriate. A comparison of the term "gender" with the term "class" reveals parallels between the two because class relations are institutionalized by man's struggle to sustain and control the process of production, and gender relations are institutionalized by man's efforts to sustain and control "socially acceptable lines of reproduction." Efforts to change class relations, however, are not dependent upon challenges to the patriarchy, but efforts to restructure society always involve negotiations about the place relegated to women. Thus, this place is central to politics, and an "enhanced notion" of women always accompanies the subordination of women. It is inappropriate to use the concept "woman" as a synonym for the concept "gender" because 1) gender is a more general level of abstraction that encompasses "women," 2) this substitution can neutralize the concept of gender and deprive it of its political content, and 3) this can obscure women before they gain full public and political visibility. Instead, a gender perspective should be applied to "women in development."

The earliest feminist philosophers examined gender bias in traditional social and political institutions. By asking the question "Who benefits?" they showed how mostly unspoken practices of gender-based exclusion and discrimination favoured the interests of men. Much of their analysis concerned sexual and family relations, which were then considered private or personal matters that could not (or should not) be addressed by political means. Accordingly, with a fine disregard, they adopted the rallying cry "The personal is political."

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## **2.7 GENDER POWER AND HOUSEHOLD**

### **2.7.1 Feminist and Gendered Approaches to Kinship**

From the 1960s onward the feminist movement and the scholarship it inspired have had a very obvious impact on kinship studies. This resulted first in a number of important works that documented the lives of women, which had previously been omitted from ethnographic accounts. Women's involvement in households and domestic arrangements, trade, exchange, labour, religion, and economic life was rendered in detail, making the gaps in previous cross-cultural studies all too visible.

By the end of the 1970s, attention had begun to shift from women to the symbolization of gender itself. This shift can be connected to a broader questioning of gender roles outside (and within) the academy and was marked by the analytical separation of the terms *gender* and *sex*, among other things. Studies of women had made it eminently clear that there were very few characteristics that could be attributed both exclusively and universally to one sex or the other; whether one was expected to be strong or weak, aggressive or passive, serious or humorous, disciplinarian or nurturing, and so on depended on cultural expectations, not on biology. To clarify this difference, scholars came to use *sex* to refer to biological characteristics. In contrast, *gender* referred to a social category comprising the roles and expectations a culture had for men, women. Studies of gender as a symbolic system focused on the roles that men and women played, on ideas about what constituted a proper man or woman in a particular culture, and on how differences between men and women were perceived in that culture. They sought to avoid prior assumptions about what these differences were.

Anthropology seemed uniquely well-placed to examine cross-cultural variation in gender ascriptions. Feminists in the West were questioning the assumptions on which the patriarchal nuclear family was based and looked to anthropology for examples of alternative arrangements from contemporary non-Western societies. Households, domestic arrangements, marriage, procreation, childbirth, and other aspects of what had previously been defined as kinship were of course central to the study of gender. As a result, one issue that soon emerged was the extent to which kinship and gender could be considered as separate analytic domains. How did they articulate with each other? Did kinship define gender relations, did gender exist prior to kinship, or were these domains “mutually constituted”? The anthropological study of gender very quickly placed in question both the analytic viability of kinship as a field of study and its centrality within the discipline.

Feminists also argued that institutions such as the family and the household, relations between men and women, and the meaning of being a man or a woman were understood quite differently in different cultures. Rather than accept Western definitions of such concepts, anthropologists and sociologists began to subject them to analytic scrutiny. How was it that these institutions appeared to be “natural” and “given” when they were actually culturally variable? Of particular interest were the ways in which political hierarchies emerged from these seemingly natural categories or distinctions. What kinds of cultural processes were involved in the production of such hierarchies, and how had they achieved the illusory appearance of being natural or given?

### **2.7.2 Challenging the Conceptual Basis of Kinship**

The study of kinship came under attack not just from feminist and gender scholars but also from those who considered it a subject of marginal interest compared with politics or religion. For these researchers, studies of symbolic systems and of the politics of resistance deserved (and soon took) a more prominent place than those of kinship. There was also a sense in which the rather arid debates between kinship theorists contributed to the growing marginalization of their studies. One theme of these debates concerned the definition of kinship itself: could something called “kinship” be compared cross-culturally? Or were the

differences between how kinship was defined in different cultures so great as to render the comparative endeavour invalid?

Both British social anthropologist Rodney Needham and the aforementioned David Schneider launched powerful critiques of the comparative study of kinship. At issue was the relationship between “physical” and “social” ties. Since the early 20th century, anthropologists had generally emphasized that they studied the social aspects of kinship. The actual physical or biological relationships were either unknown or irrelevant to the cross-cultural study of kinship institutions. Instead the point was to document and analyze how kinship was understood within a particular culture, including culturally circumscribed notions about procreation.

This simple division between the social and biological aspects of kinship masked an underlying paradox in the way the subject had been defined. As David Schneider pointed out in his *Critique of the Study of Kinship* (1984), anthropologists consistently assumed that kinship was based on sexual reproduction or ties deriving thereof. Schneider argued that the centrality of sexual procreation as a core symbol of kinship in European and Euro-American culture thus underlay most studies of kinship; in other words, anthropologists had brought into the field their own cultural assumptions about what kinship comprised. This was necessary in order to ensure the subject’s analytic coherence, but it also created a paradox in that scholars had for a long time been aware that procreation was understood quite variably in different cultures. In particular, ethnographic accounts suggested that not every culture connected sexual intercourse and procreation.

The most famous (and hotly debated) case of this disjuncture was found among the Trobriand islanders of Melanesia, who had been studied by the eminent anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski at the beginning of the 20th century. Malinowski had shown that while Trobrianders were quite aware of the connection between sex and procreation for animals, they asserted that among human beings pregnancy was achieved through the action of ancestral spirits. This led to several decades of discussion between anthropologists, some of which was about the significance or interpretation of different kinds of knowledge. Edmund Leach, among others, argued that assertions such as those made by the Trobrianders were actually expressions of religious beliefs and thus were meant to be read in the same way as Christian beliefs about the Virgin Birth that is, as phenomena that took place on a metaphysical plane that was outside (or at the fringes of) the spectrum of ordinary experience. This was quite different from more pragmatic, everyday knowledge about farming or animal husbandry. It was not that Trobrianders were ignorant of the connection between sex and procreation in humans they were simply making religious statements that should be understood at a quite different level.

Schneider suggested instead that the anthropological study of kinship was based on assumptions that were not necessarily valid cross-culturally. In certain cultures, sexual procreation was not regarded as the core of kinship, and therefore there was no analytic consistency to the comparison of kinship between cultures. He argued that the various domains into which anthropologists divided social life kinship, politics, economics,

religion, and the like—had no analytic validity. In this sense there was a convergence between Schneider’s critique of the way in which kinship had been studied and the feminist project. In both what had previously been seen as “natural” or universal could no longer be taken for granted.

### **2.7.3 Reproductive Technologies, Social Innovation and the Future of Kinship Studies**

If in the early 1980s it seemed that the study of kinship was in decline, in the 1990s it appeared to be reviving. However, this was kinship in a rather different guise. Kinship had been transformed above all by the interest in gender, which had forced a very thorough reexamination of the way in which kinship had been constituted as a subject of academic concern. By the late 20th century the symbolism of procreation, gender roles, emotions, and households and their everyday activities had all become prominent themes of study. The culturalist influence encouraged anthropologists to examine both their own and indigenous assumptions about kinship more closely. However, the meaning of kinship, paradoxically perhaps, is less self-evident than it seemed in the mid-20th century, in part because studies have foregrounded such diverse themes as physical substance, houses, the person, children, motherhood, fatherhood, and feeding. Their starting point has been to examine what “relatedness” comprises in a particular culture, rather than assuming it in advance.

Above all, Schneider’s insight that anthropological definitions of kinship rested on the Western assumption that kinship derived from sexual procreation, and that this was manifestly not the case in every non-Western example, forced a rethinking of what constitutes kinship. The centrality of procreation in Western kinship has also highlighted another analytic assumption. As noted above, anthropologists and sociologists had long emphasized that their interest was purely in the social aspects of kinship rather than the physical or biological ones (which were in many cases quite unknowable in the absence of genetic testing). In so doing they were of course reiterating (rather than analyzing) a division central to modern Western thinking. Adoption, which in Western societies is thought of as a social connection (albeit one that is modeled on biological ties between parents and children), makes this disjunction at the heart of kinship very clear. It is not surprising therefore that adoption, as well as other forms of what had previously been labeled “fictive” kinship (that is, kinship that is not based on biological or marital ties; blood brotherhood and godparenting are other examples), has emerged more prominently as a topic for research.

Many of these studies have focused on new and emerging forms of kinship in the West. In this respect the study of kinship has been stimulated by the perceived changes in the nature of the family in Western societies. Instability and divorce in heterosexual marriage, the advent of same-sex marriage, gender equality, gay rights, falling fertility rates, and increasing numbers of people living on their own all suggest some profoundly new practices and experiences of Western kinship.

Although it might have been assumed that the distinction between the physical and the social was relatively stable and straightforward in the West, studies have revealed complex shifts in the mutual definition of these terms. Analyses of kinship practices among gays and lesbians, for example, have demonstrated that the opposition between biological and social ties may turn conventional understandings on their head. American anthropologist Kath Weston's informants' "coming out" stories revealed that they conceptualized biological kinship as temporary and uncertain because biological kin had been known to disrupt or sever kin ties upon learning of a relative's homosexuality. Meanwhile, her informants' friendships were invested with certainty, depth, and permanence and were discussed in an idiom of kinship by those whose experience of biological kin had been thoroughly disrupted. Ellen Lewin, another American anthropologist, has found similar complexities in her studies of lesbian and gay parenthood.

Developments in reproductive technologies have highlighted another way that the boundaries between the "natural," given domain of kinship and the "cultural," technologically alterable world of science are by no means fixed or impermeable. Anthropologists have once again turned to the opposition between nature and culture this time to demonstrate that the supposedly "natural" world of kinship can no longer be thought of in these terms. Some technological interventions, most notably various medical forms of birth control (e.g., oral contraceptives, the intrauterine device, the diaphragm, vasectomy), were common by the later 20th century. Others in vitro fertilization, surrogate motherhood, artificial insemination, and other technologies had become part of the cultural repertoire, if not the actual practice, of many ordinary people. By the early 21st century the anthropology of kinship had joined with the anthropological and sociological study of science and medicine to provide a rich avenue of exploration that brought together culturally based ideas about bodies and procreation with an examination of how scientists, medical practitioners, patients, policy makers, and the general public experience and articulate understandings of fertility and medicine.

The profound implications of being "socially" (technologically, or scientifically) able to intervene and remake what had previously been seen as the "natural" means of kinship suggest that kinship may take on quite new meanings and that this in turn may have a profound effect on Western knowledge practices more generally. Marilyn Strathern has argued that the significance of kinship for Euro-Americans in the past was that it constituted that part of the social world that was naturally given rather than subject to choose. Once it becomes technologically alterable, as well as increasingly refracted through the language of consumer choice, this "given" quality of kinship is profoundly disrupted. Just what the effects of reproductive technologies will be—both in the West and in non-Western cultures remains uncertain and is the subject of academic and wider debate.

## **2.8 GENDERING THE HOUSEHOLD**

Gender is one of the organizing principles of Pakistani society. Patriarchal values embedded in local traditions and culture predetermines the social value of gender. An artificial divide between production and reproduction, created by the ideology of sexual

division of labor, has placed women in reproductive roles as mothers and wives in the private arena of home and men in a productive role as breadwinners in the public arena. This has led to a low level of resource investment in women by the family and the State. Thus, low investment in women's human capital, compounded by the ideology of purdah (literally "veiled") negative social biases, and cultural practices; the concept of honor linked with women's sexuality; restrictions on women's mobility; and the internalization of patriarchy by women themselves, becomes, the basis for gender discrimination and disparities in all spheres of life.

The social and cultural context of Pakistani society is predominantly patriarchal. Men and women are conceptually divided into two separate worlds. Home is defined as a woman's legitimate ideological and physical space, while a man dominates the world outside the home. The false ideological demarcation between public and private, inside and outside worlds is maintained through the notion of honor and institution of purdah in Pakistan. Since the notion of male honor and izzat (honor) is linked with women's sexual behavior, their sexuality is considered a potential threat to the honor of the family. Therefore, women's mobility is strictly restricted and controlled through the system of purdah, sex segregation, and violence against them. In the given social context, Pakistani women lack social value and status because of negation of their roles as producers and providers in all social roles. The preference for sons due to their productive role dictates the allocation of household resources in their favor. Male members of the family are given better education and are equipped with skills to compete for resources in the public arena, while female members are imparted domestic skills to be good mothers and wives. Lack of skills, limited opportunities in the job market, and social and cultural restrictions limit women's chances to compete for resources in the public arena. This situation has led to the social and economic dependency of women that becomes the basis for male power over women in all social relationships. However, the spread of patriarchy is not even. The nature and degree of women's oppression/subordination vary across classes, regions, and the rural/urban divide. Patriarchal structures are relatively stronger in the rural and tribal setting where local customs establish male authority and power over women's lives. Women are exchanged, sold, and bought in marriages. They are given limited opportunities to create choices for themselves in order to change the realities of their lives. On the other hand, women belonging to the upper and middle classes have increasingly greater access to education and employment opportunities and can assume greater control over their lives. The most powerful aspect of social and cultural context is the internalization of patriarchal norms by men and women. In learning to be a woman in the society, women internalize the patriarchal ideology and play an instrumental role in transferring and recreating the gender ideology through the process of socialization of their children. This aspect of women's lives has been largely ignored by the development initiatives in the country.

### **2.8.1 Culture and Social Structure:**

A Conceptual Primer from its classical beginnings, modern Sociology developed a central distinction, consolidated by the mid-twentieth century, between culture and social structure. The distinction is analytical because only human beings exist in reality, but it is fundamental to understand both the motives for their actions and their consequences.

Culture is the realm of values, cognitive frameworks, and accumulated knowledge. Social structure is the realm of interests, individual and collective, backed by different amounts of power. This symbolic distinction provides the basis for analyzing the difference between what 'ought to be' or 'is expected to be' and what actually 'is' in multiple social contexts (Merton 1968a). The diverse elements that compose culture and social structure can be arranged in a hierarchy of causal influences from 'deep' factors, often concealed below everyday social life but fundamental for its organization, to 'surface' phenomena, more mutable and more readily evident. Language and values are deep elements of culture, the first as the fundamental instrument of human communication and the second as the motivating force behind principled action, individual or collective (Durkheim [1897] 1965; Weber [1904] 1949). Values are deep culture because they are seldom invoked in the course of everyday life. The latter occurs, for the most part, in a habitual state with values coming to the fore only in exceptional circumstances. Yet, they underlie, and are inferred from, aspects of everyday behaviour that are the opposite of unrestrained self-interest. Values are not norms and the distinction is important because the first represent general moral principles and the second concrete directives for action (MacIver and Page [1949] 1961; Newcomb et al. 1965). Values underlie norms which are rules that prescribe the 'dos' and 'don'ts' of individual everyday conduct. These rules can be formal and codified into constitutions and laws, or they can be implicit and informally enforced. The concept of norms has been used, at least since Durkheim ([1901] 1982), to refer to this restraining element of culture. The significance of the values embodied into norms is reflected in practice in the level of sanctions attached to the latter. Thus, life in prison or the death penalty awaits those found guilty of deliberate murder, while loud protest and insulting remarks may be the lot of those seeking to sneak ahead of a queue (Cooley 1902, 1912; Goffmann 1959). Norms are not free-floating, but come together in organized bundles known as roles.

Roles are generally defined as the set of behaviors prescribed for occupants of particular social positions (Linton 1945; Newcomb 1950). Well-socialized persons shift from role to role effortlessly and often unconsciously as part of their daily routines. The normative blueprints that constitute a role generally leave considerable latitude for their individual enactment. Thus the role of 'physician' or 'mother' may be performed in very different ways by individual occupants, while still conforming to its normative expectations. An extensive literature in both sociology and social psychology has analyzed roles as the building blocks of social life and as one of the lynchpin concepts linking the symbolic world of culture to real social structures. The same literature has examined such dynamics as the 'role set' enacted by individual social actors and the 'role conflict' or 'role strain' created when normative expectations in an actor's role sets contradict each other (Cottrell 1933; Goffman 1959, 1961; Goode 1960; Linton 1945; Merton 1957).

Along with normative expectations, roles also embody an instrumental repertoire of skills necessary for their proper enactment. Language is the fundamental component of this repertoire for, without it, no other skills can be enacted. These cultural 'tool-kits' also contain, however, many other elements\*from scientific and professional know-how to demeanour, forms of expressions, manners, and general savoir faire suitable for specific

social occasions. In the modern sociological literature, these elements are referred to by the concepts of cultural capital or 'skills repertoires' (Bourdieu 1979, 1984; Swidler 1986; Zelizer 2005).

Parallel to the component elements of culture run those of social structure. These are not made up of moral values or norms flowing from them, but by the specific and differentiated ability of social actors to compel others to do their bidding. This is the realm of power which, like that of values, is situated at the deep level of social life, influencing a wide variety of outcomes. Weber's classic definition of power as the ability of an actor to impose his/her will despite resistance is still appropriate, for it highlights the compulsory and coercive nature of this basic element of social structure. It does not depend on the voluntary consent of subordinates and, for some actors and groups to have it, others must be excluded from access to power conferring resources (Mills 1959; Veblen [1899] 1998; Weber [1922] 1947).

While values motivate or constrain, power enables. Naturally, elites in control of power conferring resources seek to stabilize and perpetuate their position by molding values so that the mass of the population is persuaded of the 'fairness' of the existing order. Power thus legitimized becomes authority through which subordinate masses readily acquiesce to their position (Weber [1922] 1947; also Bendix 1962).

In Marx' classic definition, power depends on control of the means of production, but in the modern post-industrial world this definition is too restrictive (Marx [1939] 1970, [1867] 1967).

Power is conferred as well by control of the means of producing and appropriating knowledge, by control of the means of diffusing information, and by the more traditional control of the means of violence (Poulantzas 1975; Weber [1922] 1947; Wright 1985).

In the Marxist tradition, a hegemonic class is one which has succeeded in legitimising its control of the raw means of power, thus transforming it into authority (Gramsci [1927/33] 1971; Poulantzas 1975). Like values are embodied in norms, power differentials give rise to social classes large aggregates whose possession or exclusion from resources lead to different life chances and capacities to influence the course of events. Classes need not be subjectively perceived by their occupants in order to be operative, for they underlie the obvious fact that people in society are ranked according to what they can or cannot do or, alternatively, by how far they are able to implement their goals when confronted with resistance (Poulantzas 1975; Wright 1985; Wright and Perrone 1976). Class position is commonly associated with wealth or its absence, but it is also linked to others' power-conferring resources such as expertise or the 'right' connections (Bourdieu 1984, 1990; Hout et al. 1993; Portes 2000).

As emphasized by Bourdieu (1985), dominant classes generally command a mix of resources that includes not only wealth, but also ties to influential others (social capital), and the knowledge and style to occupy high-status positions (cultural capital). The deep character of power seldom comes to the surface of social life for, as seen previously, power-holders aim to legitimize it in the value system in order to obtain the consent of the

governed. For the same reason, class position is not readily transparent and it is a fact, repeatedly verified by empirical research, that individuals with very different resources and life chances frequently identify themselves as members of the same 'class' (Grusky and Sorensen 1998; Hout et al. 1993).

Legitimized power (authority) produces status hierarchies, which is how most social actors actually perceive the underlying structure of power and how they classify themselves. In turn, status hierarchies are commonly linked to the enactment of roles defined by differential bundles of norms and skill repertoires (Linton 1945; MacIver and Page [1949] 1961; Newcomb et al. 1965: 33641).

These various elements of culture and social structure, placed at different levels of causal importance and visibility, occur simultaneously and appear, at first glance, like an undifferentiated mass. Their analytic separation is required, however, for the proper understanding of social phenomena, including social change. Not everything is 'constraints on behaviour', as currently popular neo-institutionalist analyses argue (Greif 2006; North 1990); some elements constrain, others motivate, and still others enable.

The conceptual framework outlined thus far is summarized in Figure 1. this framework is not new or improvised, but forms part of an intellectual legacy dating back to the classics and frequently neglected today.

Status and its attached roles do not occur in isolation, but as part of social organizations. Organizations, economic and otherwise, are what social actors normally inhabit in the routine course of their lives and they embody the most readily visible manifestations of the underlying structures of power (DiMaggio 1990; Granovetter 2001; Powell 1990).

Institutions represent the symbolic blueprint for organizations; they are the set of rules, written or informal, governing relationships among role occupants in social organizations like the family, schools and other major areas of social life: polity, economy, religion, communications and information, leisure (Hollingsworth 2002; MacIver and Page [1949] 1961; Merton 1968b; North 1990).

This definition of institutions is in closer agreement with everyday uses of the term, as when one speaks of 'institutional blueprints'. Its validity does not depend, however, on this overlap, but on its analytic utility. The distinction between organizations and institutions is there to highlight an important mechanism of everyday social change that would be otherwise obscured. No doubt, as Douglass North (1990) puts it, 'institutions matter', but they are also subject to what Granovetter (1985, 1992) has referred to as 'the problem of embeddedness', namely that the human exchanges that institutions seek to control and guide in turn affect the same institutions. This is why formal goals and prescribed institutional hierarchies come to differ with how organizations operate in reality (Dalton 1959; Morrill 1991; Powell 1990).

Take away this analytic separation, as well as the understanding that institutions and organizations flow from deeper levels of social life, and everything becomes an undifferentiated mass where the recognition that ‘institutions matter’ leads no further than descriptive statements and, at worst, to tautologies. The discussion in this section and the accompanying figure serve to flesh out the five basic points that summaries the first section of the paper.

First, the causal hierarchy among different components of culture and social structure implies that those factors affecting deeper levels of society will have more significant consequences in producing change than those impinging on its surface elements. A successful revolution that upends the power hierarchy of a nation or a charismatic prophecy that transforms its value system will have more far-reaching implications than a decree creating a new government ministry, a new ban on smoking in public places, or a modified curriculum in public schools.

Second, institutions crystallize processes of change at deeper levels because they represent the visible embodiment of existing power arrangements, social classes, values, and skill repertoires.

Third, as ‘symbolic blueprints’ for social organizations, institutions are in constant tension with reality so that if role occupants are governed by institutionalized rules, their actions and interactions also affect those rules and often modify their character. These dialectics between institutionalized rules and the organizations they govern\* the problem of embeddedness\*occur at the surface of social life and tend to produce continuous, incremental changes. Social change, at this level, is indeed ‘ubiquitous’. Yet, focusing exclusively on these changes and others occurring at the surface, neglects

## **2.9 PHYSICAL MOBILITY**

Pakistan is a part of Indian sub-continent. Therefore, Pakistani culture owes from Hinduism (from pre-Islam period) and Islam due to its historical and geographical inheritance. To understand Pakistani culture and women’s place and status in that culture, one needs to first understand that Pakistan has a broader national culture that is acceptable and prevailing in all regional or provincial divisions within the country. Each of the regional and provincial divisions within Pakistan also has some particular features added to that national Pakistani culture, thus, becoming little different from the culture of other regions and provinces in the country. Kinship, patriarchy, hierarchy, tribal and feudal social organization, class and caste base divisions, rural and agrarian majority are some of the dominant features of Pakistani culture.

Pakistan is geographically located in a region that has been called as “Patriarchal Belt” (Caldwell, 1982). Here the life options (such as education, health facilities, skill development, labour force participation and power and political participation) for women are limited and out of access. They have less control over resources. This type of culture (that is found in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh and India) has been referred as “a culture against women” (Moghadam, 1993: 108- 109).

Pakistani society emphasizes on family, kinship, and blood and caste-based ties in its culture. It is predominantly tribal and feudal in its social organization. Caste and class are also cross cutting dividing lines. Pakistani family is a group of people related by blood ties (or some times by adoption) living together and striving for the socio-economic wellbeing of the whole group. The family is patrilocal in which lineage and authority follows the male line. Pakistani man (i.e. father, grandfather, elder brother, or husband) is considered as the head and controlling and providing power center of the socio-economic and public private life of the family as a group and of each member separately. The men family members, especially heads, have the authority to decide about the life of other family members; such as about their education, mobility, and marriage.

The different popular types of family prevailing in rural and urban areas of Pakistan are nuclear, semi nuclear, joint, and extended families. Nuclear and semi nuclear families are more limited to the urban areas. While joint and extended families are found in both urban and rural areas of the country. The joint and extended families also entail a large family size with several generations living together some time sharing and sometime not sharing the same resource pool and kitchen.

Women find relatively more autonomy and authority in the urban nuclear and semi nuclear families. Thus, women in these types of families may have relatively better access to education, health facilities, and paid work outside home in urban areas of the country. On the other hand, women in joint and extended families in rural and urban areas find a larger group of people around them for controlling, accountability and check. Therefore, they find less room for their autonomous action and control over resources. Accordingly, the rural and urban women in joint and extended families living with larger number of family members may have poor educational, health and economic status as compared to their urban counter parts.

Irrespective of the family type, Pakistani men is considered the de facto head of the family and defining symbol or icon of the identity of whole group. The identity of women and young men members of the family is defined through their relation with the men head of the family. A woman outside home is being referred with the identity of her male head patriarch.

According to prevailing social and cultural ideology in the country, Pakistani women are considered the bearers of the family honour. The honour is associated with the purity and virginity of the women members of family that needs close vigilance of them to be protected and safeguarded. Women are not considered strong and capable enough to do this protection and guarding, individually. Therefore, men are socially assigned with the task of protecting and safeguarding the family honour; thus, allowed to control women. They successfully do it through their patriarchal decision making and controlling authority over women within and outside family.

Although, family is considered as the basic unit of social organization, but Pakistani family is not complete without reference to its kinship ties to extended group such as blood relative, biradri, caste, and tribal origins. This is the second important feature of Pakistani society that places an excessive emphasis on kinship ties and networks for social, economic

and political purposes as basic social unit of all social organizations. Consanguineous marriage or to give and take women in marriage to the different families within extended kinship group is the basic strategy to preserve the boundaries and identity of the particular kinship group.

The division of labour among women and men members within family is marked. This division of labour also entails the segregation of women in the private sphere of home and designating the public sphere outside home as the place for men. Women are assigned with the private sphere of home to live in performing unpaid domestic chores there. They do washing, cleaning, cooking, stitching, knitting, weaving, processing and storing food and other items, child rearing, elderly care, and in case of rural areas looking after the cattle, preparing fuel from cattle dung, and helping in family agriculture as well. They are also given the duties of maintaining social networks by attending marriages, child birth, and funeral ceremonies time to time.

Pakistani men are assigned with the public sphere to spend their most of the day time. This is the place for their social networking, economic activity, and political alliances. Men are considered as the bread winner of their family. They are considered the providers for women, young children and elderly members of their families. They compete in the public sphere with other men to win livings for their family. Pakistan's majority population lives in rural areas and their dominant profession is agriculture. Majority of the men are involved in agriculture. The emphasis on the kinship, caste, biradri, and tribal networks also penetrate the economic life of the country. In agriculture or small business mostly people are being employed or hired by the employer on the basis of connection with some kin.

There is a traditional notion that women do not work (i.e. paid work outside home). Therefore, the women's participation in activities of economic production are being condoned or ignored. In rural areas, family women serve in family agriculture as support or unpaid workers. Although, these rural women do much work for generation of economic resources for the family in agriculture during plantation, picking the ripe yield from the field, and in cattle farming by milking and looking after cattle. In the rural areas, although now a growing number of women is getting engaged in paid work outside home. They also use and utilize their money to fulfil the needs of family but still their economic contribution to family and country is seen as secondary one.

Pakistani women's dress code is also an open statement of social, religious, and above all cultural discourse. The criteria for a suitable dress for majority of Pakistani women is based on its ability to fulfil the religious requirement of covering the (Sattar) the whole body, the environmental requirement of ability to cope with the hot weather (as mostly cloths for daily use are made up of cotton to suit the hot weather) and social requirement of being culturally acceptable (in its colour, and design; for example the use of dupata or chaddar is considered necessary irrespective of regional differences while the embroidery, cutting and stitching patterns may differ in different provinces).

Majority of the Pakistani women wear Shalwar (a loose trouser) to cover the lower part of the body from lower abdomen covering legs to the ankle, Qameez (a relatively long shirt to more or less above or below the knees) for covering upper part of the body from shoulders to the knees, and Dupata or Chaddar (a long piece of cloth to cover the head, hair, shoulder and again upper part of the body till abdomen). The three dress items mentioned above are almost universally used in all regions but the different regions have their own cutting and stitching patterns to suit the respective culture. For example, Baluchi women are used to wear extra loose shalwar along with a Qameez having particular Baluchi embroidery and a long pocket on the front part of the long shirt that is not common in other provinces. On the other hand, Pakistani men's wear is less different in all provinces. Pakistani men's dress code include Shalwar and Qameez (of different cutting and stitching than those for women) but not a Dupata or Chaddar, therefore, the head and hair of majority of Pakistani men remain uncovered, while few men cover them by wearing topi (traditionally knitted caps).

Some men also put a small square piece of cloth usually printed with check or lines (a scarf) on their shoulders and sometimes on head and face for protection from heat and sunlight in summer season. In winter, they use a large Shawl (a chaddar of thick cloth) to put on their shoulders for protection from cold. Mostly, Pakistani women's clothes are made up of colourful (multicolour with dark shades of red, green, yellow, pink, blue, etc.) and printed clothes (usually prints of flowers and other traditional patterns); while men's wear are made up of simple, mostly one colour (usually white black, gray, blue, sky blue, etc.), plain (rarely printed) clothes.

There is a tradition for women to cover themselves (above their clothes) whenever going outside the house. It is usually being referred as Purdah. Pakistani women use different items to cover themselves outside their homes for the purpose of veiling. The different types of veiling items used by women include Burqa, Chaddar, Shuttle cock burqa, niqab, scarf, Abbaya, etc. The adoption of different types of veiling items depends on several regional, social, economic, cultural, ethnic, and time period and age-related factors. Burqa was common in rural and urban areas in past. Chaddar was common in past as well as in present among older and middle-aged women in both rural and urban areas. Shuttle Cock Burqa is common among women of Afghan and Pakhtoon origin. The use of scarf and Abbaya has become popular in last more than a decade due to a close cultural exposure and exchange with Middle Eastern Arab Muslim countries (due to frequent travel for Haj, Umrrah, and labour migration on a never precedent large scale) among young and middle-aged Pakistani women.

The mobility of Pakistani women is restricted. Women are not allowed to freely go outside home wherever they want as men do. The Pakistani women, especially in rural areas, needs to inform within the family and take permission before their visits to outside home. They are also not allowed to make unaccompanied visits frequently outside home. It is necessary to find some companion from within household for their visits outside home. These companions or escorts can be some elder men, elder women, young boy, etc. The results of a national survey conducted by Farida Shaheed (2002: 41) on women and governance

highlighting some important trends of women's mobility by different purposes (e.g. for health facility, friends, relatives, shopping, religious activities and children's school) without any companion. The broader trend shows that women pay unaccompanied visits to outside home for any sort of reason never, less often or whenever required.

Marriage is almost universal in Pakistan. Pakistani families prefer to get their girls and daughters married at an early age. The ideal age of girls for marriage is considered between 18 to 25 years. This early marriage and consequent responsibilities of child bearing and rearing effect girls' educational attainment. Mostly marriages are arranged by parents and other elders in the family. Girls are not expected to make choice for mate. The practice of making choice in marriage by girls is traditionally not considered good among social circles. But as the time is passing and society is modernizing with greater influence on young generation from media. If young girl and boy had any choice of their own for mate then this choice is also managed to reach the marriage bond through the consent of parents and elders.

Pakistani women are acting as the main performer of the traditional and cultural rituals on festivities or ceremonies. In a way, these are the social and recreational activities for women in the absence of some formal and particular centers of recreation outside home (e.g. cinema or theatres are few in number and women of the middle and lower class rarely go there). They play an important role in marriage, child birth and funeral ceremonies. At the time of someone's marriage in the family, they play an active part in preparing all the dowry related items; they sing songs and perform several rituals at the occasion of marriage. While men look after the financial matters related to dowry and marriage ceremonies. Similarly, the women also perform rituals at the time of child birth. At funerals, women get together continuously or periodically to attend the ceremonies arranged by family for collectively reciting Quran for the peace of deceased's soul. Mellad (the celebrations arranged on the occasion of the birthday of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) are also the occasions for women's gatherings. Now the Mellad ceremonies for men are getting popular as well.

Dowry is a social practice traditionally considered as essential for marriage related arrangements. Parents of a girl child start to collect or save for the dowry of their girls since the day of their birth. Dowry is considered as gifts for bride from maternal side at the time of marriage. But now a days it is growingly becoming a burden on parents of girls; as they are expected to give cloths, utensils, crockery, gold and silver, even house, car and money as bank balance to their daughters at the time of marriage. It is one of the problems due to which several girls left remain unmarried and sitting at their parents' home.

After marriage, a woman's status and position in the new house rely on having children, especially sons. There is son preference in Pakistani society. The birth of a son is celebrated most while with the birth of a girl child parents feel burden on their shoulders (especially, in terms of, finding a suitable mate and the financial arrangements for the dowry they have to give the girl). The status of a married woman becomes more privileged and better in a new house with the status of her husband in family hierarchy of male patriarchs and the number of sons she bears.

The discrimination among son and daughter starts at their birth and remain continued throughout their life till death. The investment in education of boys is preferred as compared to daughters. The education is given to boys with an intention to reap its reward

by increase in socioeconomic assets of the family gained through his job or better employment. The investment in girl's education is not considered that much important as ultimately she will get married in another family and the reward of this investment will be reaped by the other family. Whatever the education is being given to girls in today's Pakistani society (especially in urban areas) is mostly intended to have a good bid for finding a good mate for their marriage.

With their life decisions taken by their elder male and lack of education adding up with the traditional notion that "women do not work", Pakistani women are also lagging behind their male counterparts in labour force participation in paid labour market. In the rural areas they are mostly engaged in unpaid work of family agricultural land, and if in paid work they are mostly engaged in handicraft (such as relli, applique/cut work) making. While women in urban labour force usually are segregated in manufacturing sectors at lower tiers of assembly line workers in garments or other factories. They are also engaged in service sector or are working as professionals in teaching, medical or banking sectors.

Due to controlled mobility, lack of education and decision-making authority, the majority of Pakistani women are not able to develop their social capital and human potential to a maximum degree. Therefore, they remain less represented in the positions holding power, authority and autonomy to make decision for the betterment of the whole women slot. They are less represented in upper echelons of bureaucratic hierarchy, or as self-employed, business women, or in management positions of private sectors. Very few of them are present as elected members in formal political institutions (e.g. parliament). They are less represented among religious leaders. They are also less represented in the law enforcing agencies. They are less in number as police force, lawyers and judges.

Similarly, the political sphere is traditionally considered as men's field. For long time, women were ideally excluded from this sphere. They are only allowed to be active as political worker to support some of their male heads or patriarchs. Women are not free to vote according to their will. Their voting patterns is the result of several family, kinship, biradri and other apolitical alliances related pressures that they face through their family heads.

Majority of women in political parties are segregated to the level of workers. Their representation in the executive committees of the parties is less as compared to their male counterparts. The introduction of gender quota in political forums has brought a number of women to the political arena but still it is not a reflection of the condition of majority of Pakistani women. Those who have reached to the political offices from local government to the parliament are still a selection, on the basis of their kinship, caste, education or elite status, done by the male party heads.

The state machinery has also been dominated by the men. Therefore, the representation of women in policy level decision makers, ministers, parliamentarians, cabinet members, legislatures, and at highest state offices as president or prime minister is less as compared to men.

## **2.10 SOCIAL INTERACTION**

Differences between "gender cultures" influence the way that people of different genders communicate. These differences begin at childhood. Maltz and Broker's research showed

that the games children play contribute to socializing children into masculine and feminine cultures. For example, girls playing house promotes personal relationships, and playing house does not necessarily have fixed rules or objectives. Boys, however, tend to play more competitive team sports with different goals and strategies. These differences as children cause women to operate from assumptions about communication, and use rules for communication that differ significantly from those endorsed by most men.

### **2.10.1 Gender Differences in Social Interaction**

Masculine and feminine cultures and individuals generally differ in how they communicate with others. For example, feminine people tend to self-disclose more often than masculine people, and in more intimate details. Likewise, feminine people tend to communicate more affection, and with greater intimacy and confidence than masculine people. Generally speaking, feminine people communicate more and prioritize communication more than masculine people.

Traditionally, masculine people and feminine people communicate with people of their own gender in different ways. Masculine people form friendships with other masculine people based on common interests, while feminine people build friendships with other feminine people based on mutual support. However, both genders initiate opposite-gender friendships based on the same factors. These factors include proximity, acceptance, effort, communication, common interests, affection and novelty.

Context is very important when determining how we communicate with others. It is important to understand what script it is appropriate to use in each respective relationship. Specifically, understanding how affection is communicated in a given context is extremely important. For example, masculine people expect competition in their friendships. They avoid communicating weakness and vulnerability. They avoid communicating personal and emotional concerns. Masculine people tend to communicate affection by including their friends in activities and exchanging favors. Masculine people tend to communicate with each other shoulder-to-shoulder (e.g., watching sports on a television).

In contrast, feminine people are more likely to communicate weakness and vulnerability. In fact, they may seek out friendships more in these times. For this reason, feminine people often feel closer to their friends than masculine people do. Feminine people tend to value their friends for listening and communicating non-critically, communicating support, communicating feelings of enhanced self-esteem, communicating validation, offering comfort and contributing to personal growth. Feminine people tend to communicate with each other face-to-face (e.g., meeting together to talk over lunch).

## **2.11 COMMUNICATION AND GENDER CULTURES**

A communication culture is a group of people with an existing set of norms regarding how they communicate with each other. These cultures can be categorized as masculine or feminine. Gender cultures are primarily created and sustained by interaction with others. Through communication we learn about what qualities and activities our culture prescribes to our sex. While it is commonly believed that our sex is the root source of differences and how we relate and communicate to others, it is actually gender that plays a larger role.

Whole cultures can be broken down into masculine and feminine, each differing in how they get along with others through different styles of communication. Julia T. Wood's studies explain that "communication produces and reproduces cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity. Masculine and feminine cultures differ dramatically in when, how, and why they use communication.

### **2.11.1 Communication Styles**

Deborah Tannen's studies found these gender differences in communication styles (where men more generally refer to masculine people, and women correspondingly refers to feminine people):

- Men tend to talk more than women in public situations, but women tend to talk more than men at home.
- Women are more inclined to face each other and make eye contact when talking, while men are more likely to look away from each other.
- Men tend to jump from topic to topic, but women tend to talk at length about one topic.
- When listening, women make more noises such as "mm-hmm" and "uh-huh", while men are more likely to listen silently.
- Women are inclined to express agreement and support, while men are more inclined to debate.

Keeping these concerns in view, women activists in Pakistan have adopted a two-pronged strategy. On one level they are trying to build up pressures for the affirmative action and reservation of women's seats in all legislative and local administrative bodies. Women have been demanding reservation of 33 percent of seats at national, provincial, and local government levels, which should be filled through direct election by joint electorate. There is also a demand that the Political Party Act be amended to make it mandatory for all political parties to field at least 33 percent of female candidates during election. On the other hand, women are also trying to create an alternative vision of politics based on social justice.

Pakistani women are trapped in a web of dependency and subordination due to their low social, economic, and political status in society. The majority of women suffer from all forms of poverty. In order to change women's position and societal view of their inferiority, structural changes need to be brought about in the social and economic order that shape our social world.

Women are totally absent from the state structures and decision-making bodies that could introduce such structural changes. Women's inclusion in governance structures is critical to bring about substantive changes in the development policies and programs that would lead to a shift in gender relations in the society.

Presently, in order to maintain the status quo, institutionalized violence against women at the family, community, and state levels is used as a mechanism to ensure their compliance with gender norms. This serves to prevent any attempt leading to the subversion of the male order.

Ironically, at the same time, a great deal of rhetorical attention has been paid to gender issues at the national level. Pakistan has made several commitments at national and international forums

to ensure gender equality at home. However, there is a wide gap between commitment and implementation. The persuasion of the State to translate its commitment to gender equality into concrete reality is the major challenge faced by women in Pakistan. These are the four critical areas in ADB's gender strategy for Pakistan.

## **2.12 FEMINIZATION OF POVERTY**

Pakistan's consistent economic growth rate for the last 50 years has failed to bring prosperity to its people. The absolute number of poor has increased from 19 million in 1960 to 42 million in 1995. In the absence of reliable data on poverty assessment, as the definition of poverty and tools for the assessment of poverty has been constantly changing, it becomes difficult to assess trends in poverty in Pakistan. A recent study conducted on the profile of poverty in Pakistan gives different percentages of people living in poverty according to different definitions, i.e., calorie intake, 21 percent; basic needs, 29 percent; income poverty, 30 percent; Poverty of Opportunity Index, 44 percent; and Human Poverty Index, 47 percent. A systematic gender analysis of poverty remains elusive in Pakistan due to the absence of gender-disaggregated, poverty-related data.

Poverty manifests itself along the lines of class, gender, region, and rural-urban divides. The incidence of poverty in rural areas is higher than in urban areas according to both income poverty and broader measures. Three quarters of Pakistan's poor live in rural areas. A review undertaken by the Social Policy and Development Centre claims that "while incidence of poverty has been falling in the urban areas in recent years, it has been climbing in rural areas." Among the four provinces, Balochistan is the poorest. The highest incidence of poverty is found in the rural areas of Southern Punjab and Balochistan.

The link between gender and poverty is evident all over the world. Out of 1.3 billion people living in poverty, 70 percent are women. Feminization of poverty is a global phenomenon. Women are the poorest among the poor and the most vulnerable among communities.

Social relations of gender mediate women's experience of poverty. Poverty in Pakistan has a "woman's face." There are considerable intrahousehold disparities in food distribution and investment of resources between male and female members. Among poorer households, incidence of chronic malnutrition is higher among female children.<sup>6</sup> Women's access and control over productive resources are extremely limited. In addition to suffering from the same deprivations as men, women face the additional suffering of unequal opportunities to education, health, and other social services due to patriarchal control over their sexuality and cultural restrictions over their mobility.

Pakistan ranks 120 in 146 countries in terms of the Gender-related Development Index and ranks 92 in the Gender Empowerment Measurement ranking of 94 countries. Gender gap in all key social sectors is increasing in Pakistan.

The impact of macroeconomic stabilization, liberalization policies, and structural adjustment programs has been disproportionately high on women. In the absence of macro-level data, it is difficult to assess the impact of a structural adjustment program on people in general and on women in particular. However, some micro-level studies have clearly

indicated the effects on unemployment, inflation, decline in real wages, and reduction in caloric intake for the poor.

Economic crisis and structural adjustment affected women adversely in their roles as producers, household managers, and mothers. Although women's labor force participation rate increased during 1988–1993, there was also a sharp increase in their unemployment from about 1 percent to 10 percent, accompanied by a 40 percent decline in self-employment. As household managers, they had difficulty in managing their households due to high inflation caused by the decline in food subsidies especially wheat and edible oil, which constitute a large proportion of the caloric and protein intake of the poor. Due to budget cuts in the public social sector expenditure, women have to increasingly take on more responsibilities for the future survival of their children.

Due to male migration and high unemployment, more and more women are seeking income earning opportunities in the job market. Lack of education and skills forces many to concentrate either in the informal sector or secondary sector of the segmented labor market. In 1990–1991, 77 percent of economically active women in urban areas were working in the informal sector where they were economically exploited and had no protection of labor laws. Exploitative working conditions at the workplace, compounded by oppressive conditions at home where women continue to take the sole responsibility for domestic work, overburdened them to the detriment of their health.

The number of female-headed households is growing in Pakistan. The Socio-Economic Survey of Pakistan reports that less than 5 percent of women head households. This is contrary to the findings of the study conducted in Karachi in 1987 that indicated women head 10 percent of households. Female-headed households are usually among the most impoverished due to the low earning capacity of women. The average monthly income of female-headed households is only one fourth of male-headed households.

The Government is fully aware that if structural adjustment reforms continue to be launched without cushioning their impact on the poor, a large number of households may fall into the poverty trap, which could cause a serious civil unrest in the society. Some positive initiatives have been launched to protect the poor, including the SAP launched in 1992 to improve the quality of and access to basic social services with special focus on women. Other initiatives include the Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund to address income poverty, Public Works Program, Small Farmer Based Agriculture, Employment/Credit Facilities, Training and Credit for Women, Land for Landless, and Food Stamps Program, along with traditional Islamic safety nets for the poor, like Zakat and Bait-ul Mal. There is a pressing need to sharpen the focus and efficiency of these poverty reduction efforts to reach women who are the poorest of the poor.

## **2.13 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

Although women do not have a role in the formulation of macroeconomic and social policies, they have borne the brunt of such policies. Women's exclusion from decision-making bodies at the local, provincial, and national levels does not provide them any opportunity to voice their concerns or promote their perspective on governance. The male-

dominated governance structure has been creating and recreating gender inequalities. It is critical that women claim their share of power to make decisions that affect their lives. The synergy of women's strong political representation and reduction in the incidence of female poverty has been increasingly recognized all over the world.

Women's representation in formal political bodies is negligible in Pakistan. There are only 3 percent of women in the National Assembly (7 out of 217), about 2.3 percent in the Senate (2 out of 87), and 0.4 percent overall in the four provincial assemblies (2 out of a total of 483). In local bodies, about 12.5 percent of seats are reserved for women in Punjab, while Balochistan has reserved 27.6 percent of its seats for women. Elections for local bodies in two other provinces have yet to be held. There is no woman minister at the federal level, and only one has the status of a minister of state (1 out of a total of 21).

Women's participation in politics as voters, candidates, and political activists is increasing; however, this has not led to the emergence of women as leaders in the arena of formal politics. This is so because political party structures are male-dominated. Women in political parties are not given decision-making positions within the parties and are often not fielded as candidates during elections on the pretext that they lack political skills. The traditional notion of women's role is primarily in the family context. The nature of political parties, the criminalization of politics and the culture of corruption that permeates public life, and the fear of character assassination effectively block women's participation in government structures.

The failure of government structures to redress gender disparities in access to productive resources and adequate provision of social services for women have led to rethinking among women activists that they must become part of the state structure to influence policies and politics in their own favor. The lack of political commitment to implement gender-related components of policies necessitates women's participation in the government structure to ensure their implementation.

After having established a link between lack of representation of women in the political systems and the disproportionate poverty of women, women's rights groups, NGOs, and activists started pushing the margin of the state and political parties to create political space for them through affirmative action. This is reflected in their demand to reserve 33 percent of the seats for women at the local, provincial, and federal government levels, to be filled through direct election by the joint electorate. They also demanded a change in the Political Parties Act and People's Representation Act in favor of women.

It is imperative for women to gain political representation in democratic institutions for any substantive change to occur in their lives. Also, their visibility in formal political bodies will challenge the ideology of the sexual division of labor. Their increasing visibility in the public arena will enhance their status and change social attitudes towards them. Therefore, women's political representation has become a priority advocacy issue of women's movement in the country.

## 2.14 VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Violence against women is the most powerful mechanism used by family, society, and state to silence voices of resistance to the existing gender-related social order. It ensures that women will continue to accept gender hierarchies in all social relations of production and reproduction and perpetuates their subordination.

Violence against women is a fundamental violation of the human right to life, physical safety, self-respect, and dignity. It is the manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women. The social construction of gender establishes male authority and power over women, and provides the basis for gender-based violence in the society.

Some forms of violence against women, especially domestic and customary violence, are so entrenched in the culture that they are hardly recognized as violence and largely condoned by the society. It is difficult to assess the extent of violence against women due to lack of data. Also, the Critical Issues for Women in Pakistan 19 incidences of violence are grossly underreported. However, a few micro level studies give some indication on the form and extent of violence inflicted on women.

Domestic violence is fairly widespread across all classes. It ranges from slapping, hitting, and kicking, to murder. Since the society, police and law enforcing agencies view domestic violence as a private matter, it goes unnoticed until it takes extreme forms of murder or attempted murder. A study conducted by the Women's Division suggests that domestic violence takes place in approximately 80 percent of the households in the country. Incidences of stove burning are being increasingly reported in the press. During 1998, 282 burn cases of women were reported in Punjab. Of these, 65 percent died of their injuries. Data collected from two hospitals in Rawalpindi and Islamabad over a period of three years since 1994 reveal 739 cases of burn victims.

The official figure for murder of women during 1998 was 1,974; majority of them were victims of their own relatives husbands, brothers, fathers, and in-laws.

Rape is one of the most common crimes against women but grossly underreported due to the shame attached to the victim. According to official statistics, one woman is raped every six hours in the country. During 1998, 706 rape cases were reported in Punjab, of which 55 percent of the victims were minors and half were victims of gang rape.<sup>15</sup> Women are also victims of male honor. If the male honor is compromised in any way, the womenfolk of the rival party are humiliated by being made to strip off in public and paraded through the streets to take revenge from the family. The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan recorded 48 such cases in 1992–1994.

Marital rape is not even recognized as a criminal offense in Pakistani law, which is a negation of women's right over their own sexuality. Rape in police custody is also widespread but vastly underreported as it involves members of the police as the perpetrators of this crime. Out of 41 cases reported in Punjab during 1998 only six got

registered and only one person was arrested. A 1992 report found that 70 percent of women in police stations are subjected to sexual and physical violence.

The provision of the Hudood Ordinance that requires four adult male Muslims of good repute as witnesses of the actual rape or the rapist to confess as a condition of proving rape has made it impossible for rape victims to get justice. Under this law, if a rape victim cannot prove rape she can be charged with and sentenced for adultery.

Trafficking of women is also on the rise. Foreign women from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Myanmar are brought to Pakistan and sold. In 1991–1993, approximately 100–150 women from Bangladesh were brought into Pakistan.<sup>17</sup> Kidnapping, forced prostitution, and sexual violence at the workplace are other forms of violence on the rise. Customary practices that include exchange of women between families, selling and buying women as a commodity, using women as barter to settle family disputes, marriage to Quran, and killing them in the name of honor are other forms of violence against women being condoned in the name of tradition and culture.

There is no support mechanism for victims of male violence. There are only 13 state-run darul-amans (shelters) for women in the country. The living conditions of these shelters reinforce women's subordination and oppression by establishing control over their sexuality and mobility instead of providing them with a supportive environment where they could rebuild their own lives. They do not have the means to protect themselves against violence. The legal system does not encourage women victims to use it for the redress of the violation of their rights. High costs and delays in obtaining justice further discourage women victims/survivors to avail of legal means to protect their rights.

The increasing violence against women is a matter of serious concern. A society where violence against women is endemic can never fully develop either socially or economically. Violence in the private domain undermines women's confidence and self-esteem and destroys their health, while the fear of sexual assault in the public domain deprives them of their full participation in all aspects of development. This is a high social and economic cost for the society to pay. Violence against women is also a public health and development issue. As stated in ADB's gender and development policy paper, the relationship between female-focused violence and maternal mortality, health care utilization, child survival, AIDS prevention, and cost to the judiciary and law enforcement agencies is receiving increasing attention." Therefore, a society free of violence is an essential condition to establish women as equal partners in development.

## **2.15 TRANSLATION OF GENDER COMMITMENTS INTO PRACTICE**

Pakistan is one of those countries that has appropriated the gender discourse and has reflected it adequately in its national level policies and programs. It is a signatory to numerous international conventions, including the Convention on The Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Health for All by the Year 2000, Education for All by the Year 2000, and Universal Access to Reproductive Health

Information and Services by the year 2015. At the national level Pakistan has officially launched the National Plan of Action (NPA) to Implement the Beijing Platform of Action. It has reflected gender concerns in the Ninth Plan, National Strategy on Poverty Reduction, and Agenda 2010. However, the gap between commitment and reality is too wide. Policy commitments have hardly been delivered in practice. No substantial efforts in terms of financial allocation, implementation plans, or machinery appear to be in place to translate the vision reflected in policy documents into operational reality in the country.

The translation of de jure rights of women into de facto rights will substantially improve the position of women. This is not to say that the policy environment in Pakistan is ideal for women. Antiwomen legislation such as the Hudood Ordinance and the laws of evidence, Qisas and Diyat, are still a part of the Constitution. Other legislation such as family and labor laws also discriminate against women.

Women in Pakistan are now confronted with the challenge of how to ensure that the State will fulfill its commitment towards gender equality. International conventions require Pakistan to create a favorable social, legal, and political policy environment for women by introducing necessary changes. However, no substantive initiative has been taken by the Government to meet its international commitments. Therefore, it is important that the international community and social movements at the national level assume a stronger role in this regard. Similarly, civil rights movements need to build up support from the grassroots level. In order to expand the base of social movement for gender equality, civil society needs to be strengthened to be able to fulfill its role.

## **SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS (SAQS)**

- Q#1: Discuss impact of patriarchy in rural women's life?
- Q#2: What is feminist theory of women's agency?
- Q#3: Discuss feminization of poverty phenomenon?
- Q#4: Is violence against women primarily a rural society's issue?
- Q#5: What do you think how we can transform rural Pakistani women's life?

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**UNIT-3**

**MIGRATION AND SOCIAL  
CHANGE**

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## CONTENTS

Introduction .....	83
Objectives .....	83
3.1 Migration .....	84
3.2 Types of Migration .....	85
3.3 Concepts Relating to Migration .....	86
3.4 Effects of Migration .....	86
3.5 Impacts of Migration .....	89
3.6 Impact of Male Migration on Rural Women .....	95
3.7 Interconnection between Gender's Work and Migration .....	101
3.8 Migration and Gender Relations .....	102
3.9 Male Migration and Female Participation in Agricultural Activities .....	104
Self-Assessment Questions .....	107
Reference .....	108

## **INTRODUCTION**

This unit is about how migration process brings social change in Pakistani society. How it affects both rural and urban areas? We will also discuss impact of male migration on rural women and how this migration process is gendered. In the end we will discuss female participation in agricultural activities.

## **OBJECTIVES**

After studying this unit, you will be able.

- to discuss impact of migration on rural women
- to analyze impact of male migration on rural women
- to discuss interconnection between gender's work and migration
- to review male migration and female participation in agricultural activities

## 3.1 MIGRATION

Migration is a way to move from one place to another in order to live and work. Movement of people from their home to another city, state or country for a job, shelter or some other reasons is called migration. Migration from rural areas to urban areas has increased in past few years in Pakistan. People migrate for many different reasons. These reasons can be classified as economic, social, political or environmental: **Economic migration** - moving to find work or follow a particular career path. **Social migration** - moving somewhere for a better quality of life or to be closer to family or friends. **Political migration** - moving to escape political persecution or war. **Environmental** causes of migration include natural disasters such as flooding. Some people **choose** to migrate, e.g., someone who moves to another country to enhance their career opportunities. Some people are **forced** to migrate, e.g., someone who moves due to war or famine. A **refugee** is someone who has left their home and does not have a new home to go to. Often refugees do not carry many possessions with them and do not have a clear idea of where they may finally settle.

### 3.1.1 Push and Pull Factors

**Push factors** are the reasons why people leave an area. They include lack of services, lack of safety, high crime, crop failure, drought, flooding, poverty, and war etc.

**Pull factors** are the reasons why people move to a particular area. They include: higher employment, more wealth, better services, good climate, safer, less crime, political stability, more fertile land, lower risk from natural hazards.

Migration usually happens as a result of a combination of this push and pull factors.

### 3.1.2 Meaning of Migration:

Migration is the third factor for changes in the population, the other being birth rate and death rate. As compared to birth rate and death rate, migration affects the size of population differently. Migration is not a biological event like birth rate and death rate, but is influenced by the social, cultural, economic and political factors.

Migration is carried by the decision of a person or group of persons. The changes occurring in the birth rate and death rate do not affect the size and structure of the population on a large scale, while migration, at any time, may cause large scale changes in the size and structure of the population.

The study of migration is of vital importance because the birth rate, death rate and migration determine the size of population, the population growth rate and thus the structure of population. In addition, migration plays an important role in determining the distribution of population and supply of labour in the country.

Thus, the study of migration is also useful for formulating economic and other policies by the government, economists, sociologists, politicians, and planners along with demographers.

Migration shows the trends of social changes. From the historical viewpoint during the process of industrialisation and economic development, people migrate from farms to industries, from villages to cities, from one city to another and from one country to another. In modern times, technological changes are taking place in Asia, Africa and Latin America due to which these regions are witnessing large-scale migration from rural to urban areas.

Economists are interested in the study of migration because migration affects the supply of skilled and semi-skilled labourers, development of industries and commerce causing changes in the employment structure of the migrated people. Formulation of economic policies has a close relation with the process of migration because migration affects the economic and social development of a country.

Out of the many side effects of the population growth in India and other developing countries, an important effect of industrialization and economic development is the internal migration of the population on a large scale, which has drawn the attention of planners and formulators of economic policies. Thus, migration is a demographic event, whose long term effects fall on the socioeconomic and cultural development of any region or country.

Migration is the movement of people between regions or countries. It is the process of changing one's place of residence and permanently living in a region or country. According to the Demographic Dictionary of United Nations, "Migration is such an event in which people move from one geographical area to another geographical area. When people leaving their place of residence go to live permanently in another area then this is called migration."

Migration may be permanent or temporary with the intention of returning to the place of origin in future.

## **3.2 TYPES OF MIGRATION**

### **3.2.1 Immigration and Emigration:**

When people from one country move permanently to another country, for example, if people from India move to America then for America, it is termed as Immigration, whereas for India it is termed as Emigration.

### **3.2.2 In-migration and Out-migration:**

In-migration means migration occurring within an area only, while out-migration means migration out of the area. Both types of migration are called internal migration occurring within the country. Migration from Bihar to Bengal is in-migration for Bengal, while it is out-migration for Bihar.

### **3.2.3 Gross and Net Migration:**

During any time period, the total number of persons coming in the country and the total number of people going out of the country for residing is called gross migration. The

difference between the total number of persons coming to reside in a country and going out of the country for residing during any time period is termed as net migration.

### **3.2.4 Internal Migration and External Migration:**

Internal migration means the movement of people in different states and regions within a country from one place to another. On the other hand, external or international migration refers to the movement of people from one country to another for permanent settlement.

## **3.3 CONCEPTS RELATING TO MIGRATION**

### **3.3.1 Migration Stream:**

Migration stream means the total number of people migrating from one region to another or from one country to another for residing during a time period. It is, in fact, related to the movement of people from a common area of origin to a common area of a destination. For example, migration of Indians to America during a time interval.

### **3.3.2 Migration Interval**

Migration may occur continuously over a period of time. But to measure it correctly, the data should be divided into intervals of one to five or more years. The division relating to a particular period is known as migration interval.

### **3.3.3 Place of Origin and Place of Destination**

The place which people leave is the place of origin and the person is called an out-migrant. On the other hand, the place of destination is the place where the person moves and the person is called an in-migrant.

### **3.3.4 Migrant:**

Migrant is the labour which moves to some region or country for short periods of time, say several months or a few years. It is regarded as a secondary labour force.

## **3.4 EFFECTS OF MIGRATION**

Internal migration affects the place where from people migrate and the place to which they migrate. When the migrants move from rural to urban areas, they have both positive and negative effects on the society and economy.

### **3.4.1 Migration Effects on Rural Areas**

#### **3.4.1.1 Economic Effects**

When population migrates from rural areas, it reduces the pressure of population on land, the per worker output and productivity on land increases and so does per capita income. Thus family income rises which encourages farmers to adopt better means of production thereby increasing farm produce.

Those who migrate to urban areas are mostly in the age group of 18-40 years. They live alone, work and earn and remit their savings to their homes at villages. Such remittances further increase rural incomes which are utilised to make improvements on farms which further raise their incomes. This particularly happens in the case of emigrants to foreign countries who remit large sums at home.

Moreover, when these migrants return to their villages occasionally, they try to raise the consumption and living standards by bringing new ideas and goods to their homes. Modern household gadgets and other products like TV, fridge, motor cycles, etc. have entered in the majority of rural areas of India where larger remittances flow from urban areas.

Further, with the migration of working age persons to urban areas the number of farm workers is reduced. This leads to employment of underemployed family members on the farm such as women, older persons and even juveniles.

Further, out-migration widens inequalities of income and wealth in rural area families which receive large remittances and their incomes rise. They make improvements on their farms which raise productivity and production. These further increase their incomes. Some even buy other farm lands. Thus such families become richer as compared to others, thereby widening inequalities.

#### **3.4.1.2 Demographic Effects**

Migration reduces population growth in rural areas. Separation from wives for long periods and the use of contraceptives help control population growth. When very young males migrate to urban areas, they are so influenced by the urban life that they do not like to marry at an early age.

Their aim is to earn more, settle in any vocation or job and then marry. Living in urban areas makes the migrants health conscious. Consequently, they emphasise on the importance of health care, and cleanliness which reduces fertility and mortality rates.

#### **3.4.1.3 Social Effects**

Migration also affects the social set-up of rural communities. It weakens the joint family system if the migrants settle permanently in urban areas. With intermingling of the migrants with people of different castes and regions in cities, they bring new values and attitudes which gradually change old values and customs of realities. Women play a greater role in the social setup of the rural life with men having migrated to towns.

### **3.4.2. Effects on Urban Areas**

#### **3.4.2.1 Demographic Effects**

Migration increases the population of the working class in urban areas. But the majority of migrants are young men between the ages of 15 to 24 years who are unwed. Others above this age group come alone leaving their families at home.

This tendency keeps fertility at a lower level than in rural areas. Even those who settle permanently with their spouses favour small number of children due to high costs of rearing them. The other factor responsible for low fertility rate is the availability of better medical and family planning facilities in urban areas.

### **3.4.2.2 Economic Effects**

The effects of migration on income and employment in urban areas are varied depending upon the type of migrants. Usually the migrants are unskilled and find jobs of street hawkers, shoeshine boys, carpenters, masons, tailors, rickshaw pullers, cooks and other tradesmen, etc.

These are “informal sector” activities which are low paying. But, according to the ILO, the evidence suggests that the bulk of employment in the informal sector is economically efficient and profit-making. Thus such migrants earn enough to spend and remit to their homes.

Other migrants who are educated up to the secondary level find jobs as shophelpers, assistants, taxi drivers, repairing machines and consumer durables, marketing goods and in other informal activities that are small in scale, labour intensive and unregulated. Their earnings are sufficient to bring them in the category of a common urbanite with an income level higher than the unskilled workers.

Another class of migrants that is very small is of those who come for higher education in colleges and institutes to towns. They find good job in the “formal sector”, get good salaries, and follow a good standard of living. These are the persons who remit large sums to their homes and help in modernising the rural scenario.

### **3.4.3 Adverse Effects of Rural-Urban Migration**

Migration from rural to urban areas has a number of adverse effects. Towns and cities in which the migrants settle, face innumerable problems. There is the prolific growth of huge slums and shantytowns. These settlements and huge neighbourhoods have no access to municipal services such as clean and running water, public services, electricity, and sewage system.

There is acute housing shortage. The city transport system is unable to meet the demand of the growing population. There are air and noise pollutions, and increased crime and congestion. The costs of providing facilities are too high to be met, despite the best intentions of the local bodies.

Besides, there is massive underemployment and unemployment in towns and cities. Men and women are found selling bananas, groundnuts, balloons and other cheap products on pavements and in streets. Many work as shoeshines, parking helpers, porters, etc.

Thus, urban migration increases the growth rate of job seekers relative to its population growth, thereby raising urban supply of labour. On the demand side, there are not enough jobs available for the ruralities in the formal urban sector for the uneducated and unskilled rural migrants.

Consequently, this rapid increase in labour supply and the lack of demand for such labour lead to chronic and increasing urban unemployment and underemployment.

### **3.5 IMPACTS OF MIGRATION**

Migration is becoming a very important subject for the life of cities. Many opportunities and attraction of big cities pull large numbers of people to big cities. Migration can have positive as well as negative effects on the life of the migrants.

#### **3.5.1 Positive Impact**

- Unemployment is reduced and people get better job opportunities.
- Migration helps in improving the quality of life of people.
- It helps to improve social life of people as they learn about new culture, customs, and languages which help to improve brotherhood among people.
- Migration of skilled workers leads to a greater economic growth of the region.
- Children get better opportunities for higher education.
- The population density is reduced and the birth rate decreases.

#### **3.5.2 Negative Impact**

- The loss of a person from rural areas, impact on the level of output and development of rural areas.
- The influx of workers in urban areas increases competition for the job, houses, school facilities etc.
- Having large population puts too much pressure on natural resources, amenities and services.
- It is difficult for a villager to survive in urban areas because in urban areas there is no natural environment and pure air. They have to pay for each and everything.
- Migration changes the population of a place, therefore, the distribution of the population is uneven in India.
- Many migrants are completely illiterate and uneducated, therefore, they are not only unfit for most jobs, but also lack basic knowledge and life skills.
- Poverty makes them unable to live a normal and healthy life.
- Children growing up in poverty have no access to proper nutrition, education or health.
- Migration increased the slum areas in cities which increase many problems such as unhygienic conditions, crime, pollution etc.
- Sometimes migrants are exploited.
- Migration is one of the main causes of increasing nuclear family where children grow up without a wider family circle.

#### **3.5.3 Impact of Migration on Rural women**

Migration and urbanization has had strong effects on the economy and the development of Pakistan, including changes in labour market opportunities, family structures, education, health and environment management, security systems and governance. The influx of

urban migration makes it imperative to undertake studies that help understand its impacts on the dynamics of Pakistan's population.

Since 1980, the number of people living in urban areas has tripled, from 22.4 million to 75.6 million in 2017. It is estimated that urban population is likely to increase from 32 per cent as of the 1998 Census to 50 per cent by 2030 (Haider, 2006). In addition, 12 per cent of the population is internal migrants, with about one-third of them having migrated in the past ten years (based on pooled samples of Labour Force Survey data for 2005-06, 2006-07 and 2007-08, Mahmud, Musaddiq and Said, 2010).

Limited employment opportunities, low rates of infrastructural investments in the public sector and volatility of the agricultural industry are causing a large exodus of rural populations to major urban centres, particularly for the young and educated. Unsustainable population growth in urban areas has resulted in a rise in poverty and gaps in inequality. Gathering evidence on migration and urbanization is crucial to better understand the impact on Pakistani's population and development. UNFPA recently completed a study on the State of Internal Migration and Urbanization in Pakistan: Trends and Consequences, which aimed to analyze available data and promote awareness with stakeholders. In addition, UNFPA advocates for comprehensive development policies that help plan for drastic changes to population and provides recommendations adapted to the socio-cultural, economic and political development of Pakistan.

Due to structural, cultural, social and economic barriers, rural women, who make up one fourth of the world's population, fare worse than rural men, urban men and urban women in virtually all of the Millennium Development Goals (Inter-Agency Task Force on Rural Women, 2012). It is increasingly acknowledged and understood that migration is a highly gendered phenomenon. Women, in general, face different challenges and opportunities in many areas than similarly situated men do. In addition, because rural women still often lack access to infrastructure and productive resources, represent the majority of the world's illiterate adults, are often excluded from waged employment and struggle to access health care, their experience of migration can significantly differ from urban women's experience. Women in rural areas, whether they decide to migrate or stay behind as family members of male migrants, are confronted with very specific hardships that both migration and development policy debates need to address in order to make migration work for rural women.

#### **3.5.4 Rural Women on the Move**

Rural women are not a homogeneous group. Their circumstances, and in turn their capacity to migrate, plan and control their journey as well as its outcomes, vary according to their income, social networks, education, and local gender dynamics.

#### **3.5.5 Migration Out of Reach for many Rural Women**

Migration requires resources and, as such, it is not available to everyone. Women who represent the poorest of the poor in rural areas often lack the resources to migrate (e.g. information, land ownership, assets and social networks). Even in households where these resources exist, the larger family may control them, constraining women's migration

opportunities (Bridge, 2005). Women can be more physically vulnerable and can be restrained in their movement by their caring and reproductive responsibilities. Cultural norms, which can be particularly stringent in rural areas, can also dictate that it is not acceptable for women to travel on their own. That type of restriction may mean that women have to travel shorter distances or stay put altogether (Bridge, 2005).

For those living in remote and isolated areas, other obstacles include the lack of proper identity documents and difficulties in accessing transport or information. Indeed, besides the fact that information sources on migration may be scarce in rural areas, rural women, who constitute the bulk of the world's illiterate people, face increased difficulties in accessing reliable information on legal and safe migration channels.

Rural women who do migrate can move to another rural area (rural-to-rural migration), relocate in cities (rural-to-urban migration) or cross international borders (rural-to-international migration). The latter pattern is more likely to occur when connections and support networks are readily available in rural areas through migrant workers or recruitment agencies (IOM, 2009). When these support structures are absent, rural women often first migrate to urban areas, to gain training and connections before migrating abroad (Bridge, 2005).

Rural women, like women in general, may also perceive migration as way to escape traditional gender roles, gender-specific discrimination or gender-based violence. These three push factors all have a very specific dimension in rural areas. For example, in the face of numerous difficulties in securing property titles in rural areas, some women may migrate to cities where prospects to acquire property are assumed to be better (UNFPA, 2007).

### **3.5.6 Migration as a Family Survival Strategy**

For rural women, even more so than for women in general, the decision to migrate is often highly influenced by intra-household gender relations and hierarchies. Women may have a limited role in decision-making even when it results in their so-called “independent migration” for economic reasons (Bridge, 2005). The resolve to migrate is often caused by fundamental concerns about poverty and done in an attempt to ensure household survival by maximizing and diversifying the household income through remittances.

The migration of women can increasingly appear as the best option for the entire family, as the global demand for labour rises in highly gendered niches such as domestic work, health, child and elderly care, and also in the garment and entertainment industries. This demand acts as a powerful “pull factor” for women in depressed rural areas (Omelandiuk, 2005). For these women, who often did not finish primary education, engaging in these low-skilled jobs is often the only.

### **3.5.7 Rural Women Domestic and Care Works**

Despite being devalued in most societies, the domestic and care sector plays an important role in the social and economic development of every country. Many developed and middle-income countries are now facing a well-recognized care crisis due to the increased

waged labour participation of women, unequal divisions of care responsibilities in households, changing demographic profiles, and the reluctance of nationals to take on low-paid, low-skilled and low-status domestic jobs (GFMD, 2010). The recruitment of migrant women workers helps to contain this care crisis. However, these domestic and care workers often work in jobs that are segregated at the margins of society, often outside of the realm of national labour laws, and often exposed to many human rights abuses.

### **3.5.8 Brokers, Smugglers and Traffickers Exploiting Rural Women**

Human rights abuses often start at home. When women do not have the agency to manage their own journey as well as when legal channels of migration are scarce, the potential for exploitation by unscrupulous actors is high. There have been many documented cases of rural women who have been kidnapped or held captive, sold by their own families or trafficked after being lured by false promises. Recruitment agencies of all sorts are blooming in rural areas (UNFPA, 2006) and women who migrate from rural areas for work are particularly vulnerable to abusive contracts and work situations (World Bank, 2009). In 2005, a study by IOM in South Africa exposed the situation of women being trafficked from rural areas of Mozambique and sold to gold miners for "use as sex partners and domestic servants without remuneration" (UNFPA, 2006). Effectively fighting trafficking and smuggling in rural areas would benefit from adding fundamental legal reforms such as anti-discrimination measures, in addition to education and awareness-raising campaigns, community involvement, poverty reduction initiatives and the creation of livelihood opportunities (UNFPA, 2006).

### **3.5.9 Marrying a Stranger: Marriage Migration in Rural Areas**

Commercial marriages are also on the rise. In some Asian countries, the demand for migrant brides, many of whom are rural women and girls, stems from women's increased labour force participation leading to them delaying or forgoing marriage, traditional son preferences resulting in missing girls, and female rural-to-urban migration. Brides with a "traditional" profile are sought from rural areas to solve the deficit (UNFPA, 2006). These transnational marriages, organized by agencies and individual recruiters, generally attract poor rural women with little education. Some women manage to escape tight social controls and parental pressures as well as achieve economic security through these marriages. However, often they emerge as a source of distress and exploitation. Frequently, rural women leave their family with very little knowledge of their future husband. Integration into their new family and community can be difficult due to linguistic and cultural barriers, economic hardship, different gender norms and other unexpected experiences. Some men consider that buying a bride provides them with the authority to keep their wives in near-slavery situations, and confirmed cases of this type of abusive treatment are frequent. Without social networks, economic independence and knowledge of their rights, those women may find few escape routes.

### **3.5.10 Forced Migration of Rural Women**

Whether they are displaced through conflicts or environment-related circumstances, there is no doubt that forced migrants are among the most vulnerable and marginalized migrants. In the case of armed conflicts, rural areas often bear the brunt of the violence, especially when fighting forces have a stronger presence and control in the countryside. In many

cases, displacement is the only viable alternative; but for women, vulnerability to social and physical aggression, including gender-based violence, is increased. The same concerns also apply to sudden impact disasters such as floods, earthquakes, tropical storms, and landslides, which may lead to the unplanned, urgent flight of large groups of people in circumstances where women again face particular vulnerabilities. For example, if women do not have decision-making or bargaining powers, they may wait for their husband's to leave during a natural disaster, losing precious life-saving time. Other factors that may lead to an increase in women casualties during a natural disaster include gender-specific clothing, illiteracy, lack of information and family responsibilities.

When it comes to climate-change or slow onset disaster-induced migration, the border between voluntary and forced migration is less clear. The decision to migrate is often taken when a “tipping point” – the point at which the situation becomes unbearable – has been reached (UNFPA, 2009). For example, protracted and severe droughts or other forms of environmental degradation can make natural resources insufficient to support livelihoods. Today, rural women and men from least developed countries constitute the majority of environmental migrants, seeking refuge mainly through internal or cross-border migration (UNFPA, 2009).

#### **3.5.11 Mixed Impacts of Rural Women's Migration**

The specific risks that rural migrant women may face on their journeys, as well as the human rights abuses that those who work in poorly regulated sectors can face, have already been highlighted. For rural migrant women, the sources of vulnerability are threefold: vulnerabilities as women, as foreigners and as persons originating from rural areas.

#### **3.5.12 Remittances Can Help Lift Villages Out of Poverty**

Rural women migrants, depending on the context of their migration, may gain more autonomy by improving their social and economic situation. Also, they can send remittances back home, which significantly contribute to the welfare of the families they left behind as well as to rural development. In rural areas, financial and social remittances, combined with transfers of goods from migrant relatives, can contribute to better health, education and nutritional outcomes in the countries of origin. The recipient households are generally less vulnerable to sudden shocks, and remittances increase their chances of moving out of poverty (UNFPA, 2007). In the Philippines, for instance, some women succeeded in moving from unpaid subsistence agricultural work to running small businesses, thanks to remittances received from female relatives (IFAD and INSTRAW, 2007). However, the consequences of family fragmentation generated by parents' migration, especially in areas of high migration, should be better understood and addressed in order to fully reap the benefits of migration on households left behind. Furthermore, dependency upon remittances can discourage household's members, including men, from being economically active.

#### **3.5.13 Rural Migrant Women Face a Difficult Life in the Cities**

For women who move rural-to-urban, migration may mean an immediate improvement of their situation, but precariousness often continues to be part of their lives. Some of them have

no other choice than to live in unhygienic, crowded and dangerous urban slums (UNHabitat, 2004). Others, due to cash dependency, poverty and gender discrimination, may have to resort to transactional sex for survival, with little power to negotiate safe sex practices (UNFPA, 2007). In principle, these migrant women have access to better infrastructure and services in the city. Yet, poverty and the lack of social networks may limit their ability to benefit from them. For example, poor migrant women in Rajasthan have been known to return to their native villages to give birth because they cannot afford reproductive health care services in the city (UNFPA, 2008).

### **3.5.14 Returning to the Village: Challenges Abound for Migrant Women**

As with the decision to migrate, for many rural migrant women the decision to return home is a family rather than an individual decision. Indeed, many women migrants return home at the request and to meet the expectations of family members (Zhang, 2010). Upon their return, they may face significant challenges. First, they are expected to slip back into rural women's subordinate status at the household and community levels. For many women, readapting to these social constraints generates much distress. The fact that some of them relinquish their income-generating status upon return is an additional obstacle to challenging gender hierarchies in the family. For those who wish to remain economically active, opportunities are unfortunately limited. Women who want to start a business commonly encounter difficulties in accessing productive assets. They also suffer from a lack of training and information. They often invest in beauty salons, small food stores, clothing shops or small communication centres that may not be sustainable in the long run. The return and reintegration of former victims of trafficking to rural areas may also present serious problems, as anonymity is virtually non-existent. Additionally, many rural women fear stigma and rejection from their families and communities, due to the associations made with prostitution and HIV infection. The resulting isolation often means that survivors of human trafficking face limited access to psychosocial support and employment opportunities (USAID, 2007).

### **3.5.15 Effects of Male out Migration: Rural Women Left Behind Face Many Challenges**

As indicated above, migration out of rural areas can be easier for men than it is for women. Men's outmigration has led to an increase in the number of women-headed households on virtually all continents. In some rural areas, entire villages are made up of women-headed households due to men's departure. In Brazil, women whose husbands have left as an environmental adaptation strategy are known as "widows of the drought" (World Bank, 2009). This evolution in the composition of rural households can challenge traditional roles and contribute to women's empowerment through increased autonomy and decision-making power. However, women's responsibilities also expand when men migrate. Women who are left in charge of households are expected to continue to perform their traditional roles and at the same time take on men's responsibilities. The daunting extra burden on rural women left behind can have far-reaching consequences, including on girls. In China, for example, the shortage of male farm workers due to migration has resulted in girls being pulled out of school in order to take care of younger siblings and to help with farm work (IOM, 2009: 270). The psychosocial consequences of male migration on their

wives left-behind are still under addressed. Adequate access to tailored health and psychosocial services is cruelly lacking.

The struggle for women-headed households can be particularly trying when women are left to deal with increased workload and responsibilities, but without equal or direct access to financial, social, and technological resources (World Bank, 2009). For instance, rural women heads of household may confront de jure or de facto discrimination regarding land and property ownership and tenure, or access to credit. Legal reforms in these areas will go a long way towards bringing about food security for many communities (Economic Commission for Africa, 2004). Also, despite a clear trend towards the feminization of agriculture, farming equipment continues to be designed for men, forcing women to use tools that are inadequate in weight or size (World Bank, 2009)

Many women left behind rely on remittances for their survival. Affordable and secure remittance transfer services should be promoted to help reduce their vulnerability, and care should be taken to ensure that these services allow women to easily and securely collect money. Initiatives that promote women's direct receipt of and control over remittances will also help decrease women's reliance on family or in-laws for survival and decrease their vulnerability to abuse (IOM, 2010). Secure transfer methods are necessary, but may not be a sufficient condition alone to promote the economic empowerment of women left behind. Thus, it is critical for remittances to be linked to local investment schemes, training and financial literacy programmes. For example, remittances should be used as a lever to move away from subsistence agriculture and increase food security for households headed by women.

### **3.6 IMPACT OF MALE MIGRATION ON RURAL WOMEN**

Male out-migration from the rural poor over extended periods greatly increases women's work burdens and compounds their difficulties of basic survival. The additional source of income through remittances does not substantially change the economic status of family nor helps it come out of its subsistence level. A little more food and a few basic needs to reduce their poverty is all they get in return for prolonged displacement of family life, emotional deprivation and insecure future, except for a possible bridge for their children to go to the big city.

The women in these de facto female-headed households project themselves as the 'behind-the-scene' decision-makers, while trying to live according to the expectations of the patriarchal ideology, conferring the role of major decision-maker on the absentee husband. Thus, male migration from the poor peasant or landless households by itself neither is to greater autonomy for women nor pulls the family out of its poverty but because of neglect to secure social justice by effectively implementing institutional measures for the equalization of opportunities to all sections of the society, development with its accompanying rapid social change has in fact been instrumental in widening the gap between the rich and the poor.

Furthermore, when development introduces or increases inequality within rural societies, women-at least the poorest ones become doubly underprivileged, first as members of the rural

poor and then as women. For many people in the rural areas, the only alternative is to seek a living outside the village. The 'push' factors from the village are even more forceful than the promise of a good life in the cities.

Until recently all internal migration was considered beneficent, but this is not so now [see Todaro]. In the study "Migration from Rural Areas" inequality is considered the most important single variable underlying both 'push' and 'pull' factors, the former applying to the poor and the latter to the affluent in the rural society. Some useful points mentioned in the study: the majority of the migrants are male, married, have more education, and come from self-employed or non-agricultural households, perhaps agricultural labourers (who constitute only 5.4 per cent of the male migrants to urban areas in this study) migrate to other rural areas, where there is a high demand for labour.

The villages from which they come have land shortage, low fertility, skewed distribution of land and a high proportion of landless labour. Existing studies of migration tell us about the destination, occupation, income, visits home and other characteristics of the migrants, but there is hardly any concern with the village-based family. Furthermore, different patterns of migration are seen among certain castes, groups, regions, etc. From some regions only males migrate, while from others whole families do so.

There are various social and cultural factors that explain the variations in the migration streams to major cities. Emotional attachment to village, home and land, sex segregation and immobility of females (except migration subsequent to marriage and migration due to principles of patriarchy and village exogamy, which account for 58 per cent of the total female migration), the concepts of purity and pollution and the norms regarding work in different castes may provide part of the explanation. 'Male-only' migration has been a traditional feature of internal migration in India from regions where local employment opportunities are scarce to places with greater economic opportunities. The women remain at home.

There is much more evidence in the oral tradition and folk-songs than in social-science literature of the sufferings and deprivations of the women of such families whose men have gone to earn a living in the city. The phenomenon of migrant families dates back to the pre-industrial period, though migration has increased with industrialization. The folk-songs called 'bidesia' and 'birha' of eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, two areas with a high concentration of male migration to cities, refer to the beloved living in a far off 'country' and reflect the unhappy and lonely existence of the women who are left behind [Saxena,1977].

One universal feature of the process of migration in the village is that pre-established ways undergo changes; there are rises in the levels of aspiration and values of the members of the family, changes in the occupational structure and economic status and a revision of inter-caste relations. The outcome may be enrichment of the village due to remittances from the city on the one hand, and impoverishment of the village due to the absence of a large number of able-bodied young men, who leave the village to the very young, the very old and the women, who sometimes have to face great challenges.

The migrant from the lower stratum sets out to 'find work in the city without any specific abilities. He is seldom in a position to support the village-based family which maintains itself with whatever work is available in the village. The woman who remains behind has to assume, in addition to her own familial and domestic responsibilities, the role of sole bread-winner; the older daughter takes over the household chore and plays the role of a 'little surrogate mother' to her brothers and sisters.

The migrating man also suffers harrowing experiences; he works hard, struggling to save something to send home to his family, but is caught in the vicious cycle of staying in the city to find a job and doing a job in order to continue staying in the city. Rural-to-urban migration has been particularly male-selective and furthermore the pattern seems to be "rich student, poor worker" But we have little information on the consequences of male migration on the family in the village. We do not know how male migration affects the structure of roles, division of labour between the sexes or the forms of dominance in the village production system. There is little data to show how women face the situation created by the absence of males within the family and in the larger community.

Changes in labour demands, the increasing vulnerability of women, the widening access to developmental and political processes, the conflicting social demands and the economic compulsions may all be critical factors affecting the lives of such women. While we have some idea about the economic and social deprivations of these women, we have little knowledge about the precise extent of exploitation and suffering they undergo, or about the views they have on their situation. Some observations from a pilot study made by the author in a village in western Uttar Pradesh may be typical of a wider region [Jetley,1979].

The introduction of advanced methods in agriculture, achieved through labour-saving mechanical technology and/or land-saving biological and chemical technology, substitutes other inputs for land and labour. Thus, the traditional activities performed in the subsistence economy are affected by the improved technology, rendering much rural labour surplus. Many had to migrate for seasonal employment in brick-making- these are truncated families of a man, his wife and some very young children, while older children are left behind, in the care of teen-aged daughter or very old grandparents.

Some of the hypotheses with which the enquiry was initiated were: Socio-economic inequalities accentuated by the process of modernization lead to male migration from the poorer strata. The females in the families, whose males migrate to the city, have to bear heavier burdens within the family by having to work harder to assure the family's economic survival, among other things. The longer the duration of stay of the migrant in the city and the greater the distance between his home and place of work, the weaker are his ties with his rural family and the greater the insecurity of the woman at home. The kind of work that the women of these families can get is low-paid, dull, repetitive and hazardous. These are most likely the activities that are the first to be rejected by men when simplified, mechanized operations are introduced.

The females suffer from inadequate and insecure income, uncertainty of life, and exploitation (economic and sexual), and they have no protection regarding wages (paid on piece-work basis rather than on an hourly or daily basis), working conditions, social security, etc. Most of their earnings are likely to be spent on food, leaving little for education of children or improvement in the living standards of the family. The self-perceptions of these females are of helplessness and lack of control over their lives, as any efforts towards self-reliance or self-employment are thwarted owing to lack of capital investment, state recognition of their role and therefore absence of programmes recognizing their special needs, capacities and problems.

The state programmes for women are most likely to be welfare measures rather than schemes for increasing their earning power. The central concern of this research is not with the process of migration as such, but with the broader objective of understanding the impact of rapid social change on the life and work of rural people, especially of rural females when the males in their families migrate because of urbanization—a necessary adjunct to modernization. The findings are expected to enrich our understanding of the sociology of the family in general and the problems of women in particular.

Social change is a complex phenomenon in Asian societies historical traditions, vestiges of colonial rule, development experiments, modernizing forces and a host of other factors disrupt the societal balance. One outcome is the movement of population from one region to another. The increasing pressure on land had led to outmigration from all classes from the village. Where as in the upper landed groups the desire to migrate is facilitated by a certain level of education and other skills and prompted by the wish to strengthen the capital base in the rural area, the lower marginal landowners and landless migrate with little skill and for marginal gains or sheer survival.

Usually males migrate without their families. This has significant implications for both the community of origin and the point of destination. The concern here is with the families left behind and the females. The male migrants are often the migrants from the backward eastern region. Not all of them are from the poorest strata of society though 40 per cent come not only from the poorest landless agricultural category, but are also placed at the bottom of the ritual-caste hierarchy. The remaining are from the poor peasantry. Since the age of marriage is low, all of them are married, nearly illiterate and employed as gardeners or watchmen with cash incomes ranging from Rs 200 to Rs 600 per month. The migrants are closely tied to the rural roots, and even a lifetime of urban residence does not lend them urbanity. But there are several push factors for migration: For the landless agricultural labourers from the harijan caste, they are the extremely low wages, the lack of available work throughout the year, and the social oppression. For the small peasants they are the diminishing availability of land that can be taken on lease to augment the yield from their own dimly small holdings, the inability to use the advanced technology for cultivation of land, and the desire to improve the standard of living or at least to maintain the same level with a growing family.

The pull factors are the economic opportunities arising from Delhi's unprecedented physical expansion, with its emphasis on huge building complexes, sprawling lawns and gardens and unending construction activity, both private and governmental. There is no waiting period for the unskilled and semi-skilled labour in the city. Daily-wage labour is procured through the caste/ kinship network. In due course regular employment is ensured. Living in congested

quarters in Delhi's new settlement colonies (earlier in improvised huts) since 1975, they lead a dull life, flocking together and saving every paise to provide basic maintenance for the family, arrange family social ceremonies, buy cattle and, if they are lucky enough, purchase a little land. We may, therefore, say that male-only migration from the rural areas of eastern Uttar Pradesh in India has accelerated because of advanced agricultural technology, land-reforms measures, and the general social oppression resulting from the inegalitarian social structure.

The underutilization of the manpower (and womanpower) in the countryside may contribute to an increase in male migration to urban areas as well as to the increase of female-headed and females in it shoulder a double burden. Private ownership of major economic and technological resources and their restricted use will continue to accentuate inequality. The male migrants are attracted to Delhi for the perceived benefits in its expanding labour market. Living at a subsistence level in the city, they try to save as much as they can to send remittances to the family in the village. Yet the net improvement in the family's standard of living is minimal. The ability to survive is perhaps their major achievement.

For the females in the family, work is not a privilege but a traditional hardship. Living in highly congested, dreary and ill-ventilated dwelling places with no amenities and facilities, these women spend most of their lives in finding food, fuel for cooking, and fodder for cattle. They have very few material possessions and only few new purchases made by the families in the previous year. Social obligations and basic needs may force them to incur expenditure far beyond their earning power, for which they have get into debt.

During the first few years of migration, the males are hardly in a position to help the family. It is the women who assume the additional responsibility. A lifetime of loneliness and struggle for bare survival by these women is interspersed with short visits by their husbands, when many important decisions are taken. In their day-to-day life, the wives cope with problems related to children, other members of the family, financial breakdowns and complications regarding employers, neighbours, relations, etc. The migration of males not only increases the burden on women, but affects even the children. Their educational opportunities do not increase. In fact, in the village they help the family and, in the city, then are, at best, absorbed in the unskilled labour force. Most of the young boys hope to migrate to the city.

The husbands and sons maintain a visiting relationship with the women and exercise authority in major decisions in the family. The females seldom visit the city. The reasons are segregation of the sexes, desire by the older members to keep the male migrant tied to village home (which is possible if the wife and children continue to live in the village) and the perceived inability of the females to get work in the city. The most commonly available work in Delhi is that of domestic servants. The harijans have a symbolic inferiority as untouchables and do not offer their services for cooking food and washing utensils, while the peasant women think that such a mental task pollutes their ritual purity. There seems to be some kind of satisfaction in working the land, which is perceived as more dignified. In spite of the long absence of males there is little change in the authority structure of the

family, and major decisions regarding purchase of household items, cattle, inputs or land, credit, expenditure on ceremonies, etc, are postponed till the migrant's visit.

Women, however, take decisions on problems regarding the daily subsistence of the family, and keep it from slipping into deeper poverty. Whatever wages the women get are of use value whereas the migrants' remittances have exchange value. Thus, the power base remains with the males. The contact with the male migrant is one way, the females spending most of their lives managing the home front, in many cases single-handedly. Since, the family does not have enough of a material base to withdraw her from the workforce; she continues to work till she is quite old, though the adult sons assume the power and authority.

The community life is punctuated with ceremonies, which they can ill afford, yet do not grudge performing. The boredom of the daily routine is broken only by these occasions. These, however, eat up a substantial portion of the remittances sent by migrants. The poorest consume most of the additional income by way of food, whereas the peasants may be able to improve their land and buy cattle. Both for the male migrants in the city and for the family in the village, the caste/kin-ship network proves highly functional. For the former, it provides a buffer against the urban encounter, as well as an entry point into the occupational structure, whereas for the latter it provides emotional and social support in adversity. There is, therefore, an increase in the degree of dependence on family, kin and neighbours, who are often helpful in offering moral support, being themselves in no better position financially. There is no denying the fact that the long-term male migration improves the economic prospects of the family, and this is the prime motive behind the decision to migrate. But for the poorest, it only means that the family manages to fulfil the minimum needs at the cost of family disintegration.

There may be some improvement in regard to the education of the male children. For the daughters, however, a male migrant is expected to spend more on her wedding than a non-migrant in the community, thus increasing his financial burden. The chamars have yet to realize the potential of government protection in education and jobs intended for them. The peasant who stays away for a lifetime in the hope of acquiring more land, have never been able to do so. Thus, the root of the problems of male migration and female suffering lies in the structural inadequacy of the rural society. For this reason, the solution to the problems must also be found in the rural areas. It is there that the human power, both male and female, should be better equipped with new skills to become part of the development process. India is basically a rural country. Any plans for development must emphasize the modernization of rural society in a manner that promises increased opportunities for all strata. Catering to the landed groups will only push large number of persons out of the village, and India's urban industrial complex is inadequate to absorb this influx. When such a trend affects the rural family, the women in the village suffer the most; they are forced to lead a life of prolonged hard work, loneliness and powerlessness.

### **3.7 INTERCONNECTION BETWEEN GENDER'S WORK AND MIGRATION**

Gender is an integral part of the migration process. The impacts of migration for women and men depend on many factors, all of which have gender implications. These include: the type of migration (temporary, permanent, irregular, regular, labour, natural disaster- or conflict-induced, independent or as dependent spouse); policies and attitudes of the sending and receiving countries; and gender relations within the household. Gender affects how migrants adapt to the new country, the extent of contact with the original country and the possibility of return and successful reintegration (Boyd and Grieco 2003).

#### **3.7.1 Impacts on Migrants Themselves**

On the migration journey women may suffer specific risks. Particularly if women have been illegally recruited or trafficked, the actual journey to the country of destination could be in appalling conditions very risky and dangerous, possibly subject to sexual or physical violence from transporters, fellow male travellers, or border guards. False documents mean they may also be more likely to be caught by the authorities in the country of origin or destination (Lean Lim et al. 2003, Moreno-Fontes 2002).

Similarly, in cases of displacement due to conflict or flight from natural disasters, people are unprepared and ill-informed about how to reach a safer destination for themselves and their family. Women are particularly vulnerable to sexual violence during the journey and in displacement or refugee camps, from militia but also from hostile local populations as women and girls go about their roles in water and firewood collection or small market commerce (El-Bushra and Fish 2004).

Gender-segregated job markets influence women migrants' work opportunities, money earned, and risks of exploitation. In the unskilled sector, women dominate in isolated jobs and therefore may be at greater risk of exploitation – nannies, sex workers, entertainers. Men tend to dominate in more regulated/visible sectors, e.g. construction generally, mining in South Africa, agriculture in North America. Illegal migrants usually try to remain invisible to escape deportation, so in this sense men may be at a disadvantage in that they tend to work in more visible sectors.

Women may feel empowered by taking on labour participation in a new country and gain new skills with increased employment prospects on return, and gain kudos due to the remittances they are able to send back home. Much depends on the conditions and remuneration of such work.

Entry status (irregular, regular, refugee, asylum-seeker, dependent spouse) often determines residency and employment rights, ability to gain legal citizenship, access to social services such as health and education, access to language training and income security programmes. Women tend to have fewer entitlements due to their different entry status – indeed if women are viewed as “dependants” their rights may be legally based on the migration and residency status of their husband, keeping some women in abusive relationships (Boyd and Grieco 2003).

Gender norms of the host society affect integration of women and men differently, e.g. men may be perceived as more threatening and be more likely to be harassed by police, women may suffer discrimination in the labour force. In North America foreign-born women were the least likely of all groups, defined by birthplace and gender, to be in the formal labour force in the 1990s – although there was a great variation between nationalities (Boyd and Pikkov 2005).

One of the major social issues relating to international labour migration is the separation of migrants from family. In interviews with migrants and origin communities this comes through as the greatest cost of migration (Piper 2005).

The above factors affect duration of stay. Returning home earlier than planned and without preparation may reduce benefits of migration. Women are more likely than men to return home suddenly when they hear of a developing crisis in the family, e.g. husband's infidelity, neglect of children, children's drug abuse or family mismanagement of remittances (Villalba 2002).

Expectations of remittances and pressure to remit vary according to gender, age, and position in family, e.g. a husband may be expected to support the family and unmarried daughters may be expected to remit more than unmarried sons.

HIV/AIDS risks increase due to separation from regular sexual partners for those migrating and left behind with those migrating possibly desiring intimacy and connection in new environments.

There may be tensions and conflict between migrants and the indigenous population, or between different ethnic groups. Receiving area populations may perceive in-migration (whether internal or international) as a threat, and respond with suspicion, fear or violence. In interviews with unemployed urban Chinese women and men, both expressed resentment at rural-to-urban internal migrants and argued that migrants should be sent home (Cook and Jolly 2000).

In some cases hostility may be directed more from or towards one gender or other. Since September 11th, Muslim men in particular have been scapegoated as a threat to security (UNRISD 2005). A recent survey in the UK shows white men express more prejudice than white women and both express more prejudice against ethnic minority men and male asylum-seekers than against women (Valentine and McDonald 2004).

## **3.8 MIGRATION AND GENDER RELATIONS**

### **3.8.1 Challenging Traditional Gender Roles**

Migration may challenge traditional gender roles, absence of one spouse may leave the other spouse with both greater decision-making power and a greater burden of responsibility and labour. Where men migrate from rural to urban areas, women are left

with a greater burden of agricultural labour, but at the same time may have more control over how crops and any revenue are used. Women may gain economic independence, confidence and greater freedom through migration.

Displacement due to conflict often leads to shifts in gendered roles and responsibilities for both women and men sometimes to women's benefit and sometimes to their further marginalization. Women may suffer from the added work burden or transfer this to younger girls who have to assume more responsibilities such as caring for children, the elderly and the sick (El Jack 2003). This shift of responsibility impacts on the welfare and future of female household members. However, women may be given priority for training and development programmes in health and education, as well as in income-generating activities. The skills women gain enable them to assume new roles within their households, becoming the main breadwinners when men have been killed or have problems finding employment after removal from their homes and communities. Men however may react to these changes with depression, alcoholism and an escalation of violence against women in public and private (ibid.).

### **3.8.2 Entrenching Traditional Gender Roles**

Migration may entrench traditional gender roles. A study of two villages in Pakistan shows how women's seclusion was reinforced by migration to the Middle East of their husbands, who maintained control at a distance through other male relatives. Upon return, husbands brought back stricter ideas on purdah (seclusion) they had seen in the Middle East, and with their migrant earnings they could afford to keep their wives indoors at home and limit their mobility. This is in contrast to before migration, when they needed their wives to go out and earn money (Lefebvre 1990).

Children may be left behind by mothers migrating internally or internationally. Sometimes fathers take on new gender roles and look after their children. One Nicaraguan man explains:

'My wife goes twice a week to Costa Rica to sell things. I'm a builder and don't have a stable job. When she travels, I have to take charge of all the housework and the children' (Avellan 2003: 34). However, this is not necessarily the case. For example, with internal and international migration in Southern China and the Philippines, where more women migrate, women may sometimes organize other women family members, or another internal migrant woman, to do the childcare before their departure then take over the task again themselves upon return.

### **3.8.3 Contradictory Effects of Migration**

Migration, both international and internal, can bring gains and losses. Migration entails a complex, often contradictory class positioning, whereby a migrant might experience social upward mobility vis-à-vis the place of origin but social downward mobility vis-à-vis the host environment. If women are trailing spouses they may find it more difficult to establish a footing in the new community and maintain their status within the family. Some women migrants experience downward social mobility by engaging in jobs that are beneath their

educational qualifications – such as the numerous examples of domestic workers from the Philippines in Canada, Hong Kong, Europe and elsewhere.

Sometimes, in contrast, women integrate more quickly than men. Research in the context of the US has shown that many first-generation immigrant men from South America experience downward social mobility, being forced to accept lower-skill jobs and lower social status due to racism. As a result, they often find integrating difficult or resist integration by imagining they are always there only temporarily and will be going home soon, however long they stay. Their wives, by contrast, typically experience migrating to the US in terms of upward social mobility because of their engagement in income generating activities and, with this, increasing independence. As a result, these women prefer to remain in the destination country. In addition, through their roles as mothers, they connect much more with local authorities (kindergarten, school, social services) and thus engage with the country of destination in a different manner that might foster faster integration. This is also reflected in the fact that women are more likely than men to become US citizens (Jones-Correa 1998). In this case it can be said that women tend to politically integrate faster than men. The latter tend to be active in ethnic organizations whose orientation is towards politics back home whereas women engage in political activism that deals with issues at the destination area (Hardy-Fanta 1993).

#### **3.8.4 Gendered Effects of Changing to a More Settled Lifestyle**

Just as migration changes gender relations, so does a change in migration patterns to a more settled lifestyle. One example is provided by the move to a more settled lifestyle by Tibetan herders. Due to political changes, the traditionally nomadic lifestyle of Tibetan herders in Qinghai and Tibet has become more settled over the last 40 years. Previously, herders moved biannually between winter and summer grazing pastures. Now herders increasingly manage livestock (mainly yaks) in fenced-off grazing grounds in one location. Traditionally, men were responsible for grazing, transporting pack animals, moving tents and fighting. Women's main tasks were milking, cooking, butter churning, fuel collecting, wool spinning and weaving. The more settled lifestyle has reduced the work burden traditionally done by men as livestock no longer need to be followed around all day. Men now have more leisure time and increasingly do business, which has led some women to take over the grazing tasks. Women's work hours have on average increased while men's have decreased (Zhaoli et al. 1996).

So far this report has focused on connections between migration and gender. The next section examines the interactions with development and hence the impact of migration on sending and receiving countries.

### **3.9 Male Migration and Female Participation in Agricultural Activities**

One of the long-standing issues and bottlenecks for women is having equal economic importance men are enjoying. Rural women face a distinct disadvantage, since they are the

ones who sacrifice their opportunity for education and skill development to manage land and agriculture. Women are largely excluded from training, extension and irrigation management. The phenomenon of increasing feminization of agriculture in many parts of the world has drawn policy attention. The increased number of women and agricultural production was brought by male rural out migration, the growing number of households headed by women and the development labor-intensive cash crops. All of these lead to change in the traditional gender division of farm work: women taking up at lower wages the tasks formerly did only by men, such as land preparation, cultivation of crops, spraying pesticides, harvesting, post-harvesting and marketing of the produce. There is complex interrelationship between women agricultural producers and their lack of rights to land and related factors of production. Technological empowerment, unmediated control and ownership of land, enhancing of agricultural management skills and knowledge of women in agriculture are ways by which agricultural production could be improved thus, overcoming poverty and income inequality.

The feminization of agriculture model in Asia is determined by two major factors. First, compared to men, women have much poorer access, control and ownership of land and other productive resources. They also have inadequate access to public services, such as training, extension and credit. Technologies are often designed for irrigated land in favorable areas and for male farmers. Poor farmers, mainly women, lack appropriate technologies. Women and women-dominated households represent a disproportionate share of the poor farmers in many Asian countries. Second, the present structure of rural society makes it difficult for all members of the household to migrate, since cities have even more limited resources for masses of asset-poor- who lack not only income but production-related assets, human capabilities, social capital and physical assets as well. Women constitute the majority of such people. As a consequence, men leave to become temporary laborers in cities. Women are left behind to take care of agriculture and land (a kind of insurance for migrant workers), children and the elderly. Thus, they have the compounded burden of productive and reproductive work. Its impact on agricultural productivity is yet to be determined.

### **3.9.1 Gender Wage Differentials**

There is an important question of gender wage differentials in agriculture and related industries. One possible explanation is that the differences in educational attainments and work skills between women and men are reflected in wage differentials (Gustafsson and Li, 2000). That, if women's skills and educational attainments are significantly lower than men have, there would be a systematic wage differential between the two genders in the labor market. And, women are most likely to be crowded in low paid jobs, due to their lower human skill and lower mobility (due to their domestic responsibilities). Some studies showed that the wage differential was largely due to gender discrimination which encourages women's engagement in low levels of occupation, like unskilled and semi-skilled work, low-level management work and other related productive work. If women have access to more highly paid market work, they are likely to spend lower number of hours for housework. It is not surprising, therefore, that despite exhaustion due to longer working day and lower wages, women highly value market work. The earnings from market work are seen important by women as it raises their standing as that of an economic contributor to the household.

### **3.9.2 Dealing with the Market**

The switch from production for self-consumption to production for the market is important in the dry areas. It has brought with it not only new opportunities but also new risks. In absence of men women need to learn the ways of dealing with the market, ways of minimizing or reducing risk. Rather than putting everything into one crop, it is necessary to adopt multiple-cropping methods. Over a period of time, multiple cropping can yield a higher income than the 'boom and bust' sequence that characterizes single crops. Second, along with the promotion of commercialization of agriculture, it is also necessary to put in place financial, insurance and safety net measures to deal with income failures and losses. Most agricultural loans are still informal, from moneylenders and other irregulars. Political and economic force is often used for the recovery of loans. In Pakistan, there had been substantial migration of men to work in West Asia or elsewhere. Prior to this, women supposedly had no role in managing agriculture and other non-domestic activities. After substantial male migration, all these have changed (Lefebvre, 1999). There are, of course, conflicts prior to these changes, for instance, between older male relatives and the younger wives. But there are considerable changes through these conflicts. Women in the Neelum-Jhelum Valley areas played a substantial role in managing the household agricultural and other non-domestic economic activities. Other accounts also pointed out that women in Pakistan are quite comfortable and even happy with their new management roles and responsibilities. When men return after many years' absence, women do not easily or willingly give back the management roles to them.

### **3.9.3 Incentive Problems in the Feminization of Agricultural Work**

The export-related agricultural sectors where women are most active include cultivation of crops (rice in Vietnam and Thailand), and also in the so-called new agricultural exports, such as vegetables, and flowers in most countries. But in each of these countries, women do not own land and other assets which lead to the erosion of women's incentives to produce quality output. There are communities in Africa where there is a system of separate budgets for women and men. Men and women may both have separate plots (Kikuyu, Kenya and Mukono, Uganda), with women being able to take the income from their plots. Cattle belong to men, but small livestock (goats, sheep and chicken) belong to women. Or, coffee and tea belong to men, but vegetables belong to women. These divisions of products, as with garden plots, have nothing to do with labor performed. Women, in any case, perform the bulk of the labor. But this does not mean that women are free to spend the money earned from their own crops, plots or livestock, as they wished. In case of male migration women get the control of the money and could spend where ever she likes.

### **3.9.4 Women's Right to Land and Productive Assets**

The issue of women's land ownership remains in most of South Asia. It is not just land ownership but also all that goes with it access to institutional credit, training and extension facilities. Equal property rights for women are relevant for developing production. They are even relevant for matters like raising wages, since the reservation wage (i.e. the wage at which a person will enter the labor market) does go up. To some extent, some projects enable women to use their access to capital as a means of acquiring access to and control over land, or related productive assets.

Agricultural extension and information on new technologies are almost exclusively directed to men, even when women are traditionally responsible. Although vegetable growing is almost

universally women's work, projects that aim to diversify agricultural production by promoting commercial vegetable growing (as in Bangladesh) often train, or used to train, the men. Something is 'inevitably' lost when the knowledge is 'passed on' to women. If women were accepted as owners and hence, as farmers, it is more likely that they would be targeted for training as farm managers, and not only as home managers. In Kenya, on the other hand, it was seen that agents of input suppliers, knowing that it was women who undertook vegetable production, directly approached women to inform them about the use of various inputs. Where there is a business at stake in influencing those who take the farming decisions, there is a tendency to approach women as farmers, while formal extension agencies stick to men as farmers. Extension and input supply services also do not reach women at the right time and place.

Women's ownership of land could lead to higher and better-quality production and more importantly, it can, enable them to control the use of household income for their well-being and other household members. It can also benefit women through reduction in violence. A change could also be observed in the villages due to male migration.

### **3.9.5 Land, Assets and Efficiency of Resource Use**

The enhancement of organic agriculture does not need costly investments in irrigation, energy and external inputs. On the contrary, what are needed are investments in capacity-building and related research. "This would entail a shift of capital investments from hard to soft technologies – that is from agricultural inputs (private goods) to knowledge building (public goods)," (Scialabba, 2000a:12). Transforming the management and ownership status of household resources can help increase productivity particularly, where these resources are under-utilized. In Pakistan and Nepal, large-scale migration of men has left women as de facto farm managers. But the management decisions are constrained by their inability to access credit on time, as the land remains in the names of men, and their signatures are needed before credit can be given. There are consequent losses due to failure to procure and use inputs on time. In South Asian countries, micro-finance has become a source of capital for women to acquire access to land. But women nevertheless, use loans to lease land, often leveraging their own capital with finance from their husbands. There were few purchases of land, but leasing in land has become quite common for women members of credit groups.

## **SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS (SAQS)**

- Q#1: Discuss general impact of migration in rural areas.
- Q#2: What is impact of male migration on rural women?
- Q#3: Discuss how migration affects gender relations in a household?

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**UNIT-4**

# **PARTICIPATION OF RURAL WOMEN IN NATIONAL POLICIES**

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## CONTENTS

Introduction.....	111
Objectives .....	111
4.1 Change in the Lives of Women Through Political Activities .....	112
4.2 Rural Women Councilors .....	116
4.3 Contributing the Democracy.....	123
4.4 Main Challenges Rural Women Facing .....	126
4.5 Recommendations for Government Action .....	133
Self-Assessment Questions.....	145
References.....	146

## **INTRODUCTION**

This unit is about how change in lives of rural women is possible through mobilizing them into political activities. We will also discuss how rural women councilors can play their role in the betterment of rural society. We will further discuss what are the issues of rural women and in the end we will recommend governments recommendation to improve the status of rural women.

## **OBJECTIVES**

After studying this unit you will be able;

- to discuss rural women political participation in their community
- to review recommendations for the government action.

## **4.1 CHANGE IN THE LIVES OF WOMEN THROUGH POLITICAL ACTIVITIES**

The ILO estimates that rural women comprise a quarter of the world's population. Women also make up 41 per cent of the world's agricultural labour force, a ratio which rises to 49 per cent for low-income countries. Rural women work as farmers, wage earners and entrepreneurs. They represent an important share of the agriculture workforce. Their social and economic empowerment can have a powerful impact on productivity and agriculture-led growth. Gender inequalities in the agricultural sector are significant but difficult to quantify. As women are concentrated in both unpaid care and household work and their role in subsistence farming is often unremunerated, their contribution to the rural economy is widely underestimated. Women from local, indigenous and tribal communities are often custodians of traditional knowledge that is key for their communities' livelihoods, resilience and culture. Their contributions are unique and vital especially in the context of natural resources management, agriculture and forestry - sectors that are critical for both mitigation of, and adaptation to climate change.

Key challenges rural women face at work rural women are concentrated in low-skilled, low productivity, and low or unpaid jobs with long working hours, poor working conditions and limited social protection. They are more likely to work as unpaid contributing family members which means their work is largely unrecognized or undervalued. They are most active in the informal rural economy and are far less likely than men to participate in rural wage employment (both agricultural and non-agricultural). When they do work for wages, rural women are more likely to be employed in part-time, seasonal, and time- and labour-intensive activities. Less than 20 per cent of landholders worldwide are women.

In rural areas the gender pay gap is as high as 40 per cent. Rural women have less access than men to productive resources. The gender gap exists for many assets and services, including land, improved seeds and fertilizers, livestock, extension and financial services. Women also have fewer opportunities for education and training, potentially limiting them from adopting new technologies as readily as men. If women had the same access as men to resources, agricultural output in developing countries would increase between 2.5 and 4% and the number of undernourished people in the world would decrease by approximately 12–17% (FAO, 2011) Rural women shoulder a disproportionate amount of unpaid care and household work, which is neither recognized nor remunerated.

They undertake multiple roles including caring for children and the elderly, cooking, as well as collecting firewood and water, and working on farms or family enterprises. When working as they often do as contributing family members and subsistence farmers, rural women receive no income for their labour. When they are in paid employment, the tasks they undertake in agriculture or on plantations are often undervalued. Women are paid less than men even for the same tasks. Many rural women also do not have the same opportunity as men to obtain work that attracts higher levels of pay. When paid un-paid working hours are combined, women work much longer hours compared to men.

Rural women are at high risk of abuse, sexual harassment and other forms of gender-based violence. The heightened risks are due to factors such as gender power imbalances, a lack of oversight, and working alone in relative isolation or in remote locations. Climate change threatens to exacerbate rural women's vulnerability to discrimination, exclusion and exploitation. Women in rural areas are highly dependent on local natural resources for their livelihood. With climate change, women's already unequal access to productive assets is further impacted. Indigenous and tribal women are disproportionately affected. Rural women are under-represented in institutions, governance and leadership, and have less decision-making power.

#### **4.1.1 Why Bridge the Gaps for Rural Women?**

Everyone should have the right to Decent Work, including rural women. Studies show a positive correlation between increasing the labour force participation of women and a rise in GDP. The ILO estimates that reducing the gap in labour force participation rates between men and women by 25 per cent by the year 2025, could raise global GDP by 3.9 per cent, or US\$5.8 trillion. There is enormous potential for rural women to contribute to raising GDP as well as the revitalization of agriculture and rural economies if the barriers to equality are addressed. If women in rural areas had the same access to agricultural assets, education and markets as men, agricultural production could be increased and the number of hungry people reduced by 100-150 million. Addressing gender inequality and promoting decent work for rural women as a priority will translate into economic and social gains for all. Creating decent jobs, entrepreneurship training and access to finance, protecting rural women from unacceptable forms of work, enhancing social protection, ensuring their voices are heard and closing the representation gap are key elements needed for transformative action, if the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is to be achieved.

#### **4.1.2 How to Bridge the Gaps for Rural Women?**

- Adopt integrated and holistic approaches based on a human rights framework that also focus on the broader conditions necessary for women to prosper economically.
- Provide equal access to and control over productive resources such as land and financial services.
- Ensure the economic empowerment of rural women, including access to minimum wages and targeted guaranteed-income schemes in public works.
- Advocate for changing stereotypes and promote sharing of household work and care more equitably within the family, including addressing the time poverty of rural women. Access to publicly funded childcare and paid maternity and paternity leave should be available.
- Ensure greater voice, organization and representation for rural women, driven by social dialogue, including through national and regional collective bargaining. This should include supporting rural workers' organizations and cooperatives to defend their rights and interests. Collective action such as cooperatives provide a platform for involvement in policy debates and decision-making, as well as enabling economies of scale in production.
- Explore alternatives to agricultural wage labour for women-entrepreneurship, women's business, non-agricultural jobs and women's access to land to run their

own production. Rural women also need access to business training and financial support.

Enhance access to social finance for rural women and encourage financial institutions to adopt a gender responsive strategy. The staff and culture of such institutions need to be gender-aware and gender-balanced in order to address the different needs of women and men in the rural economy related to the household, farms, equipment, education and health expenses.

- Introduce effective measures to prevent and address violence and harassment in the world of work.
- Recognize and support indigenous women as custodians of traditional knowledge in natural resources management and in increasing the resilience of agriculture in the face of climate change. This includes ensuring that women participate in any new initiatives being rolled out to create decent and green jobs in rural economies, including as part of the SDGs to reduce poverty.
- Adopt a multifaceted approach by actors in the rural economy to provide a package of complementary social protection measures which can enhance efforts in attaining the SDGs. For women, such a package needs to include provisions for maternity protection as in many countries rural women are excluded from national legislation guaranteeing these rights.
- Provide more and better sex-disaggregated statistics on work in the rural economy.

#### 4.1.3 What Role Do Women Play in Rural Areas?

Rural women are key agents for development. They play a catalytic role towards achievement of transformational economic, environmental and social changes required for sustainable development. But limited access to credit, health care and education are among the many challenges they face. These are further aggravated by the global food and economic crises and climate change. Empowering them is essential, not only for the well-being of individuals, families and rural communities, but also for overall economic productivity, given women's large presence in the agricultural workforce worldwide. Women play a key role in **food production** and form a large proportion of the agricultural work force globally.

- How can we empower women in rural areas?

Promoting and ensuring gender equality, and empowering rural women through **decent work and productive employment**, not only contributes to inclusive and sustainable economic growth, but also enhances the effectiveness of poverty reduction and food security initiatives, as well as climate change mitigation and adaptation.

- What are the two problems faced by rural women?

Rural women are at high risk of **abuse, sexual harassment and other forms of gender-based violence**. The heightened risks are due to factors such as gender power imbalances, a lack of oversight, and working alone in relative isolation or in remote location.

#### 4.1.4 Coordinated UN Action

To help rural women escape poverty, in 2012 UN Women joined with the World Food Programme, Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Fund for Agriculture Development to launch a joint programme to empower poor rural women through economic integration and food security initiatives. The initiative aims to empower rural women to claim their rights to land, leadership, opportunities and choices, and to participate in shaping laws, policies and programmes.

UN Women marks three UN observances that reflect women's key role in development, beginning with International Day for Rural Women on 15 October, World Food Day on 16 October and International Day for the Eradication of Poverty on 17 October.

UN Women supports the leadership and participation of rural women in shaping laws, policies and programmes on all issues that affect their lives, including improved food and nutrition security, and better rural livelihoods. Training equips them with skills to pursue new livelihoods and adapt technology to their needs.

Given equal resources, women could contribute much more. FAO estimates that if women farmers (43 per cent of the agricultural labour force in developing countries) had the same access as men, agricultural output in 34 developing countries would rise by an estimated average of up to 4 per cent. This could reduce the number of undernourished people in those countries by as much as 17 per cent, translating to up to 150 million fewer hungry people.

According to new estimates, about 870 million people, or one in eight worldwide, did not consume enough food on a regular basis to cover their minimum dietary energy requirements over the period 2010 to 2012. The vast majority live in developing countries.

Many of the world's most poor are women. **Poverty eradication** is a key challenge for rural women. New poverty estimates from the World Bank show that the proportion of people living on less than USD 1.25 a day fell from 47 per cent in 1990 to 22 per cent in 2010, across every developing region. Yet, 1.2 billion people are still living in extreme poverty.

#### 4.1.5 Knowledge Gateway

During the High-Level week of the 68th Session of the UN General Assembly, UN Women, with support from the Government of Canada, launched the **Knowledge Gateway for Economic Empowerment**. The new online platform is an open global community for knowledge mobilization, innovation and partnerships. It seeks to re-vitalize women's economic empowerment by building connections and bringing together people who need resources with those that have them. The portal will feature e-discussions, interviews, videos and other resources on rural women, food and poverty reduction from 15-25 October.

## 4.2 RURAL WOMEN COUNCILORS

The overall development of a country depends upon the maximum utilization of human resources including both men and women. The constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan gives equal rights to both women and men. However, in practice women are rarely equal to their male counterparts (SDPI, 2008). In Pakistan women comprise nearly half of the total population but their status is much lower than that of men in every sphere of life especially in rural area.

In Pakistan gender-based inequality exists at large despite of various kinds of policies, strategies and programmes. In legal sphere, constitutional reforms have failed to address the stark rise and prevalence in security issues that affect women. In educational sphere, the percentage of girls enrolled in primary school remained significantly low as compared to boys, and this gap is increasing dramatically in secondary and higher educational enrolment. In health sphere, the use of reproductive health services continued to be low and maternal mortality rates remained high. In labor sphere, women education attainment is low. Social norms are also restricting women's mobility. This has resulted in a limited range of employment opportunities and low wages for women.

Women's participation and representation in politics is one of the components for empowerment. The government of Pakistan has used this to solve women related community problems at grass root level and more importantly to empower them socially, economically and politically. Political participation of women is also used as end because it is the right of women to equally participate in politics. The local government reforms (also called devolution plan / decentralization) were carried out in 2000 in order to ensure inter alia greater political participation of women in local government. The purpose of local government reform were manifold; devolution of political power, decentralization of administrative and financial authority, effective delivery of services and transparency in decision-making process through institutionalized participation of the people at the grassroots level. A secondary feature of local government reform in Pakistan was to reserve 33% of the seats for women and also for other weaker sections of the population (NRB, 2006). In the devolution / decentralization plan, 33% seats for women were reserved at all three tiers. Local government elections were held twice to elect councilors at 6022 Union Councils, 305 Tehsil Councils, 30 town councils and 96 District Councils.

Elections at union council level were held directly while at the other levels, indirect elections were conducted. Reservation of 33% seats for women resulted in the election of approximately 40,000 women out of which approximately 36,000 women were elected as local councilors at the lowest tier of the union council. For the first time such a high number of directly elected women were participating in local government (Yazdani, 2003). The devolution plan was designed not only to increase the number of women-representative in local government by the reservation of 33% seats but it was also expected to bring a significant social, economic change and impact on marginalized groups of society like women, peasants etc. It provided a tremendous opportunity for women to play an important role in the developmental process. Yet it also posed a number of challenges. The basic

question and prime challenge emerged now is that how and to what extent this critical mass of elected women affect public policy, poverty reduction and empower women?

Gender Gap and Women's empowerment in Pakistan Women's empowerment and their full participation in all spheres of society, including participation in the decision-making process and access to power, are fundamental for the achievement of equality, development and peace. There is no country in the world in which women have the same power as men or which has achieved the gender equality or does not have gender gap. The phenomenon of gender discrimination is manifest almost in all over the world but its nature and magnitude may vary from society to society.

The gap not only exists among men and women but also between women groups. According to Rais (2002), the educated and professional women in urban areas and from upper classes of the society enjoy much better status and rights than illiterate women in rural areas. The reasons are that the urban woman has understood and realized their position and status due to their exposure to the educational facilities and mild behavior of men. However, rural woman is still unaware of the meaning of self-respect, economic independence, prestige and role of women in the socio-economic development of the society (IDEA, 2009). The government of Pakistan has taken various steps in order to address the gender gap and ensure an active role of women in the socio-economic and political field through active participation in policies and programmes, a quick review of policies, strategies and programmes and achievements is detailed below. Government Policies/Strategies/Programmes The government of Pakistan has developed and implemented various policies, strategies and programmes.

#### **4.2.1 An Overview**

- Pakistan Women's Rights Committee was set up in 1976 to consider and formulate proposals for law reforms, with a view to improve the social, legal and economic conditions of the women of Pakistan and to provide for speedier legal remedies for obtaining relief in matters like maintenance, custody of children, etc.
- Women's Division was set up in January 1979 with aims to formulate and implement public policies, plans and programmes to meet the special needs of women.
- The Women's Division was upgraded to the level of full-fledged Ministry of Women Development in 1989. The ministry is mandated to make efforts for the women's empowerment and gender equality. The role of the ministry is of an advocate, lobbyist, catalyst, and coordinator for the cause of women.
- Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women was established in March 1983 as an independent Women's Commission to identify major problems facing women and suggest remedies.
- Adopted a 'National Plan of Action' (NPA) in 1998 outlining 184 actions in '12 areas of concern including women and poverty, education and training of women, women and health, violence against women, women and armed conflict, women and economy, women in power and decision-making, institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women, human rights of women, women and the media, women and the environment, and the girl child with an additional agenda on girls & women with disabilities.

- Under the New Local Government System (2001) in Pakistan, women were given 33% participation share in the Local Government Elections.
- National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW)' was established in 2000, with a mandate to examine the relevance and efficacy of all policies, programs and measures to the core issue of women development and gender equality.
- Developed a "National Policy for Development and Empowerment of Women" in 2002, containing a vision, defined goals, aims and objectives.
- 42 'Focal Points' established in relevant ministries / departments of the government to ensure programs planned and executed are gender perspective; especially effective in sensitive Ministries of Interior, Law & Justice, Parliamentary Affairs, Health & Education.
- Government of Pakistan makes amendments in the Constitution and promulgation of Local Government Ordinance in 2001 and at least 33 percent of seats in each tier of local government are women. In the National Assembly, more than 60 seats are held by women out of 332 seats while over 128 seats are held by women out of 728 seats in the provincial assemblies. Similarly, there are 17 women in the Senate out of 100 members.
- The federal and all provincial governments have approved Gender Reform Action Plans (GRAPs) during 2004-05 that suggests the intervention areas such as women's employment in the public sector, policies and fiscal reforms, capacity development interventions, women's political participation, institutional restructuring for more effective gender mainstreaming and support actions to create an enabling environment.
- In order to protect women and empower various legal system / laws such as the Protection and Empowerment of Women Bill (2004), the Pakistan Penal Code (Criminal Law Act 2009), Acid Violence Act (2010), the Protection against Harassment of Women in the Workplace (2010) was approved and implemented.
- The Government of Pakistan has initiated Gender Responsive Budgeting in 2007 as one of its major tools for advancing gender equality.
- The Women in Distress and Detention Fund Act 2011 has been promulgated to provide financial and legal assistance to deserving women.
- National Commission on the status of Women was established under the National Commission on the Status of Women Act 2012. The major functions of the commission is to examine the policies and programs initiated by the Federal Government for gender equality and women's empowerment, to examine all Federal laws and rules that are against interest of women and make recommendations to the concerned quarters.

#### **4.2.2 Achievement**

The achievement of government in the field of social, economic and political empowerment of women is described as under:

#### **4.2.3 Achievements in Social Empowerment:**

It covers areas such as women in education, health, law and access to justice, violence against women, women in the family & community, and the girl childcare:

- To reduce gender gap at all levels, Education Sector Reforms (ESR) were approved on April 30, 2001. Primary education in Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) was made compulsory. Stipends for rural girls were initiated. Mixed school system was introduced. One thousand, four hundred and sixty-five (1465) girls primary/ community model schools and eight thousand and forty-eight (8045) non-formal schools were established. It resulted in double enrollment in primary, nearly 30% increase in middle and almost equal increase in higher education of girls compared to boys.
- To contribute to improve women's health, Gender Perspective National Health and National Reproductive Health Policies, 2000 Extended Training Facilities of Lady Health Workers, Food & Nutrition Program for 5 – 12-year-old girls related to enrolment program, Free Meal Facility covering 5,20,000 girls in 28 high poverty districts, and strengthened National AIDs, Malaria, TB & Hepatitis control program were started.
- With accession to the Conventions on the 'Rights of the Child' (CRC) and Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and affirmative actions through a series of Legal Reforms (Amendment in Citizenship Act of 1951, 2000, Human Trafficking Ordinance 2002, Criminal Law Amendment Act 2004, Law Reforms Ordinance 2006, Protection of Women Bill 2006—tabled), together with the establishment of Judicial Courts/ Complex — a pilot project, Women (Crisis) Centers equipped with required help lines, supported by Police Reforms (establishment of Gender Crime Cell at the National Police Bureau to control and coordinate all crimes related to gender) have contributed substantially in the reduction of Violence Against Women and other Gender Crimes.

#### **4.2.4 Achievements in Economic Empowerment:**

It covers poverty, access to credit, remunerated work, rural women of informal sector, and sustainable development through:

- Launching of the National Fund for Advancement of Rural Women (JafakashAurat) with a seed money of Rs. 100 million, announced by the President of Pakistan with a special focus on rural women and the informal sector, operated through Khushhali Bank, First Women Bank and Agha Khan Rural Support Programme (an NGO) to provide skill, employment and income to 23,000 rural women and benefit over 74,000 households
- Dastkari School (embroidery school) (700 nos) were established by Pakistan Bail-ulMaal (home for helping poor). It provides skill-based training to poor women especially to 3.000 widows. In addition to this, 'Provision of Safety Nets', 'Food Support Scheme' is benefiting 75% women covering 1.2 million rural households. 'Guzara Allowance' and 'Zakat' are other schemes benefiting 0.4 million women.
- In 2001-02, various projects including Crop Maximization Project, Integration of Agricultural Research and Extension Activities & Introduction of Herbs as Crops

and the 3 years Training Program in rearing livestock and dairy animals, were introduced to generate women income

- Ministry of Women's Development recently introduced Micro-Credit Scheme through First Women Bank, Khushhali Bank and ZaraiTaraqiyati Bank (Agriculture Development Bank). It has created a new entrepreneur class among poor women at local level.
- Women's empowerment through Benazir Income Support Programme started in 2008.
- Youth loan scheme started in 2014 to help the youth of Pakistan in which 50 percent of the scheme has been allocated to women encourage them to setup their own businesses and provide women to have equal rights (PCST, 2014).

#### **4.2.5 Achievements in Political Empowerment:**

It covers placement of women in high positions of decision-making, and participation in electoral positions at Federal, Provincial, and Local levels through:

- Local Government Ordinance 2001 under the 'Devolution Plan', providing 33% representation of women at all tiers of local elected bodies with 39,964 women and 787 women representing in Federal and Provincial Assemblies have revolutionized political participation of women in Pakistan
- Establishment of 'Women Political Schools' with bulk aid from international donor agencies and 'District Resource Centers' to infuse political vision and awareness among neglected half of the Pakistan population.

A research was conducted wherein data were collected from 54 female councilors of Abbottabad and Attock districts. Majority of the women councilors (63%) were from middle age and married (72%). Majority of the women councilors (29%) belong to family where their fathers/husbands were working as government servants. Majority of them (98.1%) were educated. Out of educated female councilors, majority of them (42.6%) were university graduates. Most of them (72.2%) were house wives. Similarly, most of the councilors (38.9%) have previous experience as political workers. Majority of them (87%) had gotten training to work as councilors and most of them (92.6%) were familiar with the roles and responsibilities of female councilors.

#### **4.2.5 Political Empowerment of Women Councilors**

Data from 54 women councilors were collected to assess the impact of their political representation in local government on their social empowerment and other women at grass root level as well. Majority of the women councilors (77.8%) indicate that women councilors participated in discussion during meeting. Majority of them (51.9%) did not respond to the question that why women councilors are not participating in meeting. However, 33.3% identified that main reasons of their non-participation is hesitation and lack of courage to talk. Male councilors' attitude toward women councilors was good as majority of them responded (75.9%). Similarly, most of them, i.e. 42.2% and 51.9% responded respectively that Nazims and other local departments have a normal cooperation with them. However, women councilors still have not gained any influence to change the decisions as 79.6% responded. They also identified problems which women councilors are

facing which include cultural constraints (22.2%), political constraints (61.1%), and mobility constraints (14.8%).

#### **4.2.6 Economic Empowerment of Women Councilors**

Data from 54 women councilors were collected to assess the impact of their political representation in local government on their economic empowerment and other women at grass root level as well. Majority of women councilors (81.5%) responded that there were no special schemes for women in the development programme. Similarly, majority of women councilors (88.9%) informed that no special funds were allocated for women development. However, majority of them (79.6%) also indicated that the local government system have had good impact on women besides these deficiencies. The impacts identified are: increased women income (13%), increased basic facilities (33.3% responded), increased awareness (18.5%) and provided justice (14.8%). The women councilors also identified some areas which will help women's empowerment in the area of micro finance (42.6% responded), technical training (33.3% responded), and special funds to women councilors for women development (24.1%).

#### **4.2.7 Social Development of Women councilors**

Data from 54 women councilors were collected to assess the impact of their political representation in local government on their social empowerment and other women at grass root level as well. Majority of women councilors (68.5%) responded that the new local government system increased awareness among women. Majority of the women councilors (83.3%) informed that no special responsibilities were given to women. In few areas they were given responsibility to look after women training center. Most of the women (63.0%) informed that they have got easy access to basic facilities. The coordination among women was recorded excellent as indicated by majority of women (92.2%). However, no system was developed by women councilors to reduce violence against women in their areas as confirmed by 85.2% of women councilors. Similarly, no training or awareness programmes for other women have been arranged by women councilors in their respective areas as indicated by 70.4% of women councilors.

#### **4.2.8 Problems and Achievements of Women Councilors and Deficiencies in the New System of Local Government**

In order to assess the real impact of women councilors, some specific questions regarding their achievements and problems as women councilors were asked. It was found that although they have got a chance to represent women at local, tehsil and district level, but no specific work or achievement for women has been done in the area. However, the system created awareness among women and men. The women came out for first time to participate in politics at local level. The system broke the hesitation of women to participate in politics. Most of the problems identified by women councilors were culture related. The deficiencies in the new local government system identified by women councilors include: non availability of special funds for women, no decision power, no real empowerment, and no role in policy making.

Pakistan is a patriarchal society where men are the decision makers and women are subordinate. To reduce the dominance of men or in other words to reduce gender gap, the reservation of 33% seats for women were introduced in new local government of Pakistan. Resultantly, 36,000 women were elected as local councilors at the lowest tier of the union council. It is pertinent to find out that to what extent these women councilors affect institutional policies and common women's lives on one hand and to assess their capability to reduce gender gap, empower women and the hurdles they are facing as women councilors on the other hand.

It is argued that the reservation of 33% seats in local government will increase women participation in politics which will bring difference to policies and institutions. Their participation will also influence the institutional rules / policy and contribute in decisions about the use and allocation of resources at local government level. However, the study found unequal gender role in decision making. Women councilors are still unable to influence the institutional policies and rules despite of the fact that politically they are empowered to some extent by the reservation of 33% seats in local councils. Although women councilors' existence is realized by men councilors and governments agencies but still, they are facing various political, cultural and mobility constraints. Changes in the status of women in the form of participation in discussion, confidence development, positive attitude of men, cooperation of male counselors and government agencies are very positive steps to reduce gender gap and empowered women.

The impact of women counselor on other common women in term of economic impact, social change, awareness about their rights, increasing interaction/coordination, reducing violence, access to basic facilities is of significant importance in reducing gender disparities. The women counselors increased interaction/coordination and unity among women which is important for reduction of violence. Their access to basic facilities has been increased. Women felt a social change and increased awareness about their women.

The induction of 36,000 women councilors at lower lever was expected to reduce gender disparities, violence and will change common women lives to some extent. However, no such changes/impact was noted in community. The reason was that the women councilors were unable to develop a system for common women awareness to reduce gender disparities.

The women councilors' profile of the two districts where research was carried out is very satisfactory because most of them were educated, from middle age, married and housewives. Similarly, most of the counselors have previous experience as political workers and having some kind of training to work as counselors. They were familiar with the roles and responsibilities of female councilors. They were facing some hurdles as female such as cultural, political and mobility constraints.

The results concluded that the overall women councilors' participation in local government has been increased and remained satisfactory. They participated politically in decisions making. However, their influence over changing policies was less. The economic impact was effective. However, no separate funds/schemes were allocated to women councilors. The new local government system increased awareness, interaction and coordination among women. However, the women councilors were unable to reduce violence and to

create awareness among other women regarding their rights. Just increasing the number of women councilors, providing them administrative types of training and awareness is not enough. There is need for considerable work to be undertaken by the government and women councilors themselves to propose new policies for women development and use the local government as an institution to economically and socially empower women at grass root level. The female councilor needs to identify the issues of common concerns and to collectively put pressure on the local bodies to address these issues. They also need to learn how to generate pressure on the male councilor to involve them in decisions making process and provide them funds for women related schemes. Majority of the women councilors in the area were educated and had previous experience of local government as women councilors. Attitude of male councilor and government department remained normal. No serious social, culture, and political constraints were reported. However, no example is available where women councilors have developed a platform by themselves against the women violence, demand for women rights and education. No platform was created where they politically and socially supported women at grass root level. The dependency of women councilors on male councilor and government for funds only would never empower them economically and politically.

### **4.3 CONTRIBUTING TO THE DEMOCRACY**

Pakistan is the world's fifth most populous country and the second largest South Asian country. The sixth Population and Housing Census held in 2017 reveals Pakistan's population has increased by 57 per cent, from 132.3 million in 1998 to 207.7 million. The Census also shows that men have outnumbered women, where men are 51 per cent of the total population and women are 49 per cent.

Pakistan has adopted a number of key international commitments to gender equality and women's human rights, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Beijing Platform for Action, the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women, and the Sustainable Development Goals.

National commitments in place include a National Policy for Development and Empowerment of Women, Protection against Harassment of Women at Workplace Act, Criminal Law (Amendment) (Offences in the name or pretext of Honour) Act, Criminal Law (Amendment) (Offences Relating to Rape) and a National Plan of Action on Human Rights. Local commitments adopted include Gender Equality Policy Frameworks and Women's Empowerment Packages and Initiatives.

Despite these commitments, Pakistan's ranking for gender equality remains one of the lowest in the world.

With gender equality and women's empowerment being at the heart of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, UN Women in Pakistan is working with its partners to ensure:

1. An enabling environment to translate, monitor and report on implementation of gender equality and women's empowerment commitments
2. Gender responsive plans, policies and systems of governance with institutions being more accessible to and delivering equally for women and girls
3. An environment where women benefit from decent work, income security and socio-economic development
4. A safe environment where women and girls can live a life free from violence in private and public spaces, and survivors are able to access quality essential services

Principles guiding the work of UN Women in Pakistan are:

- A human rights-based approach and leaving no one behind
- National and local ownership aligned with priorities
- Leveraging mutually reinforcing benefits
- Acting as a catalyst and promoting United Nations coherence
- Accountability for results, transparency and cost effectiveness

Women from marginalized social classes face multiple challenges and are often only able to work from home. These women engaged in the informal sector of the economy are called Home-Based Workers (HBWs).

Of the estimated 20 million HBWs in Pakistan, 12 million are women. According to UN Women's Status Report, 2016 on Women's Economic Participation and Empowerment in Pakistan, women account for 65 per cent of the PKR 400 billion (USD 2.8 billion) that HBWs contribute to Pakistan's economy.

However, most receive low wages and are denied legal protection and social security.

To change this, UN Women Pakistan, with support from the Royal Norwegian Embassy in Pakistan, initiated a three-year (2017 – 2020) project 'Economic Empowerment of Women Home-based Workers and Excluded Groups in Pakistan'.

This documentary explains how women HBWs and members of excluded groups such as transgender and women with disabilities – were engaged and benefited from multipronged interventions.

#### **4.3.1 General Recommendation on Article 14 of CEDAW**

##### **Background, purpose and objectives**

Rural women constitute one-fourth of the world's population. Their contributions are vital to the well-being of families and communities, and of local and national economies. They are central to the development of rural areas: they account for a great proportion of the

agricultural labour force, produce the majority of food grown, especially in subsistence farming, and perform most of the unpaid care work in rural areas. It is critical that their contributions be recognized and that they are included in decision-making processes at all levels of governments, and within rural organizations. Rural women's economic empowerment is key. If rural women had equal access to productive resources, agricultural yields would rise and this would substantially reduce hunger worldwide.

1. Evidence shows that in almost all countries, rural women, fare worse than rural men and urban women and men for every MDG indicator for which data is available (Rural women and the Millennium Development Goals, Inter-Agency Task Force on Rural Women, 2012). As the only internationally binding human rights instrument to enumerate rights for women as a group, CEDAW, particularly article 14, provides a framework to address not only gender inequalities, but also spatial inequalities (i.e. rural, urban disparities). In this regard, it is important to recognize the role of indigenous women and to acknowledge the diversity<sup>1</sup> among rural women based on age, civil, social and economic status, culture, ethnicity, class and caste.
2. Article 14 of the Convention is imperative to the rights and well-being of rural women. It requires States to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas in order to ensure that they participate in and equally benefit from rural development. An examination of reports submitted by States parties pursuant to article 14 demonstrates that the situation of rural women is a pressing concern for many countries.
3. The Committee has expressed concerns about the lack of sufficient information and sex-disaggregated data on the situation of rural women and has recommended States Parties collect data disaggregated by sex, age and urban/rural criteria. Other common concerns expressed by the Committee regarding women in rural areas include: disproportionate poverty levels; high levels of illiteracy; high maternal mortality rates; limited access to education; lack of access to basic health care; and limited access to social protection, employment opportunities and assets such as financial services and land. The Committee has also expressed concerns about violence against rural women and prevailing negative attitudes and discriminatory traditions in rural areas that marginalize women and curtail their rights.
4. The general recommendations on *equal remuneration for work of equal value* (No. 13, 1989), *unpaid women workers in rural and urban family enterprises* (No. 16, 1991), *violence against women* (No. 19, 1992), *equality in marriage and family relations* (No. 21, 1994) which addresses equality in property and inheritance rights and, *women migrant workers* (No. 26, 2008) and *older women and the protection of their human rights* (No.27, 2010) are all critical issues for rural women and for full compliance with article 14 and should also be referred to.

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<sup>1</sup>Final Report, Accra Expert Group Meeting, 2011.

5. Several UN world conferences have recognized the role of rural women in agriculture and rural development, in improving food security and in poverty reduction. They have highlighted the social marginalization and disproportionate poverty of rural women and the pervasive gender inequalities in access to productive assets and services and have urged States to improve the situation of rural women and ensure systematic attention to their needs, priorities and contributions. Of particular importance are the *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995)* and the twenty-third special session of the General Assembly entitled *Women 2000: gender equality, development and peace for the twenty-first century (2000)*.
6. Other United Nations instruments which address rural women's concerns include: the *Commission on the Status of Women (see especially the 56<sup>th</sup> session on rural women)*; the *Millennium Development Goals*; the *2005 World Summit*; the *Third Committee of the General Assembly*; the *Rio Declaration on Environment and Development and its Agenda 21*; the *Commission on Sustainable Development*; the *United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues*; the *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities*, the *International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1976)* and the *United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification*.
7. At the fiftieth session, the CEDAW Committee decided to establish a working group on rural women for the purpose of preparing a general recommendation on article 14. The proposed general recommendation will seek to elaborate State parties' understanding of the article and provide specific recommendations and guidance to them in order to strengthen the existing reporting process and implementation of the article. It would also give rural women and their rights greater visibility and priority among State Parties, civil society, non-governmental organizations and the wider United Nations human rights system.

#### 4.4 MAIN CHALLENGES FACING RURAL WOMEN

Rural women make crucial contributions to the development of their communities. Despite some improvements in rural women's status in both developing and developed countries, their **rights and priorities remain insufficiently addressed** in legal frameworks, national and local policies, budget, as well as in investment strategies at all levels. They continue to face serious challenges in carrying out their multiple productive and reproductive roles within their families and communities, in part due to lack of rural infrastructure and lack of access to essential goods and services. They are at a disadvantage as a result of gender-based stereotypes and harmful traditional practices, and discrimination that deny them equitable access to opportunities, resources and services.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>ibid.

1. Women in rural areas often face severe poverty. Despite their significant role in agriculture, food production and food security, as well as poverty alleviation, rural women have less **access to key productive resources** such as land, labour, water, financial services and infrastructure than men. In developing countries for which data are available, for example, most rural women are smallholders, but only between 10 and 20 percent of all land holders are women. In most countries, the share of female smallholders who can access credit is 5–10 percentage points lower than for male smallholders and the livestock holdings of female farmers are much smaller than those of men in all countries for which data are available (FAO, 2011). Reducing such inequalities is not only essential for achieving social justice, but it is increasingly recognised that redressing gender inequities is imperative for sustainable development and poverty reduction. FAO (2011) calculates that if women had the same access to productive resources as men, they could significantly increase yields on their farms.
2. Women's **access to and control over land** is a key factor in rural women's economic empowerment and can potentially lead to gender equality, better incomes and food and nutrition security. In many parts of the world, the main obstacles to rural women's access to land and their ability to enhance productivity are institutional barriers to their social recognition. Women have equal property ownership rights in 115 countries and equal inheritance rights in 93 countries. However, gender disparities in land holdings are discernible in all regions, showing important gaps in implementing these laws. Reform policies tend to have a male bias, by registering land in male names, ignoring multiple interests and uses of different qualities of land, and making compensation payments mostly in the name of men.<sup>3</sup>
3. **Social rights and basic services**
  - 3.1. Formal and non-formal **education** (short trainings, farmer field schools, extension, etc.) and informal education (media, community gatherings, etc.) strengthen rural women's potential to access productive, income-generating opportunities and decent work. It helps them boost their confidence and skills, and enables them to negotiate for better conditions and organize with others to do so. However, in many parts of the world, religious, political, social, and economic constraints limit girls' and women's access to education. These include restrictions in mobility and preferential schooling of boys over girls among others.
  - 3.2. Accessing decent and productive **employment** and income-generating activities is still a great challenge for rural women. Whether or not paid employment leads to empowerment depends very much on the quality of the work in terms of whether workers' rights and standards are upheld and the voices of women are respected in their work place. It also depends on whether home-based activities are recognized and protected through social schemes such as pension, security and health insurance;

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<sup>3</sup>ibid.

childcare; and sharing of responsibilities within the household.<sup>4</sup>Women are active economic agents who are, in various ways and to various degrees, constrained in their roles as farmers, producers, investors, entrepreneurs, caregivers, and consumers.<sup>5</sup>While women participate significantly, the terms and conditions of their work are often unjust, insecure and unfavorable, with limited and unequal rewards for their inputs. Rural women (and women in general) typically face different challenges than their male counterparts also when they are employed. While rural women and men both face job insecurity and a lack of social protection, women experience additional gender-based discrimination such as sexual harassment and limited or nonexistent rights, when women are pregnant or have children.<sup>6</sup>

3.3. **Access to health care:** Rural women are particularly disadvantaged with respect to their access to health care services. Maternal mortality continues to be strikingly high in rural areas, mostly due to the absence of skilled birth attendants and medical personnel. Among other health issues - obstetric fistula, a condition that often develops during obstructed labour, is more prevalent among rural women because of malnutrition, pregnancy at a young age and difficult working conditions. Access to overall quality health care of the girl child, who is usually neglected due to prevailing patriarchal attitudes in many traditional rural settings, is often very poor.<sup>7</sup>

- **Access to reproductive health care and contraceptives**
- **HIV/AIDS**

3.4. **Access to food:** Women and girls are the main producers and processors of food and are responsible for the bulk of food production in many developing countries. But poor women are likely to suffer from under-nutrition during pregnancy and to give birth to undernourished babies. **Malnutrition and food insecurity** affect livelihoods, productivity and economic growth. Investing in the nutrition of rural women and their young children, especially in the critical first 1,000 days of life where it has long-lasting positive effects on survival and healthy development of their children whilst for the rural women it enhances their participation in economically productive activities and contributes to improving their quality of life. **Access to water:** rural women in many developing countries often lack drinking water and must walk long distance to collect **water** in order to respond to the daily family needs.

3.5. **Access to financial services** (credit, savings, insurance, etc.) and microfinance systems (credit/loans, etc.) are crucial to the development of rural women's enterprises and the strengthening of their income-generating and livelihood strategies as producers and non-farm entrepreneurs. Particular constraints to women's access to financial services include policy and legal barriers as well as

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> General Statement of the CEDAW Committee on Rural Women, 19 October 2011.

cultural “norms” that prevent women from keeping bank accounts or entering into contracts without their husbands or another man. Registration procedures (e.g. for businesses, bank accounts, and entering into contracts) can benefit women, if they recognize the differential time and mobility challenges of rural women and men and take into account the specific challenges of rural women (e.g. by being more locally accessible (or mobile) and providing shorter, cost-effective registration procedures).

- 3.6. **Access to modern and new technologies:** The extent to which rural women participate in technology research and development training, together with their access to new technologies are important factors that affect women’s economic empowerment.

#### 4. **Political Participation and Empowerment**

Across countries, rural women are often marginalized in decision-making and leadership positions. Women are inadequately represented in relevant community organizations, such as customary councils and state institutions, including legal decision-making bodies, producer organizations, land administrations and judiciary. Women are typically under-represented in cooperatives farmers’ and producers’ organizations, and rural workers’ organizations, both in terms of general membership and participation in key decision-making bodies. Women may be constrained in their participation due to mobility restrictions and other constraints such as lack of transport, security concerns, childcare and other care giving responsibilities. Lack of familiarity with policies and rules (due to limited access to formal and informal education) may also limit women’s effective participation in different institutions. Thus, women’s role in agriculture remains largely unrecognized in policy and resource allocation; and the benefits of organized actions are not significantly felt by women farmers.<sup>8</sup>

5. **Violence against women, trafficking in women and sexual exploitation and forced labor** are often linked to poverty and lack of opportunities in rural areas. Such root causes of violence and trafficking should be addressed through targeted legislative and policy measures. The Committee’s General Recommendation No.19 on violence against women states that rural women are at risk of gender-based violence due to traditional attitudes regarding the subordinate role of women that persist in many rural communities. Girls from rural communities are at special risk of violence and sexual exploitation and trafficking when they leave the rural community to seek employment in towns.
6. **Migration** out of rural areas to urban areas and abroad is increasingly becoming an important livelihood strategy for women and men. In some regions, when men are absent from the household—for reasons of migration or other causes such as

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<sup>8</sup>ibid.

divorce, conscription, incarceration or death, rural women take on additional roles and tasks traditionally carried out by men. In many cases, this situation presents rural women with increased economic opportunities while at the same time adding to their already heavy burden of work as female heads of household.<sup>9</sup>

7. **Women's access to justice.** Women in rural areas are suffering from the lack of both legal and institutional measures as well as from structural impediments preventing their access to justice. Unavailability and inefficiency of judicial protection and legal support structures and measures can hamper their enjoyment of their rights. Consistent and pervasive discrimination as well as prevailing social, cultural, traditional and community-based norms constitute a barrier preventing them from claiming their rights. Other factors like illiteracy, legal illiteracy, dependence on others for transport often prevent them from engaging in a claim. Rural women need practical tools to ensure their access to fair justice and effective remedies when their rights are violated.
8. Rural women often bear the major burden in **armed conflicts and post-conflict situations**. In addition to violations of basic human rights such as right to life, safety and freedom of movement, armed conflict violates rural women's rights to productivity, livelihood, access to food and healthcare. In addition, they face forced displacement, sexual violence and loss of family members and children. Despite some attention given to women in conflict, the situation of rural women in times of armed conflict and post-conflict is often ignored. Rural women in post-conflict settings, where employment opportunities are limited, face additional challenges in starting up and sustaining enterprises due to lack of capital and access to financial services.<sup>10</sup>
9. **Globalization, gender blind neoliberal economic policy choices and the economic and food crisis** negatively impact gender equality and women's empowerment. Fiscal policies have focused on debt management and budget stabilization, resulting in reduced government spending and the adoption of increased user fees for essential rural infrastructure and public services (e.g. reduced health care and social services). Limited or decreasing public budgets have, in turn, made these services less accessible to women living in rural areas, while at the same time increasing their burden of unpaid care work and subsequently reducing their time to engage in economic activities. These conditions contribute to the feminization of poverty amongst rural women.

Increased food prices have also meant that women and men, particularly those already struggling to feed themselves and their families, have less money to invest in education and health care. Experience from past crises suggests that the tendency to cut back public expenditures during times of financial and economic

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Final Report, Accra Expert Group Meeting, 2011.

crisis and decreases in household incomes often lead to withdrawal of girls from school to help with the increasing demand for unpaid care work in the households.<sup>11</sup>

### **Information to be included in State reports under article 14**

10. States parties should be encouraged to include in their reports information, including measures taken, on:

a) **Enabling environment**

Enabling environment: including necessary institutional set up and legal and policy frameworks which are conducive to the achievement of equality between rural women and men and girls and boys.

Building an enabling environment for the participation of rural women in national and local institutions requires addressing the social relations and structures that limit rural women's place and voices in leadership and decision-making and facilitating mechanisms for ensuring accountability, participation and transparency in decision-making.

b) **Impacts of macroeconomic policy measures on rural women**

The impacts of macroeconomic policy measures on rural women: macroeconomic policies create differential opportunities for women and men and failure to consider gender equality issues when formulating macroeconomic policies can have unintended consequences. When governments reduce price subsidies and infrastructure investment, cut back spending on education, health and public services, the resulting shift in resource allocation and increased labour requirements disproportionately affects women (e.g. they increase their participation in the labour force but often in the insecure, informal sector and taking up more unpaid care work at home).

c) **Opportunities to access decent rural employment and livelihood diversification activities**

The opportunities and constraints to rural women's engagement in decent rural employment (agricultural and non-farm, value chains) and, in particular, in livelihood diversification activities: as a survival or accumulation strategy, diversification is of growing importance for the sustainability and enhancement of rural livelihoods in many contexts. Rural off-farm and non-farm employment play a critical role in rural women's economic empowerment, rural development, food security and poverty reduction. Yet, while non-farm activities e.g. trade, casual work, wage labour are widespread among both women and men, rural women tend to be concentrated in the low-return, informal, easy-entry end of the labour market.

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

Rural women often have less access to and ownership of the resources needed for livelihood diversification such as education and vocational training, particularly in non-traditional occupations, markets, labour, transport, land, common property resources and institutions through which to access credit and other inputs. This severely restricts their opportunities to diversify their income sources. Lack of assets is compounded by cultural norms which place restrictions on their behaviour and mobility; their reproductive work burden; gender inequalities in human capital assets such as education and health; and widespread labour market discrimination.

Employment is a crucial means for rural women to enhance their livelihoods, and contributes to the improvement of food and nutrition security, income generation and poverty reduction. Unequal access to diversification opportunities exacerbates gender inequalities in rural incomes. The implications of these inequalities at the micro level are likely to be most acute for women who have no access to male dominated occupations. State parties should therefore seek to enhance the asset status of rural women, including their human capital, independent ownership rights over land and their access to financial capital, markets and transport in order to support women's successful livelihood diversification.

- d) The impacts of **natural disasters and climate change** on rural women. Women in rural areas may experience the effects of climate change more acutely due to pervasive gender inequalities and structural disadvantages. Statutory and/or customary laws in many countries<sup>12</sup>, for example, often restrict women's land rights, which in turn can make it difficult for women to access irrigation and other natural resources. As a result, women farmers more often rely on rain-fed agriculture and farm on marginal lands, making them more vulnerable to the impacts of erratic precipitation and the increasing scarcity of arable land associated with climate change. Where women have fewer resources than men, this not only increases their vulnerability to climate change but also constrains their capacity to adapt to its impacts. Without access to credit, for example, women cannot buy the crucial inputs needed to adapt to environmental stress, such as new varieties of plant types and animal breeds intended for higher drought or heat tolerance, and new agricultural technologies.

Gender discrimination in the allocation of household resources, including those relating to nutrition and medicine, may put women and girls at greater risk of malnutrition and morbidity as climate change exacerbates food shortages and climate-sensitive diseases in many countries. Socially ascribed gender responsibilities for women to carry out domestic and care tasks mean that rural women and girls' time for such tasks may increase as climate change increases fuel wood and water shortages and the frequency and severity of natural hazards.

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<sup>12</sup> Comment: but not only laws: ways in which land reforms and policies are drafted and implemented when not recognizing women's roles in agriculture

e) **Large-scale land acquisitions and changes in land use**<sup>13</sup>.

Global crises in food, energy, finance and the environment have led to an increase in state land leasing to local, regional and foreign investors. Whilst these land deals may offer important opportunities through the introduction of new employment and income generation opportunities, new technologies, and new services, they may further diminish rural women's access to land and natural resources such as water, fuel wood and medicinal plants. Displacement from land negatively affects women. State parties should therefore strengthen the property rights of rural women by recognising customary tenure and common property and ensure that women can own land and are included in any land titling or certification programmes and ensures rural women participate in negotiations and give their consent to land deals.

f) **Disadvantaged groups of women**

Women in rural areas with mental and physical **disabilities** may experience double discrimination based on their gender and disability. This may be compounded by a lack of appropriate health services in rural areas. State parties should therefore, systematically monitor the situation of women with disabilities in rural areas and develop policies and programmes to ensure the human rights and dignity of rural women with disabilities.

**Older women** in rural areas and indigenous women may experience multiple forms of discrimination based on their gender, age and ethnicity. As such, they may suffer aggravated marginalisation and isolation, exposing them to greater risks of ill-treatment and violence.

- g) States parties should collect sex- and age-disaggregated data on the situation of disadvantaged groups of women (including indigenous, migrant women, women with disabilities and older women) facing multiple forms of discrimination and adopt proactive measures, including temporary special measures, to eliminate such discrimination and protect them from violence and abuse.

## 4.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT ACTION

1. States parties should implement a comprehensive national strategy to reduce the disproportionate number of rural women living in poverty and promote their well-being. This should include interventions which eliminate their ascribed and legal inferiority, alleviate their work burdens, enhance their access to livelihood assets,

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<sup>13</sup>For example, land-based schemes for emissions reductions, land-based carbon sequestration measures, land-based contributions to low-carbon energy economies, such as through growing biofuels, and new climate-related justifications for conservation and ecosystem service schemes

and decent employment opportunities, strengthen their skills and capacities, and ensure their free, active and meaningful participation in decision-making processes. If needed, implement institutional change to transform institutional mechanisms, policies, and decision-making processes in ways that are more responsive to the needs and interests of rural women by taking into account the effects of gender-based discrimination.

2. States parties should allocate adequate budgetary, human and administrative resources to achieve rural women's substantive equality in national budgets by applying the principles of gender-responsive budgeting.
3. State parties should place a gender perspective at the centre of all policies and programmes affecting rural development and should involve both men and women in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of agricultural and rural development policies, strategies and programmes, including budget plans.
4. With an increasing number of women household heads, both *de jure* (single, widowed, divorced or separated women) and *de facto* (wives of male migrants), State parties should collect sex- and age-**disaggregated data** on the situation of such groups of women in rural areas and adopt proactive measures, including temporary special measures, where necessary, to ensure the well-being of female headed households.
5. States parties should state in their reports, what measures they have taken to disseminate information, the Convention and, if relevant, the Optional Protocol in rural areas, enhance rural men and women's awareness of women's rights, and strengthen women's capacity to claim their rights and raise awareness about rights available to women including those under the Convention;
6. States parties should state in their reports, what measures they have taken to strengthen the mechanisms to claim rights, as well as what measures they have taken to remove barriers to women's ability to claim those rights. Such barriers include socio-cultural stereotypes, gender discrimination in justice mechanisms, illiteracy (including legal illiteracy) and practical constraints in accessing courts.

#### **4.5.1 Other Relevant Articles in the Convention**

Article 14 should be read in the context of CEDAW as a whole and it is important that States Parties ensure that all provisions of the Convention are applied to rural women. Articles that have a particular bearing on rural women include:

*Article 4.1* which states that:

Adoption by States Parties of temporary special measures aimed at accelerating *de facto* equality between men and women shall not be considered discrimination as defined in the present Convention, but shall in no way entail as a consequence the maintenance of unequal or separate standards; these measures shall be discontinued when the objectives of equality of opportunity and treatment have been achieved.

*Article 5* which requires State Parties to take all appropriate measures:

- (a) To modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women;
- (b) To ensure that family education includes a proper understanding of maternity as a social function and the recognition of the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children, it being understood that the interest of the children is the primordial consideration in all cases.

*Article 6* which requires States Parties to take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women.

*Article 7* which requires State Parties to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right:

- (a) to vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies;
- (b) to participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public functions at all levels of government;
- (c) to participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country.

*Article 10* which requires States Parties to ensure that women have equal educational rights;

*Article 11 (b,c,d)* which requires States Parties to ensure women the same employment opportunities, conditions and remuneration for the same work as men;

*Article 12* which requires States Parties to ensure that women have equal access to healthcare;

*Article 13 (b)* which requires States Parties to ensure women the same rights to financial credit as men;

*Article 15 (2)* which requires States Parties to ensure that women have equal rights to conclude contracts and to administer property;

*Article 16 ( h)* which requires State Parties to ensure the same rights for both spouses in respect of the ownership, acquisition, management, administration, enjoyment and disposition of property.

**Proposals for government actions under some existing and suggested new provisions of Article 14 of CEDAW**

<b>Existing provisions</b>	
(a) To participate in the elaboration and implementation of development planning at all levels;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Implement effective decentralization, which can be an important strategy for rural women’s economic empowerment, and can be conducive to a fuller engagement of rural women in public affairs, provided it is accompanied by attitudinal change, capacity development, and inclusive and participatory processes for the formulation and implementation of policies, strategies, programs and projects.</li> <li>▪ Strengthen gender-responsive accountability mechanisms to ensure rural women and their organizations can influence policy formulation, implementation, and monitoring at all levels of government, including local and self-governments, on all issues that concern them.</li> <li>▪ Develop programmes and outreach to ensure that rural women are aware of their rights, as well as of existing rural development policies and the roles and duty of national and local government, with the view to enable rural women to hold all dutybearers to account.</li> </ul>
(b) To have access to adequate health care facilities, including information, counselling and services in family planning;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Invest in and create infrastructure, community facilities and on- and off-farm care services for children, elderly and persons with disabilities that reduce rural women’s unpaid care work and domestic tasks. Provide for children’s basic needs and education, and work to improve conditions for the elderly and people with disabilities to live in dignity and with self-respect.</li> <li>▪ Recognize and invest in community/micro health insurance to support rural women and caregivers to meet their health needs and support initiatives that provide regular mobile clinics for free health services, including reproductive services (e.g. family planning, pap smears, mammograms, sexually transmitted diseases) that reach all women, including in remote areas on an at least annual basis.</li> </ul>
(c) To benefit directly from social security programmes;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Provide women with free access to personal identification documents (i.e. identity card, social security number) for women to be recognized as full citizens.</li> </ul>
(d) To obtain all types of training and education, formal and non-formal, including that relating to functional literacy,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Promote farmers’ groups as they have proven to be effective in terms of sharing knowledge and disseminating new technologies, while formal and community-based agricultural extension is still an important driver in technology introduction and adoption.</li> </ul>

<p>as well as, inter alia, the benefit of all community and extension services, in order to increase their technical proficiency;</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Ensure that re-admission policy is in place that can guarantee girls re-admission to school after pregnancy especially in rural areas, where social norms (early marriage), lack of knowledge of contraception and violence most hit girls.</li> </ul>
<p>(e) To organize self-help groups and co-operatives in order to obtain equal access to economic opportunities through employment or self employment;</p>	<p><b>Measures to promote farmers’ organizations can include:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Develop and implement policies and programmes that support rural women’s, farmers’ and producers’ organizations to compete effectively in the agricultural sector.</li> <li>▪ Farmers’ organizations can be more effective by institutionalizing training that recognizes the differential needs and challenges of women and men farmers and can include exchange visits, farmer to farmer exchanges, and visits to research institutions. They should be flexible, taking into account rural women’s time constraints, especially those of mothers of small children, and in general, the social dynamics that affect their participation dynamics (e.g. mobility, care giving responsibilities). Farmers’ organizations need to make provision for, and include in budgets, day care facilities to enable women to participate in training to strengthen their livelihoods and overall well-being as well as build the skills and confidence to take on greater leadership roles within their organizations.</li> <li>▪ Support regional level dialogues among rural women farmers’ organizations to strengthen their capacity to influence global and regional policies in ways that will improve their lives and livelihoods and reduce rural poverty.</li> <li>▪ Develop the capacity of rural women’s, farmers’, fisher and producers’ and other organizations to be more inclusive (by gender, age, and ethnicity), including by creating fair and transparent criteria for the inclusion of women in leadership positions in these organizations.</li> </ul> <p><b>Measures to promote women’s groups can include:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Assist informal rural women’s groups to affiliate with formal organizations in the areas of their activities (at local/regional/national levels) or to form umbrella organizations and support groups; and facilitate networking among women’s organizations and women’s rural producer organizations.</li> </ul>
<p>(f) To participate in all community activities</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•</li> </ul>

<p>(g) To have access to agricultural credit and loans, marketing facilities, appropriate technology and equal treatment in land and agrarian reform as well as in land resettlement schemes;</p>	<p><b>Measures to promote access to land can include:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Put in place legal and policy reforms on equitable land laws;</li> <li>▪ Develop capacities among officials in charge of implementing such reforms;</li> <li>▪ Build awareness among the population on their rights and providing legal (both statutory and traditional) aid and appeal mechanisms.</li> <li>▪ Provide all rural women and men with free-of-charge access to personal identification documents (such as identity cards, social security numbers), so that they are recognized as full citizens with equal access to productive assets and services.</li> <li>▪ Take all necessary measures (including through land laws, family and marriage laws, inheritance and housing laws) to ensure rural women’s full access to and control over land and other resources, including through ownership, co-sharing, inheritance and succession. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Ensure that national laws and policies guarantee women’s right to land, including upon divorce and separation, and right to inheritance in both customary and statutory systems.</li> <li>○ Ensure that the option of joint titles is provided during land reform processes and when land records are being updated.</li> <li>○ Take measures to require the consent of each spouse for the sale of land, or its use as collateral.</li> <li>○ Ensure that in the registration of land for collective use, especially among indigenous peoples, the names of all female and male members of the community who use the land, are clearly stated.</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p><b>Measures to promote access to financial services can include:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Increase rural women’s access to financial services, including savings, credit, insurance, and domestic payment services, and economic, financial and business literacy skills, as well as provide support to transition from informal to formal financial services.</li> <li>▪ Support community-managed financial services, and establish monitoring mechanisms on commercially motivated operations in the financial sector.</li> </ul> <p><b>Measures to promote access to technology can include:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Adopt gender-responsive participatory approaches to technology transfer (e.g. the participation of women in the early stages of the development of the technology) to increase uptake taking knowledge already held by rural women.</li> <li>▪ Support research that is focused on value chains and crops and livestock that are typically under women’s responsibility.</li> </ul>
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Promote rural and indigenous women’s knowledge, products and services; and protect these from piracy, ensure fair benefit-sharing, and protect their intellectual property rights according to the Convention on Biological Diversity.</li> <li>▪ Promote the development and adaptation of information and communication technologies (rural radios, listening clubs, mobile telephony, videos, television, etc) for rural areas, in particular since they have proven effective for rural development and rural communities’ access to critical information (on financial services, inputs, processing, transportation of goods to urban and peri-urban markets, access to education and health services) which can strengthen their agricultural productivity and economic enterprises.</li> </ul>
(h) To enjoy adequate living conditions, particularly in relation to housing, sanitation, electricity and water supply, transport and communications.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Provide the necessary space and infrastructure to establish sustainable community resource centres controlled by rural women where they can easily and freely access updated and pertinent information, education and training, including on health, markets, services and long-distance learning opportunities.</li> <li>▪ Ensure that access to essential services for poor rural communities is not subject to cost recovery and user fees.</li> </ul>
<b>Suggested new provisions to be included in Article 14</b>	
Enabling environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Ensure that gender units are established and/or strengthened at senior levels in sectoral ministries and are supported by adequate budgets and power to ensure that all policies and programmes are gender-sensitive and respond to the concerns of rural women.</li> <li>▪ Undertake affirmative action, including quotas, to promote rural women’s participation in decision-making processes at all levels of government accompanied by relevant capacity development, while also securing men’s support to the promotion of women in leadership positions.</li> <li>▪ Take all necessary measures to integrate statutory and customary legal systems so as to most effectively strengthen women’s rights.</li> <li>▪ Develop policies, strategies and programmes in priority areas for rural women for e.g., in labour saving technologies in the domestic sphere, improved availability, access to and use of rural infrastructure such as energy, water and transport, better market opportunities in rural areas and in human capital such as health and education.</li> <li>▪ Undertake institutional reform and other necessary measures, including the training and sensitisation of government officials, to ensure rural women’s <i>de facto</i></li> </ul>

	<p>equal access to land, extension, financial services, information and communication technologies, employment, including public works programmes, marketing opportunities and productive resources.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Improve the collection and analysis of sex- and age- and urban/rural disaggregated data on ownership of, access to and control over productive resources such as land, water, extension, information, labour and credit; include gender considerations in national agricultural censuses and revise concepts, definitions and methods used in agricultural statistics to eliminate gender biases.</li> </ul> <p>States parties should collect disaggregated data on the situation of disadvantaged groups of women facing multiple forms of discrimination and adopt proactive measures, including temporary special measures, to eliminate such discrimination and protect them from violence and abuse.</p>
Impact of macroeconomic policy measures on rural women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ National governance systems need to promote inclusive economic growth strategies that generate long-term societal benefits, including improved well-being of rural women, and reduced inequality and poverty in rural areas.</li> <li>▪ Ensure that economic policies fully prioritize decent work and employment generation in order to lead to a sustainable increase in the disposable incomes, food and nutrition security and improved living conditions of rural women and men, girls and boys.</li> <li>▪ Introduce tax systems and other fiscal and macro-economic measures that redistribute wealth to poor segments of society, including rural women.</li> </ul> <p>Develop and adopt measures that offset the negative impact of global and regional trade agreements on rural women's production and livelihoods, including 'special and preferential treatment' for rural women producers and their products.</p>
Decent rural employment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Facilitate an institutional and policy environment that promotes decent work for rural women, including migrant women, in both the formal and informal economy, including decent employment creation, social protection, social dialogue, and rights at work, such as collective bargaining, and freedom of association.</li> <li>▪ Develop, implement, monitor and evaluate policies, strategies, programmes and incentives to enable rural women's active and effective engagement in the global value chain as producers, entrepreneurs, suppliers, workers and consumers in local and global markets, including by promoting capacity development on quality assurance and standards, public procurement, and occupational health and safety (OSH), and increase the labour productivity of rural</li> </ul>

	<p>women through improved access to skills training, extension services and technology.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Reform relevant policies, laws and regulations which limit women’s access to decent employment (e.g. family laws which require authorisation of the husband) and eliminate practices which discriminate against women in rural labour markets.</li> <li>▪ Ensure that decent rural employment aspects, with a special focus on rural women, are included into national policies, strategies and programmes aiming at Agriculture and Rural Development (ARD) and adequately reflected in their budgets.</li> <li>▪ Improve the collection and analysis of Support to national institutions to collect and analyse age- and sex-disaggregated data (ASDD) on rural labour markets, including employment in agriculture and in the informal economy.</li> <li>▪ Stimulate the improvement of working conditions in rural areas, in particular with respect to maternity protection and minimum wages and equal pay for rural women.</li> </ul>
Climate change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Recognize and support women as actors in climate change adaptation and mitigation, disaster risk reduction and resilience strategies (such as protection of water, food, fuel/energy and livelihoods).</li> </ul> <p>Promote the green economy including environmentally sustainable agriculture, to achieve sustainable development and help mitigate climate change for current and future generations.</p>
Large-scale land acquisitions and changes in land use	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Institute and enforce policies that limit the quantity of national land that foreign countries and corporations can buy. Hold Governments accountable for “landgrabbing” which is detrimental to women’s and men’s livelihoods and employment opportunities and undermines food and nutrition security and food sovereignty.</li> <li>▪ Take measures to protect the rights of rural women affected by land expropriation, including through stakeholder meetings.</li> <li>▪ Strengthen the property rights of rural women by recognizing customary tenure and common property, ensure that women can hold land and are included in any land titling or certification programmes and ensure rural women participate in negotiations and give their consent to land deals.</li> </ul> <p>Apply the Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the Context of National Food Security (CFS and FAO, 2012).</p>

#### 4.5.2 Effective Use of Local and National Media

Media play important roles in society. They report on current events, provide frameworks for interpretation, mobilize citizens with regard to various issues,

reproduce predominant culture and society, and entertain (Llanos and Nina, 2011). As such, the media can be an important factor in the promotion of gender equality, both within the working environment (in terms of employment and promotion of female staff at all levels) and in the representation of women and men (in terms of fair gender portrayal and the use of neutral and non-gender specific language).

#### **4.5.3 Participation and Influence of Women in the Media**

Studies have found that although the number of women working in the media has been increasing globally, the top positions (producers, executives, chief editors and publishers) are still very male dominated (White, 2009). This disparity is particularly evident in Africa, where cultural impediments to women fulfilling the role of journalist remain (e.g., travelling away from home, evening work and covering issues such as politics and sports which are considered to fall within the masculine domain) (Myers, 2009). The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) reports that throughout the world, female journalists are more likely to be assigned 'soft' subjects such as family, lifestyle, fashion and arts. The 'hard' news, politics and the economy, is much less likely to be written or covered by women.

The level of participation and influence of women in the media also has implications for media content: female media professionals are more likely to reflect other women's needs and perspectives than their male colleagues. It is important to acknowledge, however, that not all women working in the media will be gender aware and prone to cover women's needs and perspectives; and it is not impossible for men to effectively cover gender issues. Recent research from 18 disparate countries shows that male and female journalists' attitudes do not differ significantly (Hanitzsch & Hanusch, 2012). Nonetheless, the presence of women on the radio, television and in print is more likely to provide positive role models for women and girls, to gain the confidence of women as sources and interviewees, and to attract a female audience.

#### **4.5.4 Media Content and Portrayal of Men and Women in the Media**

Fair gender portrayal in the media should be a professional and ethical aspiration, similar to respect for accuracy, fairness and honesty (White, 2009). Yet, unbalanced gender portrayal is widespread. The Global Media Monitoring Project finds that women are more likely than men to be featured as victims in news stories and to be identified according to family status. Women are also far less likely than men to be featured in the world's news headlines, and to be relied upon as 'spokespeople' or as 'experts'. Certain categories of women, such as the poor, older women, or those belonging to ethnic minorities, are even less visible.

Stereotypes are also prevalent in every day media. Women are often portrayed solely as homemakers and careers of the family, dependent on men, or as objects of male attention. Stories by female reporters are more likely to challenge stereotypes than those filed by male reporters (Gallagher et al., 2010). As such, there is a link between the participation of women in the media and improvements in the representation of women.

Men are also subjected to stereotyping in the media. They are typically characterized as powerful and dominant. There is little room for alternative visions of masculinity. The media tends to demean men in caring or domestic roles, or those who oppose violence. Such portrayals can influence perceptions in terms of what society may

expect from men and women, but also what they may expect from themselves. They promote an unbalanced vision of the roles of women and men in society.

Attention needs to be paid to identifying and addressing these various gender imbalances and gaps in the media. The European Commission (2010) recommends, for example, that there should be a set expectation of gender parity on expert panels on television or radio and the creation of a thematic database of women to be interviewed and used as experts by media professionals. In addition, conscious efforts should be made to portray women and men in non-stereotypical situations.

#### **4.5.5 Participatory Community Media**

Participatory community media initiatives aimed at increasing the involvement of women in the media perceive women as producers and contributors of media content and not solely as 'consumers' (Pavarala, Malik, and Cheeli, 2006). Such initiatives encourage the involvement of women in technical, decision-making, and agenda-setting activities. They have the potential to develop the capacities of women as sociopolitical actors. They also have the potential to promote a balanced and non-stereotyped portrayal of women in the media and to challenge the status quo. In Fiji, women who took part in a participatory video project presented themselves as active citizens who made significant contributions to their families and communities. These recorded images improved the status of women in the minds of government bureaucrats.

There are limitations to participatory community initiatives, however. If unaccompanied by changes in structural conditions, participation may not be sufficient to foster substantive social change. Baú (2009) explains that the establishment of a women's radio station (run and managed by women) in Afghanistan faced constraints in that women engaged in self-censorship in order to avoid criticism from local male political and religious leaders.

#### **4.5.6 Changing Attitudes and Behaviour**

**Communication for Development (C4D):** The approach to Communication for Development (C4D) has evolved over the years. Initially developed after World War II as a tool for diffusion of ideas, communication initiatives primarily involved a one-way transmission of information from the sender to the receiver. This includes largescale media campaigns, social marketing, dissemination of printed materials, and 'education entertainment'. Since then, C4D has broadened to incorporate interpersonal communication: face-to-face communication that can either be one-on-one or in small groups. This came alongside the general push for more participatory approaches to development and greater representation of voices from the South. The belief is that while mass media allows for the learning of new ideas, interpersonal networks encourage the shift from knowledge to continued practice.

Communication for development has thus come to be seen as a way to amplify voice, facilitate meaningful participation, and foster social change. The 2006 World Congress on Communication for Development defined C4D as 'a social process based on dialogue using a broad range of tools and methods. It is also about seeking change at different levels including listening, building trust, sharing knowledge and skills, building policies, debating and learning for sustained and meaningful change'. Such two-way, horizontal approaches to communication include public hearings, debates,

deliberations and stakeholder consultations, participatory radio and video, community-based theatre and story-telling, and web forums.

#### **4.5.7 Communication Initiatives Aimed at Changing Attitudes and Behaviours**

Communication initiatives aimed at changing attitudes and behaviours have increasingly been used in the health sector since the 1970s. Such initiatives including television and radio shows, theatre, informational sessions and pamphlets – can and have affected social norms related to gender roles, since gender norms are linked to all facets of health behaviour. Initiatives that seek to affect gender norms and inequities as a goal in itself, however, are a relatively new phenomenon.

Community radio is considered to be an effective tool in promoting women's empowerment and participation in governance structures. Radio is often the primary source of information for women. It is accessible to local communities, transcends literacy barriers and uses local languages. Afghan Women's Hour, for example, aims to reach a large cross-section of women and offers a forum to discuss gender, social issues and women's rights. It was found that female listeners demonstrated a pronounced capacity to aspire, defined as the 'capacity of groups to envision alternatives and aspire to different futures' (Appadurai, cited in Bhanot et al., 2009, p. 13). Women developed specific aspirations in areas that had been recently covered by the programme segments. Their aspirations, however, were not particularly focused (Bhanot et al., 2009). Challenges with other community radio programme initiatives include women's general under-representation and, in some cases, the negative portrayal of women.

Participatory approaches are considered to be an effective tool in encouraging alternate discourses, norms and practices, and in empowering women. The use of sketches and photography in participatory workshops, for example, has encouraged women who have traditionally been reluctant to engage in public forums to express themselves.

In order for the empowerment of women to have a genuine impact, opportunity structures also need to be addressed, such as conservative and male opinion. Afghan Women's Hour has a large male audience (research by BBC Media Action found that 39% of listeners were men), which provides a way to challenge male views on gender norms. Group educational activities, a common programme for men and boys, also have the potential to contribute to changes in attitudes on health issues and gender relations and, in some cases, changes in behaviour.

It is also important for communication initiatives to build on tradition and culture, not only because this can resonate better with communities, but because it can help to mute opposition from conservative segments of society. The involvement in projects of key community leaders such as teachers, cultural custodians and government officials is also important for greater impact and sustainable change.

## **SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS (SAQS)**

- Q#1      What is the role of women councilors in democracy?
- Q#2      What are the main challenges rural women facing?
- Q#3      How rural women's status can be improved in Pakistani society?

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**UNIT-5**

# **ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION OF RURAL WOMEN**

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## CONTENTS

Introduction.....	149
Objectives .....	149
5.1 Background.....	150
5.2 Visible Economic Contribution .....	151
5.3 Invisible Contribution .....	155
5.4 Family as Economic Unit.....	157
5.5 Change of Subsistence Economy into Cash Economy .....	158
5.6 Employment Women’s Professional Work .....	160
5.7 Is Female Employment Underestimated in Labor Force? .....	160
5.8 Best Jobs and Careers for Women in Pakistan .....	161
5.9 Access of Rural Women to Credit .....	164
5.10 Training Programs for Rural Women .....	164
5.11 Agricultural and Livestock Extension Programmes .....	165
Self-Assessment Questions.....	167
References.....	168

## **INTRODUCTION**

In this unit we will discuss what the economic contribution of the rural women and what their visible and invisible contributions to the economy are? We will also discuss why females are underestimated in the labor force . We will discuss why there is need to train rural women so that their access to credit can be increased.

## **OBJECTIVES**

After reading this unit you will be able;

- to understand economic contribution of rural women
- to discuss strategies how rural women's status can be improved.

## 5.1 BACKGROUND

Rural women are key agents for achieving the transformational economic, environmental and social changes required for sustainable development. But limited access to credit, health care and education are among the many challenges they face, which are further aggravated by the global food and economic crises and climate change. Empowering them is key not only to the well-being of individuals, families and rural communities, but also to overall economic productivity, given women's large presence in the agricultural workforce worldwide.

Rural women are resourceful economic agents who contribute to the income of families and the growth of communities in a multitude of ways. They work as entrepreneurs, as farm and non-farm labourers, in family businesses, for others and as self-employed; while they take on a disproportionate share of unpaid work at home. However, their contribution is limited by unequal access to resources as well as persistent discrimination and gender norms which need to be addressed to allow the realization of their full potential.

Gender norms dictate the role of women and men and also their opportunities regarding type of work, both in urban and rural areas. In some societies these norms restrict women's mobility and engagement in productive work outside their homes. For example women's entrepreneurship is not broadly accepted in many societies and women face attitudinal obstacles in starting, consolidating and developing a sustainable business. In addition, rural women are often thwarted by discriminatory property, family and inheritance laws and practices.

Rural women in developing countries are heavily burdened by their double role as paid or unpaid workers and family care providers. The latter restricts their time and mobility to engage in productive work and limits their time for schooling, training and economic activities.

The limited access to productive resources, lower educational levels, and social norms about appropriate work for women tend to confine them to lower paid, lower status work where opportunities for skills training and advancement are reduced, thus perpetuating their lower status. Further, vocational education, training and entrepreneur programmes for rural women are often limited to a narrow range of female-dominated fields that reinforce their traditional roles and responsibilities. While improving their opportunities to generate income, such training limits the chances to benefit from newer, non-traditional areas that can offer women higher earnings and more skilled technical or managerial jobs.

In the food security the rural women over the world play a major role, agricultural production and in the development and stability of the rural areas but women face a number of constraints in approaching agricultural extension sources especially in developing countries. Rural women along with men play an important role in the agriculture sector like crop production, livestock production as well as cottage industry. But they have incomplete access to resources agricultural extension education services and newest technical knowledge and information sources.

## 5.2 VISIBLE ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION

In Pakistan much material is not available on rural women and their work. Some foreign scholars conducted studies on this subject but they mainly focused on socio-legal position of women or they discussed working women in urban areas. One can agree with Nici Nelson when she says, "The problem is that many South Asian anthropologists have been interested in ritual life and kinship or public sector matters such as caste or village politics. As a result, there is more known about variations in style and cultural background of purdah, the ideology of women's position in society, marriage ritual and women's role in the family than about women's work in villages and what they supply in the way of goods and services." (1979)<sup>1</sup>

Nadia H. Yousaf et al talk about the women's contribution in family economy. They say, "Women often help gather sticks for firewood, help care for domestic animals such as cows, goats and chickens, walk long distance for fetching water and arduously prepare food as well as work on the family farm. Those tasks contribute greatly to the family's economic wellbeing and many of them would need to be purchased if they were not provided by women." (1983)<sup>2</sup>

The role of women is not confined to household keeping. The household economy is not male-monopolized, but the women from their young age start participating in economic activities by keeping livestock and poultry, besides doing a number of other jobs. The men are supposed to be the earning hands of the family, but the women besides their domestic and child rearing activities, play a major role in the household economy. So the activities of men and women are different, but both supplement to each other. According to Ursula Sharma, "One of the problems which confront us when we consider the relationship between agricultural and domestic work in rural households is that in many families these tasks are not discrete spheres of activity, but part of a continuum of tasks. Cleaning cattle shed and milking a buffalo might be regarded as agricultural work since they contribute to the production of a basic food, milk. But these activities could just as well be seen as preliminaries to a domestic activity, the preparation of a meal. For a woman who does the work, the distinction is not very relevant. The work is all part of a round of activities which are done in the home or in the family's fields, all of which she does in her capacity of wife or daughter. Work place and home are only distinct and separate places for those women who are in paid employment." (1982)<sup>3</sup>

Women belonging to horticultural/agricultural families contribute significantly in the fields and the orchards. Only the women from lower class families which cannot afford the labour

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<sup>1</sup>Nelson, N. (1979). *"Why has development neglected rural women"*, A review of the South Asian Literature, Pergaman press,

<sup>2</sup>Yousaf, H. N., Anker, R. & Mayra, B. (Eds). (1983). *Women's Role and Population Trend in Third World*. Great Britain: Anthony Rowe Ltd.

<sup>3</sup>Sharma, U. (1982). *Women, Work and Property in North-West India*. New York: Tavistock Publication.

work in the fields. Women from middle class only contribute in those activities which could be performed at home like cleaning, storage etc. The ladies belonging to upper middle class don't even do this. They hire these services from poor women who also work in the fields on daily wages. She further states that, "...the kind and degree of participation in agriculture depend on a woman's class. The wives of the new class of capitalist landowners do not play any direct part in farming as a rule. They may be involved in some kinds of decision-making regarding land management, but the management and cultivation of these highly profitable farms is becoming more and more a "male" profession even though the farms are still run as "family" businesses. More and more technical training is required and girls are not sent to agricultural colleges. At the other end of social scale, the wives of laborers and small farmers still participate in agriculture as day laborers at harvesting, weeding time, etc., but there is less work available to them because of the mechanization of agriculture. Women in middle peasant households play a relatively small part in cultivation, although they still take the main responsibility for the care of cattle and are involved in agriculture indirectly in various ways." (ibid)

I conducted a field-research in Village Zandra near Ziarat Balochistan where majority of the people are mainly associated with horticulture. Most of them have their orchards. Agriculture is there but at a very small level where fewer activities are performed and less labour is required. The agricultural activities start with crop production cycle. In crop preparation activities, the Afghan women work on daily wages to help the men. The land leveling, ploughing and sowing of seeds are mostly done by the males. These women help them in fertilizer and cow dung spreading in the fields. They also cut fodder for the cattle. In the orchards, the women also help the males at different stages of fruit production. As far as the economic contribution is concerned, these activities are of significant importance.

A change has been witnessed in the women involvement in horticulture/agriculture activities. First the women belonging to the upper class left working in the fields, then the middle class and now the lower class is also avoiding doing this work. Today majority of the women belonging to poor families works in the fields.

During the fruit plucking and harvesting season the wage labourer women have to spend more time in the fields. They go to the field early in the morning and work there till noon. They return to the field in the afternoon and work there till sunset. Storage of fruits and vegetables is very important task as proper storage of different varieties of these items, implies not only product improvement but also increased farm income. Women play an important role in this because storage of the fruit and crops is extensively women domain and specialization activities. The same was also observed by Boeson while he was working in Pakhtoon area. He wrote an article titled "Conflicts of solidarity in Pakhtoon women's life". He writes, "The male control of means of subsistence is based on their control of land and vital productive resources and on their monopoly of all jobs in connection with trade and services, since these are in the 'public sphere' from which women are excluded. The only type of work that is left for women is processing and preparing the mainly agricultural products from the joint resources of the household, and possibly (in families of tenants and

small farmers) helping in cultivating its land. In this way she, too, is actively involved in the household economy of her husband (or father if she is unmarried)." (1983)<sup>4</sup>

The same is true in Zandra as the women belonging to the horticultural and agricultural families do not work in the fields. They process and prepare the farm products while staying at home. Only the women belonging to the Afghan families help in cultivation in the fields. I would like to argue with the writer on his approach towards this fact. He has expressed his concern over women non-participation in farm activities in the extreme conditions. He could have appreciated their husbands for not forcing them to work in the fields in extremely hot and muddy conditions for which a woman is not made for. These feminists are determined not to give any space to the male. Whether he is doing good or bad for his woman, he is criticized and the woman is always supported. Let us assume what could have happened, if he had seen a women working in the field under the sun, he must have uttered out, "*sar gai, sar gai, sar gai*" (burnt). Putting less responsibility on the women is also discrimination with them. Male does the hardship and keeps woman at peace in the house is treated as discrimination. After reading different material written by the feminists, the only thing which comes to my mind about their attitude towards male is, 'don't let him breath'.

### **5.2.1 Handicrafts**

Women in Zandra after completing their household chores do not sit idle. They start making different handicraft even while gossiping. These handicrafts are sold to the middleman who comes to the village after regular intervals and collects these handmade products. The women from middle and upper class are less involved in making the handicrafts, and if they make anything they rarely sell it. The working class too has low trend of handicraft making. Among the handicrafts embroidery is the most popular. Majority of the woman in the village knows the art of embroidery. They start learning this art from the early age. They do embroidery on shirts, veil, bed sheets, cushion covers, tablecloths, pillow covers and mantel covers for the household use and for their dowry.

After the embroidery, crochet work is the most popular handicraft among the women in the village. Few years back, crochet work was out of fashion, but now it is in. The women like to wear a veil with a crochet laces/border and shirts with crochet neck and sleeves. Besides doing crochet work on veil and shirts, women also make beautiful crochet table covers, bedcovers, dressing table covers and/sofa backs in beautiful designs. Two types of thread i.e. silken and woolen are used in it. The crochet work with silken thread is complicated and more time consuming, while with woolen thread it is easy to do in less time.

Knitting is also very popular among the women. They are so expert that they knit one full sleeve sweater in a week and a half sleeves sweater in three to four days. Now the trend of wearing handmade sweaters is decreasing day by day and the people have started using readymade sweaters.

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<sup>4</sup>Boesen, I. (1983). Conflicts of Solidarity in Pukhtoon Women's Lives, In Utas Bo (Ed), *Women in Islamic Societies*. Great Britain: Curzon press.

The women from the lower and lower-middle class sell these handicrafts. They take orders from the village as well as from the middleman and produce the items according to their demand. Knitting is still the most profitable activity because such orders continue to pour in throughout the winter season. Stitching Quilts/mattresses is another source of income for the women particularly in the winter season as they are still in use. The women generally stitch one quilt and two bed mattress in a day.

Making and selling toys is another source of income for the women belonging to lower class. It is consuming as they have to go outside the village on foot to bring the mud, which they carry on their heads. After making the toys women hand them over to the men who put them in basket and sell them in Zandra and nearby villages. They go out for selling early in the morning and return before the sunset. The toys include utensils of daily use like bucket, stove and small animals including bull, dog, sparrow, horse etc.

### 5.2.2 Maids

There are some Afghan women who earn their living by working in others houses, providing various services including washing and pressing the clothes, washing utensils, cleaning house, kneading flour, cleaning and storing wheat, bringing water from *karez* or the wells and working in the field during harvesting season. In return of their services, they are paid in cash or kind. According to Nadia H. Yousaf et al, "It is common for women in the third world to earn money by doing services for others such as laundering, food processing, sewing, grooming etc. These activities particularly among poor households, constitute an important component of household income." (1983)<sup>5</sup>

After finishing their own work at home these Afghan women go to work to others' houses. Most of them work in more than two houses. These maids used to bring water from *karez* or the wells for other people also, and get some money against each cane of water. Since 2002, this practice of bringing water from *karez* or the wells has almost finished because the government has provided water connections to every household. Now these Afghan women bring water for their personal use because they do not have water connections in their tents. They also work at the orchards on wages during the fruit plucking season. These women provide services in the fields on daily wage basis. They also provide their services for cleaning and grinding the wheat grains at homes for domestic use. In the past they used to be paid in kind, but now they all are paid in cash. Barbara Rogers says, "Most of the women particularly in the poorer households support the family by hiring themselves out for harvesting and other agricultural work. And these rural women in the poorest household make the greatest relative contribution to subsistence and where their contribution is most explicitly recognized by all members of the family". (1980)<sup>6</sup>

These maids are an earning hand of their families. In many cases, they contribute more than that of their male partner because their husbands are daily wage labourers.

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<sup>5</sup>Yousaf, H. N., Anker, R. & Mayra, B. (Eds). (1983). *Women's Role and Population Trend in Third World*. Great Britain: Anthony Rowe Ltd.

<sup>6</sup>Rogers, B. (1980). *The Domestication of Women: Discrimination in Developing Societies*. Great Britain: Anchor press.

### **5.2.3 Female Teachers**

Teaching is the most popular occupation among the women of the village. It is considered respectable profession to earn regular income every month. The role of female teachers as contributors to the household economy is debatable, which we would discuss in detail later.

Trends have changed in Zandra. The number of educated females is increasing day by day, who prefer to teach in schools. Many women of Zandra go to schools in neighboring villages. Some are teaching in Quetta. They work seven to eight hours in schools six days a week. Majority of the lady teachers in the village don't do their domestic work. Those who are living in nuclear families hire maids for the purpose. They spend major portion of their salary in hiring domestic servants.

### **5.2.4 Working in Schools as *Aaya* (maid)**

The lower-class women also get jobs in schools as *aaya*, (maid, female caretaker for the children) which helps them develop the household economy by making little financial contribution. These *aaya* render minor services in school like cleaning and dusting the classrooms and furniture, preparing tea for teachers, washing utensils, bringing minor things for the school from the nearby shop and ringing bell after every forty-five minutes.

### **5.2.5 Dai (Midwife)**

There are 4 qualified midwives in Zandra, two of them are experienced. They can conduct normal delivery cases. They also give medicines to the patients. They are unable to handle serious case and send them to hospitals in Quetta. One of them is very competent having thirty years' experience.

## **5.3 INVISIBLE CONTRIBUTION**

In today's developed world women are participating in formal as well as informal activities on equal grounds, including religion, politics, economics, kinship and household activities. In third world countries, however, the situation is different. Most of the women are confined to houses with the responsibility of housekeeping, which consumes a lot of time and energy but it is always unpaid and least rewarded. According to Ann Oakley, "House work is described as never-ending job. It is said by some to be more tiring physically than a paid job, by others it takes a greater emotional task, house work as manual work is thus part it higher up the scale of job prestige." (1978)<sup>7</sup>

In Zandra, like everywhere, women play different roles as wife, mother, sister and daughter. As a wife, she plays the role of a housekeeper, a friend of her spouse, follower in various household activities etc. Being a mother, she has the most creative role to play. She bears and rears the children. As a daughter she brings joy and comfort to her family and specially provides relief to her mother by sharing her responsibilities of household work. In this way, woman has different roles by which she is contributing to her household economy she may contribute directly to the household economy by earning money and also indirectly by saving money and by doing all the house work by herself otherwise she may have to hire maids or servants. Thus, woman's work is as important as man's. She performs

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<sup>7</sup>Oakley, A. (1978). *The Sociology of House Work*. Great Britain: Pitmass Press Balo.

full time daily duties without any payment, besides her necessary domestic activities. Hence, household work becomes an indirect economic activity, through which the women contribute in their household economy.

The women in every house of Zandra are engaged in economic activities, direct or indirect. There are various factors, which have been mentioned such as age and status of women within the household determine their direct and indirect economic role. Women belonging to different age groups possess different productive potentials. Their economic roles determine their status in the family. These economic roles have brought changes in their behaviours, which have an impact on the family structure. The direct and indirect economic contribution has different types of impact on the family structure.

This discussion would help analyze the issues related to economic empowerment of women and its impact on family structure. The changes occurring in the family structure and the role played by women empowerment in it are also to be viewed. Some scholars say that women being half of the population are not working posing a serious threat to economic prosperity of a country. It was observed in the field that economically empowered working women were working less than the women involved in household chores. It is just the importance of work. Normally, more importance is given to women's direct economic activities because the flow of money is visible, while in indirect activities, it is invisible. The indirect ones may bring more economical benefits, but may be, at some other time. Proper socialization and training of children could be more important than earning money. That would also prove economically more beneficial for the future.

Women directly or indirectly contribute to the household which proves greatly helpful in improving economic contribution of the family members. As mentioned earlier direct contribution means when the women are earning money through different activities and indirect means their contribution in the household chores which are unpaid but contributing a lot in the economy. Undoubtedly a family is an economic unit and everybody either male or a female is contributing into it. Direct contribution is very clear that you earn money and contribute. The indirect contribution does not make sense to many people. They always consider it as a burden over the women but they never realize the importance of this work. Many people speak in favour of direct economic contribution and discourage women to do their household works. Applebaum writes about work, "Work is like a spine which structures the way people live, how they make contact with material and social reality, and how they achieve status and self-esteem... Work is basic to the human condition, to the creation of the human environment, and to the context of human relationships." (1992)<sup>8</sup> Household chores of women play an important part in household as well as overall economy of the society. Let's assume if the women refuse to work at home, men would be left with two options - either to work themselves or hire services. If they themselves start doing all the works, their capability and potential at work would suffer because when people are worried about their home they can't utilize their maximum potential. They

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<sup>8</sup>Applebaum, H. (1992). *The Concept of Work Ancient: Medieval and Modern*. New York: New York Press.

always stay in two minds. Working at office with worries of home decreases their efficiency. The deteriorating efficiency is harmful for the personal career as well as the overall productivity. This is the reason why the big multinationals always provide all facilities at home to their employees whenever they hire them, so that the efficiency should be maximized. As for hiring of services is concerned let's assume a person who is working for Rs.10000 per month. When his wife stops doing household chores, he has to hire servants for the purpose and pay a heavy amount to them. In this situation he would not work for the same salary and may demand Rs.20000 per month. When this is the case with everybody, the employer would have no other option but to pay the demanded amount. In this way profit margin will decrease and the prices will go up. This would affect the overall economy of the country.

Women also indirectly contribute through socialization of their children. The mothers belonging to the middle class teach their daughters how to live in the given economic condition. They learn how to adjust and accommodate in meager financial resources. This socialization helps them throughout their life. Even after their marriages, they don't demand anything from their husbands which they can't afford. Thus the activities performed by women in the household are as important as any other economic activity.

#### **5.4 FAMILY AS AN ECONOMIC UNIT**

The economic contribution of women is always important for the household as well as the society and they have always been contributing directly or indirectly. As I have mentioned earlier direct contribution means when the women are earning money through different activities and indirect means their contribution in the household chores which are unpaid but contributing a lot in the economy. Undoubtedly a family is an economic unit and everybody either male or a female is contributing into it. Direct contribution is very clear that you earn money and contribute. The indirect contribution does not make sense to many people. They always consider it as a burden over the women but they never realize the importance of this work. Majority of them argues in favour of direct economic contribution and discourage the women to do their household works. Applebaum writes about work that, "Work is like a spine which structures the way people live, how they make contact with material and social reality, and how they achieve status and self-esteem... Work is basic to the human condition, to the creation of the human environment, and to the context of human relationships." (1992)

Before going into the detailed discussion let us see how this indirect contribution works and how this household work of the women plays its part in the household economy and in the overall economy of the society. The list of works which the women perform at their homes has already been discussed. Let us see what would happen if they refuse to work at home. In that case the men would be left with two options; either they would do all the works themselves or they would hire the services and would pay a handsome amount for that purpose. If they would start doing all the works themselves then their capability and potential at work would suffer because when you are not satisfied at home you can't produce your maximum potential. You always stay in two minds, working at your office

with worries of your home with you, so it is very clear what would happen. The deteriorating efficiency is harmful for the personal carrier as well as the overall productivity. This is the reason why the big multinationals always provide you all the facilities at your home whenever they hire you so that the efficiency should be maximized. The second option is to hire the services and pay money for that. Let us take an example of a person who was working for Rs.10000 per month. Now when his wife has stopped doing household work, he has to pay almost the same amount to the people for the services. In this situation he would never work for the same salary. He would probably demand for Rs.20000 per month. When this would be the case with everybody the employer would have no other option and will pay the demanded amount. In this way the profit margins will decrease and finally the prices will go up. So, it would reflect on the overall economy of the country.

The second indirect economic contribution by women is through socialization of their children. The mothers belonging to the middle class teach their daughters how to live in those economic conditions. They learn how to adjust and accommodate in less financial resources. This socialization helps them throughout their lives. Even after their marriages they don't demand anything from their husbands which they can't afford. This is also a major economic contribution from the women. In the light of above discussion, it is clear that the activities performed by the women within the household are as important as any other activity.

## **5.5 CHANGE OF SUBSISTENCE ECONOMY INTO CASH ECONOMY**

The main reason for the developed countries to invest so much in the third world countries is that these countries have a bigger population which means a bigger market for the developed countries. By developing industry in third world countries, they develop the market for their own products. Before going towards economic empowerment of women we will see how this development of underdevelopment works and latter we will analyze the concept of empowerment in these paradigms.

Wherever the industry comes and development starts, the subsistence economy changes into market economy. In subsistence economy the people grow different vegetables and other edibles for their personal use. They meet their other requirements through animals' products which mean that they don't have to spend money on anything from the market. On the other hand, when it opens up into the market economy the farmer starts growing the crops to sell in the market and earn money. Now he has to buy each and every thing for his personal use from the market and the money which he earns always fell short of his needs because his consumption patron also changes. For example, first he used to drink "lasi" but now he does not buy 'lasi' he buys coca cola or any other soft drink. Same is the case with other products which are available in the market and properly backed up with advertising. So, he starts using all the products which he was not using before. By this change the developed countries being the producers get the benefit out of that. The struggle for earning more and more starts because the consumer wants to buy many new products. This lust for money leaves some

very serious problems at personal level as well as societal level. The health starts deteriorating because of the malnutrition and overworked. When health deteriorates the medical bill goes up and the people have to spend a lot on medicines which again benefits the developed countries because they have the biggest pharmaceutical industry.

In the light of above discussion, we can see that developed countries by investing in the development of the underdeveloped countries actually create market for their industrial as well as consumer goods. So, on one hand they earn money from the third world countries and on the other hand they save money because of them. By bringing these people to the market economy they actually create a labour force for them which is far cheaper than it is available in their own countries. They normally pay 10 times lesser what they need to pay in their own countries. These countries do not have labour laws as well so they can treat them like anything. They can force them to work for longer hours, they don't have to provide safeties and securities and there are no environmental issues also. A person in third world country can very easily put his hand in to the chemicals which a person over there cannot even think of it. So they are saving money through this cheap labour and secondly saving their taxes. The tax laws in third world countries are often very lenient and the tax ratio is also very less as compared to the first world countries. The multinationals from developed countries set up their units in the underdeveloped countries with different names and show to their governments as if they are buying these products from there and save taxes.

Now if we see the phenomenon of economic empowerment of women in the light of above discussion, we can very easily understand the motive behind it. These developed countries want to have a bigger labour force in our countries. They want to have a better control over them and also to bring the labour rates even lower. When the women will also come and work the labour rates will automatically decrease. If we refer to the rule of demand and supply, the availability of more labour will decrease the wages. So by propagating the idea of economic empowerment of women they are not doing any good for the third world countries, actually they are getting their personal benefits. If we analyze the economic aspect of this empowerment, we see that again it goes to their benefit.

The working lady who spends more than half of the day in office or any other work place and in the remaining part of the day she needs rest to get herself ready for another days work cannot do her household chores herself. She needs to hire these services for which she pays quite a descent amount. Other than this she needs to keep herself fit for work for which she needs new clothes, new shoes and other cosmetics. All these things need investment. Transportation also needs some money. There are many other things which need to be taken care of. Normally they fell short of money and their husbands have to contribute in fulfilling their requirements which the nonworking class does not demand for. The expenditure on the working ladies increases because they are more exposed to the open market and their consumption patrons become different from others. They often spend more on the shopping as compared to the others. Number of guests and the expenditure on hospitality also increases. All these things require direct investment. The husbands in most of the cases feel happy that their wives are earning which they normally do not contribute in the household economy. But in the real sense they are investing more on their wives.

There are some indirect costs of being economically empowered which we do not calculate. The working ladies cannot pay full attention towards their children due to which their education, health and development suffer. She cannot do the household chores which finally end up in lack of efficiency at work for her husband. Due to the third person's involvement in shape of maids and servants, their privacy suffers and they become more vulnerable to thefts and robberies. The household environment suffers because she cannot take part in the household works and the other ladies of the family don't feel comfortable in this situation. Finally, this economic empowerment of the women causes the breakdown of the family structures. The joint families spilt-up into nuclear families.

## **5.6 EMPLOYMENT: WOMEN PROFESSIONAL WORK**

In Pakistan the educated women are struggling to enter and stay in the workforce, women with low education levels faced even more limitations. This was indicated by gaps in their aspirations and lack of knowledge regarding opportunities. Many women had to drop out of schools due to safety concerns or financial constraints, while others feared resistance from family and communities if they pursued jobs outside the home. Women who worked struggled with low wages and the burden of household responsibilities. However, all women expressed a committed desire to support their daughters' ambitions to complete schooling and work for pay if they wished to.

## **5.7 IS FEMALE EMPLOYMENT UNDERESTIMATED IN STANDARD LABOR FORCE SURVEYS?**

Our quantitative work in Peshawar investigated whether standard labor force surveys underestimate female employment, possibly due to proxy respondents or failing to identify all possible activities that would qualify as work. Interestingly, the analysis confirms the severity of measurement issues. Comparing results from the Pakistan Labor Force Survey to those from our Peshawar survey indicate that FLFP (Female Labor Force Participation) could increase from 9.4 to 13.4 percent. An additional increase to 15.5 percent would be obtained if producing agricultural goods for own household consumption is accounted for. While FLFP is underestimated, it is still very low by regional and international standards. The reasons behind this are complex - they include social and cultural restrictions, rigid gender roles, and the notion of honor associated with women.

### **5.7.1 Social Norms Shape Women's Labor Outcomes**

To mind the demeanor of women and protect their honor, many men restrict women from leaving home and, if they do go out, they are chaperoned. Women therefore seek work that can be done at home. Traditional honor codes also influence job selection and create barriers to jobs outside what is considered socially acceptable. These attitudes indicate deeply rooted gender inequality, often espoused by women themselves. A non-working woman previously employed as a school helper stated: "I think a woman should do home-based work. This way she can keep an eye on the children. She will be able to perform household responsibilities, everyone will get food on time, and everything would be done smoothly."

### **5.7.2 Lack of Education Limits Women's Access to Jobs**

Lack of education is another significant constraint to women's work. Working age women in Peshawar have a strikingly low level of education, as 54 percent of them have not completed primary education and only 29 percent have attained higher than primary education. This limits women's access to jobs, even those more socially acceptable such as public sector employment in education or health.

### **5.7.3 Agency Over Decision-making Influences Whether Women Work for Pay**

Lack of agency also prevents women from accessing employment opportunities. Trends in decision-making show that 85 percent of working age women in Peshawar believe that women should work for pay, but only 7.6 percent of women can freely decide to work for pay outside the house. Most women say their husband or father is the primary decision-maker on whether they can work for pay, either from home or elsewhere. One non-working woman explained: "Men fear that working women are not considered of good character and that people in the neighborhood think negatively about them. Working women struggle with mental stress about this notion too."

### **5.7.4 Household Production of Services Occupies Women's time in KP**

Most women and men in KP believe that women's rightful "place" is in the home. Not surprisingly, the production of services for family use occupies most women's time. Men spend almost no time on house and care work, whether employed or not, while women spend on average 5.3 hours a day on this kind of work, decreasing only slightly if they are employed.

### **5.7.5 Public Safety in Transit to Schools and Jobs**

As many as 30 percent of women in Peshawar report experiencing some form of sexual harassment when leaving home. The threat of sexual harassment restricts women in many ways. A married woman who dropped out of school after grade 10 said "I wanted to study further but didn't like going alone. We feared that someone might be following us. Parents did not allow us to study further, and they had financial constraints."

### **5.7.6 Access to Information about Employment prospects could increase FLFP by 7 percent**

Lack of information on jobs also hampers FLFP. Most non-working women who are willing to work, but not searching for work, say they are not doing so due to lack of knowledge on job market functioning. This is mostly to do with how to look for jobs and which type of jobs offer decent earnings. If knowledge constraints could be addressed, FLFP could rise from 13.4 to 20.4 percent.

Despite the complex set of challenges that inhibit FLFP in Peshawar, policy solutions can now be developed that directly respond to gaps highlighted by findings from the survey. Some major reform areas to focus on include investment in girls' education and skills development, facilitating women's entrepreneurship, supporting safe transport and public spaces as well as conducive workplaces. These factors along with responsive law-making

and implementation to protect rights of workers, especially home based workers, can boost FLFP in urban areas of Pakistan.

## **5.8 BEST JOBS AND CAREERS FOR WOMEN IN PAKISTAN**

Here is the list of all top best careers and jobs for girls in Pakistan.

### **5.8.1 Teaching**

Teaching is the most appropriate and desirable profession for Pakistani girls. As Pakistani girls are supposed to manage their households as well, they have to do a balanced job. In the sense, that the job must not divert their attention from domestic affairs. Teaching is a peaceful and instructive job and suits almost girls belonging to any class of society.

- Teaching takes not much time out of your daily routine.
- It is a respectful, productive and interactive profession.
- In the field of teaching, you are given a sufficient salary without excessive workload.
- You enjoy summer and winter vacations with a salary without work.
- You can also be a tutor in the evening.

### **5.8.2 Fashion Designing**

The Pakistani fashion industry is growing day by day. Fashion designing, therefore, promises a handsome amount of monthly income. If you are interested in designing clothes and know the basics of it, you can easily pursue this field. Different government institutes offer different short-courses of fashion designing. Moreover, degree programs are also offered in prestigious universities for girls who can afford the expensive fees.

- It is a creative and progressive profession.
- It makes you the creator of the latest fashion trends.
- You can start your boutique online with no investment.
- There are many possibilities of being hired by famous brands if you design exceptionally.

### **5.8.3 Arts and Crafting**

The third important career for girls in Pakistan is creating arts and crafts. Girls who are interested in creating new things and crafts can easily polish their skills in different institutes. This field allows you to be innovative.

- A creative and interesting profession.
- It enhances your creative abilities.
- It gives you the possibilities to present your work on a national and international level.
- A girl who excelled in crafting can become a successful event designer.

### **5.8.4 Nursing**

Nursing is another feminine dominated profession. Besides being a profession, it is also a humanistic activity. It allows you to understand the psyches of parents and the ways to treat them well. Nurses are also recruited through provincial selection boards like PPSC and SPSC.

- A positive and humanistic job full of learning and experience.

- Nurses are also paid a sufficient amount of money for living.
- This profession increases your exposure.

### **5.8.5 Freelancing**

Another profession appropriate for Pakistani students is freelancing. Freelancing requires you to enhance your abilities first and then join the online market. By doing so, you would be able to earn ample money. It includes fields of data entry, data mining, graphics designing, content writing, and web development.

- Girls belonging to the field of information technology and computer science are given an edge in this profession.
- It is up to your skills that how much you earn. You cannot even imagine as to how your little work can earn you a large amount of money.
- You can even do this job while sitting at home.

### **5.8.6 Banking**

Another peaceful office job for Pakistani girls is banking. Although there are already many women in this field, if your management and commercial skills are good, you can join any bank.

- Banking is another good choice for women.
- A woman does not have to roam outside in public places to convince people.
- It does not create distractions in domestic life.
- Sufficient salary packages are given.

### **5.8.7 Psychiatry**

Psychiatry is another field suitable for girls. It is a particularly a suggestion for the girls doing FSc Pre-Medical. To pursue this domain girl can do BS in Psychology from any HEC recognized university. Psychiatry is a field full of learning and exposure. You get to meet different types of people and listen to their problems. This helps you develop a better understanding of life.

- It helps you understand the complexity of human nature.
- It teaches you how to interact with other people.

### **5.8.8. International Organizations**

Many international organizations recruit females for involving them in the fieldwork of social activism. Organizations like the United Nations (UN), World Health Organization (WHO) and other human rights organizations give a larger space to women. Besides offering them opportunities, such organizations also ensure considerable incentives.

- In such organizations, you get more exposure and experience.
- Rigorous learning and professionalism are ensured.

### **5.8.9. Journalism and Media**

Many media houses and TV channels are hiring more women than men. This is so because the demand for female workers like journalists, anchorpersons, writers, photographers etc is rising day by day. All media houses, TV channels, radio channels and production houses a higher 80% female staff. There are millions of females reporters and journalists across the globe. In Pakistan, the cope of journalism is very broad. Females can work as reporters,

newscasters, models, actors, writers, photographers, survey reporters, editors, producers, hosts, columnists, etc. There is no physical work in this field. The salary is high. The jobs are safe and prestigious. So this is again the best field for women in Pakistan.

#### **5.8.10. Photography**

Photography is another emerging profession for women. We have never been involved in this field before. However, now the trend is growing day by day. With the advancements of tools, photography has become quite easier. Moreover, it pays you a lot. If you are interested in taking photos, you should enhance your skills and join the field. Nowadays, families hire female photographers for event photography. Although this trend is not common in small cities, in metropolitan areas women are joining this field. If you are still thinking of doing something, consider it as an option.

#### **5.8.11 Credit Scheme**

Although still 'invisible' to policy-makers, women's involvement in agricultural and livestock production is empirically established through national surveys and intensive studies. The labour force participation rates for rural women in 1990-91 varied ranged between 57 percent (Agricultural Census) and 43 percent (Pakistan Integrated Household Survey). Evidence from micro studies also shows that women are active participants in the farm and livestock sectors [Freedman and Wai (1988); Masood (1988); Ali et al. (1976); Haque (1986); Khan and Bilquees (1976)].

While rural women's contribution to agricultural and livestock production is well-documented, they have little or no access to productive inputs to enhance their economic participation in these sectors. Evidence based on national level data indicates that women's participation in agricultural activities is constrained by the lack of land and other assets [Sathar and Desai (1994)]. Contrary to the general view, women belonging to households that own land or other assets have a higher labour force participation rate than landless women. While landless women are more likely to work as agricultural labourers, however, the demand for wage employment is seasonal, limited to a few activities and certain regions, and their lack of assets to work with excludes any possibility of self-employment. Findings of village level research indicate a wide gap between the technology used by rural women and the more efficient practices in livestock production, which is attributed to their lack of contact with extension services and to their lack of resources to adopt more efficient methods of livestock care [Haque (1986)]. There is clearly a strong need to raise women's knowledge of efficient management practices and to facilitate their access to necessary resources. Government policies till recently have not addressed the production needs of women with any degree of seriousness.

### **5.9 ACCESS OF RURAL WOMEN TO CREDIT**

The poor strata in general are disadvantaged in terms of access to credit. Women's access is further constrained by limited mobility, illiteracy and, most importantly, the lack of assets for collateral, since women rarely have legal ownership of land. There have been some limited efforts to increase women's access to financial facilities through formal institutions, which are reviewed in this section. These include some initiatives by the Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan (ZTBL), the Cooperatives Departments, and the First Women's Bank Ltd. (FWBL).

## **5.10 Training Programmes for Rural women**

The Ministry of Women's Development has financed a large number of multipurpose training centres targeted at low-income women in rural and urban areas. These centres were expected to provide adult education courses as well as training in sewing, knitting, and embroidery. A large number of such units were set up under various schemes implemented by the provincial Departments of Social Welfare, Education, etc. In the province of Sindh alone, there were 520 such centres, of which 415 were known as Women's Centres and 105 as Multi-purpose Women Welfare Centres. Most of these projects have failed due to poor response from the intended beneficiaries since the training in "feminine" skills had little relevance to women's main source of livelihood in the agriculture and livestock sectors [Government of Pakistan (1990)].

## **5.11 AGRICULTURAL AND LIVESTOCK EXTENSION PROGRAMMES**

Some potentially useful schemes to recruit and train female staff to deliver extension to women farmers have experienced problems because the project design has not adequately addressed the issue of women's mobility. There was a strong need for such a project to improve access of women to extension services, since the current services are entirely staffed by males and are oriented to male agriculturists. The programme failed to make an impact because the issue of women's mobility was not adequately addressed in the design. Field assistants who were recruited from urban areas were reluctant to be posted to rural pilot centres.

The Livestock Departments of Punjab and the K.P have recently initiated a scheme of hiring female extension staff to disseminate knowledge on improved technology directly to women livestock-holders. While it is too early to assess the impact of these programmes, difficulties related to the hiring and retention of women extension workers have already emerged as a major obstacle to the implementation of the scheme in the Punjab. The female staff were recruited at a higher level, equivalent to a Grade 17 officer, and were required to have a degree in Veterinary Science, which was subsequently relaxed to a Master's in Rural Sociology.

The entry requirements did not just limit the number of applicants; the eligible candidates were mainly urban women who were not willing to be posted away from the major cities. The K.P programme is based on a more viable approach to the hiring of the female staff, who are appointed at a lower level of Grade 11. The educational requirement is matriculation, and strong preference is given to girls with a rural background, particularly in the regions of the area of project operation. Also, the staff was given intensive field-oriented training for a period of two-and-a-half years.

While the K.P recruitment and training policy is based on sounder principles, a major shortcoming which is common to both the programmes is the lack of technical support and supervision for the female extension programme. Further, the staff is hired on a contract basis, with no assurance that the posts will be regularised in the future.

One of the few successful efforts to improve access of rural women to extension services was the programme on fruit and vegetable production and preservation, which was implemented by the Fruit and Vegetable Board in the K.P. Under this project, female field assistants were recruited and placed in 48 centres. While the evaluation of the programme was very favourable, the sustainability of the project is in question since the K.P government is not willing to regularise the posts of female field assistants [Government of Pakistan (1990)]. This problem is common to a number of WID components of projects which continue to be financed by the Ministry of Women's Development. The problem mainly stems from the fact that provincial governments are reluctant to expend their limited resources on what is rarely seen as productive expenditure.

The lessons learnt from past experiences have underlined the need to address some critical issues in the design and implementation of extension programmes for women farmers and livestock-holders. These include the importance of mobility considerations, the need to train local women, the inflexibility of various departments in integrating women in their activities, the relevance of the content of training to women's needs, and the problems of sustainability of women's projects.

The findings which emerge from the review of some efforts to provide credit and extension services to rural women serve as the basis of defining a broader strategy to improve access of rural women to productive resources. The key elements of such a strategy are outlined below.

1. An extensive network of female field-workers is essential to delivering services to rural women. Recruitment of local women as service-providers is increasingly emerging as an important pre-requisite for successfully addressing the problems of retaining female staff in rural postings, as well as being more conducive to communication with the largely illiterate rural clients, such communication being the primary function of a field-worker. The policy of hiring of local women would require, in some areas of acute shortage, a relaxation of the recruitment criteria related to qualifications and age. These principles have largely been accepted with respect to women workers in the social sectors, and are reflected in lowered qualification and entry requirements, where necessary, for teachers and more recently for the village-based health and population workers scheme. It is necessary to apply the same principles to female providers of productive resources.
2. The quality of the services provided, whether it is credit or extension messages, will be critically dependent on the training, technical support, and supervision of the female paraprofessionals. Particularly, the deployment of a cadre of less qualified workers needs to be closely backed up by the requisite professional support.
3. Recent experience in various South Asian countries and, on a much smaller scale, in Pakistan has underlined the importance of organizing women's groups as an effective means of distribution of inputs, particularly credit. This approach, however, should be used with caution particularly in settings where there are wide disparities in class and economic status of the community. In such situations, which are quite commonly found in various rural areas of Pakistan, past experience indicates that organizations tend to be controlled by the elite who also benefit disproportionately from their resources. Relatively homogeneous groups, not marked by sharp differences in economic or social status, are an important precondition for the successful working of these organizations.
4. NGOs can be important catalysts for organizing women, although at present their coverage in rural areas is quite limited. In the areas where they exist, there is a need to promote greater collaboration between the NGOs and the line departments

as well as financial institutions. NGOs are in a better position to assess the needs of the community and to generate the demand for public facilities, and they are able to advise line agencies on designing more effective delivery mechanisms.

5. At present, due to the lack of any significant government interventions designed to cater to women's productive needs in terms of credit, extension services, and formation of women's organizations, there is very limited knowledge of what works in these areas across different settings. In this context, it may be useful to experiment through appropriate pilots to identify designs of effective delivery mechanisms which may not be cost-effective in the short run but can serve as the basis of a larger and more effective programme at a later stage.
6. In general, integrating women in institutions such as the Agriculture, Livestock, and Cooperatives Department, and the Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan (ADBP), which at present typically bypass women and exhibit a strong bias in favour of large farmers, is a formidable task. The female staff is likely to face problems in inter-departmental coordination, and still other problems related to their integration in a male dominated system. There is a danger that the delivery of services to women farmers will be viewed as solely the responsibility of the female staff, resulting in the isolation of the WID component from the mainstream programme. As in other such situations, it is necessary to get the message across to the staff at all levels that the delivery of services to female farmers is a priority for the financial or extension system as a whole. Effective reorientation of the delivery mechanisms of these departments to the needs and requirements of women clients will, at a minimum, require raising awareness of the staff, both male and female, on women's roles in these sectors, as well as training them in new and innovative approaches to the delivery of credit and extension which address the constraints of female clients. Most importantly, it would require support for the programme from senior officials.

Implementation will be greatly facilitated by a strong commitment to women's development by national leaders. A clear mandate is required from the highest levels of decision-making to reorientation the priorities of the bureaucracy. While the government has taken steps in this direction by strongly supporting the Social Action Programme, its commitment to the incorporation of women's concerns in the mainstream economic programmes has yet to be demonstrated.

## **SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS (SAQS)**

Q#1: Why subsistence economy is changing into cash economy?

Q#2: What is the reason of underestimation of women in labor force?

Q#3: What are the strategies to improve status of rural women?

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**UNIT-6**

# **CHANGING PATTERN IN FAMILY STRUCTURE**

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## CONTENTS

Introduction.....	171
Objectives .....	171
6.1 Industrialization .....	172
6.2 Urbanization .....	172
6.3 Modernization.....	172
6.4 A Shift from Joint to Nuclear Family .....	172
6.5 Impact of Breakdown of Joint Family .....	183
6.6 A Shift of Decision Making within the Family .....	184
6.7 Family and Women’s Domestic Work .....	186
Self-Assessment Questions.....	187
References .....	188

## **INTRODUCTION**

In this Unit, we are going to discuss the changing family structure in Pakistan. This Unit begins with a short discussion on the definition and types of the family. Industrialization, urbanization and modernization are the important social forces affecting the traditional family structure in Pakistan. We will discuss these factors briefly and describe a perspective to understand the change in the family structure. We will also review the change taking place in the traditional joint family system in the Pakistan. Furthermore the breakdown of the rural joint family will be analyzed.

## **OBJECTIVES**

After reading this unit, you will be able;

- to discuss how pattern of family's structure is changing
- to review how women's status is affected by all this process of change

## **6.1 INDUSTRIALIZATION**

Industrialization is the process by which an economy is transformed from a primarily agricultural one to one based on the manufacturing of goods. Individual manual labor is often replaced by mechanized mass production, and craftsmen are replaced by assembly lines. Characteristics of industrialization include economic growth, the more efficient division of labor, and the use of technological innovation to solve problems as opposed to dependency on conditions outside of human control.

## **6.2 URBANIZATION**

Urbanization refers to the population shift from rural to urban areas, the corresponding decrease in the proportion of people living in rural areas, and the ways in which societies adapt to this change. It is predominantly the process by which towns and cities are formed and become larger as more people begin living and working in central areas.

## **6.3 MODERNIZATION**

Modernization, in sociology, the transformation from a traditional, rural, agrarian society to a secular, urban, industrial society. The term modernization “does not denote any philosophy or movement, but it only symbolizes a process of change. In fact, “Modernization” is understood as a process which indicates the adoption of the modern ways of life and values”. The term was being used previously to refer only “to change in economy and its related effect on social values and practices”. It was also described as a process that changed society, from primarily agricultural to a primarily industrial economy. As a result of the change in the economy, the society itself underwent changes in values, beliefs and norms. But, today the term is given a broader meaning.

Today, the term, ‘Modernization’ is understood as an attempt, on the part of the people, particularly those who are custom-bound, to adapt themselves to the present time, conditions, styles, and ways in general. It indicates a change in people’s food habits, dress habits, speaking styles, tastes, choices, preferences, ideas, values, recreational facilities and so on. It is also described as “social change involving the elements of science and technology”. The scientific and technological inventions have brought about remarkable changes in the whole system of social relationship and installed new ideologies in the place of traditional ones.

## **6.4 A SHIFT OF JOINT FAMILY INTO NUCLEAR FAMILY**

### **6.4.1 Family: Definition and Types**

In this we will discuss in detail the institution of the family in Pakistan. We will also discuss the continuum between the nuclear and the joint family. In this Unit, we shall discuss the form and direction of changes in the family system in Pakistan. To begin with, let us study the definition and types of family. **Definition:** Ordinarily, a family, particularly an

elementary family, can be defined as a social group consisting of father, mother and their children. But in view of the variety as found in the constituents of a family, this definition is rather inadequate. Bohannan (1963), in his definition of the family, emphasized the functional as well as the structural roles of family. According to him, “a family contains people who are linked by sexual and affinal relationships as well as those linked by descent who are linked by secondary relationships, that is, by chains of primary relationships”.

**6.4.2 Characteristics of Family:** For a comprehensive understanding of what the family stands for today, William J. Goode (1989) suggests the following characteristics:

- a) At least two adult persons of opposite sex reside together.
- b) They engage in some kind of division of labour i.e., they both do not perform exactly the same tasks.
- c) They engage in many types of economic and social exchanges, i.e., they do things for one another.
- d) They share many things in common, such as food, sex, residence, and both goods and social activities.
- e) The adults have parental relations with their children, as their children have filial relations with them; the parents have some authority over their children and both share with one another, while also assuming some obligation for protection, cooperation, and nurturance.
- f) There are sibling relations among the children themselves, with a range of obligations to share, protect, and help one another. Individuals are likely to create various kinds of relations with each other but, if their continuing social relations exhibit some or all of the role patterns noted here, in all probability they would be viewed as the family.

**6.4.3 Types of Family:** On the basis of the composition of the family, three distinct types of family organization emerge.

- a) **Nuclear Family:** The most basic among the families is called natal or nuclear or elementary, or simple family, which consists of a married man and woman and their offspring. In specific cases, sometimes one or more additional persons are found to reside with them. Over a period of time, the structure of a family changes. Often additional members, viz., an aged parent or parents or unmarried brother or sisters may come to live with the members of a nuclear family. It may lead to the development of varieties of nuclear families. While discussing the nature of the joint family in India, Pauline Kolenda (1987) has discussed additions/ modifications in the nuclear family structure. She gives the following compositional categories
  - i) Nuclear family refers to a couple with or without children.
  - ii) Supplemented nuclear family indicates a nuclear family plus one or more unmarried, separated, or widowed relatives of the parents other than their unmarried children.
  - iii) Sub nuclear family is identified as a fragment of a former nuclear family, for instance, a widow/widower with his/her unmarried children or siblings (unmarried) or widowed or separated or divorced) living together.

- iv) Single person household
- v) Supplemented sub nuclear family refers to a group of relatives, members of a formerly complete nuclear family along with some other unmarried, divorced or widowed relatives who were not member of the nuclear family. For instance, a widow and her unmarried children may be living together with her widowed mother-in-law. In the Indian context, it is easy to find all these types of family. However, in terms of societal norms and values, these types relate to the joint family system.

Nuclear families are often combined, like atoms in a molecule, into larger aggregates. Although such families are generally referred to as composite forms of family, on the basis of their structural characteristics they can be differentiated into two distinct types; like i) monogamous family and ii) polygamous family.

- **Monogamous Family:** Monogamy is defined as marriage with only one person at a time or the practice of having only one mate. It is the only legal form of marriage in the United States, and we may take it for granted as the standard mating system. In other cultures, however, it is quite common to have multiple wives and/or husbands. Monogamy is also a rather historically recent development as well.
- **Polygamous Family:** A polygamous family ordinarily consists of two or more nuclear families conjoined by plural marriage. These types of families are statistically very few in number in general. There are basically two types of polygamous family based on the forms of marriage, viz., polygyny, i.e., one husband with more than one wife at a time, and polyandry, i.e., one wife with more than one husband at the same time.

b) **Extended Family:** An extended family consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated through the extension of parent-child relationship and relationship of married siblings. The former can be designated as a vertically extended family, whereas the latter would be referred to as a horizontally extended family. In a typical patriarchal extended family, an elderly person lives with his son and wife and their unmarried children. You may be interested to know what constitutes the jointness in the joint family. Usually, the jointness is depicted in a number of factors, viz., commensality (eating together from the same kitchen), common residence, joint ownership of property, cooperation and common sentiments, common ritual bonds, etc. You may also be interested to know who constitute the joint family. It is the kin relationships. Hence Pauline Kolenda (1987) points out the following types of the joint family in Pakistan:

- i) **Collateral Joint Family** comprises two or more married couples between whom there is a sibling bond.
- ii) **Supplemented Collateral Joint Family** is a collateral joint family along with unmarried, divorced and widowed relatives.
- iii) **Lineal Joint Family** consists of two couples, between whom there is a lineal link, like between a parent and her married sons or between a parent and his married daughter.
- iv) **Supplemented Lineal Joint Family** is a lineal joint family together with unmarried, divorced or widowed relatives, who do not belong to either of the lineally linked nuclear families. v) **Lineal Collateral Joint Family** consists of three or more couples

linked lineally and collaterally. For example, a family consisting of the parents and their two or more married sons together with unmarried children of the couples.

- vi) **Supplemented Lineal – Collateral Joint Family** consists of the members of a lineal collateral joint family plus unmarried, widowed, separated relatives who belong to none of the nuclear families (lineally and collaterally linked), for example, the father's widowed sister or brother or an unmarried nephew of the father. This discussion should have given you a broad picture of the existing family structure in India. In this Unit, we shall discuss the changing family structure. Before we introduce ourselves to this discussion, let us know the social factors that affect the family structure. In the following section, we shall discuss these factors. Before that you must complete this 'check your progress' exercise.

#### **6.4.4 Social Process Affecting Family Structures**

A host of inter-related factors, viz., economic, educational, legal and demographic like population growth, migration and urbanization, etc., have been affecting the structure of the family in Pakistan. We shall take care of these factors while discussing the changes, in the following sections. Here, let us discuss the broad processes of industrialization, urbanization and modernization as factors affecting the family structure.

There are innumerable published accounts demonstrating that changes have taken place in the structure of the family due to exposures to the forces of industrialization. Nuclearization of the family is considered as the outcome of its impact. Such an interpretation presupposes existence of non-nuclear family structure in such societies. Empirical evidence sometimes does not support this position. Further, industrial establishments have their own requirements of human groups for their efficient functioning. As a result, people are migrating to industrial areas, and various kinds of family units have been formed adding extra-ordinary variety to the overall situation. It is, nevertheless, important to note down in this context that despite definite visible trends in the changing structure of the family due to industrialization, it is not yet possible to establish any one-to-one relationship.

In most of the discussions on impact of urbanization on the family structure, one specific observation is fairly common: that, due to the influence of urbanization, the joint family structure is under severe stress, and in many cases, it has developed a tendency toward nuclearization. When there is no disagreement on the authenticity of such a tendency, the traditional ideal joint family was perhaps not the exclusive type before such influence came into existence. Nevertheless, various accounts demonstrate how both nuclear and joint structures have evolved innumerable varieties due to the influence of urbanization.

Both industrialization and urbanization are considered as the major contributing factors toward modernization. In fact, modernization as a social-psychological attribute can be in operation independent of industrialization and urbanization. With the passage of time, through exposures to the forces of modernization, family structure underwent multiple changes almost leading to an endless variety. There are instances too, where family structure has become simpler due to its impact. There are also contrary instances indicating consequent complexity in family structure.

One of the important features of the family studies in India has been concerned with the question of whether the joint family system is disintegrating, and a new nuclear type of family pattern is emerging. "It seems almost unrealistic", Augustine points out, "that we think of a dichotomy between the joint and nuclear family. This is especially true given the rapidity of social change, which has swept our country." In the context of industrialization, urbanization and social change, it is very difficult to think of a dichotomy between the joint and the nuclear family in India. In the present contexts, these typologies are not mutually exclusive. Social change is an inevitable social process, which can be defined as observable transformations in social relationships. This transformation is most evident in the family system. However, because of structures of our traditionality, these transformations are not easily observable (Augustine 1982:2).

Against this backdrop, to understand the dimensions of changes taking place in Indian family system, the concept of transitionality may be used. This concept, according to Augustine, has two dimensions: retrospective and prospective. The retrospective dimension implies the traditional past of our family and social system, while the prospective one denotes the direction in which change is taking place in our family system. Transitionality is thus an attempt to discern the crux of the emergent forms of family (Augustine 1982:3).

Keeping in mind this perspective, we shall examine the emerging trends of change in the family system in contemporary Pakistan. However, at the outset, we are to make it explicit that, within the given space, it would not be possible for us to document the changes individually taking place in the family system of various castes or ethnic groups spread over diversified socio-cultural regions of this country. Hence for your broad understanding, we shall concentrate on three broad areas of our enquiry: change in the traditional extended family, rural family and urban family. Let us begin with change in the traditional extended family.

#### **6.4.5 Change in the Rural Family System**

Scholars have identified the joint family as typical of rural Pakistan. These families are exposed to various forces, viz., land reforms, education, mass media, new technology, new development strategies, urbanization, industrialization, modernization, and so on. These above-mentioned forces are found to exercise tremendous influence on the contemporary family systems in rural Pakistan. Let us examine these forces in detail.

#### **6.4.6 Factors Responsible for Change**

There are various factors affecting the family structure in rural Pakistan. We shall discuss some of these factors here.

**Land Reforms:** Earlier, the members of the joint family normally lived together due to common ancestral property, which was vast in size. Land reforms imposed ceiling restriction on the landholdings. In many cases, the heads of the family resorted to theoretical partition of the family by dividing the land among the sons in order to avoid the law of the land ceiling. During their life-time the sons live under his tutelage, if he was powerful; otherwise, sons

gradually began to live separately during their parents' life-time. Thus the theoretical partition hastens formal partition, and sows the seeds for separate living (Lakshminarayana, 1982 : 44). Again, in many cases, real partition has taken place in the joint family, immediately after the implementation of the land ceiling laws.

**Education and Gainful Employment Education:** Industrialization and urbanization have opened the scope for gainful employment to the villagers outside the village. Initially, a few members of the joint family move to the city for education. After successful completion of education, most of them join service or opt for other avenues of employment in the urban areas. They get married and start living with their wives and children. Gradually, such separate units become the nuclear families. However, the members of these nuclear units keep on cooperating with the other members of their natal family on most occasions.

**Economic Difficulties in Rural Areas:** The rural development strategies in Pakistan, aimed to eradicate poverty and unemployment, enhance a higher standard of life and economic development with social justice to the rural people. However, in reality these have generated regional imbalances, sharpened class inequality, and have adversely economic and social life of the lower strata of the rural people. In the backward areas, people face enormous hardship to earn a livelihood. Hence, people of these areas are pushed to migrate to the urban areas. This migration has affected the family structure. Initially men alone migrate. Then they bring their family and gradually become residentially separated from their natal home.

**Growing Individuals:** A high sense of individualism is also growing among section of the villagers. Penetration of the mass media (viz., the newspapers, the T.V., the radio), formal education, consumerist culture and market forces have helped individualism grow at a faster rate than ever. The rural people and the members of the rural joint family have started believing more in their individuality. In the past, the size of the family was relatively big. The kinship network was large and obligations were more. It was imperative that relatives were given shelter. Today, every individual strives to improve his/her standard of living and enhance his/her status in the community outside the purview of the family and the kin group. This is possible if the individual has lesser commitments and fewer obligations (Lakshminarayan 1982: 46). This situation grows at a faster rate immediately after the marriage of the sons and coming of the daughters-in-law. Many times, value conflicts between an educated individualistic daughter-in-law and old mother-in-law lead to the break down in the joint family system.

#### **6.4.7 Change in the Joint Family System**

The extended family in Pakistan is known as joint family. The ideals of the joint family are highly valued throughout the country Muslims. However, studies conducted in several parts of the country show that the joint family system in Pakistan is undergoing a process of structural transformation due to the process of modernization, industrialization and urbanization. But the fact remains that the values and attitudes of the Pakistan society have favoured the joint family tradition for centuries, and these are still favoured. Many scholars

have viewed the transformation in the joint family system in terms of the concept of the family cycle. A nuclear family develops into a joint family after the marriage of a son; that is with the coming in of a daughter in-law. Hence the process of fission and fusion take place in the family system due to various reasons. In most parts of Pakistan, where patriarchal families exist, sons are expected to stay together with the parents till the siblings of the family are married. After this they tend to separate. Thus, the process of fission takes place, and the joint family is broken into relatively smaller number of units - sometimes into nuclear units. Nicholas, on the basis of his study in rural West Bengal, concludes that if a joint family between a father and his married sons divides, a joint family among brothers rarely survives. The father seems to be the keystone of the joint family structure. Despite the solidarity among the male siblings, after the father's death, many forces tend to break the joint family into separate hearths, even though at times the property may be held in common (Cf. Ishwaran, 1982: 8).

The villagers attach a wealth of meaning to the term 'jointness' and in their opinion one either belongs to the joint family or depends upon the extended kin. In fact, the isolated independent elementary family does not exist for them, and indeed its actual existence is largely superficial due to heavy reliance upon the extended kin group. The extended family is the ideal family, reinforced by religious, social, economic and other ideological forces. He concludes that even though the nuclear families are on the increase, perhaps because of the greater geographical and social mobility found in a society being modernized, these families cannot live in isolation without active cooperation and contact with the extended kin (Ishwaran 1982 : 20)

There is no denying the fact that the trend of modernization has been dominant in Pakistan. However, the physical separation does not speak for the departure from the spirit of jointness of the family structure. The sense of effective cooperation in need, and obligation to each other, has remained prevalent among the family members in spite of being separated from the erstwhile joint family. Hence, we are required to understand not only the manifestation of nuclearization of the family structure in India, but also the latent spirit of cooperation and prevalence of common values and sentiments among the family members. The extent of cooperation and the prevalence of common values and sentiments may vary in the rural and urban areas.

#### **6.4.8 Nuclearization of Joint Family**

During the last quarter of the century there has been a radical change in the social fabric of our country. There has been a gradual disintegration of the joint family system and emergence of 'nuclear family'. Reflecting the rise of the nuclear families in urban areas, these households are small in size 88 percent have three to four members with no senior citizens and just 11 percent have more than two children. This is mainly to build more financial stability, making children less dependent and inclining them towards personal and academic development.

In the earlier times, most families lived in a joint family system. Since there were many family members living together, the responsibilities were shared. There was common

living, shared responsibilities and utilities and also co-existence, which played a key role in development. There used to be a 'Karta' who was the head of the family and was responsible for taking care of the family. All the working members of the family contributed towards the common pool. Assets were majorly a central in nature of the common pool owned, with the 'Karta' having the power to decide. With changing times, the families started to disintegrate and became more nuclear in nature.

Key reasons why nuclear families should plan their estate: Over the years, various sociologists have affirmed in their studies that the rise of nuclear families - consisting of a couple and their unmarried children are consistent with rapid urbanization. With the emergence of nuclear families, a lot of things changed in the way these families operated. Now, an individual has to fend for himself and secure the future of the nuclear family. The members of a family are reduced to three or four persons. Although, nuclear family explosion is resulting in more and more number of individuals becoming owners of huge assets, both liquid and illiquid, at a very early stage. Such families started facing different types of risks. Planning for family security, providing education and shelter for kids, old age and retirement plans and medical emergencies became priority and are some of the key reasons why nuclear families should plan their estate.

This is where wealth management strategies for estate planning comes in and plays an integral part of asset allocation.

But often people the significance of this. Case in point was the recent tragedy where a high-ranking human resource professional from Bajaj and his wife died in a car accident, leaving two minor kids behind without adequate succession lead.

Sudden deaths, incapacitations, separations or legal issues cannot be foreseen. Estate planning for nuclear families will not only bring the impetus of having a planned succession but also lays focus on engaging the right kind of expertise for the desired succession.

I recommend the creation of a will (i.e., if it is not already in place). However, if your children are minors and/or parents are dependents, then the creation of a family trust makes more sense. You should also have a power of attorney executed; this would come handy in case of incapacitation. A power of attorney will also let you decide the right person to be the financial guardian of your wealth. By creating a trust or a will, you ensure your children's future is secure and they won't have to fend for themselves for basic needs like education and shelter.

There is merit in both the systems. Even today there are few families who stay happily in the joint family system and then there are nuclear families that stay unhappy together and vice versa. However, estate planning is necessary and important for both.

Family, as far as its structure and composition is considered, is one of the most baffling social institutions to define. What is a nuclear family, what constitutes jointness, where to draw the line or are there really some dichotomous entities like nuclear or joint families – these are some of the issues that have constantly plagued the social scientists. Family has

been variously defined by different sociologists and some form of consensus on the definitional aspect of the family still appears a remote possibility. However, the most commonly accepted definition of the nuclear family is that it consists of husband and wife with or without their unmarried children, whether biological or adopted [Abraham 2015:182]. The joint family, is generally seen in terms of at least three generations of parents, their married children and grandchildren living together (lineal joint family) or brothers and their wives and children residing together (fraternal joint family) (Dube, 1955; Gore, 1968).

**NUCLEARISATION:** The roots of nucleariation theory of the family can be traced back to the industrial revolution when the process of modernization kicked-off. Many sociologists contend that industrialization, urbanization, spatial and social mobility, stress on individualism and rise in the education and status of women have led to fundamental changes in the family structure. It has moved from tradition-based extended structures to nuclear households. Among all the sociologists, Talcott Parsons' theoretical insights on family have attracted widest attention and deliberation. Parsons (1954, 1956) argues that modern industrial society has led to the growth of what he calls "isolated nuclear family". This family is "structurally isolated" as it does not form an integral part of the wider kinship group. Parsons theory of emergence of the isolated nuclear family can be seen in terms of his general theory of social evolution. The evolution of societies involves a process of structural differentiation. This means that many new social institutions emerge which specialize in fewer functions. Under these circumstances, many of the functions of the traditional family have been taken up by the new specialized institutions like schools, colleges, factories, hospitals etc. This has facilitated the emergence of nuclear families. Parsons was basically a functionalist and he argued that there is a functional relationship between the isolated nuclear family and the modern economic system. Nuclear families best meet the requirements of the industrial society. In modern societies with high division of labour, individuals with specialized skills are required to move to far-off places. Isolated nuclear family is geared for this kind of geographical mobility. Further, an individual's status in modern industrial society is primarily based on achievement criterion and on universalistic standards. This fits well with nuclear families. In a traditional kinship-bound family, a person's status is generally based on ascribed criterion and on particularistic values. In modern industrial society, ascribed status might lead to conflict in the family and psychological strain on the individual.

Because of the isolation of the nuclear family, the conjugal bonds are greatly strengthened. Spouses are heavily dependent on each other for emotional support. Parsons argues that stabilization of the adult personality is a major function of modern nuclear family. Nuclear family has another fundamental function i.e., socialization of the young children.

In the words of Parsons (1956: 3-19): "The American family has, in the past generation or more, been undergoing a profound process of change.... What has been happening to the American family constitutes part of the process of differentiation. This process has involved reduction of the importance, in our society, of kinship units other than the nuclear family. It has also resulted in the transfer of a variety of functions from the nuclear family to other structures of the society...This means that the family has become a more

specialized agency than before...On the basis of the kinship organization, this has led to the "isolation" of the nuclear family....This isolation is manifested in the fact that the members of the nuclear family, consisting of parents and their dependent children, ordinarily occupy a separate dwelling not shared with members of the family of orientation of either spouse...This "isolated nuclear family", besides being apt for modern industrial society, has two basic and irreducible functions...first, the primary socialization of the children...the second primary function of the family concerns regulation of balances in the personalities of the adult members of both sexes..."

Parsons theory initiated a flurry of debates and sociological researches on family patterns. While some researchers corroborated his theory and found merit in his argument, others refuted his contentions. One of the most pioneering works is that of Goode (1963). Goode surveys the relationship between family structure and industrialization in various parts of the world. He endorses Parsons' view that rising industrialization is undermining extended family and larger kinship group. However, he does not regard industrialization as the only reason for the breakdown of extended family ties. The move to industrial family has been far more rapid than can be predicted from the degree of industrialization. Goode believes that it is the ideology of the nuclear family that has encouraged its spread, especially in the developing countries. This is because of the high prestige associated with western lifestyles and ideas in many of these developing societies.

Goode also surveys family pattern among different social classes. He found that extended families are more common among the upper-class families. Since members of the ruling classes and elites have an important influence on appointment to top jobs, the maintenance of family ties makes huge economic sense. In comparison, members of the working class have little to offer to their younger generations. As such, there is greater dispersal of the family members. Another important work is that of Peter Laslett (1972). He studied family size and composition in pre-industrial England. From 1564-1821, he found only 10% of households containing kin beyond the nuclear family. He found no evidence to support Parsons' view that the extended family was widespread in pre-industrial society and got transformed into nuclear families in modern times.

Parsons' argument of isolated nuclear family as functional in individualized industrial society has led to its own series of debates. In their highly celebrated work, Young and Willmott (1975) hold that nuclear family has proved to be functional in one respect. Due to strengthening of conjugal bonds and the employment and education of women, the power equation within the family has become more symmetrical. Women enjoy equal status as their husbands and equally participate in all decision-making processes. However, a contrary view on the functional aspect of the nuclear family is put forth by Leach (1967). He holds that in a nuclear family, there is a huge emotional demand on each other. He likened the family to an overloaded electric circuit. The demand made upon it is too great and often the fuse blows. The parents constantly fight; the children always rebel.

Any discussion on nuclear family would be incomplete if Marxian analysis is not invoked. Engels (1884/1972) holds that during primitive communism, there was no family and promiscuity prevailed. The monogamous nuclear family arose with the emergence of

private property and state institutions. Emergence of private property required that it got passed to its legitimate heirs. Monogamous nuclear family arose to control female sexuality and ensure legitimate progeny. In the words of Engels: “monogamous family is based on the supremacy of man, the express purpose being to produce children of undisputed paternity; such paternity is demanded because these children are later to come into their father’s property as natural heirs”. 4

#### **6.4.9 Pakistani Society –Sociologists on Nuclear Family:**

As far as Pakistani society is concerned, sociological researches have brought forth many fascinating results. It is extremely important to know that the Pakistani family is highly diversified. Keeping in view this diversity, a uniform family pattern is very difficult to expect throughout India. There are variations in family patterns not only regionally, but also on the basis of caste, religion and on rural-urban basis. And so, it is not surprising that the sociological researches on family patterns in Pakistani are as diversified as the diversity of Pakistan itself.

Kolenda (1967: 147-228) brings out the following patterns of family in Pakistan

- Joint family is more characteristic of higher twice-born castes, while least characteristic among the lower castes and the scheduled castes.
- Regional differences exist in the prevalence of joint family.
- There is a difference in the customary time of the break-up of joint families in various groups and places in Pakistan.

As far as rural areas are concerned, most of the studies show that traditional joint family is predominant among the upper castes like the landed gentry and the priestly class. Nuclear family is more prevalent among the lower castes. Cohn (1961) in his study of Chamars of Senapur (UP) tries to explain as to why the achievement of joint family is so difficult among the scheduled castes. This is due to several factors such as a) Demographic factor: with low life-expectancy among the lower castes, there is less chance of three generations existing at the same time, b) Spatial mobility: Movement of individuals from one place to another in search of better economic opportunities also makes joint families difficult and c) Role of women: women in these families have always worked since pre-industrial times due to financial constraints. The pronounced status of women in these families and strong conjugal bonds has critical role to play in the weakening of the lineal or fraternal bonds. As regards urban centers, many sociological studies do indicate that as a consequence of the surge in industrialization and urbanization since recent past, the number of nuclear households is increasing at an unprecedented rate. However, Kapadia (1958) maintains that families which have migrated to cities still retain their joint family bonds in their native villages or towns. These families retain their, what he calls, „Joint Family Ethic“. This is evident from the physical presence of the relatives at the time of certain events like birth, marriage, death, illness etc.

Srinivas (1969) also contends that joint family is not breaking down as such in urban areas. He says: “Even if figures of urban areas show a dwindling in the size of the family, it does not mean that the joint family system is breaking down. Urban families are frequently not autonomous entities but limbs of bigger families situated elsewhere. Any crisis in the

parent or offspring family will be faced as a common problem. Weddings, funerals and other ceremonies are usually celebrated in the „parent“ household. There is occasionally transference of persons from one family to the other” (Srinivas, 1969:72) In similar vein, Shah (1998:6-7) argues:

“It would be a mistake to consider the entire urban society as moving against the joint household norm. The business class, from the richest industrialists to petty shopkeepers, is steeped in joint family culture. So also is the lower middle class composed of the clerks, school teachers, and such others. The proletariat composed of industrial and other workers appear to be oriented towards the nuclear family due to their being migrants from villages, but are in fact not so oriented. Even the professional class, which could be considered as having come under the maximum impact of the ideology of the nuclear family and individualism, is also not uniform in its culture.”

Some sociologists such as Desai (1964), Madan (1965) and Dube (1955) have tried to overcome the notion of dichotomous existence of family as nuclear or joint by adopting the “development cycle” approach to study family changes in Pakistan. According to them, family is to be seen as a process that undergoes cyclical changes due to the phenomenon of fission and fusion. Joint and nuclear families are to be seen as two stages on the continuum in a cycle. Family structure keeps changing in a cyclical fashion - „expanding“ from nuclear to joint with marriage and birth and “depleting” from joint to nuclear with death and partition. Overall, it can be argued that in contemporary Pakistan, family is undergoing adaptive and reconciliatory changes. The joint family ethic or world-view is still strong in Pakistan.

Family is a very fluid social institution and in the process of constant change. The modern family or, rather the post-modern family is also witnessing several new forms of it cropping up. Post-modernity is witnessing the emergence of same-sex couples, cohabitation or live-in relations, single parent households and a large chunk of divorced living alone or with their children. Further, though nuclear family does play a vital role in enhancing the status and power of women within the family, it is not free from vices. It has its own share of problems as is evident from too much emotional dependence of its members on each other, constant bickering and squabbles among the spouses, rising divorce rates and the increasing negligence of the old-age people. With new dimensions of relationships and marriages coming up, the traditional idea of family has come under serious question. Family, all over the world, is facing the heat – not only with regard to its long-standing definition and conception but also with regard to its very existence as a social institution.

## **6.5 IMPACT OF THE BREAKDOWN OF THE JOINT FAMILY**

The transition in the rural family structure has certain significant impacts on the status and role of the family members. One impact is that of the diminishing authority of the patriarch of the joint family. In a joint family, traditionally, authority rests on the eldest male member of the family. Once the family splits into several units, new authority centres emerge there, with the respective eldest male member as the head of each nuclear unit. Authority is also challenged frequently by the educated and the individualistic young

generations. Young men exposed to modern ideas of freedom and individualism show resentment to the traditional authority. After the split in a joint family, women, who earlier had no say in the family affairs, also emerge as mistresses of the nuclear households with enormous responsibility. In this process of transition, the oldest woman also tends to lose their authority. Many of young women also challenge the dominating attitudes of the mothers-in-law.

Similarly, many of the traditional mothers-in-law also face an uneasy situation due to growing disproportionate individualism among the daughters-in-law. With the breakdown of the joint family system, the aged, widow, widower and other dependents in the family face severe problems. The joint family system provides security to these people.

After the breakdown of this family system, they are left to themselves. In the rural area, the day care centers for the old or the children's home for the orphan are not available. Hence, their position becomes very critical. Many widows, widowers, children, and even old couple become beggars. Many leave for old people centers around pilgrim centers as the last resort of their social security and mental peace.

## **6.6 A SHIFT OF DECISION MAKING WITHIN THE FAMILY**

Women play a vital role in the society. Apart from the matriarchal society, women play a decisive role in most of the patriarchal society also. The future of children depends, by and large, upon the mothers who generally stay at home and take care of their children's health and education. This is particularly so in countries like Pakistan where society and life of people are moulded by traditional and spiritual foundations. Although women's role is crucial in the family and household economy, women have not been given equal rights in social, political as well as economic fields. Women take part in taking decision on important family matters, viz., settlement of marriage, purchasing and selling of land, improvement and construction of house etc., though the decision of the elderly male members is accepted in most cases, in selecting job for women themselves or for other members of the family, women express their opinion which get due weightage.

Equality of women is an idea of recent origin and emerged only from the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the individual gained more importance over his status in society. One of the indicators of a woman's status in her participation in the decision-making process in the family, and her husband's participation in her household activities and their mutual sharing of leisure time activities. Women play role in taking decision on important family matters. The educated working women are enjoying more rights and privileges than those who are uneducated and unemployed. But, these uneducated and unemployed women are also performing important economic roles in their respective households. Though, the women perform various roles in their family, yet women are not given due importance to unemployed women are also performing important economic roles in their respective households. Though, the women perform various roles in their family, yet women are not given due importance to associate themselves in the decision-making process in the family.

The image of Pakistani woman is undergoing considerable change from more passivity to positive self-assertion in view of her education, employment opportunities, and break-up of joint families, rapid industrialization and urbanization. Through women are the carriers of social change most of the men do not want to give up their traditional superior position in the family and more over women themselves do not want a change in their attitude. In most societies of the world, women have been defined largely in terms of their functions and wives and mothers, and by cultural images of their sexuality. The rights of women to become educated and to hold job outside of the home have frequently been questioned; women who have had to work have tended to be of low economic and social status. There is no doubt that many or most Pakistani women do not accept their traditional role of dependence on male relatives. But as the possibility of economic independence through respectable employment, becomes a reality for middle class women, they may be allowed new options.

Management of the family budget is an important issue now-a-day. Adoption of working role by women outside their homes usually leads to their economic independence. It necessarily means that working women are able to earn themselves and spend according to their choices and priorities. However, in some cases, the housewives also enjoy or demand their right to control over the income of their husbands or of any earning member of the family as per the choices and priorities of the housewives.

Other family members like father-in-law, mother-in-law had very less responsibility in preparation of the family budget in a joint family. In our patriarchal system, the eldest man is regarded as the head of the family. Hence, men usually play the major role in providing finance and so on shoulder the main responsibility in controlling the family purse in a traditional Indian home. But, now-a-days the idea has been changed in urban areas as observed during the investigation. However, in case of an urban society, housewives irrespective of their employment status tend to play a joint role with their husbands in such household economic activities. Earning is an important aspect for a high living standard which brings the healthy environment through happiness to a family. So, it is necessary to see about the number of earning members in a family. The income of the husband is also equally important to run a family. We generally observed that people from low-income group found it difficult to manage the family for providing education, clothing, medical care etc., to their children.

The control of the purse in the family is critical issue since it involves the allocation of resources and the distribution of role of women in decision making process. Management of the family budget is an important issue now-a-day. Adoption of working role by women outside their homes usually leads to their economic independence. It necessarily means that working women are able to earn themselves and spend according to their choices and priorities. However, in some cases, the housewives also enjoy or demand their right to control over the income of their husbands or of any earning members of the family as per the choices and priorities of the housewives. As such the women also exercise their role in controlling the family purse.

Employment of women has played a significant role in bringing about status mobility of women and consequent changes into the institution of family. Traditionally neglected,

women constitute almost half of total population from an important segment of society. Variations in the sphere of employment and gender discrimination in various walks of life are clearly discernible. Since the beginning of human society, men and women have made their living possible by complementing and supplementing each other in various takes through their role performance.

Increasing employment of women has played a crucial role in creating an awareness and improvement in the status of women by ensuring an independent social standing to them. As far as decision-making scope in the family economy was concerned, employment was found as decisive factor in providing space to women in this area. Occupational level and education were the two factors affecting the extent of decision-making power with women in the family. As far as the type of the family was concerned, it was found that emerging nuclear families in urban area gave more opportunities to develop equalitarian relationship. In nuclear families with working or non-working women the couple jointly took the decision relating to the matter of their children.

Education, employment and differential association made working women conscious about her right and economic potentiality. With the achieved status, the women play a major part in economic agenda of the household.

Empowerment of women involves understanding her own potentials, building the capacity for optimum utilization of her potentials through awareness, motivation and training. The vitality of a women's personality and her actual equality with men are determined in the first place by her active and creative participation in household activities. 'She must be as competent as 'He' to accept any responsibility confidently without expecting any special favour or excuse of being women. She must get equal treatment right from her birth and in the way she grows up so that positive self-image is built in her. All care should be taken so that she can acquire necessary life skills to equip herself for life. Family, society, education system and government should act synchronizing to make full use of the innate potential of women who consist half the population. Then only can a nation grow.

## **6.7 FAMILY AND WOMEN'S DOMESTIC WORK**

Gender ideology is one of the major determinants to explain the gender division of domestic labor within the family (Desta, 2020). Moreover, gender dynamics of family are based on the division of housework, care work and family relations. In Pakistan, women are considered more suitable to perform care roles; however, men have to perform in labor market. Now, women are also taking part in productive activities along with family tasks. Traditional gender roles have been reinforced by the stereotypes and gender ideology; where gender roles are fixed between both genders. In many egalitarian societies, women role has been expanded from private to public sphere, they are giving lot of time in labor market and their husbands are supposed to do household work. Globally, this shift has been taken place when women started to work in mainstream of society. However, Pakistan is non-egalitarian society and Patriarchal society (Ali et al., 2011), where gender ideology is deeply rooted in the institution of family and reshaping the domestic gender roles and

family dynamics. Recent trends of urbanization in Pakistan have segregated the gender dynamics in different family structure including extended and nuclear family system.

Previous studies have been explored the relationship between housework and conflict under the different theoretical approaches including distributive and relative sources (Ruppanner, 2010). However, this scholarship is not being explored in Pakistani context. In Pakistan monthly family income and husbands' involvement in domestic chores were significantly associated with family conflict. Further, revealed that low family income has direct impact on the level of family conflicts. This is supported by the previous study showed that, different resources serve as bargaining tool.

Another finding revealed that more involvement of husbands' in household chores was reported more family conflicts. Previous studies also supported that couples with equal distribution of housework are more satisfied (Bexter& Western, 1998; Blair & Johnson, 1992), have fair distribution of housework (Bexter,2000) and exposed less to household conflicts (Major, 1987). Pakistan is one of the non-egalitarian society, where men are more involved in paid work and women are supposed to perform housework. However, scholarship of different theoretical perspectives regarding division of housework on the basis of gender roles has been well acknowledged through previous researches. This study concluded that family structure and husbands' involvement in domestic chores are strong predictors of family conflicts. This paper has thus contributed to the field by a deepened analysis of the interaction between husbands' involvement in domestic chores and family conflicts in context of Pakistan. The study demonstrates that in traditional society where division of household work is highly gendered regarding share of household chores. The study also contributed in hypothesis of gender ideology; is proved an important factor to consider men's involvement in household chores regarding family conflicts in context of Pakistan.

## **6.8 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS (SAQS)**

- Q#1: What is your view about shift from joint to nuclear family in Rural Pakistan?
- Q#2: What is the impact of breakdown of joint family on women ?
- Q#3: Do you think how can we break gender stereotypes in our society ?

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**UNIT-7**

# **IMPACT OF EDUCATION ON RURAL SOCIETY**

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## CONTENTS

Introduction.....	193
Objectives .....	193
7.1 Importance of Education in Pakistani society.....	194
7.2 Education as an Agent of Social Change.....	196
7.3 Education Transforming Woman Life.....	199
7.4 Changing Attitude Towards the Girls Education .....	203
7.5 Barriers Within Home.....	205
7.6 Barriers outside Home .....	207
7.7 Education Copiously: A Way Forward.....	208
Self-Assessment Questions.....	209
References .....	210

## **INTRODUCTION**

This unit is about impact of education on rural society and in this unit, we will discuss importance of education in Pakistani society. We will also analyze how education can transform women's life. We will trace what is general attitude towards rural girl's education and what the barriers are within and outside home and what is the importance of education for future of prosperous society.

The role of education as an agent or instrument of social change and social development is widely recognized today. Social change may take place when humans need change. When the existing social system of network of social institution fails to meet the existing human needs and when new materials suggest better ways of meeting human needs. Education is seen as a factor in society, but that it is large allocated a conservation role, since the main function is in the socialization of young and maintenance of the social order. During times of rapid social change, the role of education in the service of the nation is emphasized. Education is most clearly expected to play a leading role. Social changes take place as a response to many types of changes that take place in the social and non-social environment. Education can imitate social change by bringing about a change in stick to traditional routine life and are therefore averse to gain anything for fear that these new elements may not turn to be harmful and injurious to them.

## **OBJECTIVES**

After reading this unit, you will be able;

- to understand the importance of education for the empowerment of women
- to review women's access of education to girls in rural area

## 7.1 IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION IN PAKISTANI SOCIETY

Education is important for everybody, whether they are learning new facts, skills, or trades. Having the opportunity to learn always benefits the individual. Over the past years, we have seen a focus on providing education to females all over the world, arguing that girls receive an education no less than men. However, if we take a step further, we can think about educating communities, specifically rural communities. What effects would education have if we were to educate a group of people?

Educating communities means developing schools and educating children and leaders. By doing so, rural communities will lead to a healthier and more sustainable future. An education system in rural communities has the opportunity to build capacity and knowledge in the rural populace, helping them to make informed decisions about their farms and to innovate in agricultural affairs. Education also exposes the masses to information and helps prevent the misinterpretation of information. Education can lead to many positive outcomes, such as an improved ability to understand policies, procedures, rights, duties, government schemes, legislation, available benefits, and protection laws.

It is important to understand the need for good quality education in rural areas, as it helps keep rural areas populated. Young people move to urban areas for better opportunities in education and employment, improved rural education is one possible strategy for keeping them in rural areas. It was recently documented that 69% of India's population lives in rural areas. Quality education is a pertinent tool for enhancing quality of life, creating awareness and capability, increasing freedom, and improving overall holistic human development for the people and the nation.

Education is considered a vital element in the development of a society, a system, and a country. I am convinced that a well-supported, easily accessible education system is an efficient means to make people economically conscious, and thereby, make them actively participate in their economic prosperity and cultural development. As an educator, I insist that education should be given first and foremost in the service of democracy, which demands not only to be protected against decisions but to be a part of decisions that influence society in a positive way. In the long term, education in a rural setting should be focused on making rural people responsible for their participation in the following elements of rural development:

**Employment and income opportunities:** increasing the quality of education in rural areas can significantly impact the development of employment opportunities. Studies have shown that the availability of skilled labour, transportation infrastructure, and local markets are prime factors in selecting a community for an industrial placement.

**Increase in productivity of rural labour force:** education can improve labour productivity in rural areas, increasing the wealth of a region or area.

**Education develops leadership:** With education, individuals gain confidence, knowledge, skills, and experience all factors that increase an individual's ability to

effectively and efficiently lead a group of people towards success. Education helps to identify and develop those leaders in our communities who will battle against low-quality education, and poverty, leading to a successful and strong community.

To conclude, education plays a critical role in rural development, as it is a key factor in developing the people of the rural area, the community, and the land itself. With education, there is always a bright future in store for rural communities. As a student and educator, I believe that the past shows us that education is an important factor in bringing about rural development in any country.

### **7.1.1 Impact of Education in Rural Development Process**

The fact that most of the population reside in the rural areas indicate that rural areas need more of infrastructural development such as good roads, electricity, good and well equipped schools for the growth and betterment of the people living in the rural areas. But in Pakistan, the reverse is the case. More attention is given to the urban centre for the detriment of the rural areas, as a result of the notion that urban centre are more populated; so they need more basic infrastructure than the rural areas. This perception has caused imbalance between the urban centre and the rural dwellers by creating a wide gap. By this gap the urban centre are growing immensely living the rural areas in a state of stagnation and depreciation which is growing at an alarming rate. Moreover, it is generally agreed that education has impact more substantially in rural area development process in developing nations. Therefore, education has a controlling influence over the development of rural societies, communities, individual or group of individuals and families which leads to the reduction of low income rate, poverty and rural-urban migration. Although, education has made a significant impact on rural areas in terms of marking personnel maintenance, system of supplying farm production, health care and good governance, but failure of government to tackle rural development and recognition of the importance of rural areas and rural people to the economic development still remains an issue.

The major aim of education is learning which is achieved through the teaching and learning process. Education would be incomplete without due consideration being given to rural areas. Education holds a significant place in this regard, so far as it forms a very convenient and powerful medium for individuals express themselves in a variety of ways in any situation including his mental skill in relation to overall academic performance. However, it is sad to note that some schools in rural areas have no rooms allocated for teaching even some with class rooms lack furniture; in some schools, teaching is carried on in makeshift classrooms and this can be uninspiring and boring. Inadequate and half-baked teachers in some secondary schools are also an issue of concern in this study (Madeki S.J (2008)).

Education impacts social change, by improving individual social position as well as standard of living. Education also increases critical ability of rural people to diagnose their needs, assert their right, taking greater control of decision affecting their lives. Education has the potential to respond to the transformation of rural areas, increase labour force and enhancing security. As the pivot of the educational system, the National policy on Education (FRN, 1981) noted that teachers in all educational institutions including the universities, should be professionally trained because is considered as a tool to be used for

the integration of the individuals into the society to achieve self-realization, develop national consciousness, promote unity and strive for social-economic, political, scientific, cultural and technological progress.

Education has brought about phenomenal changes in every aspect of human's life. Brown (2011) opines that education is a process which brings about changes in the behaviour of the society. It enables every individual to efficiently and effectively participate in societal activities and make a positive contribution to the progress of the society. Education create awareness in the rural areas regarding their right to education as stipulated in Article 26 of the United Nation Declaration of Human Right (1984) which says that:

- Everyone has the right to education.
- Education shall be free at least in elementary and fundamental stage.
- Primary education shall be compulsory
- Education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all in the basis of merit.

The concentration of education in urban centres rather than rural areas has done more harm than good; it accelerates rural-urban migration, generating youth unemployment. This makes rural areas undergrowth or underdeveloped. Education enhances the capacity of people, expanding the area of competence and changes orientation and attitude which significantly improve the life style of people both in rural areas and urban centers. According to World Bank (2002) Education policy and programme must be carefully designed at both national and local levels. in rural areas education has a crucial role to play in girls that dwell in the rural areas, better education of a female child or pass through a process of learning can drastically reduce maternal and infant mortality; it will also bring about positive impact for family health, birth spacing, few children and fertility related issues, better care of children, seeking right services and counsel at the right point in time and the right places, and promote health and survival and life expectancy along with economic productivity for a better standard of living.

Education can initiate social change by transforming the out look and attitude of man; it can also bring about a change in the pattern of social relationship and thereby causing social change. This social change can be good behaviour, respect to elders, obeying one's culture and all these have been the impact of education in rural development process. Be that as it may, for example education in Nigeria is now more of a private enterprise, but a huge government venture that has witnessed a progressive evolution of government complete and dynamic intervention and active participation. The federal government of Nigeria has adopted education as an instrument par-excellent for effecting national development.

## **7.2 EDUCATION AS AN AGENT OF SOCIAL CHANGE**

This changing process brings changes in the social structure and in other social attributes also. This process may be rapid in some societies and slow in the case of others, but no society in the works can escape from the process of change and transformation.

### **7.2.1 Social Change Means**

Social change is process responsive to many types of change to change in made condition of living to change in the attitude of man and changes that go beyond human control to the biological and physical nature.

Social change is a form used to describe variation in or modification of any aspects of social processes social interactions or social organization. Social changes are variations from the accepted modes of life whether due to alternation in geographic conditions in cultural equipment composition of the population or ideologies and whether brought about by diffusion or invention within the group. (SIR JONES GILLIN & GILLIN)

### **7.2.2 Concept of Social Change**

There is difference of opinion among scholars about the nature and form of social change. In this connection we are throwing light on the view of some famous sociologists namely Brown, Chopin, Ogburn. There is no difference between social change and cultural change both are interrelated I the sense that cultural change an important part of social change. Brow Chopin has divided cultural change into three categories:-

1. Those changes which are concerned with materials cultural.
2. Those changes which are concerned with non-materials cultural and.
3. Those changes which are linked up composite culture.

But according to Ogburn there is no distinction between social changes. He advocates two forms of cultural namely:

1. Material
2. Non-Material

Material culture is concerned with all those things and object which man has made for his welfare and happiness. Non-Material culture is concerned with human ideas, attitudes, values, habits, customs, etc. Ogburn asserts that first the change occurs in the material culture and then in non – material culture. When material changes the non-material remains the same or lags behind and cultural lags occurs.

### **7.2.3 Factors Determine Social Change:**

Social change is a continuous process. There are some important factors which help this process. Those factors are:

- The physical environment.
- Scientific inventions and research.
- Inter-dynamics.

According to Bgburn, Social change first occurs in the cultured and then in the non-material, but Ottaways hold that these cultural changes do not take place one after the other, but it is product of the inter dynamics of the two. Ottaways has clearly stated that social or cultural change occurs because of the interaction of the technological research or scientific inventions and the ideal, values and aim of the society. In the words social change occurs through the interaction of technological of technique and social values.

#### **7.2.4 Factors resisting Social Change:**

There are still some factors which resist this change. The following lines will throw light on the factors which resist social change.

##### **1. Cultural Inertia:**

Cultural inertia is the first important factors which resist social changes. Cultural inertia refers to those blind beliefs, customs and traditions which come under down to us from our forefathers which we rigidly and blindly think them as sacred and inviolable.

##### **2. Fear of new Things:**

Fear of new things is second factor which stands in the way of any social changes. Infact, some people are always very apprehensive and doubtful about any change, According to Ogburn and Nimoff.

##### **3. Vested Interests:**

Vested interests are third factor which resists social change. Generally, it has been observed that there are some old traditions and beliefs which satisfy the vested interests of a few privileged section of society. Such people with vested interested resist any change because of the danger to their interests.

##### **4. Degree of Isolation:**

Degree of isolation is the fourth which resists social change. In fact, there are some people in society who refuse to come into contract with other cultures people, theyTrytheir best to remain isolated and insulated from any kind of social change. It can bring about achange in the pattern of social relationships and thereby it may cause social changes.

#### **Education Follows Social change**

Education and social change are very intimately related. Hence education should prepare the background for social change. Not only this education should also spell out the kind if desirable change needed by society and how these changes are to be brought about. For this education should try to study and understand the various problem of society in specific areas from time to time and should become the integral part of society development. When education will assume this responsibility, society will grow more and by adopting needed social changes.

#### **Some factors which compel education to follow social change**

1. Educational changes because of social forces.
2. Educational changes because of social needs.
3. Educational changes because of cultural changes.

#### **Teacher and Social Change**

Teacher and social change are related as body and soul. As the very thought of body without soul is futile, in the same way social change without teacher is a mere fragment of imagination

but it should be born in mind that a teacher can initiate and promote social change only when knows full well the needs of society as well as nature and direction o social change.

### **Education and Social Change**

Education fulfills the needs of society and propagates such ideas which promote social change in all field of life. Education becomes a social process by means of which society moulds children according to its needs and approved patterns of behavior. To meet such end society organized its educate activities according to its needs and aspirations. In the light social changes these are the following functions of educations.1.

### **Conclusion**

Inspire of all these reforms of the government the people we as a society are still backward and need revolutionary reforms in all field of life. The main cause of the backwardness of Pakistani society is lack of education and moral values which results in caste, communal and language conflicts. There is around poverty, economics, social and moral degradation, strikes, favoritisms and corruption in almost all walks of social, political, economic and national lifeSo, social thinness and reforms should desire to change Pakistani Society.

## **7.3 EDUCATION TRANSFORMING WOMEN LIFE**

Proper education and edification can stir up change in concepts and behaviours of certain individuals, and such change of notion and conception can help initiate a desirable and effective society as well as a nation. Educated minds help enlighten new pathways and options for a better and bolder society. Furthermore, education induces rational thought, consistency, independence and self-determination in the personality of an individual. Doubtlessly education plays a pivotal role in societal changes, but to strengthen and secure our community we need to educate our women. Therefore, we must impel our society to put an end to barriers faced by females, struggling for their education and learning.

A society with better-educated females thrives more than the one with illiterate and lowbrow females. When 10 percent of girls go to school, the GDP of the country rises by an average of three percent whereas not educating girls costs millions to a country. Educated females with higher education tend to get a well-paid job, have better employment choices, more working privileges. Consequently, they reinvest more in their families and communities, which shatters the poverty chain. Whereas uneducated and illiterate females do not benefit from such beneficial factors and continue to face poverty and misery.

*Every woman is far stronger and more capable than she thinks. A woman with power and education cannot only flourish but can also conquer the world with her abilities. By supporting each other we can help someone prosper. If Pakistan ends the gender gap in education and manages to achieve the goal of educating and empowering the women of Pakistan, then together as a nation we can harness our countries failures and weaknesses,*

*but we also need to change ourselves first, by getting rid of stringent mindsets and rituals and by promoting women's education and giving each woman her right to an education.*

Education gives power and also enhances self-confidence in females. They have a better understanding of their rights, roles and healthy living. An educated female ultimately knows how she can effectively utilize her freedom beneficially and constructively by attaining her full capabilities. Education helps females unearth some of their leading qualities and skills. Educated females are more aware of their surrounding conditions and sufferings and are more likely to take a step towards improving and enhancing them.

Through education females prefer to speak out for themselves alone, can put forward solid evidence for the decisions they made and can oppose, resist and raise voices against domestic violence and sexual abuse and are less likely to be subjected to such violence. Whereas uneducated females are more exposed to such violence and can barely raise their voices against abuses and are less aware of coping and responding to such violence.

Educated females usually marry four years later than their estimated age of marriage and have fewer children, which somehow reduces the rapid population growth. Such females are less likely to die during pregnancy, give birth to healthy children and are more concerned about the health of their families such as their nutrition and immunisation, so their children are less likely to die from any preventable diseases or malnutrition.

The role of an educated female as a mother is no greater than any other. An educated mother can edify the minds of the next generations. They can provide more confidence and support to their children, making them more aware of the world and their surroundings. Educated mothers are more likely to promote the education of their children, can better nurture their children, participate more in decision-making in their households and have a better plan and understanding for the future consequences. But when it comes to uneducated mothers they have a higher rate of dying during pregnancy, give birth to ailing children, usually, give birth to more than three children, do not have any awareness about health and treatments, while their babies are less likely to get a full course of vaccination and are malnutrition due to which they do not survive for a longer period. In the last four decades the global increase in women's education has prevented more than four million child deaths. Uneducated women barely bounded the idea of the education and the future of their children.

International Convention in all forms of Discrimination Against Women (ICDAW) in 1993 mentioned that education is an important means to empower women. <sup>1</sup> In Pakistan according to constitutional and legal provisions women enjoyed a unique status of equal rights but they come a long way to achieve it on practical grounds. Education is a fundamental right in Pakistan for every child boy or girl. Education plays an important role in the transformation of women's lives it would not be wrong if it mentioned 'Education is empowerment'. In Pakistan, female literacy rate is worse than men. Lack of access to education is considered a broader landscape to gender inequality which leads to anti-women practices, violence, honor killings, and other violations of women's rights. The low level of literacy rate in Pakistan has several other negative impacts on women's lives which include the socio-economic and cultural development of society. In Pakistan it's the need

of the hour to be focused on women education and empowering them particularly in marginalized areas which are continuously neglected. Where education is perceived as a prominent indicator to elevate the status of women and social change and empowering them in all facets of life but the situation of women literacy is very doomy in Pakistan.

### **7.3.1 Benefits of Educating Girls and Women**

Educating girls and women is one of the most leveraged investments there is. Not only does it bring a range of benefits to the individual girls and women—such as, self-confidence, ability to make informed decisions, critical analysis of propaganda, which is crucial in the battle against the Taliban it also has a large ripple effect. Educating girls and women improves the health status of children and the economic development of their communities. Every 1 percent increase in women’s education generates a .3 percent increase in economic growth. Exclusion from the socioeconomic development of the country is one of the root causes of the conflict in Northern Pakistan. The government of Pakistan invests \$11 per capita on development efforts in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and \$25 per capita in the rest of the country. The educational attainment of girls and women in the north is markedly lower than in other areas. The current humanitarian crisis and displacement could provide a window of opportunity for girls and women, many of whom have never before had access to education, to learn critical skills.

### **7.3.2 The Impact of Conflict on Education:**

The education system has been profoundly affected by the crisis. However, prior to the conflict, the system struggled to reach girls and women. The women’s literacy rate in FATA is only 3 percent and in the North-West Frontier Province, (NWFP) it is 18 percent. This is much lower, especially in FATA, than the national level women’s literacy rate of 32 percent. The male literacy rate is much higher: 30 percent in FATA, and 50 percent and 54 percent in NWFP and national level, respectively. On top of this, the humanitarian crisis has disrupted learning and on a massive scale. The U.N. estimates that 1.2 million children in the region hosting internally displaced people are in need of education services.

To understand how the crisis has affected education for children and young people, it is important to look at two distinct but related arenas:(1) the areas of conflict and the people who fled the conflict, and (2) the communities receiving and hosting the internally displaced people. In the first area, educational infrastructure has been destroyed, approximately 280 schools—70 percent of which were girls schools were destroyed in Swat alone. Fleeing their homes and communities has meant that over 560,000 displaced children and young people are in need of education. Most of these young people are residing with their families in host communities, staying with relatives or friends, and those without these connections, approximately 15 percent, are staying in spontaneous settlements and camps. Currently, children ages 5-11 who reside in camps have the most access to education, and youth ages 12-17 who reside in host communities have the least access to education. Fifty-four percent of children in camps are accessing education while only 3 percent in host communities and 8 percent of youth in camps are accessing education while virtually none are in host communities. Indeed, the vast majority of displaced girls and boys are not accessing education at all.

In the second arena, host communities, children and youth have also had their education disrupted. Currently almost 4,000 schools are being used as shelter for the internally displaced. The government assigned schools and colleges to be centers for registration and relief in order to accommodate the massive influx of people. This has meant that education has been disrupted for over 700,000 children and youth. Children, who are currently on summer break, left school one month early and it is very unlikely that they will be able to return to school on September 1 when the school year begins. In addition to finding new locations for the people living in the schools (whether that be returning home or in another area of the host community), there are a number of repairs that would need to be made to the school structures before students could return.

### **7.3.3 National and International Humanitarian Response:**

The government is leading the humanitarian response, including in education. U.N. agencies, such as UNICEF and UNESCO, along with international civil society organizations, such as Muslim Aid, the International Rescue Committee, and CARE International, and many energetic local NGOs, are all complementing the government efforts in educational provision. The focus has been on providing primary and secondary education to displaced and host community children and youth, along with non-formal education for those who have never been to school, especially girls. A number of creative strategies are being employed to achieve this, such as adding a second shift of classes during the afternoon, providing teachers with a rapid three-day training on how to support students whose lives have been so disrupted, and ensuring critical life-saving messages are taught such as how to identify and avoid landmines, an important survival skill for children when they return. There has even been the development of a “minimum education package” that should be part of any primary or secondary education support, which includes:

- safe learning facilities with gender appropriate water and sanitation facilities;
- recreation and psychosocial support materials, including for very young children;
- teaching and learning supplies;
- hiring teachers with minimum qualifications and ensuring a three-day prep training;
- financial compensation for school support staff; and,
- Community engagement.

Moving forward identifying and resourcing innovations for girls’ education:

While these strategies are all important, there is a special need to focus concerted efforts on reaching girls and young women. By all accounts, it has been quite difficult, to date, to reach this population with education services. But, we know from lessons learned from other humanitarian crises that displacement can often open up a window of opportunity for girls and women due to shifting and disrupted social structures, challenges to government systems, and new organizations working in communities. From Darfur to Afghanistan, conflict and crises has exacted a terrible toll on populations but has also seen progress in girls’ education. In Darfur, there were more girls enrolled in school last year than before the crisis began. In Afghanistan, home-based schooling for girls has now grown into a government accepted strategy for educating girls in remote areas. What started as a clandestine innovation during Taliban rule has now grown into one of the main approaches for ensuring girls access to school.

To support long-term socioeconomic development, we should all be thinking now about what innovative education approaches for girls and women can be tried and tested in this crisis and then incorporated into educational reconstruction when the displaced people return to their homes in the future. However, this goal can only be realized with substantially more funding given to the humanitarian crisis, which needs over \$300 million. Within this, the education sector is only 17 percent funded, one of the sectors in greatest need of donor countries to support it.

#### **7.4 CHANGING ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE GIRL'S EDUCATION**

Our aim is to analyze how perceptions of women's role in society can change with the emergence of female education. A role can be understood as the expected behavior of an individual, along with the individual's rights and obligations within a particular social setting. In this regard, women often have to deal with a role overload that comes with expectations, demands, and obligations for example, their reproductive role, caring for relatives, and other work obligations (Erdwins et al 2001; Akter et al 2017).

Female education must be seen as one of many aspects that can influence the social role of women, and the outcomes of educational developments on gender relations can vary strongly between different cultural contexts (Parpart and Marchand 1995; Lind 2003; Mohanty 2006). Furthermore, a society is always in a process of change, and the causes of this change might not always be traceable. Internal household factors, for instance, often play a prominent role—especially in Pakistan, where households are usually joint families represented by a male head (Shah and Shah 2012). As Murtaza (2012) and Shah and Shah (2012) argue in their research in rural Pakistan, the control over resources and decision-making including education-related decisions is seldom in women's hands.

In addition to the limited decision-making power of women within the household, a variety of other factors hinder female education in rural Pakistan. First, the financial situation of a household: generally, less affluent parents in Pakistan are more willing to invest in their sons' education because work opportunities are better for men, and also because sons usually stay with the family, while daughters leave the household when they get married and are often needed to work in their husbands' families (Lloyd et al 2007; Shafa 2011). Other factors contributing to low enrollment rates of women and girls, especially in remote areas, are the lack of qualified (female) teachers, educational facilities, and basic sanitary infrastructure for schools (Khalid and Mujahid-Mukhtar 2002; Shah and Shah 2012). Moreover, the distance to school can be an important factor in the educational decisions of conservative households, when girls are not supposed to leave the house and wander around the village by themselves (Kabeer 2005; Malik and Courtney 2011). Gender relations are strongly regulated and create separate worlds for women and men, which, in male-dominated societies such as Pakistan, often leads to the social exclusion of women (Shafa 2011; Grünenfelder 2013).

The status of a family depends on its reputation within its social network and can significantly change through the behavior of female family members, as highlighted by research on the concept of honor (izzat; see Shah and Shah 2012). In conservative rural areas, there is often a fear that the increased independence gained by young women through education might lead to culturally inappropriate behavior, such as disapproved of forms of contact with unrelated men (Khalid and Mujahid-Mukhtar 2002; Shafa 2011). However, various studies in Pakistan observe that educated women and thus their families gain a higher status within their community (Malik and Courtney 2011; Murtaza 2012). Several studies find that women's role in Pakistani society is primarily seen in reproductive terms, with education being a helpful instrument for becoming a better mother and wife (Durrant and Sathar 2000; Kabeer 2005; Grünenfelder 2013). Educated women are believed to have better saving habits, make better investments in health and children's education, and have better access to knowledge and information (Kabeer 2005; Janzen 2008; Murtaza 2012). However, socially accepted jobs for women do exist in Pakistan. Most of these occupations are located in a female environment: for instance, women's doctor, nurse, or girls' teacher (Bradley and Saigol 2012; Grünenfelder 2013). Remote rural communities particularly benefit from these occupations, where women fill the missing gaps. However, the ability to gain income also allows women a certain independence from their family and husband, and gives them more confidence and decision-making power, even though their income is often lower than that of their male colleagues (Kabeer 2005; Murtaza 2012).

Generally, the status of female education, as well as its societal effects, strongly depends on the local context and varies significantly within Pakistan (Murtaza 2012; Benz 2013; Zulfiqar et al 2020). While the majority of studies have focused on lowland Pakistan (see the above-cited literature), this article sheds light on a community in the mountainous north of the country that has been neglected by social science research in general and by research on education and gender relations in particular.

Education is a powerful social instrument and a pivotal factor that has tremendous potential to change the life patterns of humans in all segments irrespective of any gender discrimination. Unfortunately, gender discrimination is still a prevalent norm in most societies. In Pakistan, the situation is deteriorating day by day specifically in rural areas and has reached the nadir. Since the inception of Pakistan, exploitation in all facets is the fate of Pakistani women. By and large, the fundamental rights of females, which are granted by the constitution of Pakistan, are denied. Even in 20th-century females are treated as second sex and deprived educationally, socially, economically, and politically. Owing to the patriarchal culture which breeds orthodox mentality and resists strongly against any positive social change which fosters women's empowerment in the section of education particularly. In Pakistan, there have had numerous barricades in the way of educational empowerment of women.

The analysis of the data and result of a study entitled “Women Empowerment, and Access to Education in Pakistan: Barriers within Home” conducted by Sania Muneer shows that the education level of the women in Punjab is very low. Education plays a key role in the development and empowerment of gender. According to the results of the present study, a

majority 34.3% of the total respondents has intermediate level education and doing private jobs, while 23% have graduate level education and doing jobs in the public and private sector, only 7.3% of the respondents have a master degree and are getting well paid in the public and private sector. 43.8% of respondents are still unemployed while they have a metric level education or illiterate and only 8% of respondents were aware of gender inequality and women were not empowered to make decisions regarding their daughters' education due to males' supremacy at home. The statistics of the results show that the empowerment of women and social transformation correlates with the level of education but girls are facing challenges within the home due to poor support from their head of the family. The data indicate that 65.6% of the respondents have an education level less than intermediate and they have less knowledge about their rights and cannot raise a voice against the decisions of male family members otherwise they will get the threat of divorce. Although on the other track 34.4% of respondents having education level higher than graduation has also less knowledge about their fundamental rights and situation is not very different from uneducated females. 16.5% of respondents with rural backgrounds suffer more inequality than urban dwellers. 83.5% of women with urban backgrounds have 34.3% education levels higher than intermediate and they know a little about gender inequality and effort to raise voice for their daughter's education. 62.8% of respondents have to some extent knowledge about inequality with the urban and rural background while only 14.8% respondents have to great extent knowledge about gender inequality and took a stand for their daughters and sent them to school of 65.5% of respondents having education level less than intermediate, only 8.5% know about women empowerment. Form 65.8% respondent with an education level less than intermediate, only 18% know about the fundamental rights, women empowerment and pro-women legislation while other 82% of the respondents do not know about it, and they never learned it from any source like Media, NGOs and other sources as well. All the respondents were never taught at school and home as well about gender inequality, fundamental rights, and women empowerment. This trend represents society as a male dominant society and there are multiple hurdles in the education of women. Finally, from the statistics, this conclusion can be drawn that the level of education increased the level of knowledge about fundamental rights, social transformation and, women empowerment increased.

## **7.5 BARRIERS WITHIN HOME**

Individual attitudes are affected by biological factors such as age, personality impact, training and education, the potential of accepting gender inequality. In the social pattern of Punjab, females faced so many challenges from womb to tomb. Patriarchy culture always suppresses the fundamental rights of females in the name of honour. Four walls of the home are considered more respectable for the females rather than the education. As the results of this stereotype practice female's literacy rate is very poor. Simultaneously, women not only remained illiterate but also if her educational caliber is lesser to her husband then she is more vulnerable to be a victim of discrimination, domestic violence as compared to those women whose academic status is high from their husband.

There are some inherited characteristics of aggressive attitudes in a male's personality which force them to adopt an aggressive and harsh attitude towards women. Bandura's theory of social Learning depicts the fact that one can "effectively learn and grasp by observing and focusing others." Bandura's theory of social learning is a reiteration of gender roles and behaviors. In Pakistan, these traditional gender roles preserve female subordination and maintain the male dominancy. These behaviors also maintained the son's preference and discrimination against women in all facets of life. In particular, girls' education where changes the life patterns of society their high literacy rate is also negatively associated with low gender gaps and gender equality.

So, the implication of Bandura's theory in the social milieu of Pakistan, children considered their parents as their ideals and usually following the treads and behaviors of siblings, parents, and relatives. So, gender discrimination in society, patriarchy and giving more importance to sons is the result of adaptive behaviors from parents and surroundings. "If a father beats her daughter, his son would also torture her daughter." This practice is quite ubiquitous in Pakistan and is considered a prominent determinant of gender discrimination.

Apart from all, socio cultural barriers combined with the economic factors which lead towards the girls from education deprivation. This orthodox approach is prominent the incentives to prioritize boys' education. This practice assumes that investment in girl's education is useless because they will get marry and contribute to their husband's family, on the other hand, sons are supposed to live with their parents and investment in their education is better from a futuristic point of view. Parents preference is sons' education because in future they contribute in household economy and parents are supposed to live with parents. Girls' education is not encouraging in our society as girls are supposed to took the household responsibilities.'

The dominance of misogynistic culture further intensifies the issue. Many parents believe not to send girls to schools as they are at the mercy of panchayats, jirgas, or 'peace advisory groups'. As consequence child marriage is prevalent. In Pakistan, "21 percent of girls marry before age 18, and 3 percent marry before age 15. Girls are sometimes seen as ready for marriage as soon as they reach puberty, and in some communities, child marriage is expected. Some families are driven to marry off their daughters by poverty, and others see child marriage as a way of preempting any risk of girls engaging in romantic relationships outside marriage. Staying in school helps girls delay marriage, and girls often are forced to leave school as soon as they marry or even become engaged."

In the context of Bandura's theory gender roles in Pakistan are the result of social behaviors and learning attitudes. This leads to confined female roles to their homes or extended families and remained out from main decision making that's why "more than 50% of the women lack basic education and approximately 30% do earn some income."

Endogenous variables also include the social and religious misconceptions about women which are in practice to reinforce their suppression. Such as "girls are supposed to take household responsibilities" or "women cannot refuse the will of her husband". These

misconceptions teach by mothers to their daughters. These attitudes are existing from generations in society and gender roles are still discriminated. In few cases, grandparents promoted their children's (girls) education only for the good marriage proposals or prospects but still, son's education is more preferable.

## **7.6 BARRIERS OUTSIDE HOME**

The two fundamental challenges behind the women's disempowerment, legal illiteracy, and social inertia are; the dearth of education among women and; not reporting the incidents of violence and brutality to law-implementing agencies (i.e. police) "Political instability, disproportionate influence on governance by security forces, repression of civil society and the media, violent insurgency, and escalating ethnic and religious tensions all poison Pakistan's current social landscape. These forces distract from the government's obligation to deliver essential services like education and girls lose out the most."

There are two types of approaches in Pakistan regarding girl's education; one who doesn't want to send their girls to schools due to poverty, social norms, child labour, gender discrimination and insecurity. The second approach to send girls for education but not in favour to let them do jobs or to contribute to society.

Lack of access to education for girl and legal illiteracy to fundamental rights largely adds to the continued existence of parallel justice system in Pakistan, which proceed to "sanction acts of violence against women" or "hand down severe punishments (such as honour killings) for women who allegedly transgress societal norms." The continued existence of these tribunals despite their sanction in the constitution is proof that enactment without extensive access to education is insufficient to counteract brutality against women.

In recent years, the provision of religious education increased massively (formal madrasas to informal arrangements such as children's study the Quran in the neighborhood) where only poor families preferred to send their children's. These spaces of religious education are not generally offered non-religious subjects to children who are not considered as adequate replacement and hurdle to legal literacy and social transformation.

Pakistan is facing a hurdle to ensure girls education, prominently disadvantaged, attend, stay and learn in school. On the other hand enrollment and retention rates are improving, while progress is not so fast. According to a UNICEF report, "an estimated 22.8 million children aged 5-16 are out-of-school". UNESCO revealed an education report, "Pakistan is among three countries in the region where women are twice as likely to be illiterate than men." According to the Aurat Foundation report, "statistics show that while urban women have made gains, girls and women in rural areas are at a systematic disadvantage". Concern Worldwide US, Inc. announced that "It has been accounted for that, "Pakistan has one of the highest gender disparities in education figures in the world 16." Corruption is considered the bane and exogenous variable in the promotion of education which needs to be addressed on priority bases.

## **7.7 EDUCATION COPIOUSLY: A WAY FORWARD**

In Pakistan where women are confined to domestic spaces can bring social change through education. Education for girls is limited within four walls and religious education, it should encourage secular education for sustainable progress in society. Equal opportunities to females can alter the fate of society and empowering them. In this regard role of government and civil societies is important in reforming education policies. It's mentioned in the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment of the 1973 constitution that "the right to education was declared a fundamental right for all citizens." It depicts the relentless struggle to educate every child apart from any discrimination. It also includes the 70 percent of the rural area population who are religiously following the social norms and reluctant to send their girls to school.

The perception of people regarding women's education needs a drastic change. It required a great effort to address the challenges which start from home. Endogenous factors can be addressed through gender equality and equal preferences to girls and sons at home. Media can play an important role change the social and religious misconceptions regarding gender roles and girl's education. Albeit, it's challenging to restructured social perceptions on new foundations, but not impossible.

In the social milieu of Pakistan, women's role and their subordinate position considered to be maintained from generation to generation due to societal and religious misconceptions within the home or in extended families. In this regard, religious clergy's role cannot be neglected to bring change in society because people followed them and their preaching's considered most acceptable. For this, responsibility is on religious clergy to avoid misinterpretation of Islamic conjunctions.

Apart from these exogenous barricades required revolutionary steps to promote girl's education. Social and state institution cooperation is required to eliminate gender inequalities in all facets to promote gender equality. Government can play an important role by increasing the number of primary schools for girls which is less in numbers.

No doubt laws are considered a panacea of social change in society but legal literacy and awareness is more important which can bring the basic understanding of human rights. The commission's 2018 annual report reveals that "Pakistan moved up 16 places to 125 on the UN Human Development Index (HDI). It shows a lack in performance of education department as compared with other South Asian countries while the expected years of schooling were at only 6.8."

Pakistan is an Islamic country and traditions and customs are being followed here. Government must focus on the establishment of new educational institutions for women, particularly in medical science and law. It will bring a positive change among those parents who are against co-education. Additionally, more women doctors and lawyers can work for the women in the health and legal sector and women can easily trust them.

“Pakistan’s neighboring countries, like China and India, are developed countries. While Pakistan needs to boost its economic growth to sustain the regional status quo. Consequently, any force which persists in inequality between men and women is deplorable. This force can impact and impede progress in any sector. So, there must be an equal provision of opportunities for both genders to haul the country out of backwardness and penury. Albeit, the religious scholars provide any solid censure against the syllabus or contents of educational books then the government should design this syllabus with mutual collaboration. Education can be considered as key bedrock which is essential to build a developed society. Education is only the power of knowledge that can raise awareness among men and women to accomplish the pinnacle of glory and to comprehend the importance of women's rights.”

Moreover, committees should be established for educating local women at the community or town level. If women cannot get advance or higher education, then at least they should be taught enough to read and write. Else, no positive change can be seen in rural areas of Pakistan where women are unaware of human rights, the UN, and its declaration. For them, the declaration is defined and imposed by local tribal or jirga leaders.

These people cast their votes and assign power to a local tribal leader. These tribal leaders make and strengthen their ways to the National Assembly where they become a part of the decision-making body of this country. So how can one expect from them to raise voice against women rights and laws violation when they are the actual root cause, promoter and supporter of misogynistic practices?

The curriculum is also a millstone as access to education. Education should contain human rights issues, working bodies, information about legislation so both men and women will be aware of their rights under defined rules and regulations. It is the dearth of education and awareness about human rights legislation which continue to old practices and a parallel judicial system like “sanction acts of violence against women” and “hand down severe punishments for those women who defy these societal norms.” Regardless of the sanction in the constitution, the presence and working of these tribunals is corroboration that legislation without pervasive access to education is merely not sufficient to eradicate discrimination against women.

## **SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS (SAQS)**

- Q#1     Discuss Education as agent of social change
- Q#2:     What is role of education in transforming women’s life
- Q#3:     Do you think attitude towards girls education is improved in the rural society

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**UNIT-8**

# **AGRICULTURAL TECHNOLOGY AND RURAL WOMEN**

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## CONTENTS

Introduction.....	213
Objectives .....	213
8.1 Background.....	214
8.2 Women’s Contribution in Agricultural Production.....	216
8.3 Gender Issues and Women’s Participation in Agricultural Production .....	216
8.4 Contribution of Pakistani Women in Agriculture .....	220
8.5 Pakistani Women and Agriculture .....	221
8.6 Major Constraints Faced by Women in Agriculture .....	223
8.7 Women Role in Agricultural Production with Improved Technology.....	225
8.8 Technologies for Empowering Rural Women .....	229
8.9 Green Revolution and Social Change .....	230
Self Assessment Questions .....	241
References.....	242

## **INTRODUCTION**

This unit is about agricultural technology and women and we will discuss about the contribution of women in agricultural production. What are the women's issues in agricultural production and we will also overview of contribution of women in agricultural sector. We will see how latest technology can help to empower rural women. At the end we will discuss green revolution and its impact on social change.

## **OBJECTIVES**

After reading this unit, you will be able;

- to discuss Women contribution in Agricultural production
- to overview Women role in Agricultural production with improved technology
- to familiarize students with Green revolution and social change

## 8.1 BACKGROUND

Rural women across the world play a crucial role in the management of natural resources and the wellbeing and livelihood of rural households and communities. They account for a significant proportion of the labour force in food systems, working as farmers, harvesters and collectors, seed keepers, fisher folks, wage earners and entrepreneurs.

In developing countries, women make up 45% of the agricultural labour force, ranging from 20% in Latin America to up to 60% in parts of Africa and Asia. Women and girls in rural areas tend to sustain an even heavier workload due to the out-migration of men. The lack of infrastructure in many areas, including for water and sanitation, and other productive resources and assets, requires that biomass fuels and water are collected, and food materials processed manually.

Rural women's contributions are also essential for conserving biodiversity as they play a leading role as ecosystem managers. They are guardians and defenders of water, seeds, forests, territories and ecosystems.

Through local knowledge and experience, rural women often understand their environment and their community's needs better than anyone else. They pass on traditional knowledge in medicinal plants, and they contribute significantly to sustaining agriculture, food security, nutrition and health.

### 8.1.1 Challenges for Rural Women

There are significant challenges that many rural women face:

**Vulnerabilities:** gender and development data show that rural women disproportionately experience poverty, exclusion and the effects of climate change, compared to rural men and urban men and women. In addition, they often lack access to public services, such as education and health care, and have limited resources.

**Gender-based violence:** rural women face additional challenges simply for being women. These challenges can include sexual harassment, stigmatization, violence, and less opportunities in favour of economic independence.

**Barriers to economic empowerment:** Although women farmers are as productive and enterprising as their male counterparts, the gender pay gap in rural areas is as high as 40%. Globally, over a third of employed women are working on agriculture, forestry and fisheries but less than 15% of landholders are women. As a result, rural women are often less able to access land, credit, agricultural inputs, markets and high value agrifood chains, and obtain lower prices for their crops. Despite all of their contributions, most of rural women's labour, including care and domestic work, remains invisible and unpaid.

**Exclusion from decision-making processes:** Rural women are often excluded or underrepresented in decision-making that affects them directly. They are also poorly

considered in budget allocations and conservation initiatives. This is largely a result of structural barriers and discriminatory social norms, both within the community and at large.

### **8.1.2 Rural Women are Agents of Transformative Change**

Promoting the political participation and representation of rural women in decision-making would significantly contribute to reducing poverty, and strengthening food security and climate resilience.

Women have a better understanding of the nutritional and cultural needs of their family and community. They are therefore better positioned to identify the challenges and solutions needed to improve their lives and those of their families and communities in rural areas. They also play a central role in food security. Small farmers – mainly women -- produce 80% of the food in Africa on just 15% of the agricultural land, and control 80% of the seeds produced and exchanged on small farms.

If women in rural areas had the same access to agricultural assets, education and markets as men, it could result in an increase in agricultural production and a reduction of the number of hungry people by 150 million. This is because women reinvest up to 90% of their earnings back into their households – an investment in nutrition, food, healthcare, school, and income-generating activities for their family, which helps to break the cycle of intergenerational poverty.

### **8.1.3 Governance to Bridge the Gender Gap**

When women farmers are empowered and fully involved in decision-making, families and communities are better fed, healthier and more resilient.

UNEP-WCMC has been collaborating with UN Women to progress three key priority action areas for advancing gender equality and women's empowerment in the implementation of the post-2020 global biodiversity framework, all of which will benefit rural women. The collaboration focuses on addressing three priority areas:

- Equal opportunities for leadership, decision-making and effective engagement at all levels
- Equal access, ownership and control over biological resources; and
- Equal access to benefits from biodiversity conservation and sustainable use, and from the utilization of genetic resources.

In addition, UNEP-WCMC is a key partner in the ICCA Consortium, which has developed a policy on gender that gathers gender-related information on issues related to Indigenous and Community Conserved Areas, with the aim of learning from them towards positive action. 15 October is the International Day of Rural Women. Supporting and empowering rural women and girls is key to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals and developing their capacities and resilience to respond to climate change and other challenges such as COVID-19. It is also key to the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity.

#### **8.1.4 The Agents of Change for the Global Food System**

Women are the backbone of the rural economy, especially in developing countries. They make up almost half of the world's farmers, and over the last few decades, they have broadened their involvement in agriculture. The number of female-headed households has also increased as more men have migrated to cities. As the primary caregivers to families and communities, women provide food and nutrition; they are the human link between the farm and the table. As the global community works toward achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) -- among them, SDG2, which aims to end hunger and malnutrition by 2030 -- women can be the key agents of change in agriculture, nutrition and rural development. With better access to information, training, and technology, women can alter food production and consumption so that land and resources are used sustainably.

### **8.2 WOMEN CONTRIBUTION IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION**

Women continued to help the development of the Agricultural Revolution despite their role change. Originally, women used digging sticks for gathering, planting, and growing plants. As the farming purpose changed, however, the tools changed as well.

#### **8.2.1 Role of Rural women in Agriculture**

Women supply the major part of the labour for planting, weeding and harvesting, while men are largely responsible for spraying chemicals and fertilizers and mechanized tasks. Women are heavily engaged in post-harvest tasks, such as threshing, processing and marketing. It's estimated that women produce approximately 60-80% of food in the world and they represent 20% of the agricultural labor force in the region. Furthermore, they produce, process and prepare the majority of available foods, and are thus key with respect to food security in their families and communities.

Rural women perform numerous labour-intensive jobs such as weeding, hoeing, grass cutting, picking, cotton stick collection, separation of seeds from fiber, keeping of livestock and its other associated activities like milking, milk processing, preparation of ghee, etc.

### **8.3 GENDER ISSUES AND WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION**

1. Introduction women play important roles in agriculture, going through a broad sphere of activities that relates to food production, processing and marketing. Women's participation in agricultural production therefore cut across various agricultural processes such as planting, weeding, harvesting, processing, and marketing as well as tending livestock. This necessitates their integration into planning, policies, and programs for effective and sustainable development of a nation. Hence, the women's role in agricultural production in the developing nations, including Nigeria, cannot be overemphasized. Agricultural production process is involving and highly demanding. Women farmers in the rural area play crucial role

in food production and food security. They constitute 70% of agricultural workers, 80% of food producers, 100% are involved in the processing of essential foodstuffs and 60 to 90% undertake marketing. Out of every ten agricultural workers in the world, four are women. As such, the role of agriculture has been reappraised and re-valued on its impact on industrialization and its relevance to peaceful development, political, and economic stability with emphasis on women participation in agricultural activities. The responsiveness of Agricultural resources to market forces have been on the increase and also integrated.

2. Into the industrial interdependencies networking which is mainly shaped by technological advancement, vertical integration, marketing and consumer preferences. The International Development Community (IDC) has thus highlighted agriculture as a backbone of growth and poverty reduction in countries where it is the major occupation of the larger proportion of the people. As agriculture industry has become more advanced in technology, commercialization and global integration, the developing countries must fully utilize their human resources to take advantage of the global opportunities for all agricultural producers, including improving women participation in agriculture. One of the major problems women encounter is that they are not allowed the ownership of resources, they do not own the resources of their community. This is a major problem hindering contribution to Agricultural production by women in Warri South L.G.A. As major contributors to Agricultural productions, they are not given complete access to Agricultural resources because of patriarchy. Another problem in the Agricultural sector that women face is that they are sidelined, and their roles are relegated in conventional agricultural and economic analyses. They are not given equal opportunity as men in all areas, even if they participate to a large extent in Agricultural production. Better still, women low access to credit facilities and income poses high challenge as some traditions confines women's co-operative societies' membership. This reflects the archaic tenet that women are not the farmers but the men. This situation limits women's full participation in Agricultural production. There is also the problem to be able to acquire technological machineries for a more productive work, thereby hindering women's income generation abilities and entrepreneurship. It is extremely difficult for women to have access to credit facilities as most of them do not own assets because women do not have collateral security to show, which could be used in purchasing these technological machineries. Women who participate as farmers, workers, and entrepreneurs are confronted with more difficulties than men. In Agricultural production, there is "gender gap" which hinders their effective participation in Agriculture. They do not have access to land required for involving in mechanized farming other than the subsistence farming which is majorly practiced by women in rural areas, thereby reducing their contributions to the attainment of broader societal goals. Most women are not privileged to acquire a large sector of land or are denied access to land because it is believed that the male counterparts would be better off or more productive in the Agricultural production. Women barely own land and when they do; their possessions tend to be smaller and less rich in fertility than those of men. Women who are knowledgeable and with ideas for

Agricultural production cannot do much because of small or no land factor, they therefore participate in small scale farming and engage on subsistence Agriculture to feed family members and generate a low income for livelihood. Likewise, problem of Education on Agricultural production training for women hinders development generally. Majority of women has been deprived of better access to educational opportunities and healthcare due to gender inequality, therefore, the adoption of modern farm technology cannot be accessed by farmers in rural area. Deficiency in the acquisition of formal education and training in agriculture activities is a major obstacle to women's advancement in society. Most women farm and make farm produce from the old cultural farming techniques known to them. The female illiteracy in Nigeria was over 50 per cent in 2007 as compared to 38 per cent for men. Therefore, this study explores the knowledge gap between men and women in Agricultural production and the benefits that most women are deprived from because of their gender.

3. The Liberal feminism theory of gender inequality propounded by was used as a frame work for this study. The theory focuses on patriarchy as a system of power that organizes society into a complex of relationships based on an assumption that "male supremacy oppresses women. The Liberal feminist theory is relevant to the Agricultural sector, women especially in the rural region of Warri South, LGA do not have same access to men when it comes to some certain rights like access to land, standard education, other economic rights because of patriarchy which is common in that region. Women therefore do not persist to go beyond subsistence farming and extensions, producing beyond feeding their families. Only if these women are enlightened that they are equal to men, despite their gender.
4. Their ideology towards Agriculture will grow beyond the level they participate in Delta State. Using fish farming or oil palm for example, as the most common type of farming practiced in Warri South L.G.A, these women do not have enough financial assistance in any form, not from government or any other corporations. Despite these, women in this region would be up as early as possible, do home chores, prepare meal for their husbands and children and still take their little children to school. Even at this, these women still engage in farming, tilling and toiling under harsh weather conditions, to feed their families. It is expedient that the liberal principles and practices of individual freedom and rights in the lives of women should be applied. This way, women get educated and can acquire or be able to request for all they require to expand their agricultural production. Not just farming and feeding the family alone, but getting involved in mechanized farming, thereby, not only feeding those around them, but improving the gross national product (GNP) of the economy. Women should also be involved in seminars for Agricultural developments which are usually organized by Agricultural Organizations, such privileges and freedom should not be restricted to men alone. Some men might not be as hard working as women, especially in providing food for the family, they might not have the physical abilities to toil and produce Agricultural products, but they make contributions to their best abilities, therefore, such women need to be supported, given sufficient resources needed with no gender restriction. They should

have equal rights as men to access land, education, Agricultural inputs, aids and incentives for agricultural expansion and more. According to the y statement by President Buhari of Nigeria sometimes in 2017, saying his “wife belongs to the kitchen”, such statement encourages gender inequality, not only amongst those uneducated women in rural areas, but amongst the educated ones in urban areas. Such mindset should be gradually erased, especially in the Agricultural sectors, women should not only be involved in manual labour as farmers, they need equal access to agricultural facilities as the men counterpart. Patriarchy in the Warri South L.G.A is a major concern which needs to be addressed, but can only be done if these women are educated and know their rights, despite culture, custom or traditions, which is usually a force behind gender inequality.

5. The major findings of this study are centered on gender inequality in Agricultural production in Warri South LGA. The major focus of this study is to establish the possibility of equity of female farmers’ participation in Agricultural productivity in Warri South LGA. It also developed a conceptual framework of these experiences by integrating the findings gotten from field with research objective, theories, literature review; and other findings. Based on findings of this study the researcher was able to find out that women’s participation in Agricultural production in Warri South LGA is not to a very large extent. There are a few challenges women encounter such as land acquisition, problem of loans, aids and grants. The findings therefore affirm that truly, women to a large extent are sidelined as a result of cultural norms and values of the society, therefore the researcher discovered that most of the female farmers have home gardens or practice subsistent farming of which not all resources needed are made available. For more participation of women in agriculture, all resources must be made available to them in order to be productive farmers. For those women or female farmers who want to get involved in mechanized system of farming, government should be able to assist women by giving them monthly resources like fertilizers and other farming facilitators. Furthermore, the researcher identified that there are several causes of gender inequality in Agricultural production and it varies from one society to another. It varies from lack of education, especially in the Agricultural aspect, the culture and values of the people. In Warri South LGA, where the research was carried out, women cannot ordinarily own or purchase a land or get it willed, it should be under the name of a brother or a husband whom she is subjected, that is the culture over there. The researcher also found out that women are weaker sex so are not advised or given the full approval by community to go into a large-scale farming. The literature study shows that Gender inequality is an inevitable factor in every society including the Agricultural aspects. Women are treated unequally, do not have the same opportunity as men, they are marginalized, seen as playing the roles of wives and mothers and are limited to certain activities in the society. Nevertheless, when women who are not very much trained or less enlightened in this aspect decide to go into large scale farming, they have low productive output. But if they are trained, educated on a more modern form of farming, they will show a positive impact with Agricultural production in the society. Lastly, the researcher discovered that gender inequality in Agricultural

production decreases the extent of women's great role in driving the Agricultural vision of the nation. The impact of gender inequality in Agricultural production from the researcher's perspective can never be underestimated. According to findings, majority of the female farmers from Warri South LGA are deprived from basic needs they require for large scale farming. They therefore settle for subsistence farming to feed the family or get involved in trading of this Agricultural production. In the course of the study, it shows that majority of the female farmers are not recognized with their labour and contribution to Agricultural production. In relation to the Liberal Feminist theory, it confirmed that women are oppressed, not treated equal, marginalized and are not meant to hold certain position in the society because of their gender. The Liberal feminist theory is all about women discriminated in the society, whereby they ought to have similar or same level of significance in the society as men do. From the study, women are denied equal access to activities and basic requirements for Agricultural production. It is rare to see a woman run a large form of farming in Warri South LGA. According to the culture there, the woman is the assisting bond and most cases must not do reasonably well beyond the man. By this women's chances in furthering their agricultural participation is highly limited which call for attention and a restructuring of beliefs of the group of culture. Agriculture is a blessing and a privilege that everyone should participate in, and not restricting such privileges only to male counterpart.

#### **8.4 CONTRIBUTION OF PAKISTANI WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE**

Most of the Less Developed Countries (LDC's) rely on agriculture as an important component of the economy and a vigorous driver of growth. Pakistan is not an exception in this case as it is also an agro-based economy which largely depends on agriculture for national income and employment generation. The biggest portion of population is actively engaged either directly or indirectly in agriculture sector. Females overshadow men in many spheres of agricultural tasks in terms of their productive participation but usually their efforts go unrecognized at national level. The due recognition of their role is constraint by many factors but gender is on the top where she is subdued not by talent but by cultural basis of gender. This scenario is further aggravated by negligence on the part of the policy makers who did not attempt any gender segregated moves to recognize and promote women's participation in agriculture, resultantly the country is deprived to fully benefit from the productive talents and efforts of women.

Pakistan is basically an agro-based economy in a way that the biggest chunk of economic resources is generated by agriculture sector. Agriculture sector does not only provide direct income to population but it also supports industrial sector by providing raw material to it. Butt et al. (2010) described that total population of Pakistan reached to 163.76 million in 2008-09, majority of which depends upon agriculture which remains the dominant sector in its capacity of labour absorption and in employment creation for 44 % of population. Pakistan Ministry of Finance (2004) in its overview of Pakistan's Economy reported that after much diversification in agriculture sector, it still remains the largest sector of

economy which contributes 23.3% to GDP by engaging 42.1% of the labour force in the year 2004. Moreover, it brings largest share of foreign exchange earnings by acting as a base for major industries like textile and sugar. It not only provides raw material to industrial sector but also serve as a market for its products and is therefore involved in round-about development of the country. Khan (2008) admitted the significant contribution of agriculture sector for bringing up economic growth and reducing poverty, government of Pakistan has acknowledged it as one of the major growth drivers of the country's economy. Baig and Khan (2006) reported the fact that 67.5% of population living in rural areas is either directly or indirectly dependent upon agriculture for economic gains. Agriculture also has numerous linkages with other non-farm rural activities which enable the population to generate employment and earn income in adjoining areas. Brizzi (2010) signifies that inflation in prices of basic food commodities badly hit the poor population necessitates steps for increasing productivity of this sector. As for an emerging economy like Pakistan the growth achieved in agriculture sector is four times more effective in crabbing poverty than the growth achieved in non-agriculture sectors.

Romero-Paris (2000) highlighted that majority of Southeast Asian countries lives in rural areas depends mainly upon agriculture. Pakistan derives two third of GDP from agriculture, among which women makes significant contribution which accounts 66% out of the total economically active manpower in agriculture as a percent of total population.

Prakash (2003) separated specific tasks done on farms by men and women. Generally, men contribution is more pronounced in physical labour like land preparation and other distantly located jobs. While female undertake repetitious and time-consuming tasks particularly close to home. The planting and weeding of plants are considered to be a women's job. But with the application of new tools may re-assign these already women assumed jobs.

Women play an active role in almost every sphere of agriculture; developing countries agricultural activities are primarily performed by female labour force. In fact, female involvement in agriculture is a mushroom phenomenon, within which she performs numerous other activities that are basic or supplementary to agricultural productivity enhancement.

Recent data of ILO (2009) shows that if we consider region and gender wise segregated data about employment and particularly consider the case of South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, we could trace the glaring dominance of female of this region in agriculture i.e. up to 65% of the total sectors employment. Whereas the situation of female employment is reverse in developed and EU where female in agriculture is about 2.9% and is more in services sector of the economy. Economic and Social Development Department of FAO, UN (2009) report also confirms that globally the female contribution to the overall economy in terms of her contribution to agriculture is high throughout Asia and the Pacific region.

## **8.5 PAKISTANI WOMEN AND AGRICULTURE**

Since agriculture plays pivotal role in any agrarian economy, especially in Pakistan where it supports the lives of about two third of population by providing them employment,

income and other life sustaining resources. Agriculture sector is believed to be the backbone of Pakistan's economy and one would not be mistaken to consider women as the gluing force of this backbone for its effective performance.

Pakistan Ministry of Labour and Manpower (2009) in its employment trends for women gave a comprehensive image of gender wise labour force participation at national level in which the total available labour force for the country is 52.5% among which female is 21.8% with the average annual growth of 6.5%. This gender participation become more asymmetric in rural areas where female make 28.3% in 56.4% of aggregate labour force employed, with 7.3% of average annual growth. Sector – base engagement of labours illustrates women participation more vividly. For this purpose, three major sectors of the country are taken under consideration to trace female share in employment.

Pakistan Ministry of Labour and Manpower (2009) in its employment trends for women showed the employment generation capacity of agriculture, industry and services sector. In this regard agriculture is on the top by generating 42.8 % of employment for the country nationals among which the big chunk i.e., 73.8% is held by female population. The trend of percentage change could be observed negative for male while positive for females during the years of 2000-2008. In addition, the labour force employed by agriculture female surpasses men in many agricultural chores. The job of agricultural female is more demanding than men because she has to embrace dual responsibility of house-hold tasks and at the same time serve as an active or supportive labour to men in the fields.

Tibbo et al. (2009) specifically highlighted the gender involvement in various crop related activities in the province of Punjab, Pakistan. It is evident that female is involved in almost every sphere but her sole participation is much higher in the activity of weeding plants, followed by seed cleaning, drying, storage and binding of crops respectively. All these activities are cumbersome and need manual, repetitious efforts. While she is jointly engaged with men in harvesting, storage, binding etc. off-farm and distant activities such as marketing and transport and mechanized activities like threshing and land preparation are dominated by men.

Zafar (2003) reported that Pakistani women work simultaneously as mother, household labourers and social production workers, but still economic value of her contribution is undervalued. Furthermore, he criticized that in agriculture individual contributed equally to productivity but their efforts are rewarded on the basis of non-economic criteria e.g, sex which raises serious questions of equity and human justice. Therefore, the development planning must be backed by developmental objectives instead of basing decisions on physical input and outputs which ignores the perspective of human resources, and the social dimensions of agriculture.

Brohi (2003) emphasised that numerous studies conducted have confirmed the role of women in agriculture, she participates in almost every sphere of agriculture activities, in addition to her massive household responsibilities. Despite these facts women's role is still underestimated in economic development or missing altogether.

### **8.5.1 Women in Agriculture Allied Activities**

Females are active labourer not only in fields and farms but they also perform such activities which supplements agriculture productivity e.g., food storage, grain cleaning, threshing, livestock, cottage industry etc. Dawn (2003) identified the nature of activities women are occupied with shows that rural Pakistani women are not only responsible for household activities but are also engaged in rural economic activities by rendering services in sub-sectors of crop production, livestock and cotton industry. Female is the prime responsible for livestock activities. Khan (2008) claimed that Livestock is supposed to be the second largest sub-sector contributed 52.2% of overall agriculture value added and 11.0% to GDP. Thus influence the lives of 30-35 million people living in rural areas. Butt et al. (2010) commented as rural women actively participate in agriculture, therefore it necessitates the providence of latest knowledge related to crop production and other allied activities. Jamali (2009) affirmed that women are not only active in farm activities but also in livestock and its associated chores to supplement her income as well as farm by providing cattle for ploughing and harvesting tasks. Studies reveal that by selling of animals she earns extra income of approximately Rs.8780/- Similarly she is also engaged in poultry farm activities. These two are prominent sources of her contribution to household income.

## **8.6 MAJOR CONSTRAINTS FACED BY WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE**

Globally female face certain constraints in agriculture, but Pakistani women presents a more grey picture because of unique circumstances created by social, cultural, legal, political, financial factors applied to gender discrimination. Some of the most pressing problems are:

**Poor Health and Malnutrition:** In rural areas where women's status is grossly neglected, health is on the top. She often does not receive proper nutritive diet in her life span which causes her low health status and prone to diseases. When she becomes economic worker in agriculture, it negatively affects her productivity that is automatically low. Romero-Paris (2000) reported that chronic malnutrition coupled with workload adversely affects women health, also results the poor health of infants and young children.

**Lack or Complete Absence of Education:** Rural female in Pakistan are mostly illiterate because of lack of access to educational facilities, conservative cultural codes and early marriages which deprives them to attain basic education. Therefore they relies mainly upon their informal learning, traditional knowledge most of which is outdated and their own experience from agricultural activities.

**Ignorance for Using Latest Means of Agriculture:** Agency for International Development (1982) criticized the fact that, whatsoever has been taught by extension workers upon the use of latest technology and other means of productivity enhancement. They mainly access to men farmers resultantly women are neglected or they get secondary knowledge of it.

**Lack of Land Ownership and Access to Credit Facilities:** Literature revealed that in most of the underdeveloped countries land ownership are strictly held by the male members of the society which deprives women from land ownership. She works on the land owned by her father, husband or son. This triggers the problem of access to credit facilities offered to those only who hold ownership rights to lands. As Pakistan is no exception to this, this problem is also faced by Pakistani women. Although, women grow about half of the world's food, but her land ownership is hardly known so far. Consequently, she faces hurdles in obtaining credit and is grossly neglected by agricultural development projects.

**Lack of Segregated Economic Policy & Reforms:** Developing countries in general and Pakistani traditional society in particular define gender role that has been historically specified in lack of access to productive resources because of which women and men are not proportionately reflected in various agricultural sectors. As different aspects of agriculture are variably affected by trade liberalization, hence, consequences for women and men are not the same. Moreover, men and women have different set of knowledge, skills and working capacity therefore they are differently affected by any change in policy.

**Natural Environment:** As natural environment is unpredictable and women farmers coupled with illiteracy are unable to foresee weather trends so any unexpected change badly affect their work. Climate changes bring unexpected situations in the form of floods, disturb cropping season, and temperature fluctuation. These things create hardships for farming activities especially where women are engaged.

**Migration:** Recently women has been put into more complex and demanding life style influenced by the accelerated rated of males migration to urban areas in search of jobs and other earning opportunities. This trend affected rural families in terms of increased out-migration by men and by leaving behind all the family responsibilities upon women, particularly the farm work.

**Replacement of Female by Technology:** The introduction of latest technology to agriculture for productivity and efficiency is indispensable nowadays but somehow it produces hurdles for female farmers rather than facilitating them. Because technology needs education for getting know how of using it but in Pakistan rural female literacy rate is extremely low.

**Low Skill and Low Paid Activities:** Women participation is considered to be low in a country development not because of its minimum participation than men but because their contribution goes unrecognized and unrecorded mostly. In fact she is primarily responsible for cultivating and harvesting food crops needed by household livelihood but her efforts goes unpaid and unrecognized. (SSSD 2009)

### **8.6.1 Conclusion and Recommendations**

In Pakistan women constitute almost half of the population, contribute as productive economic labour, and even surpass men in agricultural activities in addition to her household and family responsibilities. As the socio-cultural set up of Pakistan presents an uneven picture and labour force are not equitably treated on capacity and productivity basis. This trend creates a lot of constraints for the maximum participation of female labour force among which gender factor is on the top. Secondly, the government, well-aware of the economic importance of agriculture sector devise and implement policies for its productivity but these reforms did not come up with significant results; as their policies are not backed by gender segregated data and have no provisions to facilitate agricultural female productivity. Consequently her efforts are grossly understated or missing at national level.

The following recommendations have been suggested on the basis of the study:

- i. Government of Pakistan should design an integrative system as to support women in all agriculture related sectors e.g., financial services, land reforms, tax reforms etc.
- ii. In order to provide a sound basis for policy makers, initiatives should be taken to accurately record and reflect timely data particularly gender- segregated data about female contribution in agriculture.
- iii. Make the extension system improved to cover female farmer's needs where arrangements should be made to teach them about the use of technological equipments in her farming practices to bring efficiency with technology.
- iv. Policy reforms should be introduced to encourage rural agro-based small-scale industries, which would help in diversifying agricultural resources and will generate employment for the rural women.
- v. Women should be made familiar with the methods of food processing and food preservation of various fruits, vegetables and livestock products, which would serve as a value addition to economic productivity.

## **8.7 WOMEN ROLE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION WITH IMPROVED TECHNOLOGY**

### **8.7.1 The Gender Divide and the Knowledge Society**

The digital or knowledge society divide is especially acute with respect to women. As stated by the Women's Forum at the Global Knowledge II Conference (Kuala Lumpur, 2000) GKII, the digital divide is not just an issue of the polarization of information rich vs. information poor – it is also a divide between women and men everywhere. The young, university educated, affluent, urban-based and English-speaking Internet user is also overwhelmingly male.

The gender divide has implications for every level of the knowledge society, including access, training, scientific and technical employment, national capacity building, and women's participation. If women are not active participants and contributors to the shaping

of the knowledge society, they risk exclusion from the opportunities it presents, and, further, they may be in danger of losing the gains they have made in the last 20 years.

We do not yet have good figures globally on women's use of the Internet. Most government statistics agencies do not provide a breakdown by gender, so that globally comparable and consistent data are not yet available. There are some signs that the gender gap is narrowing in certain countries.

### **8.7.2 Role of Women in Technology-led Agriculture:**

Agriculture occupies a key position in Pakistan economy providing a source of livelihood for a majority of the population. Successes in agricultural front with high production levels, especially in food grains have indeed been achieved. But more energy in the form of mineral fertilizers, chemical pesticides and farm machinery are required every year to produce the same quantity of farm products. Depletion of natural resource base due to deforestation, overgrazing, desertification, excessive agricultural intensification, over fishing and agriculture on marginal lands leads to decline in agricultural production potential leading to decrease in the sustaining / carrying capacity of agriculture. Natural resources (soil, water, nutrients) have boundaries and improved management is needed to reverse the degradation of this resource base and develop agricultural production systems that sustain our ecosystem.

Women in Pakistan are the backbone of the society and important resource in agriculture and rural economy. They make essential contributions to the agricultural development and allied and household activities and pursue multiple livelihood strategies. These activities include producing agricultural crop, cleaning animals, preparing food, working in rural enterprises, engaging in trade and marketing, caring family members and maintaining their homes.

Historically, women have been the managers of natural resources as they are dependent on them for their livelihood and their family's needs. The consequences of over exploitation of these resources have rendered them scarce. In effect poverty, malnutrition, population, ecology and sustenance of our agricultural systems can no longer be dealt with or even thought of as separate issues. They are interlinked in practice and must be linked in policy formulation, for development to be meaningful, especially if it has to have a positive impact on women.

The effect of environmental degradation and its consequences can be examined from the disturbance of linkages of women with respect to land, water and work. Over grazing of pastoral lands, degradation of land by water, wind erosion, salinity, alkalinity have all resulted in increasing working hours of women as she has to traverse long hours to locate productive areas. Women are linked with forests for their supplies of fuel, fodder and minor forest produce. Non-commercial sources of energy-firewood, crop wastes and cow dung-provides nearly 90% of rural household energy requirements. The rural women collect over 28% of all energy consumed in Pakistan in the form of firewood. Most of the firewood burnt annually come from forests.

Deforestation and depletion of forest resources and loss of access to and control of forest resources have increased poverty, unemployment and drudgery of rural and tribal women. Soil erosion, water logging, siltation, shifting cultivation, construction of dams and reservoirs, mining and industrial activities and large-scale tree felling for commercial purposes have taken a toll on agricultural and forest areas. Thus, rural women are forced to work more, walk greater distances for long hours to collect fuel wood, fodder and other household biomass.

Poverty and unemployment in rural areas have resulted in large-scale migration to urban areas. Women are being forced to take up more drudgeries jobs as a source of livelihood as most of the migrants are absorbed into the construction sector. Women form the largest workforce in agricultural sector. Male out migration from rural areas in some instances is strong enough to suggest a process of “feminization of agriculture” or perhaps more accurately, of self-provisioning food farming.

Households headed by women now form on an average between 20 to 25 per cent of all rural households in developing countries. The rural woman’s drudgery has thus been doubled with women performing the man’s role as well. Thus women, the sustainers of family’s health and prosperity, have slowly become the primary victim of deepening environmental crisis as they are the main users and providers of household biomass.

### **8.7.3 Woman’s Contribution to Sustainability of Natural**

Resources Sustainable agriculture is sustainable exploitation of renewable natural resources including annual and perennial cropping, agro-forestry and livestock as well as the conservation measures needed for long-term maintenance of resources. Thus, sustainable agriculture involves sustenance of our agricultural systems. This should be the major emphasis for all technological innovations involving land and water use so that there is no adverse effect on the biological productivity of the resource base in the long run (Deb, 1994).

Even in the larger scenario of rapid exploitation of natural resources woman has inadvertently been contributing to the sustenance by her traditionally assigned role. Seeds are the source of food and are valued for their quality to maintain genetic continuity. From time immemorial, it has been a woman’s domain to sort seed at home by observation and through experience. In doing so, the methods of seed storage were always practiced by women. The search for medicinal seeds and plant material for her family, fruit seeds for kitchen gardens and ornamentals to quench her aesthetic needs have all contributed, indirectly, for preservation of seeds and the biodiversity that we are endowed with.

These activities make women trustees and users of crops, land races, forest genetic diversity, medicinal plants and also a source of information on use of local cultivars and various modes of conservation. Maintaining land fertility and sustaining it by adding domestic refuse and cattle dung to land when needed, use of trap crops as barriers, bench terracing and recycling water from water storage ponds to her kitchen gardens are all recognized activities by women practiced out of necessity. Realizing the importance of stabilizing the coastline planting shelter belts with coconut, areca nut, or grasses for

stabilizing coastline agriculture has been practiced. The farms are also dependent on the multiple uses of these trees. These are perennial and yield late and women have been involved in growing short duration intercrops to meet their family's nutritional needs.

Caring for livestock comes naturally to women. The most drudgeries jobs in livestock production like cleaning of the cattle sheds, feeding the cattle, collection of fodder etc. always fall on the woman. Care for young animals and backyard livestock is also largely done by women. In caring for sick young animals, women have evolved several ethno veterinary practices. Many such practices, based on indigenous technical know-how vested with crop husbandry (especially in complex, diverse, risk-prone areas), animal husbandry, fisheries and home management have been traditionally practiced by women. These practices are usually eco-friendly, sustainable, economically viable and are examples of best utilization of local resources and waste/bi-product recycling and management.

The long association of women with environment can be utilized in the process of solving major environmental problems, by using their traditionally acquired skills and integrating it with scientifically studied and developed techniques. Women have come to be seen as the solution to the development-environment crisis, as major "assets" to be harnessed in initiatives to conserve resources and as "fixers" of ecological problems (Leach, 1992).

#### **8.7.4 Technology Development & Women**

The devaluation and marginalization of indigenous knowledge and skills have disproportionately affected women as they have generally been excluded from the institutions through which modern scientific knowledge is created and transmitted. Despite recent agricultural innovations there is no respite for rural women. While agricultural innovations lead to the reallocation of family labour and the assignment to men of complete control over output and income, without associated changes in the allocation of obligations, welfare and nutritional status of the family may actually decline (IFPRI, 1983).

Women also use the bi-products in a variety of ways, both for domestic use as well as income generation. Straw from traditional varieties of rice was used as fodder and for thatching. But, straw from short height, high yielding varieties, developed to prevent lodging, cannot be used for thatching and yield less fodder. Possibly the importance of the contribution of multiple use of biomass to rural economies has been obscured by the concentration on the more favoured, irrigated areas where the high profits from HYVs complement existing, or induce the development of new infrastructures, commercial and industrial networks and livelihood opportunities. Technologies developed in areas like post-harvest operations have never really studied the inter-relationship that exists between production and post-harvest activities at the domestic level. Post-harvest technology was so far being designed from a distance.

Studying domestic processing, storage and cooking technologies can lead to development of appropriate technologies that are gendered as well. Mechanization of agriculture has not been gender-sensitive. It has led to large scale dislocation and unemployment among rural women. Harvesters, transplanters and combines usage in field crops is one example. Failure

to perceive women-over half the world's population and important to technology development as producers, workers and consumers - as clients of, or as forming an important constituency for agricultural research is one of the major blocks towards overall development.

## **8.8 TECHNOLOGIES FOR EMPOWERING RURAL WOMEN**

Recognizing the fact that women can and must play an important role in the sustenance of our agricultural systems they have to be involved in the process of evolution of new technologies which are eco-sustainable. Suitable Audio-Visual aids can be used to take the message across. Teaching aids like samples, models and visuals that are appealing and interesting must be used to improve the comprehension of the illiterate women and their capacity to retain the message disseminated.

Location specific traditional media like folk songs, folk theatre and folklore can be utilized to communicate technical information in an effective way. Ergonomically designed machinery, especially tools and implements, which are gendered can assure rural women employment and add value to her time.

Location specific, remunerative cropping systems that have capacity to enrich the soil, can tap nutrients from different soil layers and which includes legumes and tubers can be developed and suggested for practice. This has the added advantage of breaking pest cycles if properly planned, e.g., paddy-black gram and paddy-groundnut-green gram cropping system. Inter cropping like sorghum-red grams which have been traditionally practiced have been scientifically proven too, to be suitable to dry land areas. Finger millet and horse gram intercropping is also found to hold lot of promise especially in the marginal lands and risk-prone environments.

Women also need to be provided knowledge and skills in multi-storied cropping which can create favourable micro climate for crops and can tap solar energy efficiently. The scarce resources can be optimally utilized without over exploitation of any one resource and it also helps in risk aversion. Cultural practices such as contour cultivation to prevent soil erosion, summer ploughing, stale seed bed preparation, clean cultivation for weed control, micro watershed development for rain water harvesting, cyclic flooding and drying in rice for water conservation, seed selection and treatments by using germination tests, salt water and hot water, nutrients application on seed, use of pesticides/ botanicals for prevention of seed borne diseases and enhancement of early vigour have to be taught to women.

Women's role as preservers of forest wealth can be further accentuated by technical knowledge on nursery maintenance - nursery grafts of horticulture and perennial crops-agro-forestry, silvi-pastures etc. which can also generate additional income. These practices can be integrated in the farming system itself so that it can also meet the household biomass needs too. Ethno-botanical techniques are part of habits of tribal groups. Information search on ethics and ethos of these women and on modes adopted to choose plants for conservation is needed, to develop a national database.

Recycling of wastes and their use as animal or poultry feeds will help the animal husbandry component. Composite fish-culture can also be taken up as part of the integrated farming systems wherever feasible. But all these sustainable avenues cannot be harnessed till policymakers, decision managers and women involve themselves in the decision-making process. Technological empowerment must be reinforced by social empowerment. This calls for gender sensitizing at all levels and equipping them with new technological advances, knowledge of ecologically sound farming practices and management skills. Para-agricos, on the lines of para-vets, from rural areas, especially women school dropouts, can be trained in scientifically developed, sustainable technologies, provided with tool kits and inducted at grassroots level as barefoot extension specialists.

## **8.9 GREEN REVOLUTION AND SOCIAL CHANGE**

The developing world witnessed an extraordinary period of food crop productivity growth over the past 50 y, despite increasing land scarcity and rising land values. Although populations had more than doubled, the production of cereal crops tripled during this period, with only a 30% increase in land area cultivated. Dire predictions of a Malthusian famine were belied, and much of the developing world was able to overcome its chronic food deficits. Sub-Saharan Africa continues to be the exception to the global trend.

Much of the success was caused by the combination of high rates of investment in crop research, infrastructure, and market development and appropriate policy support that took place during the first Green Revolution (GR). I distinguish the first GR period as 1966–1985 and the post-GR period as the next two decades. Large public investment in crop genetic improvement built on the scientific advances already made in the developed world for the major staple crops—wheat, rice, and maize and adapted those advances to the conditions of developing countries.

The GR strategy for food crop productivity growth was explicitly based on the premise that, given appropriate institutional mechanisms, technology spillovers across political and agro climatic boundaries could be captured. However, neither private firms nor national governments had sufficient incentive to invest in all of the research and development of such international public goods. Private firms operating through markets have limited interest in public goods, because they do not have the capacity to capture much of the benefit through proprietary claims; also, because of the global, nonrival nature of the research products, no single nation has the incentive to invest public resources in this type of research.

International public goods institutions were needed to fill this gap, and efforts to develop the necessary institutional capacity, particularly in plant breeding, were a central part of the GR strategy. Based on the early successes with wheat at the International Maize and Wheat Improvement Centre (CIMMYT) in Mexico and rice at the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) in the Philippines, the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) was established specifically to generate technological spillovers for countries that under invest in agricultural research, because they are unable to capture all of the

benefits of those investments. After CGIAR-generated knowledge, invention, and products (such as breeding lines) were made publicly available, national public and private sectors responded with investments for technology adaptation, dissemination, and delivery.

Despite that success, in the post-GR period, investment in agriculture dropped off dramatically into the mid-2000s. However, the need for continued investments in agricultural innovation and productivity growth is as important today as it was in the early years of the GR. Low-income countries and lagging regions of emerging economies continue to rely on agricultural productivity as an engine of growth and hunger reduction. However, sustaining productivity gains, enhancing smallholder competitiveness, and adapting to climate change are becoming increasingly urgent concerns across all production systems.

Since the mid-2000s and heightened after the 2008 food price spikes, there has been renewed interest in agricultural investment, and there are calls for the next GR, including those calls made by the former Secretary General of the United Nations Kofi Annan and Sir Gordon Conway. Simultaneously, there is recognition of the limitations of the first GR and the need for alternative solutions that correct for those limitations and unintended consequences. GR 2.0 must address these concerns both where the GR was successful and in low-income countries and lagging regions, where agricultural productivity is still low. This paper reviews the evidence on the diffusion and impact of GR crop genetic improvements and the limitations and unintended environmental, social, and institutional consequences of the GR strategy for productivity growth. Then, I turn to the current period and the renewed interest and investment in agricultural development, and I give the technology and institutional priorities for a GR 2.0.

### **8.9.1 First GR: Diffusion and Impact of Crop Genetic Improvements**

Positive impacts on poverty reduction and lower food prices were driven in large part by crop germplasm improvements in CGIAR centers that were then transferred to national agricultural programs for adaptation and dissemination. The productivity gains from crop germplasm improvement alone are estimated to have averaged 1.0% per annum for wheat (across all regions), 0.8% for rice, 0.7% for maize, and 0.5% and 0.6% for sorghum and millets, respectively. Adoption rates of modern varieties in developing countries increased rapidly, reaching a majority of cropland (63%) by 1998.

However, global aggregates mask great geographic disparities. In Asian countries (including China), the percentage of area planted to modern varieties was 82% by 1998, whereas improved varieties covered only 27% of total area planted in Africa. This difference may be, in part, because of the later introduction of CGIAR research programs focused on Africa as well as the lag in breeding efforts for the orphan crops—crops that did not benefit from a backlog of research conducted before the GR period but had improvement that came during the GR and post-GR periods, such as cassava, sorghum, and millets—which are of greater relative importance to the African poor. For instance, the first CIMMYT maize program focused on Africa only began in the late 1980s. Although the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture research for cassava started in 1967, its impact was felt only since the 1980s. Although it lagged behind in the GR period, Africa has witnessed positive growth in the post-GR period. Adoption of improved varieties

across sub-Saharan Africa reached 70% for wheat, 45% for maize, 26% for rice, 19% for cassava, and 15% for sorghum by 2005.

### **7.9.2 Impact on Productivity and Food Prices.**

The rapid increase in agricultural output resulting from the GR came from an impressive increase in yields per hectare. Between 1960 and 2000, yields for all developing countries rose 208% for wheat, 109% for rice, 157% for maize, 78% for potatoes, and 36% for cassava. Developing countries in Southeast Asia and India were the first countries to show the impact of the GR varieties on rice yields, with China and other Asian regions experiencing stronger yield growth in the subsequent decades. Similar yield trends were observed for wheat and maize in Asia. Analysis of agricultural total factor productivity (TFP) finds similar trends to the partial productivity trends captured by yield per hectare [TFP is defined as the ratio of total output to total inputs in a production process]. For the period 1970–1989, change in global TFP for agriculture was 0.87%, which nearly doubled to 1.56% from 1990 to 2006.

Crop genetic improvement focused mostly on producing high-yielding varieties (HYVs), but the decrease in time to maturity was also an important improvement for many crops, allowing for an increase in cropping intensity. The rapid spread of the rice–wheat system in the Indo-Gangetic plains (from Pakistan to Bangladesh) can be attributed to the shortening of the crop growing period. Other improved inputs, including fertilizer, irrigation, and to a certain extent, pesticides, were also critical components of the GR intervention. Asia had already invested significantly in irrigation infrastructure at the start of the GR and continued to do so throughout the GR and post-GR periods.

Widespread adoption of GR technologies led to a significant shift in the food supply function, contributing to a fall in real food prices. Between 1960 and 1990, food supply in developing countries increased 12–13%. Estimates suggest that, without the CGIAR and national program crop germplasm improvement efforts, food production in developing countries would have been almost 20% lower (requiring another 20–25 million hectares of land under cultivation worldwide). World food and feed prices would have been 35–65% higher, and average caloric availability would have declined by 11–13%. Overall, these efforts benefited virtually all consumers in the world and the poor relatively more so, because they spend a greater share of their income on food.

### **8.9.3 Access to Crop Genetic Improvements.**

The CGIAR's numerous crop improvement networks allowed for the best breeding materials and knowledge to be widely and freely available and used across the developing world. National Agricultural Research Systems (NARS) in developing countries generally used varieties or crosses from CGIAR centers as parents and then adapted those varieties for particular agroecological environments or preferences. Enabling such adaptive transfers significantly improved research efficiency, reduced research costs, and greatly expanded the pool of genetic resources and varieties available to the national programs. Such an uninhibited system of germplasm exchange with the best international materials allowed countries to make strategic decisions about investing in plant breeding capacity. In general, large NARSs engaged in adaptive transfers rather than direct use of CGIAR-generated

varieties and crosses, whereas small NARSs used the material directly. The CGIAR content of modern varieties was high for most food crops; 36% of all varietal releases were based on CGIAR crosses, although it varies greatly by crop. In addition, 26% of all modern varieties had a CGIAR-crossed parent or other ancestor.

#### **8.9.4 Returns to Crop Improvement Research Investment.**

The returns to research investments in the GR strategy of germplasm improvement have been measured in great detail by several economists over the last few decades. These studies have found high rates of returns that, for the most part, compare favorably with alternative public investments. A recent metareview of trends and characteristics of the rates of return to agricultural research and development, examining 292 case studies with 1,900 estimated rates of returns, found a median annual rate of return estimate ranging from 40% to 60%, consistent with the broad literature. More importantly, it found no evidence that the rates of return to research had declined over time. The overall benefits of CGIAR contributions to crop genetic improvement are estimated in billions of dollars mostly because of the benefits from the improved three main staples. Spring bread wheat, rice (in Asia only), and maize (CIMMYT contribution only) have produced estimated benefits of \$2.5, \$10.8, and \$0.6–0.8 billion, respectively.

As these studies show, there is evidence of continuing high rates of return for crop breeding improvements that have wide adaptability, such as those improvements for wheat, rice and maize. The more recent evidence also shows high returns for improvements in orphan crops in the post-GR period. No studies have found evidence of significant decline in rates of return to agricultural research in the post-GR period, likely because of continued investment in breeding for improved stress tolerance in addition to yield growth. For example, a recent estimate of the total benefits of resistance to all types of wheat rust was estimated to generate between \$600 million and \$2 billion per year. The spread of crop genetic improvement for marginal production environments and orphan crops adds to the continued high returns that have been observed in the post-GR period. In Africa, for instance, the internal rates of return to CGIAR investments from 2000 to 2020 in the dual-purpose cowpea, which was developed through a collaboration between International Institute for Tropical Agriculture and the International Livestock Research Institute, have been estimated between 50% and 103%, depending on the assumptions used.

#### **8.9.5 Limitations of GR-Led Growth Strategies**

The GR contributed to widespread poverty reduction, averted hunger for millions of people, and avoided the conversion of thousands of hectares of land into agricultural cultivation. At the same time, the GR also spurred its share of unintended negative consequences, often not because of the technology itself but rather, because of the policies that were used to promote rapid intensification of agricultural systems and increase food supplies. Some areas were left behind, and even where it successfully increased agricultural productivity, the GR was not always the panacea for solving the myriad of poverty, food security, and nutrition problems facing poor societies.

### **8.9.6 Poverty and Food Insecurity Persisted Despite the GR Success.**

There is a large econometric literature that uses cross-country or time series data to estimate the relationship between agricultural productivity growth and poverty. These studies generally find high poverty reduction elasticities for agricultural productivity growth. In Asia, it has been estimated that each 1% increase in crop productivity reduces the number of poor people by 0.48%. In India, it is estimated that a 1% increase in agricultural value added per hectare leads to a 0.4% reduction in poverty in the short run and 1.9% reduction in the long run, the latter arising through the indirect effects of lower food prices and higher wages. For low-income countries in general, the impact on the poverty headcount has been found to be larger from agricultural growth relative to equivalent growth in the non-agriculture sector at a factor of 2.3 times. In sub-Saharan Africa, agriculture's contribution to poverty reduction was estimated to be 4.25 times the contribution of equivalent investment in the service sector.

Because the GR strategy was based on intensification of favorable areas, its contribution to poverty reduction was relatively lower in the marginal production environments. In South Asia, the poorest areas that relied on rain-fed agriculture were also the slowest to benefit from the GR, contributing to widening interregional disparities and an incidence of poverty that still remains high. Technologies often bypassed the poor for a number of reasons. Among these reasons were inequitable land distribution with insecure ownership and tenancy rights; poorly developed input, credit, and output markets; policies that discriminated against smallholders, such as subsidies for mechanization or crop and scale bias in research and extension; and slow growth in the nonfarm economy that was unable to absorb the rising numbers of rural unemployed or underused people. Migration from less-favored rural areas has been cited as a strategy for poverty reduction; however, when migration out of rural areas occurs faster than the growth in employment opportunities, only a transfer of poverty results rather than true poverty reduction associated with agricultural transformation.

Sex played a major role in determining the distribution of benefits from the GR. Women farmers and female-headed households are found to have gained proportionally less than their male counterparts across crops and continents. Technology transfer largely focused on male farmers, with few measures to address women's technology needs or social conditions, and thus, they largely missed women farmers. Cross-country empirical evidence shows that women farmers are no less efficient than their male counterparts when using the same productive assets; however, women consistently face barriers to accessing productive resources and technologies.

### **8.9.7 Nutrition: Calorie Availability Increases but Micronutrient Intake is Still Lagging.**

Between 1960 and 1990, the share of undernourished people in the world fell significantly. Improved availability and decreased staple food prices dramatically improved energy and protein consumption of the poor. The pathways through which the GR improved nutritional outcomes depended on whether a household was a net producer or net consumer; however, for virtually all consumers, the supply shifts and GR-driven rise in real incomes had positive nutritional

implications. A 10-y study in southern India found that increased rice production resulting from the spread of HYVs accounted for about one-third of the substantial increase in energy and protein consumption of both farmers and landless workers, controlling for changes in nonfarm income sources.

The fall in staple prices as a result of the GR also allowed for more rapid diet diversification, even among poor populations, because savings on staple food expenditures improved access to micronutrient-dense foods. In Bangladesh, for example, the steady fall in real rice prices from 1992 to 2000 led to greater expenditures per capita on non-rice food and a significant improvement in child nutrition status. The amount of rice consumed did not change, but households spent more on non-rice foods as their rice expenditures declined.

Nutritional gains of the GR have been uneven; although overall calorie consumption increased, dietary diversity decreased for many poor people, and micronutrient malnutrition persisted. In some cases, traditional crops that were important sources of critical micronutrients (such as iron, vitamin A, and zinc) were displaced in favor of the higher-value staple crops. For example, intensive rice monoculture systems led to the loss of wild leafy vegetables and fish that the poor had previously harvested from rice paddies in the Philippines. Price effects of such supply shifts also limited access to micronutrients, because prices of micronutrient-dense foods rose relative to staples in many places. In India, the increasing price of legumes has been associated with a consequent decline in pulse consumption across all income groups.

Policy and structural impediments, as well as a weak private sector, limited the supply responsiveness for vegetables and other non-staples. Policies that promoted staple crop production, such as fertilizer and credit subsidies, price supports, and irrigation infrastructure (particularly for rice), tended to crowd out the production of traditional non-staple crops, such as pulses and legumes in India. More recent evidence does suggest that diets are shifting in urban and rural Asia to include fewer cereals and more milk, meat, vegetables, and fruits. Evidence from India shows a marked increase in protein and fat intake between 1975 and 1995 across all income groups, suggesting that all consumers have benefitted from some nutritional improvements. However, micronutrient deficiencies among the poor persist, indicating that this dietary shift has not yet fully compensated for the decline in vitamin intake associated with cereal-dominant diets. Bio-fortification (breeding micronutrients into staple crops, such as the vitamin A-enhanced, orange-fleshed sweet potato) offers a new solution for improving nutrition outcomes, particularly for the rural poor, who depend on their own production for a large proportion of their daily caloric intake.

### **8.9.8 Environment: Impacts have been Mixed.**

GR-driven intensification saved new land from conversion to agriculture, a known source of greenhouse gas emissions and driver of climate change, and allowed for the release of marginal lands out of agricultural production into providing alternative ecosystem services, such as the regeneration of forest cover. HYVs more responsive to external inputs were central to the

productivity achievements; however, in many cases, appropriate research and policies to incentivize judicious use of inputs were largely lacking. Unintended consequences in water use, soil degradation, and chemical runoff have had serious environmental impacts beyond the areas cultivated. The slowdown in yield growth that has been observed since the mid-1980s can be attributed, in part, to the above degradation of the agricultural resource base. These environmental costs are widely recognized as a potential threat to the long-term sustainability and replication of the GR's success.

The environmental consequences were not caused by the GR technology per se but rather, the policy environment that promoted injudicious and overuse of inputs and expansion of cultivation into areas that could not sustain high levels of intensification, such as the sloping lands. Output price protection and input subsidies especially fertilizer, pesticide, and irrigation water—distorted incentives at the farm level for adopting practices that would enhance efficiency in input use and thereby, contribute to sustaining the agricultural resource base. Where the policy incentives were corrected, farmers quickly changed behavior and adopted more sustainable practices. For example, the removal of pesticide subsidies in Indonesia in the early 1990s led to a dramatic drop in insecticide use.

#### **8.9.9 Marginal Production Environments.**

The original purpose of the GR was to intensify where returns would be high, with a focus on irrigated or high rainfall areas. The international breeding programs aimed to provide broadly adaptable germplasm that could then be grown across a wide set of geographies, but adoption was greatest in favorable areas. Technologies in the GR period did not focus on the constraints to production in more marginal environments, especially tolerance to stresses such as drought or flooding. Whereas HYVs of wheat provided yield gains of 40% in irrigated areas with modest use of fertilizer, in dry areas, gains were often no more than 10%. Almost full adoption of wheat and rice HYVs had been achieved in irrigated environments by the mid-1980s, but very low adoption in environments with scarce rainfall or poor water control (in the case of rice) had been achieved. In India, specifically, adoption was strongly correlated with water supply. Worldwide, improved seed–fertilizer technologies for wheat were less widely adopted in marginal environments and had less of an impact there than in favored environments.

More often than not, marginal environments were left behind, because the climate and resource constraints were such that returns to investment in GR varieties were low. Despite relatively low adoption of improved varieties, people living in marginal environments benefitted from the GR through consumption and wage linkages, such as lower food prices. Farm employment and growth in the nonfarm rural economy provided labor benefits to the landless rural poor and those people living in marginal production environments. Multicountry case studies of rice environments in Asia show that labor migration to more productive environments resulted in wage equalization and was one of the primary means of redistributing the gains of technological change from favorable to marginal areas. Similar results were found for wheat grown in high- and low-potential environments in Pakistan. There is also a growing body of evidence of spillovers from the productive regions that benefit the more marginal environments. These spillovers involve not only technology

transfer and capital investments but also the software of development, such as local institutions, property rights, and social capital.

Poorly endowed environments, nevertheless, pose a tremendous challenge to researchers and policymakers alike to identify new agricultural research and development (R&D) opportunities and facilitate adoption of technologies and appropriate institutions to meet the needs of the poor living there. In the post-GR period, new investments in R&D for stress-tolerant crops and increased demand for feed grains have changed the prospects for agricultural production in marginal areas. Drought- and pest-resistant varieties, such as submergence-tolerant rice and drought-tolerant maize, provide options that reduce farmers' risk and improve incentives to invest in productivity-enhancing technologies. Changing market contexts also create new opportunities for farmers in more marginal areas to produce for the feed and biofuel markets.

### **8.9.10 Gains in Africa Lag Significantly but are Catching up.**

Africa was the main exception to the success of the GR in the developing world. The GR strategy was not appropriate where population densities were low and/or market infrastructure was poor. Also, the agricultural resource base could not sustainably support productivity growth, and the poor depended largely on orphan crops rather than the three main staple cereals. The package of innovations that spurred GR success in Asia was largely inappropriate for the African context at that time. However, emerging success stories of agricultural productivity growth in recent decades show that (i) the context for agricultural development has shifted dramatically and (ii) investments in research to address the crops and constraints relevant to the continent's agriculture yield high returns.

First, during the GR period, the demand for intensification in Africa was quite low, because land was relatively abundant. Farmers had little incentive to intensify land use, because they had no incentive to save on land costs. However, there are some areas in Africa today where the land/labor ratios are now similar to what they were in Asia during the GR. For instance, in eastern and southern Africa, the amount of arable land has risen only marginally, but the percentage of households engaged in agriculture has grown threefold. The demand for yield-enhancing technologies is consequently rising in the region.

Second, improvements in rice, wheat, and maize largely addressed the main food security concerns in Asia. Africa, however, has huge diversity of cropping systems, and many orphan crops are central to food security. Even where the major cereals are grown in Africa, few suitable varieties were available for those agro ecologies until the end of the GR and beginning of the post-GR period. In the 1960s and 1970s, national and international programs may have sought to short cut the varietal improvement process in sub-Saharan Africa by introducing unsuitable varieties from Asia and Latin America. This pattern remained until the 1980s, when more suitable varieties finally became available—based on research specifically targeted to African conditions. Improved varieties of sorghum, millet, and cassava also started to emerge around the middle to late 1980s. The productivity gains from such investments are now starting to emerge; benefits from CGIAR investments in Africa for maize alone are estimated to exceed \$2.9 billion. Yields growth for roots and tubers rose sharply between 1980 and 2005, increasing 40% during this period.

### **8.9.11 TO A GR 2.0**

GR 2.0 is already beginning to take place, and it is happening in low-income countries as well as emerging economies. Low-income countries, many of them in sub-Saharan Africa, still have very low productive agricultural systems. In these areas, chronic hunger and poverty continue to be daunting problems, and they face the age-old constraints to enhancing productivity growth, such as the lack of technology, poor market infrastructure, inappropriate institutions, and an enabling policy environment. Emerging economies, including much of Asia where gains from the first GR were concentrated, are well on their way to agricultural modernization and structural transformation. The challenge for agriculture now is to integrate smallholders into value chains, maintain their competitiveness, and close the urban–rural income gap. Enhancing staple crop supplies and sustaining productivity gains continue to be important, despite declining per capita cereal consumption, to meet the demands of population growth and demand for feed grain.

A confluence of factors has come together in recent years to generate renewed interest in agriculture and spur the early stages of GR 2.0. In the low-income countries, continued levels of food deficits and the reliance on food aid and food imports have reintroduced agriculture as an engine of growth on the policy agenda. African leaders have acknowledged that agriculture plays a critical role in their development process and that lack of investment in the sector would only leave them farther behind. The Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program (the agricultural program of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development, an initiative of the African Union) declaration of 2006 and resulting pledges by African Heads of State to increase agricultural investments showed their commitment to improve the agriculture sector. There is also an increasing awareness of the detrimental impacts of climate change on food security, especially for tropical agriculture systems in low-income countries.

In the emerging economies, growing private sector interest in investing in the agricultural sector has created an agricultural renaissance. Supermarkets are spreading rapidly across urban areas in emerging economies and encouraging national and multinational agribusiness investments along the fresh produce value chains in these countries. Consequently, traditional staple crop systems are diversifying into high-value horticulture and livestock production. Private sector has also made significant investments in other commercial crops for fiber and biofuel. For example, private R&D and supply chains have been the primary driver behind the rapid rise of Bt cotton production across Asia and Latin America. Despite these positive developments, interregional differences in productivity and poverty persist in many emerging economies. Rising demand for feed and biofuels and technological advances in breeding for stress tolerance could result in a revitalization of these areas. The rapid rise of hybrid maize production in eastern India is a case in point.

Finally, at the global level, there has been an increased tightening of food markets driven by population and income growth as well as diversion of food grain for biofuel and livestock feed. As a consequence, the long-term declining trend in real food prices, observed worldwide since 1975, leveled off by 2005. The food price crisis of 2008, sustained high prices, and more recent peaks observed in 2011 and 2012 have brought agriculture back onto global and national agendas.

By 2050, global population is projected to increase by about one-third, which will require a 70% increase in food production. To meet this need, GR 2.0 must continue to focus on shifting the yield frontier for the major staples. Increasing cereal productivity not only meets demand for staples, it also allows for the release of land to diversify into high-value crops and movement of labor out of agriculture, where other economic opportunities provide greater returns. GR 2.0 must also focus on improving tolerance to stresses, both climatic and biotic (pest and disease). Improved varieties that are tolerant to drought or submergence enhance smallholder productivity in marginal environments and provide tools to adapt to climate change. Epidemics such as the recent UG-99 wheat stem rust infestation, a new virulent strain resistant to improved varieties that emerged at a time when research on rust resistance had largely stopped (assuming that the problem had been solved), underscore the necessity of continued investments to maintain resistance to pests and diseases to avoid future shocks. Finally, technologies to increase input use efficiency and improve management practices are necessary to ensure the competitiveness and sustainability of production systems.

International public goods research continues to play a critical role, but in contrast to the first GR, the context in which the CGIAR operates has changed significantly. NARSs in many emerging countries have become research leaders in their own right, which is especially true of China and Brazil. The multinational life sciences companies are now the leading source of innovation in agricultural science, especially biotechnology. New partnerships can channel the expertise of the private sector and advanced national programs in emerging countries to benefit the low-income countries.

In 2007 the CGIAR began a major reform process to better address this changing context. It is still too early to say whether the system itself will be able to reorient itself, but there are definite signs that individual centers are starting to work innovatively. For example, IRRI partnered with the Beijing Genomics Institute to carry out genetic fingerprinting of IRRI's entire gene bank collection, which will then become publicly available data. Similarly, CIMMYT is developing drought-tolerant maize for Africa through a partnership with Monsanto, which provided proprietary germplasm that CIMMYT incorporated into high-yielding maize varieties adapted to African conditions (see textbox below).

There are also emerging examples of advanced NARSs leading global public good efforts with the CGIAR as a partner and collaborator. Exemplary cases include the partnership between IRRI and China to develop photosynthesis-efficient C4 rice as well as the global cassava partnership for genetic improvement, an international alliance of research institutes (see textbox below). The CGIAR also needs to become clearer in terms of the work on which it focuses and when it is hands off to the NARS. For instance, the CGIAR centers could hand over improved breeding material to the NARS and leave it up to them to complete the adaptation and varietal development process. The CGIAR should also devolve the activities associated with technology diffusion to the NARS, private sector, and nongovernmental organization partners.

The CGIAR has had limited success in generating and diffusing technologies and practices that enhance resource and input use efficiency, thereby contributing to improved competitiveness and sustainability. The call in the work by Conway for a "Doubly Green Revolution," which is

repeated in his latest book, is important for the CGIAR and the NARSs to heed. The point that this work repeatedly makes is that understanding the underlying science is crucial to developing effective solutions. Improved understanding of tropical and subtropical agroecologies is an important global public good that contributes to innovation and new sustainable resource management practices. The emphasis of global public good research in resource management must be on such strategic knowledge generation rather than development of location-specific techniques and products.

The emerging Digital Revolution provides new opportunities for smarter use of agricultural resources. Remote sensing and spatial mapping technologies allow for better targeting and monitoring of agricultural investments. Cell phones and other information and communication technologies can contribute to smarter application of water, fertilizers, and other inputs. The adaptation of precision agriculture techniques for developing country smallholder agriculture conditions could have significant global public good benefits.

### **8.9.12 Conclusion**

Developing country agriculture is faced with a growing set of challenges: meeting the demands of diet diversity resulting from rapidly rising incomes; feeding rapidly growing urban populations; accessing technologies that are under the purview of proprietary protection; and gearing up for the projected negative consequences of climate change. Even as it absorbs the new challenges, the food policymaking community continues to grapple with its traditional preoccupation of the persistence of hunger and poverty in low-income countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, and lagging regions of emerging economies.

Harnessing the best of scientific knowledge and technological breakthroughs is crucial for GR 2.0 as we attempt to reestablish agricultural innovation and production systems to meet today's complex challenges. New global public goods are needed that focus on shifting the yield frontier, increasing resistance to stress, and improving competitiveness and sustainability.

The number of alternate suppliers of agricultural technologies, specifically seed-based technologies, has expanded rapidly over the last two decades. Strong NARSs and the private sector have become major players in the research, generation, and release of new varieties. Even nongovernmental organizations and civil society organizations are becoming active in developing community seed systems. Innovative partnerships are needed across the entire R&D value chain to channel the varied expertise to enhancing smallholder productivity growth.

At the country level, public policy can play an important role in ensuring that new innovations reach and benefit smallholders and encouraging the sustainable use of natural resources. This role requires policies that (i) emphasize agriculture as an engine of growth and poverty reduction, (ii) enhance competitiveness of modernizing agricultural systems, and (iii) focus on sustaining the resource base by correcting distortions that create incentives for unsustainable use. Both infrastructure investments and institutional reform can help create the enabling environment for smallholder productivity growth. Furthermore, a pro-business policy environment that includes

intellectual property protection, reduced trade barriers, and a transparent bio-safety procedure will lead to additional private sector research investments in the emerging economies.

However, the opportunities to meet these needs are not without concurrent challenges in the areas of international coordination of public good research, weak R&D and policy capacity among low income developing countries, and increasing demands for immediate results. Climate change will also stress agricultural systems in poor countries as well the capacity of the suppliers of public good R&D. Implementing a GR 2.0 will have to contend with all of these challenges and sequence innovations over time to succeed in achieving sustainable change.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS (SAQS)**

- Q#1: What is the Pakistani women's contribution in agriculture?
- Q#2: How technologies can be used to empower rural women?
- Q#3: Discuss green revolution and its impact on third world countries.

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**UNIT-9**

**IMPACT OF ICT's IN  
AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES**

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## CONTENTS

Introduction.....	245
Objectives .....	245
9.1 Role of ICTs in Economic, Social and Political Development in Rural Sectors .....	246
9.2 ICTs Role in Rural Communities .....	246
9.3 Factors Preventing Rural Communities to Reap Benefits from ICTs.....	247
9.4 Specific Barriers to Women’s Use of ICTs .....	249
9.5 Rural Development Through ICTs .....	250
9.6 National ICT Strategy .....	251
9.7 New Communication Technologies in Rural Areas.....	254
9.8 Development Through Digital Technology .....	254
Self-Assessment Questions.....	255
References .....	256

## **INTRODUCTION**

ICT, or Information and Communications Technology (or technologies), is the infrastructure and components that enable modern computing. Although there is no single, universal definition of ICT, the term is generally accepted to mean all devices, networking components, applications and systems that combined allow people and organizations (i.e., businesses, nonprofit agencies, governments and criminal enterprises) to interact in the digital world..The list of ICT components is exhaustive, and it continues to grow. Some components, such as computers and telephones, have existed for decades. Others, such as smart phones, digital TVs and robots, are more recent entries. In this Unit we will discuss how rural development is linked with ICT and what are the factors preventing rural communities from reaping benefits of from ICT. We will also discuss how agricultural development is possible through digital technology.

## **OBJECTIVES**

After reading this unit, you will be able;

- to discuss role of Role of ICT in economic, social, and political development in rural sectors
- to review national ICT strategy
- to promote agricultural development through digital technology

## **9.1 ROLE OF ICTS IN ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL SECTORS**

Information is the key to democracy. With the advent of Information Technology (IT), it has become possible for common man to access global information. Information in a broader sense includes oral communication, voice in telephony, text in fax and newspapers, images in video and television broadcasting, and data in computers. All information can be digitized, transported, stored, retrieved, modified and then distributed. Emerging digital techniques, new network alternatives including intelligent networks, high bandwidth communication technology and state-of-the-art software for network functions and services, are the new technology trends evident in the development of electronic communication systems. The swift emergence of a global “information society” is changing the way people live, learn, work and relate. An explosion in the free flow of information and ideas has brought knowledge and its myriad applications to many millions of people, creating new choices and opportunities in some of the most vital realms of human endeavor. Yet most of world’s population remains untouched by this revolution.

## **9.2 ICTS ROLE IN RURAL COMMUNITIES**

ICTs play a major role in a nation’s politics, economy, social and cultural development. These fuel the global economy and relate to human rights, helping at best, to support freedom of expression and right to information according to Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. About 1.2 billion people are experiencing extreme poverty that is considered by many to be the worst human rights violation in the world. Consequently, the global development community has endorsed in the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals its commitment to halving the number of people living under one dollar a day by 2015. To achieve this, how far ICTs will help in decision-support systems? Do ICTs have any role in improving services to citizens? Do ICTs aid in empowering citizens to access information and knowledge? Do ICTs create new divisions between rich and poor or reduce existing socio-economic divides? Do they have any direct role in poverty alleviation or just a luxury that the poor can ill afford? Answers to these questions are, ICTs, if supported with right policies, crosscutting and holistic approaches, will complement and strengthen other multi-sector efforts that are required for poverty alleviation. It is essential to define ICTs, before discussing the issues further.

ICTs broadly cover the set of activities that facilitates capturing, storage, processing, transmission and display of information by electronic means. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2002) defines ICTs sector as a combination of manufacturing and services industries that capture, transmit, display, data and information electronically. This definition makes a useful distinction between manufacturing and service dimensions of ICTs and paves way for understanding multi-dimensionality of ICTs and its applicability to help reduce poverty across various sectors. The service role of ICTs can enhance rural communities’ opportunities by improving their access to market information and lower transaction costs (for poor farmers and traders);

increase efficiency, competitiveness and market access for developing country firms; enhance ability of developing countries to participate in the global economy and to exploit their comparative advantage in factor costs (particularly skilled labors); health and education. Furthermore, ICTs can promote greater transparency, speed-up decision-making process of governments and thus empower rural communities by expanding use of government services, and reduce risks by widening access to microfinance. However, barriers to access, high costs and minimal human resources often prevent those living in poverty in reaping the benefits. When private and civil sectors work together as partners, benefits of ICTs can be greatly enhanced, returns to the community improved and profits increased.

### **9.3 FACTORS PREVENTING RURAL COMMUNITIES TO REAP BENEFITS OF ICTS**

There are a number of important factors preventing rural communities in developing countries from reaping benefits of ICTs. Without developing access models that can address these factors, rural masses will be left far behind urban dwellers closer to digital opportunities. Deploying ICTs to empower poor and lead them to the road of prosperity can be achieved through poor-oriented governmental policies rather than corporate-oriented. The constraints are:

#### **9.3.1 Lack of Awareness about Benefits of ICTs**

Despite growing number of people who own a computer and have Internet access, most people in developing countries have little opportunity to connect to the Internet. They are unaware of socio-economic benefits and stimulus to good governance that ICTs can bring. The quasi-absence of demonstration projects in some countries, very limited information is available to assess and to advocate the impact of ICTs for development.

Though India has a strong and fast-growing IT industry, access to ICTs remains very low, particularly in rural areas. The present indicators of IT penetration in Indian society are far from satisfactory. PC penetration is 1.21% (China with 4.08%, Asia at 6.39% and world average at 9.63%). The installed base of computers is more than 13 million (ITU, 2005b). To demonstrate awareness and impact of ICTs among people, projects such as Hole-In-The-Wall Training System for slum area boys and girls who has no knowledge of English and World Corps for imparting technical and business skills that promote employment such as Internet centers to economically poor, are already functioning.

#### **9.3.2 Lack of Access Facilities**

The access facilities mainly comprise computers and connectivity in rural areas. The Internet and computer are expensive to be accessible to ordinary citizens. It is often available only in urban centers, where most Internet Service Providers (ISPs) have their market.

Despite the ongoing deregulation of India's telecommunications sector, its national tele density is one of the lowest in the world at 8.44 (China with 49.74, Asia at 33.56 and world at 46.41) (ITU, 2005a). The Department of Telecommunications, India has set a target tele density of 22

by 2007 by observing the increasing trend of 11.4 in 2005 due to mobile boom. Currently, tele density of rural stands at 2 in comparison to urban of 31 (Singh, 2006). The Internet arrived in India during 1995 for public use through Videsh Sanchar Nigam Limited. The current Internet subscriber base is 3.24%, in sharp contrast to Asian countries as Korea with 65.68, Malaysia with 38.62 and China with 7.23% (ITU, 2005b). At present, there are 390 ISP license holders, 64 in Category 'A' and 135 & 191 each in Category 'B' and 'C' and the operational ones are 189. The Indian government has been propelling towards "Information Age" and "Convergence" with an ultimate goal of "Internet for All". However, implementation has been beset with various operational, procedural, regulatory issues and supporting legal framework that is inhibiting reach and benefit of the Internet to masses in the country (Internet Service Providers Association of India, 2005).

### **9.3.3 Language Barriers in Using the Internet**

These prevent people from familiarizing themselves with benefits of Internet based information resources that invariably require an ability to understand international languages, especially English. As a result, most people in developing countries cannot read and understand most of the Internet content. Another factor is high illiteracy rate among rural people.

In India, adult literacy rate is about 58.8% and female literacy rate is about 47.3%. There are 18 languages officially recognized, each having a different character set. About 66% of Indians speak Hindi and less than 5% of Indian population understands English. Realizing the need to overcome language barrier and offer IT to the masses in their own language, the government initiated a Language Technology Mission to make available these software tools and fonts in the public domain. The Centre for Development of Advanced Computing (<http://www.cdac.in/>, accessed January 30, 2006) has developed these, initially in Tamil, Hindi and Telugu languages. Similar efforts are in progress to develop software tools, utilities and applications in other Indian languages. HCL (<http://www.hclinfosystems.in>, accessed January 30, 2006) has taken leadership initiative to preload this revolutionary offering across all its PC brands. This will go a long way in bridging the digital divide (i.e. gap in technology (computing and communications) usage and access between urban and rural people in developing economies) that to a large extent created by the language technology barrier.

### **9.3.4 Lack of Local Language Information Products**

Lack of suitable information products tailored to the needs and assimilation capacities of rural people in developing countries. In order to better adjust their investment decisions people need updated information on market prices, new agricultural technologies and methods to raise quality of their products, adapt to changing climatic conditions or demands of agricultural markets.

Several projects successfully generated and made available locale specific information on network in the native languages including weather information, entitlements to rural families, prices of agricultural inputs, etc., in Information Village Research and poor people's innovations and traditional knowledge visibility through a multimedia and multi-language database of solutions to local problems in Honey-Bee Network, etc.

### **9.3.5 Non-availability of Government Information Through Online:**

Most countries do not have pro-poor ICT policies (e-governance and rural commerce) and plans to reorient relevant government institutes as electronic service providers to boost rural development.

The efforts of providing government information in the form of improving administration of land records, caste certificates, health services, information on government programmes, online public grievance redressal; etc., has tremendous success at Wired Villages of Warana and government-to-citizen e-commerce activity at the doorsteps of beneficiaries in Gyandoot.

### **9.3.6 Lack of Motivation to Use Information over the Internet:**

In spite of connectivity, people will not use ICTs unless they are motivated to do so. Community ownership of access facilities and availability of facilitator are key factors to induce motivation.

In TARAAhat the in-built motivation has empowered people to eliminate middle men in marketing their produce directly over network, online services to several rural communities and consumer-to-consumer, and e-choupal has successfully bridged the gap between rural community and buyer, to increase income level of farmers.

## **9.4 SPECIFIC BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S USE OF ICTs**

A series of constraints to women's use of technologies and their participation in the knowledge society follow from or exacerbate the results of gender misperceptions framing ICT implementation. In general, women are more likely to lack basic literacy and computer skills. Girls are less likely than boys to enroll in math and computer science courses. Socio-cultural barriers to the education of girls and women in science, math and technology further restrict their interaction with technology as well as their entrance into S&T fields. Gender-based constraints to women's use of ICTs include: Lower levels of literacy and education. Illiteracy is the number one barrier around the world to women's participation in the knowledge society.

**Domestic and reproductive responsibilities:** Another important restriction for women is their domestic responsibilities, including daycare, childbearing and subsistence activities. Women's double and triple roles in the family and community mean that around the world their workday is consistently longer than that of men's, by two hours or more. As a result, time is a precious resource for women, and a major constraint to the use of ICT by women. They are less likely to have free time to use or learn to use the Internet. Any systems or activities meant to improve their lives and increase their empowerment must be perceived to save time or increase their efficiency, and be made available at flexible hours.

**Cultural attitudes and practices:** can preclude both opportunities for use of ICTs as well as training in their use, in restricting or prohibiting women's interaction with men in public and, in some areas, preclude women's travel outside the home. Additionally, in many

cultures women and girls are considered to be less capable of understanding scientific and technical concepts.

**Geographical location:** In developing countries in Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, women tend to outnumber men in rural areas, a result of male migration to urban centers for employment. Internet access is less available in rural areas as a result of lack of reliable infrastructure (electricity and phone lines) and the cost of setting up and maintaining equipment. Public and community access sites (including telecentres and cyber cafes) can be a solution, but the few evaluations done to date indicate that women do not have the same rates of access as men. Public access is sometimes located in an environment where women do not feel comfortable or in locations women have difficulty travelling to. Cyber cafés, for example, often have a predominantly male customer base and tend not to provide a separate space for women. Further research is needed to determine what women's rates of access are at public access points, the factors affecting their access, and strategies to increase their rates of access.

**Local knowledge: the need for relevant content:** To the extent that women have income at their independent disposal and can move freely, they tend to be reluctant to invest time or money in using ICTs until they experience the value of the information, they can obtain using it. The dearth of information currently available via ICTs which is of practical value to women affirms this skepticism. The IDRC Gender and Information Working Group in 1995 identified a key missing ingredient in ICT projects: little research has been done or attention paid to women's information needs in developing countries or to supporting their access to appropriate information.

Lack of useful content for and by women is a major barrier. The experience of a community access project in El Limon, Dominican Republic was that the women in the community rarely used the ICT facilities. The reasons included lack of time, lack of literacy, and lack of locally specific and relevant information in Spanish on day-to-day issues such as healthcare, nutrition, and agriculture. One finding of the study was that relevant content is crucial to women's participation in ICT-based networks. Finally, it has been argued that the experiences of groups such as WOUGNET (Women of Uganda Net), which promote the development of Internet content by women, show the importance of local ownership and volunteerism as the key to unlocking the development potential of rural women.

## 9.5 RURAL DEVELOPMENT THROUGH ICTs

Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) have played an instrumental role in making the world a global village since the 1990s. Every one of us have benefited from their use. Obviously those who have access to the ICTs have taken more advantage of these technologies. However, as most of the ICT users have been based in urban areas and located in mainstream city centers, they have been reaping more benefits. However, individuals and communities have also gained tremendously from their use and the same is true about the inhabitants of Pakistan's rural areas. Nevertheless, there is a lot which

residents of the countryside could obtain from the availability and extensive use of ICTs economically, culturally and educationally.

The ICTs provide great windows for the members of rural communities in Pakistan to have interactive knowledge of the developed countries, societies and communities, their way of life and socio-infrastructure settings. For this, they do not need physical dislocation. To have such an experience of developed environments is indeed important for cultivating the sense of development among them. In fact, one of the main factors in the underdevelopment of rural areas has been that the majority inhabitants seldom moved out of their immediate physical milieu to relatively developed socio-infrastructure settings to experience in order to fathom what development means. In such a situation it is extremely difficult to convince rural communities to play their role in development of their respective areas, whereas anywhere development without the participation of the local people is meaningless and unsustainable.

The ICTs by overcoming the barriers of time and space have facilitated and could potentially facilitate rural communities of Pakistan for reaching out to sociocultural settings outside their immediate environments to experience the world at large. With the ever-increasing number of mobile, telephone and internet, particularly social media subscribers, and the ever-expanding network of ICTs in Pakistan especially in rural areas, more and more members of the rural communities would now be able to have a look at developed social settings in their own countries and even of the world. Though this is going to be a virtual experience of the outside environments, it is still critical for engendering the sense of critically looking at the adverse conditions prevailing in Pakistan's rural areas and more importantly how to improve them.

The access and use of internet by rural communities' members bear great potential for the economic development of these communities. Internet provides opportunities for them to reach outside buyers and markets mainly for their agricultural produce as well as services. This could greatly address the problem of selling and marketing of their indigenously produced products. This is particularly important when there is increasing realisation in the world, particularly urban areas inhabitants, of the health value of bio products. The adroit use of the ICTs thus could greatly benefit these people financially and improve their economic status. Moreover, by ascertaining the demands of markets in cities and beyond through ICTs producers or rural areas in Pakistan could be better poised to grow crops, raise cattle and make handicrafts that could be readily sold and bring more profits to them. The role of ICTs in providing educational facilities for the rural communities of Pakistan is great. Educational facilities in these areas have always left a lot to be desired. Their remoteness has been the main obstacle for the state to extend quality education facilities there. Now with ICTs they can pursue education without going out of their areas.

These ICTs hold immense potential for development of the rural areas of Pakistan in all respects. But to take advantage of it, there is a need to provide extensive and cheap access of these technologies to rural communities.

## 9.6 NATIONAL ICT STRATEGY

The challenges and issues in Pakistan regarding education is low enrollment rate and dropout students, to overcome these issues the Government of Pakistan needs to adopt a more innovative, cost effective and scalable solution in its National educational and ICT for education policies. The MoE, in collaboration with other agencies such as USAID education Sector reform Assistance, MoIT, and provincial education departments formulate a National ICT strategy for Education (Diana, 2006; Jolly, 2010; MoE website, retrieved at 2012, MoIT, retrieved at June 5, 2012). A brief discussion of the NICT strategy and its six elements are as following.

**Element 1.** Use ICT to extend the reach of educational opportunity There are many challenges and barriers to reach educational opportunity in rural areas, such as geophysical, lack of schools, context, gender, age and financial based differences, the MOE proposed approaches such as open and distance learning, educational television, Interactive radio, and computer Assisted Instructions, invest on good ICT practice models, in context and need of students, educators and citizens, and also research use of ICT mechanism and generate funds for these programs (Diana, 2006; Lorrae, 2002).

**Element 2.** Apply ICT to strengthen the quality of teaching and educational management To achieve and strengthen the quality of learning and education management by using ICT, there should be a learner centered context and continue learning environment, instead of lecture centered or teacher's centered environment, and also create instructional practice, best content knowledge and curriculum support. The local resources develop practitioners' communities provide online resources, ODL, IR, television programs, emails, blogs, chat, bulletin boards and online learning communities. It provides ICT tools such as (for developing local materials in national and regional languages) CD ROM based software, internet connectivity (in professional development centers), listserv and taped or broadcast TV, DVD or web-based TV. Selection of a best ICT blend of professional development model that support teachers' professional development, training, resources, follow up and support; teach with ICT, use ICTs; and educational portal; teachers can produce their own materials from training and available resources.

**Element 3.** Employ ICT to enhance student learning To enhance in students learning using ICTs is an emerging field of education, but need to concentrate on the effective and efficient use of ICT in curriculum enrichment, provide supplementary materials, alternative assessments and effective instructional method is a very important (Mojgan, 2012), this can be achieve by integrating ICT in curriculum for all levels of education, provide CD ROM based contents, introduce web based activities, launch TV, Radio based programs (e.g dramas, games shows, and interactive lectures), tool, projects demonstration, and performance based assessments, students centred learning method, independent, collaborative and team based learning, and students freedom to interact, there needs to take some action such as a reform curriculum, good learning content resources and a best exam system can improve student's quality of learner centred instruction environment (Vahid Motamedia, 2010).

**Element 4.** Develop complementary approaches to using ICT in education. Develop curricula that will motivate students to solve sophisticated problems, think critically and develop creativity skills. This can be achieved by technically literate and integrate ICT into classroom for teaching, learning and assessments with learning about technology and learning through technology (Nikleia, 2008; Musabbir 2009).

**Element 5.** Build on the current experiences of existing and successful ICT programmes. This will carry through official clearing house, which will be responsible for gathering and distributing effective ICT information to and from stakeholders. It also encourages international exchange of effective ICT programmes, a best approach will be used to monitor and evaluate the ICT projects in Pakistan. The focus areas will be international and national ICT best practices, universal based research Network, courses through television network, teacher training for professional development, innovative projects in computer, establish community centers and provide funding to upgrade citizens literacy. This can be achieved by using a several approach such as collect examples of ICT schools project around the world, research on that models and use them in education; establish computer labs in every schools, digital libraries in national levels, videoconferencing, Coursework through television, radio and CD-ROMs(AIOU), Distance education based on Hard and soft copies of resources, CD-ROM, Interactive online based and Television (VU), Technology training for teachers professional development and to use for teaching and learning purposes, PTV telecast, tele-lessons, Two hundred viewing centres (ABES), TV broadcast for child care facilities for parents and children at home(SSiU), Social network for teachers and youth, Interactive and online sites, Experts should Set standards for evaluating ICT projects, Replicate local successful projects, encourage schools and community centers to apply for grants for successful Information and Knowledge Management [www.iiste.org](http://www.iiste.org) ISSN 2224-5758 (Paper) ISSN 2224-896X (Online) Vol.4, No.12, 2014 194 projects implementation (MoE, AIOU websites).

**Element 6.** Develop capacity at the federal and provincial department of education levels. Form a technical committee and sub committees which will carry out the MoE mission, which can be Technical Implementation Unit for ICT in education, National ICT in education council, technical teams having specialization in ICT and council to assist the national efforts group include from NGOs, Educational Institutions, private and Govt sectors (Sabit, 2011).

### **9.6.1 Impact of New Communication Technologies in Rural Development of Pakistan**

Two models of communication are present in rural society; traditional way of communication which is based on interpersonal and interactive communication models and the other is modern way of communication; based on mass media and impersonal models. The traditional and modern ways of communications are very much important in traditional village life to achieve rural development and stability in village life. Despite the fact imposition of English language over the mass media has a language barrier at rural level, but due to interpersonal and interactive communication models this barrier is overtaken in rural societies. The traditional ways of communication will keep its position and hold in transmitting knowledge and information, their beliefs in rural societies (Orewere, 1991). Throughout the world all the human societies has their own indigenous and traditional ways

of communications with specified characteristics for their identity, existence and development. Communication models in rural communities always based upon their policies, political approach, planning and administrative controls. Mass media and new communication technologies utilizes these basic characteristics of communications to gain control over the rural communities to bring socio-economic and cultural changes in rural societies.

### **9.6.2 Communication Patterns in Rural Communities**

Every rural society has its own indigenous and traditional communication system to keep their culture and identity separate from rest of the world. This cultural identity of specific society keeps them determined to achieve their historical beliefs and economic powers and force the mass media especially new information communication technologies to adopt their local ways of communication for interacting at local levels. At local village level festivals, dramas, songs, family parties, dress designing and other means are very famous for sending special messages for communication. New technologies and mass media are now also promoting local village traditions to gain hold among rural societies (Orewere, 1991). Face-to-face, interpersonal, and group communication functions are key in rural development for both vertical and horizontal flow of communication at rural life, mass media and new information technologies have also adopted these ways of communication by introducing live calls, group calls through different applications available on net.

## **9.7 NEW COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES IN RURAL AREAS**

Now a day's use of mobile phone technology is increasing tremendously among the farmers at rural communities throughout the world. Mass media or electronic medium of communication services are very much important in rural development and mobile phone is clearly dominating among all technologies. Mobile phones have all the technologies at one place and you have this in your hands wherever you are wherever you want to go (Islam, 2011). For television you have to sit and watch the news, for newspaper same you have to sit and read, but this little device mobile phone has no boundary and restriction for sitting at specific time or place for receiving message and getting knowledge from the sender or source. Mobile phone has made possible and gathered all the mass media at one platform on your fingertips with no restriction of time, region and language. Due to these key features use of mobile phone technology is tremendously increasing among rural communities which ultimately causing positive result in rural development (Islam, 2011).

### **9.7.1 Background**

Ranked 5<sup>th</sup> in the world, with around 220 million population, of which around 70% of its population lives in rural areas of Pakistan. As per the survey conducted by UNSECO (2008) around 26% poorest and 34% poor people living in rural areas have low literacy or illiterate or having only religious (Madrasa) education. Growth of every country always depends upon rural development which requires much attention especially in different sectors like women empowerment, youth development, agriculture development and trainings of farmers. New information technologies target these specified segments of rural population to

defuse their basic traditional ideologies and reshape or reconstruct new themes of life for the purpose of development.

## **9.8 DEVELOPMENT THROUGH DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY**

By realizing the importance of digital technologies, timely adopting and appropriate use of digital technology in agricultural development and for other segments of rural develop society can cause rural-urban inequality. Enhancing knowledge and production in agriculture field of rural population, farmers are key target for new information technology organizations to defuse the century old traditions and convince them to adopt new ways of production by using their services (Islam, 2011). Using local radio services through new information technologies in rural development and closely working rural communities by keeping indigenous, traditional and cultural values with horizontal and vertical flow of communication benefiting the communities to have extensive knowledge to uplift their societies to growth level (Orewere, 1991).

Communication at local community level clearly indicates the problems and helps rectifying those problems at local community level, new information technologies and mass media is adopting the ways to interact with local communities to make communication fruitful to have solid development. Mass media is strengthening farmers, women at local level, youth by protecting their cultural and traditional means of life. It is clearly seen at local level the news, information and knowledge is spreading through mass media and new technologies with disrupting their ethnicity, political affiliations and cultural heritage (Orewere, 1991).

Use of mobile phone technology among farmers at village level helps them better understanding how to use incoming news and information in developing local region as part and process of rural development. Mass media and new information technologies both are trying to take care of demographic, personal conditions at local level, situations of farmers at local level and market needs and requirements before producing and transmitting the information, news and knowledge (Islam, 2011). Mass media is also using means of close observation, conducting interviews and conversations with farmers and other segments of rural society in natural sittings to convey the message that mass media is actively play key role in rural development. Mass media is using Innovation diffusion theory, but it clearly depends on the individuals as per their educational level, their acceptance towards knowledge, their mind preparation towards incoming message and most importantly towards the change local communities want or not. In demographic conditions variables are most important especially age, gender, culture, ethnicity, income, occupation and education for diffusion process related to rural development.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS (SAQS)**

- Q#1: What are the factors which inhibit rural population from benefitting ICT in Pakistan?
- Q#2: What are the women specific barriers in the usage of ICT in our country?
- Q#3: How agricultural development is possible through the help of digital technology?

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