

WHERE WOMEN STAND 75 YEARS ON

A Media Monitoring Report &
Gendered Analysis of the Print
Media on Independence Day

Produced by

**Uks Research Resource and
Publication Centre**



A Research, Resource and
Publication Centre on
Women & Media

“No nation can ever be worthy of its existence that cannot take its women along with the men. No struggle can ever succeed without women participating side by side with men. There are two powers in the world; one is the sword and the other is the pen. There is great competition and rivalry between the two. There is a third power stronger than both, that of the women.”

“No nation can rise to the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you. We are victims of evil customs. It is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the houses as prisoners. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable condition in which our women have to live.”

Quaid-e-Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah

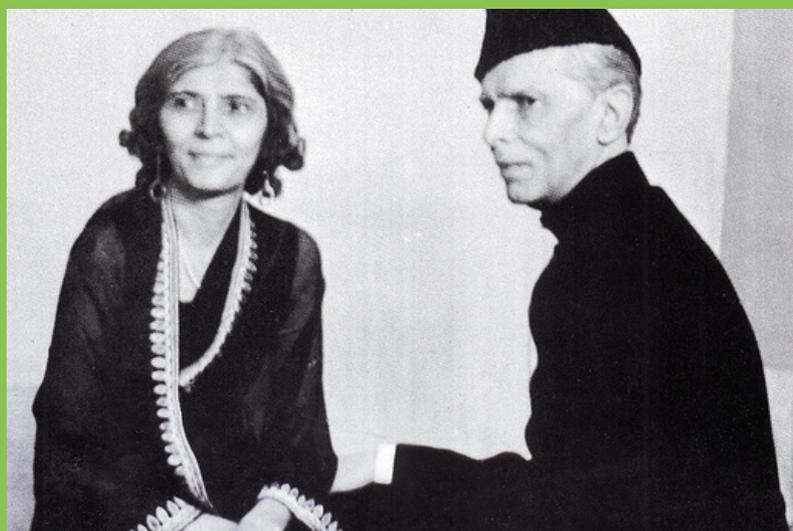


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DIRECTOR'S NOTE

The Missing Faces in our Media: Women continue to be of no substance

Women have been very active from before the Partition of the subcontinent and played a major role in the freedom movement.



The theme for Uks' Annual Desk Diary back in 2003 was '**Women of Pakistan: A Journey through Politics**', <https://uksresearch.com.pk/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Diary-2003.pdf>. The theme encapsulated the role of women before, during and after Independence. The chronology traces their journey as far back as 1876 as accounted for in the book '*Chashma-e-Khird*'.

Women were active, ambitious, energetic, and equal partners in the freedom movement. They were also the ones who paid a heavy price during the partition. Thousands were raped, abducted, forcibly converted, and made to marry into families of other religions. Many had lost their loved ones, yet they showed up at the frontlines as nation-builders. In the newly elected assemblies, they took up important issues, bringing in pro-women legislation like the Family Law of 1961. They resisted the anti-women moves during Zia and continued their struggle to get the draconian laws repealed.



THE MISSING FACES IN OUR MEDIA: WOMEN CONTINUE TO BE OF NO SUBSTANCE

Yet the journey of Pakistan's women during these 75 years has been a rickety one, on a bumpy road, as rightly said by FaridaShaheed and Khawar Mumtaz in their landmark book, 'Women of Pakistan: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back. Swimming against the tide, struggling against all odds, Pakistan's women continue to deal with every issue that holds them back from progressing their basic rights. Women have been an integral part of Pakistan's national development. Be it politics, the economy, agriculture, industry, sports, education, health, and foreign affairs, you can name any sector and be sure that Pakistan's women have been part of it and continue to hold the fort.

And this brings to the special editions/supplements that were published on Pakistan's DiamondJubilee by almost all players in the national print media and raises many questions about how the media covered the mega celebration of 75 years of Independence. As Uks' team sifted through the newspapers several questions crossed our minds however, one important issue that stood out for us and which one was asking was whether or not the media's coverage of the nation's Diamond Jubilee was gender-balanced. As a media monitoring body, Uks had anticipated the media's low interest in women and gender issues. We then decided to take up the challenging tasks of monitoring and analysing the coverage of randomly selected newspapers and asked these questions:

- Do we see women or their issues being taken up in these special editions?
- Do we see women as experts, opinion-makers and commentators discussing these issues?
- Do we get in-depth reports on women's progress, the challenges they face and the solutions?

THE MISSING FACES IN OUR MEDIA: WOMEN CONTINUE TO BE OF NO SUBSTANCE

The report that you have in your hands is a quantitative analysis of women's representation in the print media on Pakistan's 75th Independence Day. As an organization that is primarily focused on monitoring gender representation in the media, we felt that three-quarters of a century is a significant milestone in a country's history and a time to look back at how far the media believes one-half of the population has come. This is a humble initiative, a small effort to evaluate the print media's gender neutrality or its lack of the same.

Here is what we saw: While some publications did make an effort to include women as sources and as the focus of the content, overall they remained underrepresented. We saw missed opportunities for women-centric topics and came away with the feeling that women could have had a greater representation both as content creators and as the focus on the content in the hundreds of articles written by some of Pakistan's best writers and journalists. A lopsided gender focus in media content is harmful. It can exacerbate gender inequalities because it ignores the fact that women make up half of society. Other genders were also conspicuous by their absence.

We firmly believe that greater feminization of the media and the audience is the way forward if we want to see a shift in the current male-focused content that fills up our newspapers with a handful of women writers usually. As you will see, the monitoring data shows that the content created by women or which focused on women formed low percentages of the overall content of the publications this Independence Day. For perspective, it is always important to remind those who are the eyes and ears of the nation that women are half of this country's population, they deserve equal representation and the least one could ask for was that this reality be reflected in the Independence Day editions.

Tasneem Ahmar

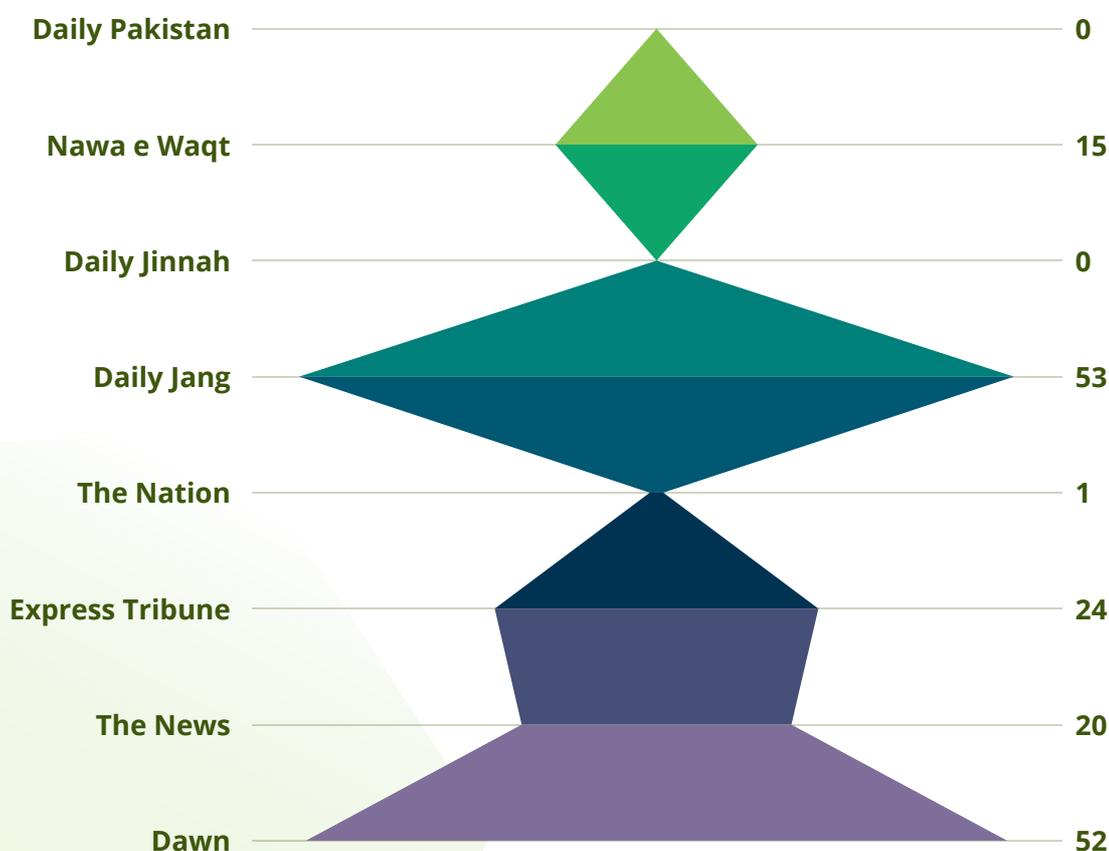
**Founding Director
Uks Research & Resource Centre**

MONITORING SUMMARY

Detail of items and media monitored in special supplements

Uks monitored 4 English daily newspapers of national circulation (*Islamabad Edition*) and 4 Urdu newspapers of similar significance (the names of the dailies and the number of scanned items are mentioned in the graph below). Out of the 8 daily newspapers, 6 had brought out special supplements.

Uks' primary focus was to gauge women's depiction against certain indicators in special supplements. However, as the whole newspaper was predominantly reporting across the themes intersectional to the Independence Day theme, we extended our monitoring to the whole newspaper, keeping the primary focus on special supplements. A significant amount of content was also monitored from the Sunday magazines because the monitoring fell on a Sunday.



Graph (1): Number of articles published in special supplements in each newspaper

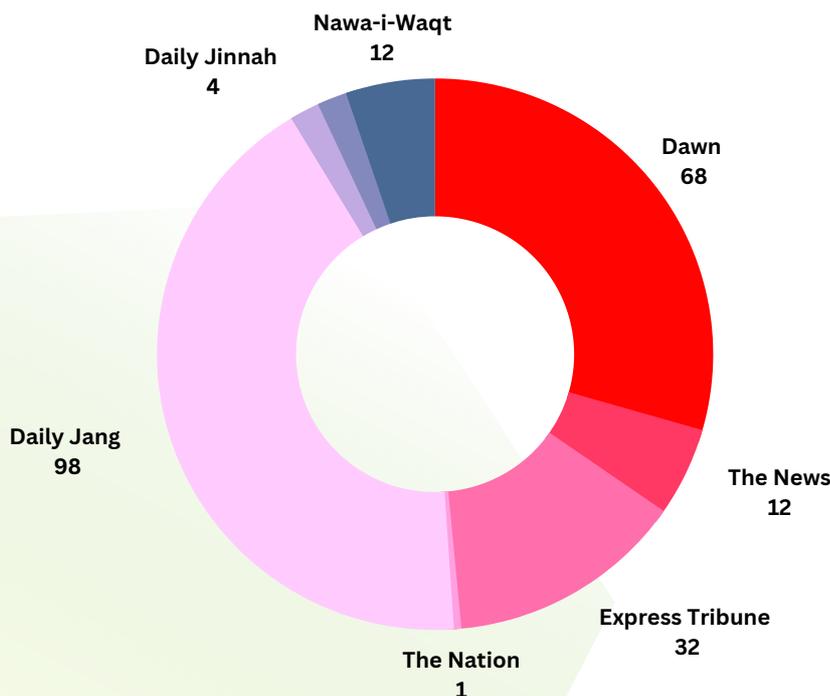
MONITORING SUMMARY

Detail of items and media monitored in special supplements

The special supplements contain columns, articles, features etc. Graph -1 shows the trend of special supplements in newspapers

Graph-1 shows that out of 8 daily newspapers only 6 dailies published special Independence Day supplements. Out of four English language dailies, 3 published a significant number of articles for special supplements, namely Daily Dawn, The News, and The Express Tribune, The Nation published only one article in its supplement. Out of the 4 Urdu Daily Newspapers, only 2 brought out supplements including Daily Jang and Daily Nawa-i-Waqt. Daily Pakistan and Daily Jinnah did not publish articles for their special supplements

The Nation (English) had only one page as a special supplement. Dawn (English) and Jang (Urdu) brought out the biggest supplements in terms of the number of pages.



Graph (2): Size of special supplements

Graph-2 shows the number of pages devoted by each newspaper to the Independence Day Supplement

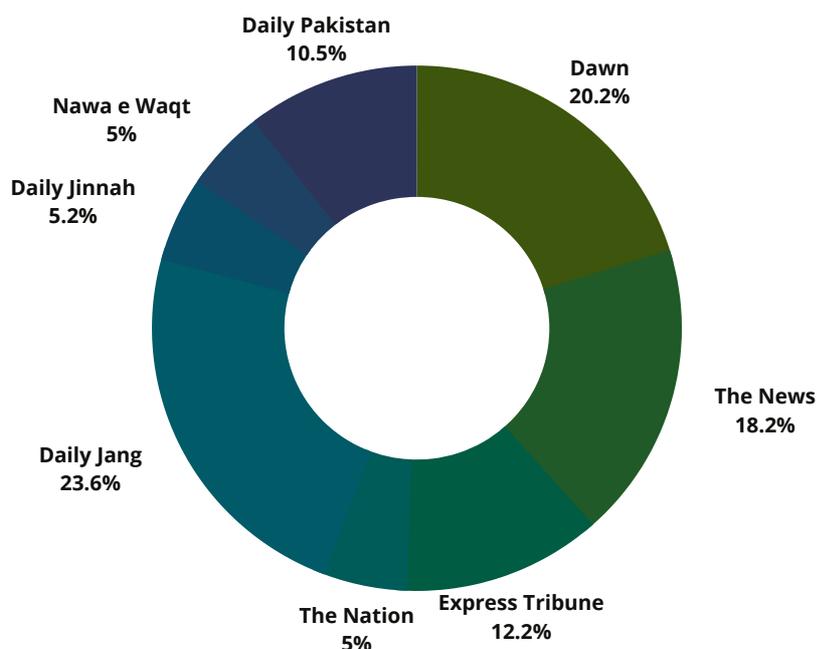
MONITORING SUMMARY

Detail of overall (special supplements + newspapers) items and media monitored

News	Photos	Columns	Editorial	LTE	Supplements
English					
166	13	75	7	17	97
Urdu					
173	18	35	5	0	68

Table (1): Detail of items monitored across medium

A total of 674 items were monitored. Of these 375 items were from English newspapers while 299 items were from Urdu newspapers. Following is the descriptive breakdown of all the items monitored across the medium.



Graph (3): Items monitored in each newspaper as a percentage of the overall number of items



GENDER IN SPECIAL SUPPLEMENTS

GENDER IN SPECIAL SUPPLEMENTS AT A GLANCE

Women in the Special Supplements

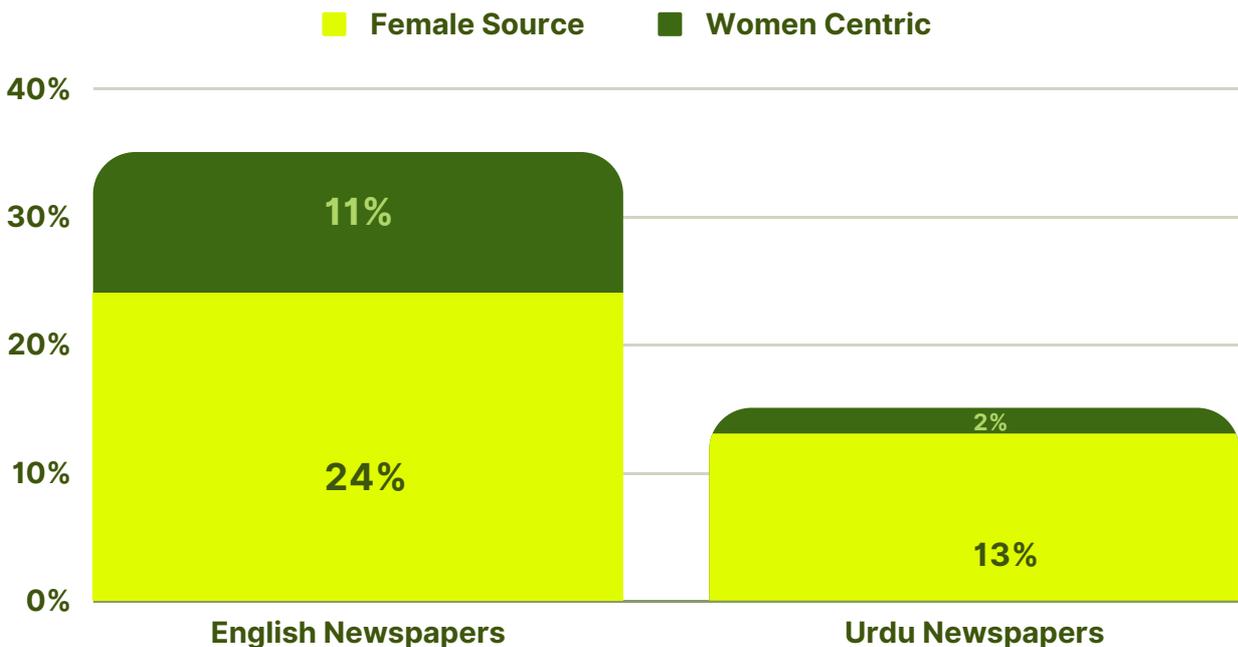
As source 17%

Source is the byline or credit line

In content 7%

Where women are the focus of the content

Only 7% of the content published in the special supplements (English and Urdu) was women-centric.



Graph (4): A comparison of item sources monitored in Urdu and English newspapers

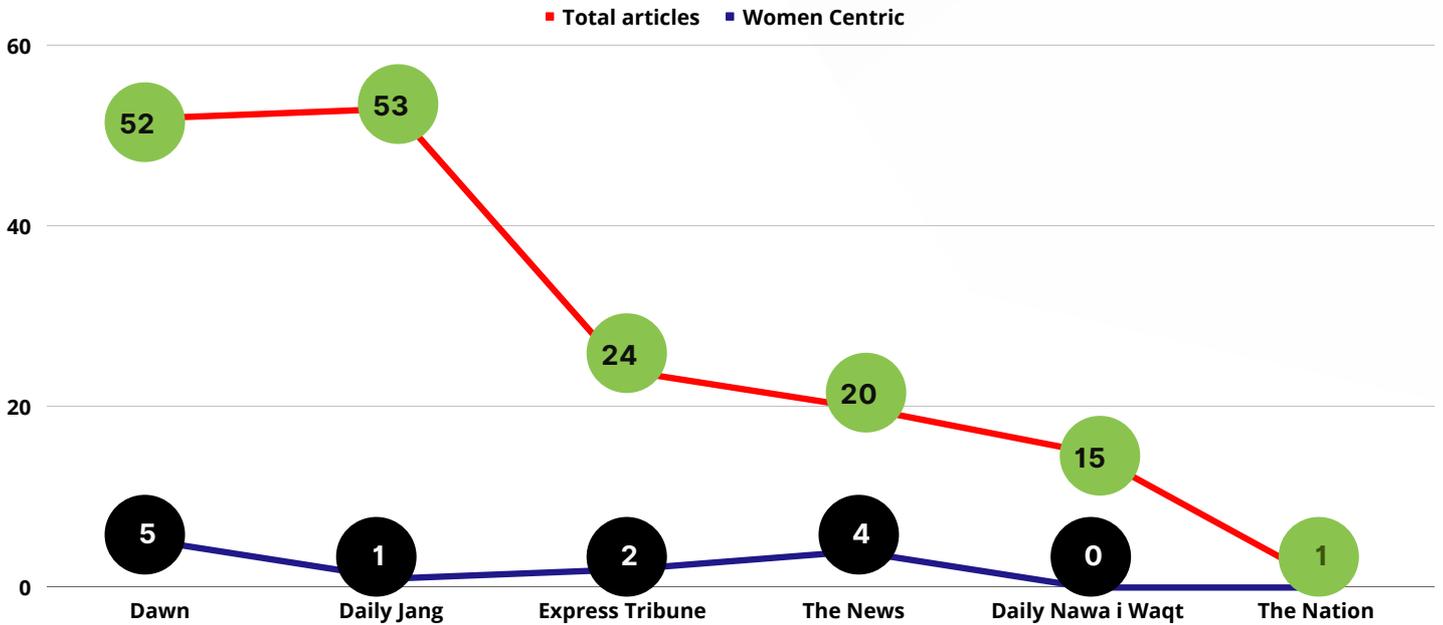
56%

of women-related content in special supplements was sourced from male sources

Whereas, female sources are more likely to produce content around the themes of women and human rights. The ratio of female to male sources vis-a-vis human and women rights themes is

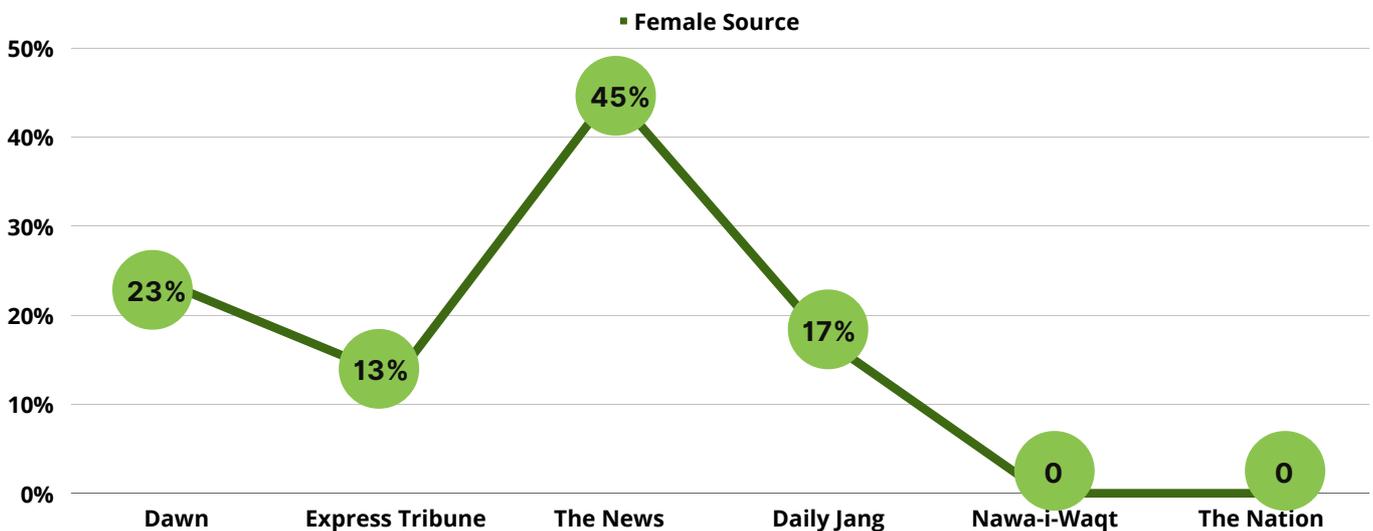
3 : 2

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SPECIAL SUPPLEMENTS



Graph (5): Comparative trend of women-centric content

- The red line shows the total number of special supplements stacked against each newspaper (in green circles)
- The blue line shows the number of women-related items in each special supplement (in black circles)
- The News allocated 20% of the articles in special supplements to women-centric theme, while Dawn allocated 9.6% of the articles to the same theme
- Express Tribune allocated 8.3% of its articles to women-centric theme, while Daily Jang allocated 2% of articles to the same theme



Graph (6): Comparative trend of female sources

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SPECIAL SUPPLEMENTS

- The Independence Day supplements published in Dawn (English) were heavily sourced from male sources. 77% of the monitored items from Daily Dawn are sourced from male sources.
- Daily Jang (Urdu) published 83% male-sourced articles in comparison to 17% of female-sourced articles
- The highest percentage of female-sourced items were published in special supplements of The News.
- All of the female writers for Dawn qualified as subject experts while 78% of writers of The News(English) qualified as subject experts.

NAMES OF THE FEMALE WRITERS ACROSS THE NEWSPAPERS



1. *Ayesha Jalal*
2. *Maleeha Lodhi*
3. *Arifa Noor*
4. *Hijab Waheed*
5. *Zeba Sethar*
6. *Afshan Subohi*
7. *Anum Sheharyar*
8. *Rizwana Naqvi*
9. *Zohra Yusuf*
10. *Naziha Syed Ali*
11. *Farieha Aziz*
12. *Zeenat Hisam*



1. *Najam Basir Sehgal*
2. *Dr. Hina Khan*
3. *Sidra Ali (2)*
4. *Zara Ahmed*
5. *Raushan Bilal*
6. *Dr. Noor Fatima*
7. *Dr. Saweeda Rehman*
8. *Zainab Afzal*



1. *Nida Sakina Siddiqui*
2. *Ghazal Khalid*
3. *Raheela Siddiqui*
4. *Dr. Rizwana Ansari*
5. *Shafaq Rafi*
6. *Nadia Naz Ghouri*
7. *Rubina Farid*
8. *Narjis Malik*
9. *Qanita Rabia*



1. *Yusra Salim*
2. *Sehar Tarrar*

UKS' CURATION OF THE SPECIAL SUPPLEMENTS

THE ONGOING CHALLENGE OF RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Organised activism

-Zohra Yusuf

Under the set of Hudood Ordinances, the first sentence of death by stoning was announced in September 1981. Allah Baksh and Fehmida, who had eloped and married were charged and convicted of adultery. Allah Baksh was sentenced to death by stoning and Fehmida was awarded 100 lashes. It must be conceded that women's rights groups had not paid much attention to the dangers of the Zina Ordinance till this harsh sentence was given. However, they were quick to mobilise on a single platform and formed the Women's Action Forum (WAF). Demonstrations held against the punishment given to the young couple and the attention paid by international media produces results when the said judgement was overturned.

It must be noted that WAF's protest demonstrations were among the few public shows of opposition to the military regime. This, too, at a time when demonstrators could be jailed, fined or whipped. Later, similar protests also helped save many women from harsh punishments passed under the Zina Ordinance. However, the majority of women in Pakistan's prisons during Zia's time were those convicted of adultery.

Protests by WAF also helped water down the impact of the Law of Evidence. The protests that began in Lahore on Feb 12, 1983, were harshly handled by Punjab police and many women were dragged off to prison. In a belated tribute by the state, Feb 12 is now observed as National Women's Day in Pakistan. It should also be acknowledged that the first initiative for women's rights and improving their status was taken by the All-Pakistan Women's Association (Apwa), led by Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan. Apwa successfully campaigned to bring about improvements in the Family Laws Ordinance, 1962, giving women more security in marriage

DAWN

Time to tackle climate change

-Rushan Bilal



THE NEWS

Of our patriotism and national songs

-Sidra Ali



In the 75 years since Pakistan came into being, the country has faced several bouts of political instability and financial crisis, yet the spirit of its people remains undeterred. Instead of falling victim to disenchantment in times of peril, the citizens of Pakistan express their passion and conviction to encourage the preservation of their beloved nation. The most popular method of this is the tradition of crowds of people coming together and singing our Qaumi Naghmay (national songs). Let us take time to rekindle our patriotism and spirit by remembering the most notable National Songs the people of this country produced in the last more than seven decades.

The 1970s-1980's were a golden era in Pakistani music and with that came the inception of many memorable National Songs such as "Hum Zinda Qom Hain" by Tehseen Javed, The Benjamin Sisters (Nerissa, Beena and Shabana Benjamin) and Amjad Hussain in 1973. Following this is "Ye Wattan Tumhara Hai", sung by the 'King of Ghazal' Mehdi Hassan in 1979. The same year, Shahnaz Begum released the infamous "Sohni Dharti Allah Rakhe" and "Jeevay Jeevay Pakistan". In 1985, Nayyara Noor performed "Wattan Ki Mitti" and "Is Parcham Kay Saaye Taay Hum Ik Hain".

THE NEWS

UKS' CURATION OF THE SPECIAL SUPPLEMENTS

Chronicle Of A Resilient Democracy

-Abbas Nasir



In 1983 the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy launched a stringent series of protests against the military dictatorship of President Ziaul Haq. Here, women protestors in Lahore are witnessed in a fierce roundup by a contingent of the Punjab police. (Courtesy: White Star Photo) - Photo: Azhar Jaffer

DAILY DAWN

Role of women in creation of Pakistan



The Independence Day of Pakistan is a reminder of the struggle and sacrifices that were made during the freedom movement by not only men but women as well. It is not wrong to say that active participation of women of subcontinent had accelerated the independence movement. Despite of so many hurdles and social restrictions these Muslim women made their presence felt in the political arena. They came out of their homes and struggled to achieve a Separate home-land. As nation is celebrating 70TH Independence Day, let's look back the Struggle Of the prominent women of pre-independence era.

Rana Liaquat Ali Khan

The history of Pakistan movement is incomplete without mentioning the services of Begum Raana Liaquat Ali. She was born in Agra. She was educated at the University of Lucknow where she obtained a first class Master's degree with honors in economics in 1929.

She also served as economic adviser to Jinnah's Pakistan Movement Committee and later became First Lady of Pakistan when her husband Liaquat Ali Khan became Pakistan's first Prime Minister. As First Lady of Pakistan, she launched programs for woman's development in the newly founded country.

Fatima Jinnah (Mother of the nation)

The loving and caring sister of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was born in 30 July 1893 in Karachi. She was a qualified dentist but quit her practice after the sad demise of the wife of Mohammad Ali Jinnah in 1929 and became a close associate and an adviser to her older brother.

She was an active member of the All-India Muslim League, where she served as Vice President of the women's wing. Professor Sharif al Mujahid writes in his article, "an enduring legacy", "People do not realize that just by accompanying Jinnah wherever he went during the 1940s,

Amjadi Bano Begum

The brave and courageous Amjadi begum was the first Muslim female political leader of British India. She started her political career at a time when women were restricted to their homes and their obligation was to take care of their home and children.

She belonged to a religious family of Rampur. She got her early education at home. Later, she enriched her thirst of knowledge from a large collection of religious books at home. She got married to Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar in 1902 and with the support of her husband and mother-in-law; she broke all the restriction and joined Khilafat Movement.

Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz

The eminent activist of the movement had a long political journey. She was born in 1896 and got her education at the Queen Mary College Lahore. She had devoted her life for the cause of a separate nation for the Muslims of sub-continent. She was an active member of the All India Muslim Women's Conference and remained president of its provincial branch for seven years. She was vice-president of the Central Committee of the All India Muslim Women's Conference. She also offered her valuable services to many hospitals, maternity and child welfare centers.

Begum Tassaduq Hussain

Salma Mehmoda was born in 1908 in a literary and scholarly family. She was a graduate from the University of Punjab. She was a writer, poet, translator and a devoted freedom fighter. She was an active member of the Punjab Provincial Women Subcommittee and in 1940 she was elected as one of its secretaries. In 1941, she was nominated to the Council of the All India Muslim League.

UKS' CURATION OF THE SPECIAL SUPPLEMENTS

غلطیوں کا خمیازہ بھگت رہے ہیں

پاکستان نے 75 سالہ تاریخ میں بہت سی کامیابیاں حاصل کیں، لیکن ہم میں استقامت کی کمی کی وجہ سے ترقی کا

پہیہ رکتا رہا، سب سے کم توجہ پر رہی، معیشت کم زور ہوتی گئی اور آج پھر تباہی کے دہانے پر کھڑے ہیں

مختلف شعبہ ہائے زندگی سے تعلق رکھنے والی چند شخصیات کا مختلف شعبوں میں 75 سال میں ہونے والی غلطیوں کے بارے میں اظہارِ خیال



ندا سکینہ صدیقی

احمد شاہ

آرٹس کونسل آف پاکستان کے صدر، احمد شاہ کا پاکستان کی صورت حال کے بارے میں کہنا ہے کہ ان 75 سالوں میں پاکستان نے بہت ترقی کی ہے، انڈسٹری لائزیشن ہوئی، ڈیز بنائے گئے، ٹیکس ٹائل انڈسٹری میں بہت کام ہوا اور بھی دیگر کام بھی ہوئے لیکن ان میں مستقل مزاجی سے توجہ نہیں دی گئی اسی لیے وہ سب زبوحالی کا شکار ہو گئے۔ حکمران بدلتے گئے، مارشل لاء لگتے رہے، جمہوریت کو صحیح طرح پران چڑھنے نہیں دیا، پالیسیاں صحیح نہیں بنائی گئیں۔ 1973ء کا آئین ایسا تھا جس میں تمام



سیاسی پارٹیاں شامل تھیں مگر وقت کے ساتھ اس میں بھی ترمیم ہوتی

گئی۔ جنگ کے نتیجے میں پاکستان کے دو ٹکڑے ہو گئے۔ ان تمام وجوہات کی وجہ سے جو پاکستان کا اصل نظریہ تھا وہ کہیں کھو گیا۔ قائد اعظم نے اس ملک کے لیے جو سوچا تھا، جو وہ چاہتے تھے وہی سوچا تو کچھ بھی نہیں ہوا

حنا خواجہ بیات

خواجہ بیات، معروف اینکر اور سٹیج اداکارہ انہوں نے پاکستان کی 75 ویں جشن اوی کے موقع پر میڈیا کے کردار کے حوالے بتایا کہ کسی بھی معاشرے کی عکاسی میں میڈیا کا اہم کردار ادا کرتا ہے۔ لیکن اس کے ساتھ وہ وہ لوگوں کو اصلاح کی طرف بھی لے کر جاتا ہے۔ ہم میڈیا کے ذریعے عوام کو تعلیم، شعور اور

آگاہی بہت آسانی سے فراہم کر سکتے ہیں، مگر افسوس میڈیا نے اس طرح سے کردار نہیں نبھایا، جو قوم کو ترقی کی طرف لے کر جاتا۔ ہماری سب سے کم توجہ تعلیم پر رہی، جس کا خمیازہ ہم بھگت رہے ہیں اور آگے بھی بھگتنا پڑے گا، اس کے ذمہ دار ایکٹروں اور پرنٹ میڈیا دونوں ہیں۔ بچوں کی تعلیم کے لیے نذوب کوئی پروگرامنگ کی جاتی اور نہ معیاری کتب ہیں، اس حصہ کو ہم نے بالکل خالی



چھوڑ دیا ہے جس کے سبب نئی نسل کو اس طرح

مصطفیٰ کمال

مصطفیٰ کمال، پی ایس پی کے چیئر مین ہیں۔ انہوں نے اپنے خیالات کا اظہار یوں کیا کہ، آج پاکستان کا جو حال ہے اس کی وجہ صرف یہ ہے کہ جن اصولوں پر پاکستان حاصل کیا تھا وہ ہم فراموش کر چکے ہیں۔ قائد اعظم جس طرح ملک کو چلانا چاہتے تھے ہم نے اس طرح نہیں چلایا۔ یہ وطن ہمارے لیے اللہ تعالیٰ کی طرف سے ایک تحفہ تھا، مگر ہم نے اس کی قدر نہیں کی۔ اسی لیے آج ہم تباہی سے دوچار ہیں۔ کسی ایک شے کو ملک کی بربادی کا ذمہ دار ٹھہرانا غلط ہے، ہم



سب اس تباہی و بربادی کے ذمہ دار ہیں جس ملک میں احتساب اور سزا نہیں

ہوگی، اس کا یہی حال ہوگا۔ پاکستانی عوام تو آج بھی آزاد نہیں ہے

نسرین جلیل

سابق سینیٹر، ڈپٹی کنویئر، نسرین جلیل نے پاکستان کی ڈائمنڈ جوبلی کے موقع پر اپنے خیالات کا اظہار کچھ یوں کیا کہ، اگر ہم یہ کہیں کہ ان 75 سالوں میں ہمارے ملک میں کوئی اچھا کام نہیں ہوا تو یہ غلط ہوگا۔ 1960ء مارشل لاء کا



دور تھا لیکن انڈسٹری لائزیشن ہوئی، جس کی وجہ سے ہم ترقی کی راہ میں بہت آگے چلے گئے، تھرڈ ورلڈ ممالک کے لوگوں نے ہم سے آکر سیکھا۔ اس کے علاوہ چھوٹی ریاستوں کے پائلٹس نے ہمارے ملک سے ٹریننگ حاصل کی۔ غرض یہ کہ ہم ترقی کی راہ میں بہت تیزی سے گامزن تھے لیکن جب نیشنلائزیشن ہوئی تو انڈسٹری لائزیشن کو دھچکا لگا اور ترقی کا پہیہ رک گیا جس کے نتیجے میں پاکستان کی معیشت کمزور ہو گئی

سے معیاری تعلیم و تربیت نہیں میسر ہوئی جو ان سے پہلی والی نسلوں کو میسر تھی۔

UKS' CURATION OF THE SPECIAL SUPPLEMENTS

Journey of a lifetime Based on a true story

-Najam Baseer Saighal

It was her first time in Lahore - the great metropolis! The capital of the Punjab! Unfortunately, she could not go to see the wonderful sights the city offered, for she was confined to the Lahore Railway Station, or to put it more accurately, the railway carriage which she shared with 30 other women and her new-born baby -just 3 months old. Her very own child, her first born!

This mother was just 16. The preceding year she married the man she had been betrothed to since the age of 4. From Mardan in the NWFP she was led to Simla, a hill station in North India. There she lived with her bridegroom in a summer cottage set amidst a beautiful forest.

She always recalled the journey to Simla, to her husband's home, as the high point of her life. She travelled on the Kalka-Simla small gauge railway line, which connected Simla with the rest of the Indian rail system. The spectacular panorama of the hills and villages, interspersed with more than 806 bridges, 103 tunnels and 919 curves, was unforgettable to her; touted as an engineering feat, it came to be known as the 'British Jewel of the Orient'. It was later added to the mountain railways of India World Heritage Site by UNESCO.

Currently, the family of three were on their way to the husband's new posting in Karachi, the coastal capital of the newly announced Pakistan. The train was filled to capacity. Her own compartment - the women's compartment - was overcrowded. Her husband was in a similar sardine-like situation in the men's compartment further down the railway carriage. It had been a hot, sweltering journey, dangerous and stressful. And now there was a stop at Lahore, Lahore that had been declared part of Pakistan - the new Muslim state - freed from British domination after a rule of 200 years.

Independence! It had its beginnings in World War I. Freedom was a collective aspiration by Indian nationalist leaders and their followers. The 'Quit India' movement against British authority eventually led to Independence and Partition.

The mother looked out of the window at the sea of humans, milling to and fro on the railway platform.

It was made up of a crowd of Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, Parsees and the many other religious and social groups, factions and castes, belonging to the vast land that was Imperial India. The unspoken question on the lips of each and every person - man, woman or child - was 'what does the future hold?' The British were leaving. Unexpected boundaries had been drawn up. The immediate prospect was fraught with acute anxiety - utter confusion prevailed. Their world was in total disarray. Life, their collective sixth sense told them, would never be the same again.



This was August 1947. The month heralded the freedom of the Indian subcontinent from British rule as well as a division of the country into Pakistan (a Muslim majority country) and India (a Hindu majority country). This was a separation in which unexpected boundaries were drawn up. The Boundary Commission, led by British lawyer Cyril Radcliffe, had been entrusted with the task of dividing the country into India and Pakistan. But how could a country be divided? A difficult task, further complicated as the lines of demarcation had to be based on 'outdated maps and census materials' - nevertheless, the deed was done. The two self-governing countries of Pakistan and India legally came into existence at midnight on 14-15 August 1947. The boundary demarcating Pakistan and India came to be known as the Radcliffe Line.

Lives, it seemed, were balanced on the point of

a drawing pencil. Those who were on the wrong side of the divide had to muster their courage to make way through hostile territory to reach their new boundary lines. What ensued was the emigration/immigration of a record-sized population. People were forced to take flight at the last minute, from the towns and villages they had been born in, whose institutions, bazaars and parks had invigorated their youth, the mosques and temples where they had worshipped and the graveyards where their ancestors were buried. Approximately 15 million people were displaced - a wave, nay, a tsunami of Muslims made their way to Pakistan and a similar surge of Hindus and Sikhs headed for India. Whole populations had been put into a most inconvenient and appallingly dangerous and unstable situation -- its consequences were terrifying and its effects would last for decades.

This was no smooth transfer of power. India was undoubtedly the jewel in the royal crown of colonies included in the empire on which 'the sun never sets.' With this tendering of command, the British Empire ceased to be a world power.

The task of keeping order in 1947 was passed on to the disbanded British army which was composed of locals who were themselves divided along religious lines and hence, could not be impartial in the killing spree. The murder, rape, looting, food shortage and arson that occurred held the brutality of a jungle. Houses were looted, trains derailed and burnt. Repercussions were being felt in many parts of the huge subcontinent but most of all in the Punjab. It was ethnic cleansing; it was genocide.

The mother turned from the window to focus attention on her daughter, who she knew would be needing her. She had spent a few pensive minutes looking out of the window and thinking of the above state of affairs, which were the talk of the town, across the length and breadth of India. But much more important for her was her new status in life: Motherhood! It was the most glorious experience! But horror of horrors - the baby was not there! Where could she be? Had she fallen under the berth? Did any other

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Journey of a lifetime Based on a true story

-Najam Baseer Saighal

passenger pick her up? No. Her frantic search revealed nothing. Nothing at all. No clue as to her daughter's whereabouts.

'Where is my darling baby?' she wept. Oh, what could she do? Where to turn? How could she spend life without her? What would she say to her husband? Her family? The mother's sobbing was heartbreaking to behold.

In the meanwhile, her husband was making his way to her compartment. He could not help but to notice a sight which to him seemed unbelievable - for coming from the opposite side of the platform was a young lad, barely 15 years of age, carrying a baby. The baby was wrapped in swaddling clothes of the same blue colour he had recently and most lovingly bought for his newborn.

It seemed like his own baby. On closer inspection, he recognised that it was, and quick as lightning he snatched the baby from the boy, who, comprehending the look of

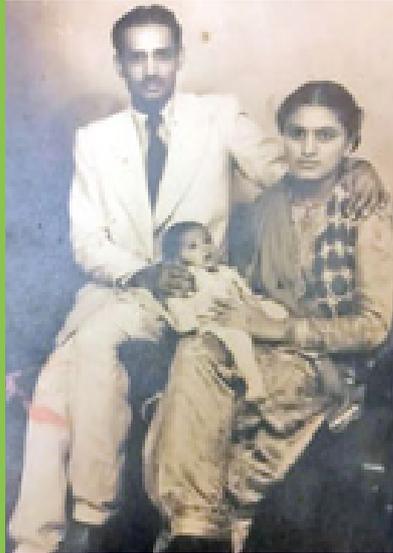
longer and authority, hastily handed her over and fled.

The father's knee-jerk reaction was not atypical. He was an athlete and among his treasured prizes was the 'King George V Memorial Hockey Challenge Cup Peshawar 1936', which he had won as a student and captain of Islamia College Peshawar's hockey team.

The tear-stained face of the mother brightened immediately upon seeing her husband outside her window with their daughter. Oh, miracle of miracles! Her baby was back in her arms!

The data compiled by knowledgeable organisations and experts of the earth-shattering events of 1947 reveal that between 75,000 and 100,000 women were kidnapped and raped by organised gangs. Both Pakistan and India wanted their abducted women to be returned. However, many women (understandably) refused to be repatriated as they knew that on return, the shame and stigma attached to their abductions would make their lives unbearable. By 1954, both governments agreed that the women should not be forced to return to their country of origin.

As for her baby, as old or as young as Pakistan itself, the very story sends a shudder down her spine. Such scenes of



kidnapping were taking place throughout the entirety of India - but unlike hers, not all had happy endings.

Her childhood and youth were spent in the wonderful city of Karachi where she acquired a Master's degree in Journalism from the University of Karachi, earning the gold 'Cairo Crash Journalist Victims Memorial Medal 1969'. Her education, in those times, served her in good stead, as it did the rest of the youth of the country. She went on to become a writer for the newspapers and magazines of the former West and East Pakistan and the UK, as well as serving as assistant editor, and then later editor for a number of prestigious national and international in-house magazines, working full-time, both at home and abroad.

A lifetime of work for her beloved motherland.

THE NEWS

FOUNDING MOTHERS TO AURAT MARCH

-Naziha Syed Ali

THE seed for the women's rights movement in Pakistan was sown decades before August 14, 1947, in that other epic struggle for rights, the freedom movement against the British Raj. In 1917, Bi Amma, the redoubtable mother of Muslim Leaguers Shaukat Ali and Mohammed Ali Jauhar, made history when, clad in a burqa, she addressed the annual meeting of the then all-male League in place of her younger son who had been arrested by the British. She went a step further in 1921 when she cast aside her veil while speaking at a mass meeting in Lahore. Both acts symbolised how exceptional times call for new thinking; in this case for women to step out of the confines of their homes and participate fully in momentous political events of the time.

And women repeatedly demonstrated they were equal to the task, taking out demonstrations, facing tear gas and beatings, courting arrest, and going to jail. The civil disobedience movement in 1947 even galvanised women in what at the time was the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP). That year, Pakhtun women marched unveiled in a procession, something unheard of in that conservative social milieu. The presence of Fatima Jinnah, standing shoulder to shoulder with her brother and president of the Muslim League, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, was reflective of women's equal participation in the campaign for a separate homeland. Nevertheless, women's rights in the new nation would be achieved piecemeal, as a result of campaigning inside the assemblies and on the streets, and progress was far from linear. Post-1947, nation-building activities saw women take on a more traditional, welfare-oriented role although they continued to push the envelope. Led by Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan, some of them formed a women's voluntary service to assist and help rehabilitate the exodus of refugees. But the wife of Pakistan's first prime minister also took the initiative to set up the Pakistan Women's National Guard and the Pakistan Women's Naval Reserve, programmes under which women were given military training. In an address to the PWNG, Begum Ra'ana said: "...[T]his is not the time for the 40 million women of Pakistan to sit quietly in their homes." However, the concept was too far ahead of its time. Photographs in the local press of the National Guard women

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Marching with heads uncovered and being trained by men attracted public censure, especially from the clergy, and both programmes were discontinued in the mid 1950s.



Miss Fatima Jinnah was by the Quaid-i-Azam's side throughout the movement for the formation of Pakistan. The above picture is probably taken in the 1930s in one of the summer retreats of Mr Jinnah outside Mumbai. (Courtesy: National Archives) - Photo: Dawn Archives

APWA's role

The women's voluntary service, meanwhile, was the precursor to the All-Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) set up on Feb 22, 1949, with Begum Ra'ana as its founder president. APWA, comprising mainly women from the elite class, led the way in setting up girls' schools and colleges and industrial homes where income-generating skills were imparted to lower-income women. It also had a women's rights and legal aid section, and the first legislation enacted to protect women in marriage, the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance (MFLO) 1961, was a direct result of APWA's campaigning.

Trailblazing lawmakers



Canada's Prime Minister Justin Trudeau walks with Pakistani Nobel Peace laureate Malala Yousafzai in the Hall of Honour on Parliament Hill in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, on April 12, 2017. -Photo: Dawn Archives

Pakistan's first legislature had only two women representatives, Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz and Begum Shaista Ikramullah, who kept up the pressure to promote women's rights despite the misogyny they repeatedly encountered. As recounted in the book *Women of Pakistan: Two Steps Forward One Step Back* by Khawar Mumtaz and Farida Shaheed, in the Zakat committee of the first Constituent Assembly, "the ulema refused to sit with [them], arguing that only burqa-clad women over 50 should be allowed to sit in the Assembly". It was on account of agitation by the early female legislators, including from the Punjab Assembly, that the Muslim Personal Law of Shariat 1948 was passed which recognised women's right to inherit property, including agricultural land; the issue had very nearly been put on the back burner.

Even Gen Ayub Khan's military regime, although it had supported the APWA-led demand for regulating Muslim marriage laws, did not include women in the decision-making process and there were only six female legislators in the assemblies, all indirectly elected on reserved seats. The sham that was the government's liberal façade was clearly exposed by its blatantly misogynistic campaign against Fatima Jinnah when she stood as a candidate against the general for the 1965 presidential election.

"The MFLO did not come out of the blue," says former chairperson, National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW) Khawar Mumtaz. "Women, under the banner of United Front for Women's Rights that included members of APWA, came out to protest the second marriage of then prime minister Mohammed Ali Bogra. They demanded that family laws be codified, and second marriage be banned or at least restricted. That is what led to the formation of a commission headed by Justice Mian Abdur Rasheed which drafted the MFLO."

Constitutional safeguards

Perhaps for the first time in the country, which was shortly to lose its East Wing, the run-up to the 1970 elections saw mass mobilisation of women across all socioeconomic classes. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP), whose manifesto promised women equal rights, reached out directly

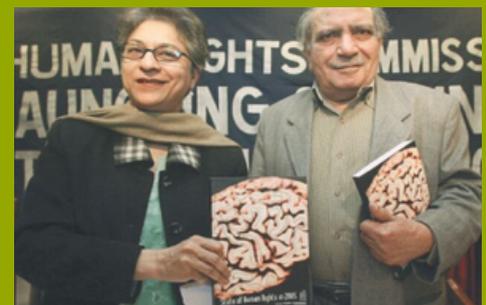


An arms drill demonstration by the Pakistan Women's National Guard before their commander Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan and the Shah of Iran during a state visit to Pakistan in March 1950. - Photo: Dawn Archives

to them both as voters and campaigners. The unanimous adoption of the 1973 Constitution during Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government according to which women were deemed equal under the law, was a landmark. Opportunities for women opened up, including in the civil services.

Women also began to join the workforce in droves, especially in the burgeoning cotton textile mills. As Sheema Kermani, founder of women's rights organisation Tehrik-e-Niswan, puts it: "Bhutto's roti, kapra aur makaan rhetoric and façade of a people's movement helped change the social environment and encourage female labour."

Enter Zia



Through their leadership and commitment, Asma Jahangir and I.A. Rehman deservedly became the face of the rights movement in the country. -Photo: Dawn Archives

For a time, it seemed nothing could stop the upward trajectory. Then came Gen Ziaul Haq. The military dictator's 'Islamisation' drive led to a perceptible shift in social attitudes. In 1979, the Hudood Ordinances were passed, and just two years later, in 1981, its implications became clear when a court sentenced Fehmida and Allah Bux for fornication under the provisions of the law. That lit the spark for women to rise up and demand their rights in

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feminist terms not collectively expressed until then. "Early women's rights activists believed in reform, they didn't believe in structural changes," says Anis Haroon, member of the National Commission for Human Rights and former chairperson NCSW. "Unlike the older women of APWA, for us it was an issue of rights, and not welfare only. We believed that as long as the structure was the same, nothing would change."

The platform for the resistance was the Women's Action Forum (WAF). Zohra Yusuf, former chairperson Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), recalls the day WAF came into being one afternoon in September 1981 at the home of Aban Marker, a co-founder of Shirkat Gah, who had called the meeting after news of the sentence that was handed down to the young couple.

"There were about 25 to 30 women at the first meeting. There was a lot of passion, the mood was very angry and we were all determined to do something."

A number of organisations joined WAF over time, including the Sindhiani Tehreek based in rural Sindh.

Gen Zia's government sought to marginalise women in public life and to reduce them to second-class citizens through a slew of discriminatory legislation, including, among others, the Law of Evidence. Hundreds of women at any given time languished in prisons across the country on charges of zina brought by vengeful ex-spouses or families under the Hudood laws. More and more women came out on the streets openly challenging not only the military regime's misogynistic laws, but also the subversion of the democratic system and the banning of all political activities.

On Feb 15, 1983, the state unleashed its might on some 400 women protesting against the Law of Evidence in Lahore. Police rained blows on them with their batons, and tear gas shells were lobbed at them. Several women were injured. Ms Mumtaz and her 12-year-old daughter were among the 50 people arrested. "We were taken to the Police Lines thana where those arrested were in high spirits ... we raised slogans, sang, wrote a statement and released it," she recalls. It was a watershed event that catapulted the women's rights issue, and WAF, onto the national stage.

'Westernised women'

The conservative media painted the activists as 'westernised women' who were not to be taken seriously. But several of them, such as Najma Babar, Najma Sadeque and Ms Yusuf, were themselves journalists. The latter was at the time editing the weekend edition of The Star evening. "Earlier it was an entertainment rag, but I turned it into a more political magazine and it became a platform for women's rights. In fact, my editor Mansuri Sahab was one day called in by the management who complained I was turning it into a feminist paper! But he was totally supportive." In fact, the movement had many male supporters among the journalist and legal communities who also protested alongside the women.

The status quo continued through the civilian governments of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif. She never had the required two-thirds majority to overturn the Hudood Ordinances, and Mr Sharif's party, the PML-N, was itself very conservative and few concessions were given to women during its years in government. Indeed, his habit as PM of visiting female rape victims to show 'solidarity' with them, all in full view of the cameras, showed total insensitivity to the trauma of rape.

Muslim world's first woman PM

Having a woman as prime minister, the very first one in the Islamic world — even one tiptoeing on eggshells around right-wing political forces and the power brokers in uniform — was a tremendous boost for women emerging from the bruising Zia decade.

The atmosphere also became less stifling in the years following. Ms Kermani's Tehrik-e-Niswan was one of the pioneers of using the performing arts to effect change. "When we first started, it was very difficult to get girls from lower-middle-class families to participate," she says. Later, however, it became easier to obtain families' consent to their daughters becoming part of the group's creative endeavours.

Musharraf's changes

Ironically it took another military dictator, Gen Pervez Musharraf, to bring about a significant revision of the Hudood Ordinances, when he signed into law the Women Protection Act, 2006, which separated rape (zina bil jabr) from adultery/fornication (zina),

moved them to the penal code and also made it difficult to abuse the zina provisions.

In the years since, much pro-women legislation has been passed, especially during the PPP government's 2008-13 tenure when it had cross-party support from women members; building such a consensus appears highly unlikely in today's polarised atmosphere. There are now on the statute books laws to protect women from sexual harassment in the workplace, forced marriage, acid crime, etc. as well as legislation to strengthen laws against honour killing and rape. All the provinces have by now passed domestic violence laws, some more watered down than others, but implementation is either non-existent or proceeding at a snail's pace. Commissions on the status of women exist on the national and provincial levels but are handicapped by bureaucratic meddling. Even decades later, as the 'controversy' sparked by some of the slogans at the Aurat March illustrates, nothing triggers the conservative lobby's deepest insecurities than women breaking out of their gendered roles.

DAWN

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A Confluence Of Challenges

-Maleeha Lodhi

PAKISTAN always seems to find itself at a crossroads facing new and more enduring challenges. One path we could have taken was to address these challenges. The other option was to leave the unresolved problems to fester and multiply. Sadly, the first was not the road taken

Today, the country confronts a number of overlapping governance challenges. They include daunting problems of solvency, security, mounting energy and water shortages, environmental degradation and an increasing youth bulge in an environment of economic stagnation.

This focuses attention on the reasons that got Pakistan here. What has been its political experience that has led to this situation? Lurching from crisis to crisis, the country has lacked a stable and predictable environment to solve its problems. It has not been able to establish a viable political order or evolve a political consensus on strategic priorities that could be translated into policy. It is not experimentation with political systems — parliamentary and presidential — that is responsible for its elusive quest for political stability. Presidential systems were in any case a façade for military rule and little more than vain efforts to 'civilianise' political interventions by the armed forces.

A complex interplay among various sets of internal and external factors helps to explain the confluence of challenges — governance, politics and the economy — that continue to confront Pakistan. Complicating the quest to resolve

its problems is the impact of external developments on the country's fate and fortunes. The external and the internal have been so intertwined in Pakistan's history as to make its challenges even more complex.

A repetitive cycle

Turning to factors that contributed to its challenges, the most obvious one is the lack of political stability with the country alternating precariously between civilian governments and military rule in a repetitive cycle punctuated by outbreaks of public protests demanding change. Just about half its history has been spent under military rule. Political discontinuity has contributed greatly to its problems. It also bequeathed a legacy of power asymmetry between elected and unelected institutions. This yielded the so-called hybrid arrangement in recent times based on informal power-sharing between the elected government and the military. The second element comprises governance challenges that are also the result of blowback from the country's protracted foreign engagements during the Cold War and beyond, the impact of great power rivalries and the fault lines of regional geopolitics.

Pakistan's close involvement in the war of unintended consequences following the 1979 Russian invasion of Afghanistan came at an extraordinary cost — the country's own stability. This spawned a pattern of behaviour that was repeated throughout its subsequent

history. While the country's leaders played geopolitical games that sought to leverage and enhance Pakistan's regional influence, the neglect of pressing problems at home exacted a heavy price.

External overstretch and internal under-reach has been a persistent pattern in Pakistan's history.

The multifaceted fallout of the two long Afghan wars, first during the Soviet invasion bid, and then following the US-led military intervention in 2001, was immensely destabilising for Pakistan. Poor anticipation and management of its consequences as well as some flawed strategies made matters worse.

Tyranny of geography

Another inter-related factor is the product of Pakistan's volatile and tough neighbourhood, with contested and insecure borders. The tyranny of geography imposed a heavy burden. The shadow of a much bigger and hostile neighbour, India, the 'unfinished business' of Partition epitomised by the Kashmir dispute, and an unstable Afghanistan on the western border consistently made security the top national priority. This also made the goal of security and deterring India (through conventional military means as well as by the acquisition of nuclear capability) an overwhelming preoccupation.

It involved the inevitable trade-off in which human development needs were accorded

secondary importance as public demands for education and health were not adequately met. This meant that while the state's hard power kept increasing, human security fell behind. Yet another factor contributing to governance challenges emerged from the legacy of sweeping nationalisation undertaken in the 1970s by the country's first elected prime minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Extensive state intervention in the economy produced the phenomenon of 'too much government, too little governance' for decades to come. Mismanagement of a large number of state enterprises also became a drain on the national exchequer. It crowded out private investment, and diverted the already scarce resources away from the social sector, including education. Losses in these state-owned enterprises run into billions every year and are still met by subsidies and bailouts. This has placed a growing burden on fragile public finances and limited the state's capacity to deal with rising demographic pressures and public needs.

Religion & regionalism

Of the continuities in Pakistan's political experience, the issues of religion and regionalism have repeatedly tested the country's unity. The salience of these issues has fluctuated due to shifting politics and state priorities as well as the public response. Religion and regionalism would perhaps not have been continuing sources of tension had efforts to provide effective

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governance been successful; one that met the economic and social needs of the people. Poor governance created the space for religious schisms and provincial or ethnic sentiment to intensify and find political expression.

Certainly, long periods of military rule magnified resentment among the smaller provinces by centralising and concentrating power, and also because the army was predominantly drawn from one province. Provincial tensions have not just been a reflection of a linguistically and culturally diverse society, they are also reflective of the either the absence or failure of nation-building efforts. They also signify disputes over the share of financial and natural resources, water and gas, against a backdrop of shortages and rising population. These issues have not disappeared, except that regionalism seems to have receded except for unresolved issues and the sense of deprivation among people in Balochistan.

The influence of religion in national politics has also ebbed and flowed. Since its inception, Pakistan has seen bitter ideological controversies over the role of religion in state and society. But, as historian Ayesha Jalal has pointed out, for the first three decades or more Pakistan functioned as a moderate, liberal state with religion "kept in check" in state affairs.

This changed dramatically with the advent of General Ziaul Haq's military rule. He fused religion and politics to legitimise his regime and

carried out a self-assigned campaign to Islamise the country, including its legal and educational system. These policies had serious consequences that polarised society along religious and sectarian lines.

Together with the role the country played in the Afghan war, this spawned extremist tendencies in society. It also left enduring effects on the social fabric. But the paradox in subsequent years was that though religious parties did not do well at the ballot box, the influence they wielded was much greater in the country's politics. This disproportionate influence resulted in their patronage by national power centres.

Violent extremism and militancy on the other hand had both external and internal dimensions and drivers. This again underlined how the two intersected to compound Pakistan's problems. Their rise is closely linked to Pakistan's role in the war in Afghanistan against the Soviets. This brought a witch's brew of problems, including over three million refugees, proliferation of weapons, spread of narcotics, exponential growth of seminaries and militancy.

Another driver was Saudi-Iran tensions and rivalry in the 1980s and beyond, their sponsorship of organisations and seminaries and funnelling of money to sectarian groups of choice. This spawned sectarian tensions and violence, which has punctuated Pakistan's history. The way the post-9/11 war in Afghanistan was conducted by the US-led coalition exacerbated

Pakistan's security problems, pushing the conflict into its border regions and leading to the emergence of the Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). The spreading militant influence in the frontier region prompted the launch of a series of military actions by the army, the largest antiterrorism campaigns anywhere in the world.

This went through several phases and finally succeeded in clearing these areas and dismantling terrorist bases. But the security threat from the TTP continues to this day in the form of cross-border attacks against Pakistani military personnel as the militant organisation remains based in Taliban-run Afghanistan.

Dysfunctional economic policies

A major contributory factor for present-day challenges and a consistent feature of Pakistan's history has been the reliance by successive governments — both civilian and military — on dysfunctional economic policies. This involves excessive borrowing rather than mobilising domestic resources to address the country's widening budget and balance of payments deficits. Here, too, external and internal factors intersected. In earlier decades, Pakistan's Cold War alliance with the West provided the policymakers the means to finance deficits with soft loans. Successive governments — dominated by rural and urban elites — therefore found the means to avoid reforms, raise sufficient revenue and tax themselves and their supporters. The dependence on external resources

to finance both development and consumption was thus both encouraged and facilitated by the availability of concessional assistance as a consequence of the country's foreign alignments. Cold War assistance accompanied Pakistan's close alliance with the US under military pacts such as Seato and Cento. In the 1980s Western aid flowed as a strategic payback for Pakistan's pivotal role in resisting and rolling back the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The 9/11 incident again increased Pakistan's strategic importance for Washington, which mobilised international efforts to provide financial resources and IMF financing for budgetary support as well as debt restructuring to ease Islamabad's economic problems.

Borrowed growth

The result was aid-fuelled economic growth during much of the Zia period and then again during the military dispensation of Gen Pervez Musharraf, which created an illusion of economic progress. This borrowed growth may not necessarily have had such deleterious consequences if the fiscal space it provided was used to launch reforms to solve the underlying structural problems of the economy: broadening the tax net, documenting the economy, diversifying the export base, and encouraging savings to finance a level of investment that could sustain an economic growth rate higher than the rise in population. But none of this happened. The availability of external resources along with

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high levels of remittances from overseas Pakistanis simply enabled the country to paper over the structural problems of the economy. Economic management relying on someone else's money permitted the country's rulers to postpone the much-needed structural reforms that could have placed the economy on a viable, self-reliant path. Once concessional financing began to taper off, it was replaced by expensive foreign and domestic borrowing. This phase of borrowed growth was unsustainable, and led to the accumulation of enormous debt. It was during the 1980s that the budgetary resource crisis emerged as a chronic threat to Pakistan's financial stability. The year 1985 marked a sharp break in Pakistan's budgetary history, with revenue no longer matching even the government's current expenditure. For the next decade and beyond, successive governments borrowed heavily to finance not only development but also consumption. In the process, the country accumulated unsustainable debt both by borrowing abroad and at home. This burden continues to cripple the economy today. Successive civilian and military governments were unwilling to mobilise resources and preferred instead to pursue pain-free ways to manage public finances. This of course can be explained in terms of a governing elite or privileged class averse to measures that they felt would erode their position or threaten their class or corporate interests. Pakistan's political history has been replete with governance failures and lost opportunities.

But there have also been positive changes in the political and social landscape that open up possibilities for the country to escape its unedifying past. For instance, political actors — parties, leaders and other stakeholders in the political process — have developed a common stake in the preservation of democracy.



SEATO allies Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad and his handpicked Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra huddle together with US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles at the Governor-General's residence in Karachi during Dulles' four-day visit to Karachi on May 22, 1953. (Courtesy: Ghulam Mohammad Archives/Naeem Malik Collection)

This was not always the case in the past. There is now wide acceptance and firm public consensus that military intervention is not the answer or even an option. The military is part of this consensus. This has translated into de-legitimisation of military rule although this does not yet mean de-legitimisation of the military's role in national affairs.

Besides, a rebalancing of power among state institutions has been underway in the democratisation process, which has now proceeded uninterrupted for 14 years, with different actors trying to find their place in a changing political landscape. A renegotiation and realignment of power is underway between various national stakeholders — executive, parliament, judiciary, and the army. At times this vying for space has unleashed tension and

friction, but this should be seen as part of an inevitable process to establish a new equilibrium, which involves determination and acceptance of each institution's legitimate role.

Old & new power structures

Also, the old power structure is being transformed by the emergence of several new

countervailing forces — an activist judiciary, an energetic media, and a vibrant civil society. The power of public opinion is an increasingly important factor shaping the political discourse in the country. This is changing power dynamics as well as how people judge government performance, making Pakistan part of a global trend of greater transparency brought about by the revolution in modern communications. This has generated a new sense of public awareness and empowerment. And, finally, the rise of a larger, more assertive urban middle class is a critical factor. Its size may be disputed (it is put anywhere between 50 and 70 million people), but the reality is not. The political dynamics unleashed by a middle class that wants a bigger political voice first expressed itself in the lawyers' movement of 2007-

08. Although the campaign had a single-point agenda, it reflected wider democratic aspirations and was spearheaded by middle-class professionals, with politicians following, not leading, the urban upsurge. An urban middle class wanting to play a role in the country's politics holds opportunities to align Pakistan's governance system both with the forces of demographic change, and also with the relatively modernist impulses of a social class whose worldview is quite different from the change-averse, traditional society. The transformed environment, characterised by the rise of new actors, more-empowered institutions, and an expanding middle class, is recasting the relationship between the state and the citizen.

Only the future will determine if these changes can crystallise into a new kind of politics that goes beyond a power game to connect governance with public purpose, and taps into the resilience of the Pakistani nation to establish a foundation for effective governance that people have long deserved, but have been deprived of.

DAWN

UKS' CURATION OF THE SPECIAL SUPPLEMENTS

AMBIGUITIES IN POPULATION CONTROL

-Zeba Sathar

THE last 75 years have seen massive socioeconomic changes in the subcontinent; one of them is the huge demographic change witnessed in our region. Pakistan's population has increased sixfold from 30 million in 1951 to 220m in 2022, leading us to a staggering fifth highest position in the world from the 13th in 1951 (when the population included East Pakistan) and eighth in 1981.

We have very little else to offer in terms of human power and education, health and economic achievements. The potential seen in Pakistan in the 1960s and the 1970s has been squandered. South Asia took centre-stage in world population growth and population policies in the 1970s with the realisation that the future course of any country's development was strongly intertwined with its population trajectory.

Pakistan initiated its population programme much earlier than other regional countries, in the 1960s, but the modernist, development-oriented military regime of Ayub Khan did not translate it appropriately as being related to individual wellbeing and welfare rather than to macro goals of development and growth. With 1971 came the split from the East Wing and the emergence of Bangladesh; that is when the two halves broke into separate pathways of population, politics and development.

One visible effort to ratchet up education, health and population planning was during the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto period (1973-77) when Begum Nusrat Bhutto led us to the famous Bucharest population conference. But this period was cut short by another military coup. This time Gen Ziaul Haq, with his more conservative undertones, took us into down a spiral in terms of population planning. While other countries shot ahead in terms of their population.

policies, notably Indonesia and Bangladesh, a moratorium was imposed during 1977-88, and the population narrative took on a different meaning.

A turning point?

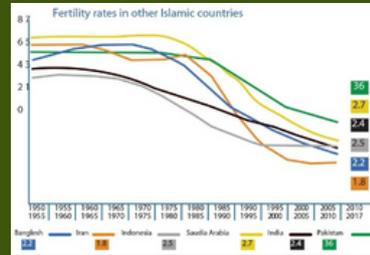
Could this have been a turning point? Above all, the regressive actions bred confusion in the minds of the people that religion is at odds with family planning. This conviction spread wide, especially to the middle classes.

The ambiguity and ambivalence regarding the permissibility of family planning in the religion stems from the pronatalist 1943 Maududi treatise that was reprinted in 1962. The main argument was that family planning could not be sponsored as a state policy and enforced upon the people by the government. While presenting several arguments against population 'control', he did, however, concede that if it was a question of preserving human life, especially of the mother and the child, parents could adopt any measure in consultation with and on the advice of a medical practitioner.

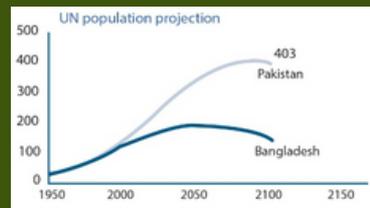
The latter aspect of the treatise never received much attention. However, the pronatalist views were exploited and used in the movements against Ayub and Bhutto, both of whom supported population planning. Conversely, the clergy in Indonesia, Bangladesh, Jordan, Morocco, Egypt (where the Grand Mufti of Jamia Al-Azhar issued a fatwa in favour of family planning) and in Iran (where a similar fatwa was issued by Imam Khomeini) were unequivocal in their support. In Pakistan, it was not until 2015 that attempts were made to obtain a broad-based consensus on the permissibility of family planning (Figure 1).

Bangladesh's success

The standout story of Bangladesh's success in lowering its population size is worth telling.



It was achieved through sustained political will at the highest level, a far-sighted and consistent population and development policy, community outreach and women's empowerment. The outcome was obvious (Figure 2).



Starting at the same level in 1971, Bangladesh already has 61 million less people than us whose needs it had to serve. By the year 2100, Bangladesh is expected to level off to 150 million, while Pakistan is likely to be home to over 400 million. Pakistan has by and large been the most indecisive in reconciling the belief that sheer numbers of people give strength, provide opportunity to exert our might at the borders, increase remittances, and expand political power with the capacity to provide basic rights of primary education, health, clean drinking water and the ability to breathe good, clean air.

The clearly pronatalist National Finance Commission (NFC) Award formula rewards a larger population by province and is the base of political representation and resource distribution on the basis of 82pc weightage for the divisible pool of resources. It stands in contradiction to population policies encouraging fertility decline.

Rapid urbanisation

A striking feature of Pakistan's demographic situation is its much

more rapid rate of urbanisation than in India and Bangladesh. In one of the world's largest migrations, the influx of 6.5 million Muslims into Pakistan following the partition of India and their disproportionate move to urban areas was the basis for the major source of growth of cities like Karachi and Lahore. The steadily increasing share of urban population is a result of migration from rural to urban areas, but also continued high fertility in urban areas. More than 50pc of Pakistanis will be living in urban areas by 2050 — already at 2.5 times compared to 1951. The rapid rate of urbanisation has had a profound impact on the social milieu in Pakistan, as more and more Pakistanis move from rural bases to urban areas, even though many might end up in squatter settlements and slums in the big cities.

While social change has always preceded in urban areas, the difference has not been as drastic as found in most other societies. This is because even when rural Pakistanis move to cities and towns, they may do so without their extended, and sometimes even their nuclear, families. Ties with natal relatives and feudal linkages continue to extend their influence despite changes in residence. Certainly, social patronage and control continues to influence values and family size norms though to a much lesser extent. But even more so, improved road links and better transport options lead to frequent home-to-work travel. Interestingly, provincial fertility differentials have been small,

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despite considerable differences in levels of development across the regions. Sindh has the lowest fertility rate, but this is primarily due to the large population of Karachi; here, ethnic divisions transform into urban-rural differentials. In other provinces, too, certain ethnic groups, like the Pakhtun and Seraiki populations, have larger numbers of children compared to Urdu-speaking and Punjabi communities.

The fertility decline in Pakistan began in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, coinciding with the post-Zia period (1988-2000), when population growth benefited from being part of the focus on the social sectors under the social action programme. One of the most remarkable and effective achievements was the induction of hundreds of thousands of lady health workers across Pakistan by the government head by Benazir Bhutto. It was a period of hope, but was soon followed in the late 1990s by an economic downturn after a longish period of high economic growth rates in the 1980s.

The resultant expectation was that the rapid decline would continue, but this did not transpire. The military coup in 1999 coincided with economic growth, but fertility declined at a much slower pace and contraceptive use began to lapse. Despite the return to democracy and three successive elected governments, from 2007 to 2020, population trends at best have remained stagnant.

The last call

The setback of more than a decade not only put us behind our neighbouring countries, it also entrenched a mindset that is hard to change. It is difficult to disentangle in a hurry the considerable number of factors that comprise the fabric of Pakistani society — a heterogeneous, vibrant but troubled country

But the factors are there for sure. What we are facing is really the last call to wake up to this sharpening drop in our ranking in per-capita income, literacy, women's education, and health, especially in comparison with India whose population growth rate has come down to 1pc this year and below replacement fertility to -2.0 children per woman compared to 3.6 in Pakistan.

Bangladesh has a distinct growing economic trajectory owing to the advantage of rising exports, increasing foreign exchange reserves and a competitive edge in the world market. In our case, an earlier focus on economic growth came at the cost of neglect of human capital development, now exacerbated by illiteracy, unskilled labour, rapid population growth, and poor health indicators. Our prospects to achieve the same results as Bangladesh or other Asian tigers have been much eroded.

In the last 75 years, we have witnessed an erosion of a public consensus on population. The role of the state has outweighed the greater interests of the populace over the last few decades. The state could have played a responsible role in shaping mindsets, providing a solid primary education base, improving curriculum content rather than guiding it away from reflecting on Pakistan's realities, ensuring that laws are implemented, and introducing new social-sector programmes.

Equally important are clearly articulated policies with consistent funding, particularly population policies that are currently weak and not implemented. The resolution of the impasse in progress on lowering population growth and investing in human development has not been any government's priority and we are unfortunately paying the huge, avoidable price.

A FAILURE TO SECURE INCLUSIVE GROWTH

-Afshan Subohi

WE have, indeed, come a long way over the past 75 years despite having seriously underperformed both economically and politically. No wonder there is a broad consensus that the country had the potential to do much better which could have taken it much farther. The inconsistent progress and the weak quality of economic growth tell a tale of missed opportunities even with abundant human and natural resources.

In hindsight, it is clear that initial work on the foundations of the new state was less than ideal. We can rationalise why it was what it was, but there is no point denying critical factors related to, say, institution-building and nation-building. After almost half-a-century of having the country's Constitution (1973), it is unfortunate that the working masses are still longing for a decent living standard and equitable economic opportunities in a country whose dependence on donors to keep the economy afloat is only increasing.

The deck is visibly loaded against the poor, the minorities and the country's women even before they get a chance to play their hand. This exposes the dysfunctionality of the state and the bankruptcy of planning by the coterie at the helm; the ruling elite.

In 2000, UN members adopted the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and, at the end of the designated 15-year period, they adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for the next 15 years, pledging to end poverty and curb inequality for sustainable and inclusive development across the world. Each UN member country was tasked with translating the goals into benchmarked quantifiable targets to trace and track national progress. Pakistan failed

In self-set targets in all the seven MDGs, while progress on the 17 SDGs has been quite unsatisfactory thus far

All three pillars of state in Pakistan, it seems, have a problem with the poor rather than poverty. State institutions seem ultra-sensitive to the needs of the fortunate few who are already well positioned to make do without special care. Wealth begets wealth, but it multiplies geometrically when facilitated by the state's policies, and assisted by state structures.

It is not surprising, then, that the elite have amassed wealth in record time without judiciously paying taxes, taking risks, facing competition or delivering productivity gains. Regardless of the party in power, their interests are mostly secure. Their fortunes though have shone brighter under dictatorial regimes.

As inequality continued to worsen over the years, the government stopped reporting the embarrassing reality. The chapter on 'income and regional disparity' in the Economic Survey of Pakistan was first merged with the one on 'poverty', and was later dropped altogether. The issue of inequality has been highlighted by some writers and in certain studies by economic research entities, but it fails to capture the attention of the relevant quarters in any meaningful way.

Luckily, the UNDP's National Human Development Report 2021 attempted to shed new light on stark income inequality and the economic privileges of the elites in Pakistan. These elites include those from the corporate sector, the landed aristocracy, the military and

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the political hierarchy. The estimated cost of favours they receive, according to the said report, is Rs3.6 trillion (\$17.4bn), or roughly 6pc of the national economy.

The corporate sector has been identified as the biggest beneficiary of the privileges in the form of tax breaks, cheap input prices, higher output prices or preferential access to credit, land and services. The richest 1pc, who collectively own 9pc of Pakistan's wealth, are found to be the second in order of unearned privileges. The feudal aristocracy, which makes up 1pc of the population but owns 22pc of all arable farmland, stands third. The UNDP found that the military — with its huge business, public works and real estate interests — receives Rs355.3bn (\$1.7bn) in privileges.

The richest 20pc in the land command 50pc of the national income, while the poorest 1pc holds a mere 0.15pc of that pie. The report also highlights regional inequalities in service delivery, with high-income areas receiving higher public expenditure.

For a deeper historical insight on multidimensional inequality and how it evolved in the country, the 75-year period can be divided into seven phases: 1947-58, 1959-71, 1972-78, 1979-88, 1989-1998, 1999-2008, and from 2009 to date. Key factors that influenced the government's approach towards disparities include the type of the government, the international alignments and the economic thought that influenced the direction of the public policies. In the initial phase, there were abrupt changes in government as it was overwhelmed by problems and too preoccupied by the survival

of the new state to care about anything else. In this period, competing interests wrestled for the upper hand in the power structure, while a mixed approach was followed in the economic sphere.

The second phase was marked by military takeover and a mixed approach towards the economy, borrowing ideas from both capitalist and socialist models. The regime hand-held the feeble business class. It established the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC), which used public resources to establish industry, and handed it over to the private sector on a platter.

Gen Ayub Khan also introduced high-yielding seeds to initiate the Green Revolution and continued with the five-year plans that were initiated in 1955, borrowing the idea from the erstwhile Soviet Union. During this period, the state was ideologically more inspired by the market model. It was an expressed state policy to promote the concentration of wealth, mentioned in as many words in the Second Five-Year Plan (1960-65), to realise higher investment rates.

Despite near 6pc annual growth rate, inequality touched new peaks. Renowned economist Dr Mehabub ul Haq, the architect of the Second Plan, wrote a booklet titled *Poverty Curtain* in 1969 in which he argued that 22 business families had come to control much of industrial, banking and insurance sectors in Pakistan. Despite the high average growth rate, public discontent burst out on to the streets, leading to uprising in East Pakistan

and culminating in the country's dismemberment.

In the third phase, the populist government introduced agriculture reforms and opted for a nationalisation policy to free the economy from the shackles of powerful monopolies. In this period, the pace of growth almost halved to an average 3pc. The economic crisis was deepened by the oil shock of the 1970s. The phase ended with the military once again in the saddle.

In the fourth phase, global and geopolitical concerns ensured free flow of dollars to the country, creating some fiscal space for the government to do something substantial in economic terms. Instead, the majority of the population remained far away from the minds of those who reported serious improvement in GDP growth.

The fifth phase saw a return to democracy, but political stability could not be secured. Four elected governments were dismissed successively and prematurely on charges of corruption. Such instability did not allow the GDP growth to sustain itself and the annual average growth rate dropped to 4pc. The phase ended with another general taking over the reins of the country.

Though the government was clueless at the beginning of the sixth phase, the 9/11 episode came to its rescue and overnight Gen Pervez Musharraf started rubbing shoulders with the high and mighty leading the so-called 'war on terror'. From a pariah state, Pakistan became the most favoured nation, receiving a

steady flow of dollars once again, which, once again, were used to offer patronage to the urban and feudal elite.

During the last and continuing phase, four governments — one each of the three major parties and the current coalition — have been in power. The high mark of this phase in economic terms has been the multibillion-dollar China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). Beyond lip service, the last 14 years have seen nothing to suggest that any of the four dispensations gave any attention to the issue of growing inequality in society. The famed common man, in whose name and for whom all decisions are apparently taken, keeps looking on in utter disbelief.

The benefits of Pakistan's economic growth have accrued mainly to powerful elites patronised by the state, preventing any broad-based improvement in living standards and the general quality of life.

DAWN

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Mapping the conditions of women and children in Pakistan

-Mahnaz Rahman

In 2020, the UN Secretary-General António Guterres' delivered remarks on "Women and Power" at The New School in New York:

"The women's rights movement came of age in the twentieth century. Women Heads of State dispelled any doubts about women's ability to lead. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights asserted the equal rights of men and women, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women outlined a vision of gender equality.

Today, young women like Malala Yousafzai and Nadia Murad are breaking barriers and creating new models of leadership.

However, despite these advances, the state of women's rights remains dire. Inequality and discrimination are the norms, everywhere. Progress has slowed to a standstill - and in some cases, been reversed."

It is a good moment to go through our history for a reasoned analysis of how we got here and what might be done to improve the situation. In doing so, we may focus on three chief areas:

Literacy and education

Most importantly, there has been underinvestment in female education and health during the last 75 years and it has had deleterious effects not only on women themselves but on children and future generations as well. The problem is more pronounced in rural areas of Pakistan where low level of education and lack of awareness and access to medical facilities pose a major threat to the development of a healthy and productive society. The dominant cultural notions regarding women are also instrumental in hampering women's access to education, information and other structures of power. The parts that now constitute Pakistan were among the least developed regions of India and the rest of the world prior to 1947, and the last to be conquered by the British, according to the eminent economist Dr Kaiser Bengali. The British rule in Sindh, Balochistan and NWFP lasted a century and these regions were considered the periphery of the British Raj in India. At the time of the first census in 1950, the overall literacy rate was 20 per cent in India and 14 per cent in Pakistan, according to UNESCO. As of 2012, India has achieved a 75 per cent literacy rate

while Pakistan is at 58 per cent (Pakistan Standards of Living Measurements (PSLM) survey, 2011-12). Pakistan Youth (15-24 years) literacy rate is 79.1% for males and 61.5% for females. As of 2010, there are 380 out of every 1000 Pakistanis aged 15 and above who have never had any formal schooling. Of the remaining 620 who got enrolled in schools, 22 dropped out before finishing primary school, and the remaining 598 completed it. Out of every 1000, only 401 Pakistanis made it to secondary school; 290 completed secondary school while 111 dropped out. Only 55 made it to college out of which 39 graduated with a degree.



There are two systems of education prevalent in Pakistan: the traditional religion-based education system and the modern formal education system that began under British colonial rule and continued after the country's independence. Both systems are financed by the Ministry of Education, although the scrutiny by the government of standards of the modern education sector is far stricter than for the madrassahs. Since the late 1970s, with the increasing Islamisation of Pakistan's polity and society, the management of the traditional institutions has been under the control of mullahs both at the provincial and the federal levels. This was partly supported by the fact that the madrassahs were financed out of the zakat, the Islamic tithe collected by the government. With the upheaval in Afghanistan during the early 2000s, the Taliban and many of its fighters sought refuge in Pakistan. They enforced strict codes of conduct in the areas they controlled and restricted the freedom of women and put a ban on girls from attending schools. This action worsened the already deteriorating education system in Pakistan, with over 5.5 million primary school-aged children out of school of which 63 per cent are girls. According to a UNESCO's 2014 report, Pakistan has the second highest number of out-of-school

children in the world. While the government of Pakistan has legislated education for all, Gender Concerns International (GCI) and other NGOs have noted that education remains drastically underfunded at only 2.5 per cent of the country's GDP in 2011 despite a government commitment of 4 per cent. In recent years, the plight of girls' education has been highlighted by various NGOs, action groups and notably by Malala Yousafzai, whom the Taliban shot in 2012 for attempting to attend school.

Health and population status of women and children

In Pakistan, during the 1940s, population growth rates began to accelerate because of some improvement in the health system which increased the life expectancy, however, birth rates still remained high. In 1947, at the time of independence, Pakistan's population was 31 million. By 1995 it escalated to 140 million. Family planning programmes were started in the 1950s and 1960s by private and government institutions. International donors such as the World Bank and the Pakistan government funded the programmes for family planning (FP). For years these institutions focused only on women as it was thought that FP was only women's responsibility. Nothing improved in the following years and now with a population of 221 million people, it is currently the world's seventh largest country and will be the third biggest contributor to world population growth. According to the United Nations projections, the Pakistan's population will grow to over 380 million by the year 2050, surpassing the United States, Indonesia, Brazil and Russia and becoming the world's third largest country after India and China. With its highest population growth rate, Pakistan will certainly experience dramatic declines in the per capita availability of arable land, water, and forest resources. Already rapid population growth at three per cent per year is eroding economic gain. The water availability in Pakistan has plummeted from about 5,000 cubic meters per capita in the early 1950s to less than 1,100 m³ per capita in 2011. According to the World Bank Water and Sanitation Specialist, the absence of a safe water supply at or near their homes - and the resulting need to walk up to 4 kilometres or

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more to get water each day-has aggravated the burden of women's duties in many ways, making them vulnerable in terms of both their health and personal safety.

Political rights of women

The political history of Pakistan from 1947 to 1970 reveals that the first constituent assembly of Pakistan was constituted from within the Indian legislature elected in the 1946 elections. After its dissolution the second assembly came into being as a result of an indirect election; nevertheless, at the provincial level, election based on the adult franchise were held in East Bengal (subsequently East Pakistan and now Bangladesh) in 1954, in 1953 in Sindh, in 1951 in Punjab and NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) respectively. It was only in 1970 when after the imposition of martial law in 1969, General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan for the first time, held country-wide general elections based on the adult franchise which was contested by nine women as independent candidates but all of them lost. However, it was the first time that women actively participated in politics



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women as independent candidates but all of them lost. However, it was the first time that women actively participated in politics. The first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was composed of 69 members, with two women Begum Shaista Suhrawardy Ikramullah and Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz who served from 1947 to 1954. There was no representation of women in the second constituent assembly which had 72 members who served from 1955 to 1958. While women's representation remained low in the first and second constituent assemblies, the amendments in the Constitution of Pakistan paved the way for their increased participation in the parliament. Moreover, the progressive laws helped improve their participation in legislative and executive positions over the years. Since 2002, women politicians have had notable representation in the federal as well as provincial assemblies. The successive governments and the parliamentarians have contributed to ensuring women's representation in the legislative bodies. The Constitution of Pakistan of 1956 reserved ten seats for women in the unicameral parliament with five seats each from East and West Pakistan. The Constitution of Pakistan of 1962 reserved six seats for women in the national assembly with three seats each from East and West Pakistan. The Constitution of the Pakistan of 1973 reserved ten seats for women for ten years from the commencing day of the Constitution to the holding of the third general elections to the national assembly, whichever occurred later. In 1985, ten seats were increased to twenty whereas, the reserved seats for women were increased to sixty in 2002 during the era of General Pervez Musharraf. Various provisions of the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan affirm the state's resolve to minimise gender disparity by eliminating discrimination based on gender and encouraging the participation of women in all walks of life. Article 17 (2) of the constitution provides every citizen with the right to form or be a member of a political party. Article 34 of the Constitution emphasizes the full participation of women in national life and states that "steps shall be taken to ensure full participation of women in all spheres of national life". To implement the fundamental rights

guaranteed in the constitution, substantive amendments in the constitution, as well as election laws, are made to ensure increased participation of women in the political process. For instance, 60 seats for women are reserved in the national assembly under Article 51 and 17 seats are reserved in the Senate of Pakistan under Article 59, while there are 168 seats for the provincial assemblies ie Balochistan (11), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (26), Punjab (66) and Sindh (29) under Article 106 of the constitution. Similarly, the Elections Act of 2017 directed the political parties to ensure at least five per cent representation of women candidates when fielding candidates for general seats, which is a progressive development to encourage representation of women in legislative bodies. The preamble of the constitution of Pakistan supports democratic principles and guarantees the fundamental rights of all citizens. Under the interim constitution, women were granted suffrage in 1947 and this right has been reaffirmed in the national elections of 1956. One of the most well-known examples of female political leadership in Pakistan is the two-time female Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. In 1988, Bhutto won the elections and became the first woman to be elected as the head of an Islamic state government. However, many women in Pakistan still face social, religious, economic and political obstacles. An example is a parliament, which since 2013 has only 20.6 per cent (70 out of 340) of women in the lower house, whilst in the upper house, this percentage is even lower at 18.3 per cent (19 out of 104).

During these 75 years, economic crisis and structural adjustment adversely affected women in their roles as producers, household managers, and mothers. Women's participation in the workforce has almost doubled in 22 years (1992-2014) but the increase isn't happening fast enough.

Some recent developments

ADB 2016: Policy Brief on Female Labour Force in Pakistan:

Despite increase in recent years, female labour force participation in Pakistan, at 25 per cent, is well below rates for countries with similar income levels. Even among women with high levels of education, labor force participation lags: only around

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m25 per cent of women with a university degree in Pakistan are working. This low female labor force participation represents a major loss of potential productivity.

Rural Women in Pakistan Status Report 2018 UN Women Pakistan:

The returns to labour for women in agriculture are low; the large majority work as unpaid contributing family workers while those who do paid work are given a pittance for what is considered strenuous work such as cotton picking, stripping leaves of sugarcane stalks, transplanting rice etc.

IMF Report 2020

According to the IMF staff report, women in most countries do not have same opportunities as men have to participate in economic activities.

In 21 countries, including India, Pakistan, and Egypt, female labour force participation was below 30 per cent. The global rise in female labour force participation has been driven mostly by changes in advanced economies and emerging markets. In 2018, advanced economies as a group had the highest female labour force participation rate, at 70 per cent, which reflects an increase of 12 percentage points over the past two decades.

Globally, about one-quarter of countries have experienced declining female labour force participation. Countries such as India and Sri Lanka faced an average annual decrease of 1 per cent between 1990 and 2018, whereas Pakistan, Peru, and Spain experienced average annual increases of 2 per cent.

Global Gender Gap Report - WEF 2022

Pakistan is the second worst country in the world in terms of gender parity, ranking 145 out of 146 countries in the Global Gender Gap Index Report released by the World Economic Forum in July 2022.

Pakistan is the country where women have the smallest share of senior, managerial and legislative roles (4.5 per cent), compared to Jamaica, where women represent 56.6 per cent of workers in that category, or Togo, which has the highest share of women in senior roles, at 70.1 per cent

According to the Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement (PSLSM) district level survey 2019-20, "the literacy rate of population (10 years and above) is stagnant at 60 per cent in 2019-20 since 2014-15."

The cumulative education expenditures by the federal and provincial governments in FY2020 stood at 1.5 per cent of the GDP compared to 2.3 per cent in FY2019-20. Expenditures on education had been rising gradually till 2018-19 but in 2019-20 it witnessed a decrease of 29.6 per cent - from Rs868 billion to Rs 611 billion."

The Global Education Monitoring Report, 2022, released by UNESCO on Wednesday estimates that globally 771 million adults lacked basic literacy skills in 2020, among which 98 million were aged 15 to 24.

The annual gender report of the UN's specialised agency says females accounted for 63 per cent of all adult illiterates and 55 per cent of young illiterates. Among adults, 83 per cent of women and 90 per cent of men were literate, a gap of 7 percentage points, whereas the gender gap was only two percentage points among youth.

In Pakistan, only one girl achieves the top proficiency level for every three boys but the absolute gap between them is only 0.1 percentage points because overall performance levels are low.

THE NEWS

Pakistan as a leading state of Muslim Ummah

-Zainab Afzal

Pakistan is celebrating its diamond jubilee this independence day. Since the very conception of Pakistan, even during the independence movement, Pakistan has been a strong proponent of Muslim solidarity and the idea of one Muslim Ummah. These goals are visible in the country's policy framework during the past 75 years. The celebration of 75 years of Pakistan is the celebration of a leader, a voice and a sense of security that the Muslim world found with the country's creation. The history of Pakistan is laden with examples of its people coming forward to help their brethren in faith; whether it be by accepting refugees and providing aid, or

with the creation of a platform to raise voices and providing those in need with a sense of security connected to the country's superior defence forces and arsenal.

In 2020, during the 47th session of the OIC, Paksitan, along with Turkey, moved the council to adopt a resolution to observe March 15 as the "International Day to Combat Islamophobia." However, this day was only officially declared and observed in 2022, on the anniversary of the 2021 Christchurch attacks. It was Pakistan that introduced the notion once again, and the UN finally designated it.

In 1998, Pakistan became the first Muslim country to be nuclear-armed and this event was celebrated across the Muslim world. The crumbling Muslim world was fighting with many issues, internal and external, at that time. The earliest waves of Islamophobia were rising, and Muslims were on the run. The situation had become even worse after the September 11 attacks. In such a scenario, the news of an Islamic country acquiring the ultimate weapon of war brought forth a sigh of relief. It provided the divided and weak Muslim nation with a sense of security and a pride. However, the weapon itself was not considered the biggest help; it was the psychological aspect linked with it that carried a huge momentum for Muslims. Even now, it still carries an honour for all the Muslim world.

The diamond jubilee celebrations of Pakistan are a moment of joy for the entire Muslim world. Formed as the "laboratory where we could experiment the principles of Islam", in the words of Quaid-i-Azam, Pakistan has stood tall on its promise and has worked on the junctures of Islamic ideology. Even though Pakistan itself is grappled with issues and is unable to enjoy a peaceful internal situation, it has been on the front to help the Muslims around the globe in whatever capacity it can. The country emulsifies the true Islamic spirit of helping others with any strength one can. This also steers us to the conclusion that we, the people of Pakistan, must strengthen the basic pillars of the nation as that will contribute to the overall morale of the Ummah. The added responsibility and the sense of security others feel because of us must encourage us to work even harder to fulfil the charge our ideology demands from us to the best of our capabilities.



NEWSPAPERS OF THE DAY

WOMEN AS SOURCES

There is a dire need for more women sources in mainstream communication to change the discourse around gender

When an entire group of individuals is underreported and underrepresented in the media's stories, it leads to a skewed depiction of reality. There are several reasons why women are not used as sources for news reports as often as men are. Many journalists still have an unconscious bias and automatically approach a man for his perspective when given an option. Another factor is tight deadlines and high workloads which prevent journalists from going beyond tried and tested sources for information. Also generally speaking Pakistan's lacks women in leadership positions and it becomes challenging for journalists to find women who are willing to speak to the media. Add to it cultural restraints that prevent women from gaining media training, speaking to the media and an abusive online culture against women and it explains to a large extent the paucity of, women as sources of information on the media

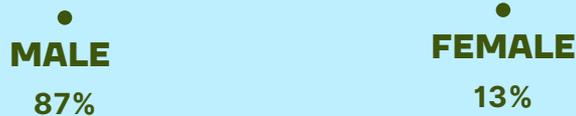
Since Uks' inception in 1997 Pakistan's media has come a long way, especially since it was privatized. There are an increased number of women sources writing columns and articles, especially in the English media. However, the dominant discourse still stays within the confines of the patriarchal framework for interpretation and reporting. Women's comments and expert opinions are often only shared when the subject matter of the item has to do with her gender. This token woman in the media has led to a bits-and-pieces patchwork which sometimes makes newspapers look good, but hasn't affected the mainstream discourse in the long run



OUT OF EVERY 100 STORIES ONLY 13 ARE BEING TOLD BY WOMEN!

There is a dire need for more women sources in mainstream communication to change the discourse around gender

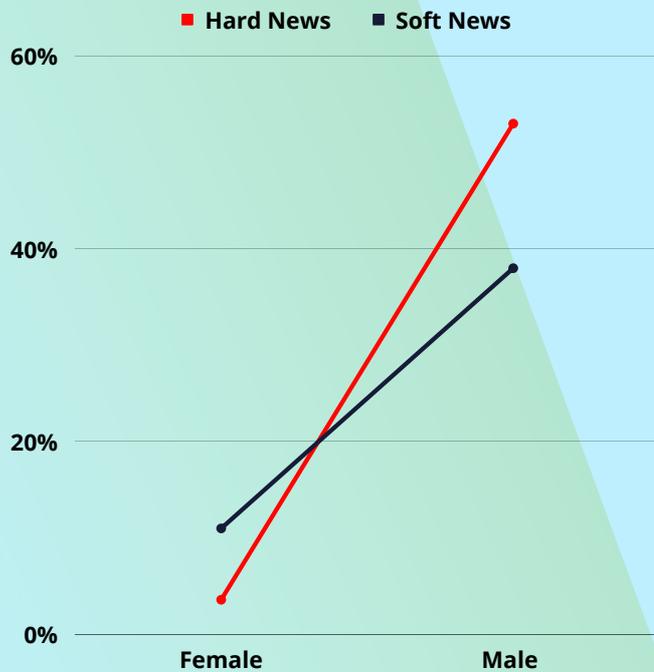
SIMPLE SOURCE BREAKDOWN



Only 49% of reportage is sourced from either male or female sources - In the remaining 51 % of the reportage, the sources were not clarified e.g. Special Reporters, News Agencies etc. (henceforth: gender non-specific sources) and out of that 49% only 13% were sourced from female journalists or columnist

WHAT STORIES ARE WOMEN TELLING?

Politics, economy, crimes, court proceedings, natural calamity and administerial news are considered to be 'hard news', while media and arts, sports cultural items are considered to be 'soft news'. Following is the source trend across gender vis-a- is soft and hard news



Graph (7): Female and male source trend vis-a-vis hard/soft theme

Number of female sources for soft themes is slightly greater than number of female sources for hard themes.

Gender non-specific sourced items are not included in the following table-2

Type	Female Source	Male Source
News	2%	18%
Columns/ articles	16.3%	75%
Others	6.5%	48%

Table (2): Female and male sources (%) vis-a-vis type of item

GENDER IN CONTENT

The media's disposition on gender

Only 8% of VAWG*-related items are sourced from female sources. That means 92% of items talking about VAWG consider the it from a man's standpoint. Neglecting women's perspectives in VAWG-related items is even more worrying because untrained media professionals often infuse mainstream communication with mansplaining and the reinforcement of prevalent stereotypes that further reinforce to the audience the tendency to offer misogynistic explanations and advocate victim blaming.

On average out of every 100 stories only 7 stories are related to women in one way or another. This includes stories of crimes that happened against women.

Key Points:

- No editorial discussed women nor was it based on gender-centric themes
- The average number of women/gender-related items out of each 100 is 7, across the medium
- 'Photos' is a particular category that contains a whopping 29% women-centric content
- One explanation for this is the widespread objectification of women.

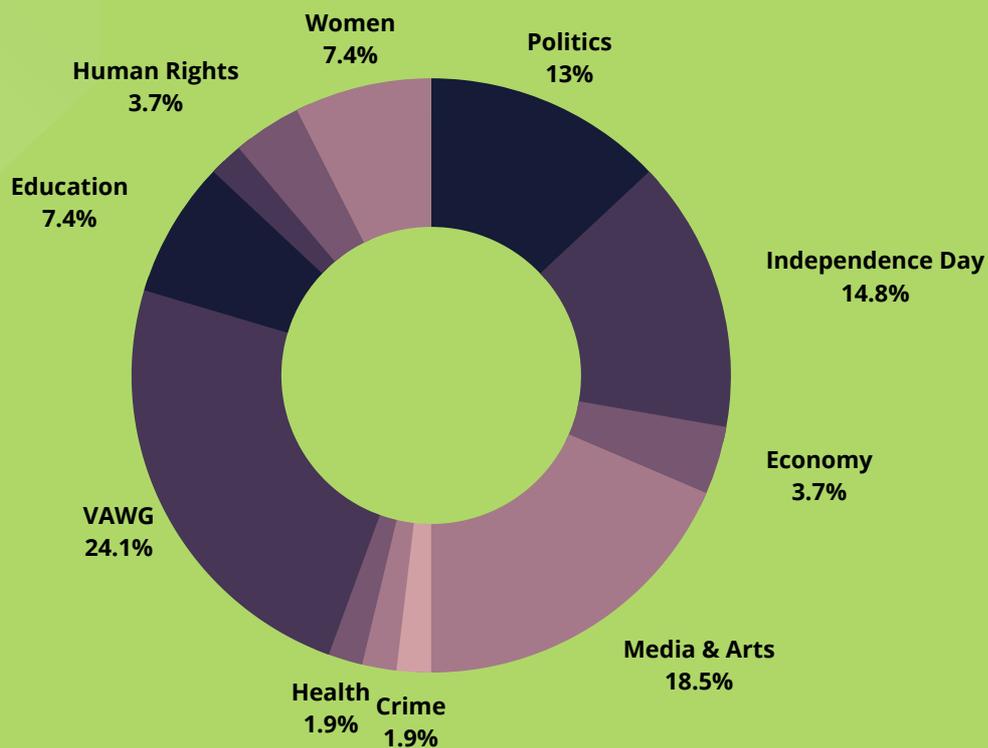
Gender non-specific sourced items are not included in the following table-3

Item	Qty	%
News	24	6
Photo	7	29
Editorial	0	0
Columns/ articles	19	7
Others	0	0

Table (3): The number of women-centric items vis-à-vis their type

WOMEN-CENTRED THEMES IN THE CONTENT

The highest number of women-centred themes are VAWG, Media & Arts, Independence Day and Politics respectively



Graph (8): Women centric themes

WHO'S TELLING WOMEN'S STORIES?

Only 14% of women-related content is sourced from female sources



30% of women-related content is sourced from male sources



Gender non-specific sourced items are not included

Feminism isn't about making women stronger. Women are already strong. it's about changing the way the world perceives that strength

G.D Anderson



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