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DISSERTATION

**FOUR THEMES AND TWO THEORIES:
A LOOK AT SOCIAL CHANGE IN PAKISTAN'S PUNJAB**

Submitted by

Diana Laughlin

Department of Sociology

**In partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

Colorado State University

Fort Collins, Colorado

Summer 2000

UMI Number: 9986247



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WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE DISSERTATION PREPARED
UNDER OUR SUPERVISION BY DIANA C. LAUGHLIN ENTITLED FOUR
THEMES AND TWO THEORIES: A LOOK AT SOCIAL CHANGE IN PAKISTAN'S
PUNJAB BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING IN PART REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

FOUR THEMES AND TWO THEORIES:

A LOOK AT SOCIAL CHANGE IN PAKISTAN'S PUNJAB

People living in Pakistan's Punjab region, like people in other places around the world, are experiencing social and economic transition. Many of them are not faring well as this change occurs. The purpose of this research project is to assess the usefulness of modernization and socialist feminist theories for describing and explaining social change and rural poverty, based on observations of households in Pakistan's Punjab. The study incorporates survey data from 29 households in Pakistan's Punjab, and it focuses on four themes 1) the sexual division of labor, 2) people's changing expectations about dowry contents, 3) women's decisions regarding land inheritance and 4) the low status of females. Information from additional case studies is used to help interpret the Pakistani data and to provide perspectives on change processes and their effects on households and the people who live in them.

Results of the analysis show that the two theories complement each other to some extent. Modernization theory is useful in understanding the importance of values to the persistence of dowry tradition. An understanding of modernization theory is also useful in explaining institutional lender policies that appear to affect the direction of social and economic change in the Punjab and elsewhere. Socialist feminists' discussions of

production, reproduction and patriarchy are useful in understanding the persistence of the sexual division of labor and the low status of females.

Theorists from both modernization and socialist feminist perspectives argue that people's increased access to resources will improve their prospects for attaining increased democratic participation, education and equality. Socialist feminists' studies show that women's control over resources in the family may increase their power over household decision making, and they argue that gender is an important variable in studies of the household, the economy and politics. Modernization theorists mostly ignore gender as a factor in social and economic change.

Policy implications of this study are discussed in the final chapter.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are many people to whom I owe much more than gratitude for their generous intellectual and moral support over the past several years. Dr. Patricia Atchison has given her time, helpful critique and strong guidance during the past few years, and I would not have finished this project without her assistance. Thank you, Dr. Atchison. In addition, I am indebted to Alex Bernasek, Marjorie Starrels and Ronny Turner, the members of my dissertation committee, for the time and effort they spent on my behalf. I appreciate their thoughtful comments and willingness to listen to and respond to my ideas.

I also owe many thanks to the women and men in Pakistan's rural Punjab who took time out of their busy lives to talk to me and who were the kindest and most generous hosts one could ever wish for. *Enshallah*, my education and work experiences will someday give me an opportunity to give something back to these people or to some like them – people who own almost nothing but are willing to share what they have with a visitor.

This research was supported by a Fulbright Scholarship from the United States Government, so I also owe a debt of gratitude to citizens of the U.S. In addition, many professional people in Pakistan were especially helpful and generous with their time while I was in that country in 1992-1993. Shahida Rani was my research assistant, good friend and an excellent translator. Ashfaq Mirza wrote and obtained letters of support for my visit and offered valuable assistance, insights and advice once I arrived there. Other

faculty members at the University of Agriculture in Faisalabad were also very helpful and kind to me. I appreciate the guidance and hospitality I received from U.S. Education Foundation in Pakistan Director, Peter C. Dodd, and his wife Erica, and I enjoyed the camaraderie of other Fulbrighters in Pakistan, especially Wanita Zumbrun and Elizabeth Crane. I offer special thanks to Dr. David Freeman for helping me successfully apply for a Fulbright scholarship.

I have enjoyed great support, kindness and love from family and friends over the many years that I have been a PhD student. Even though it might have appeared at times that I wasn't paying attention to their generous support, I was. Their belief in my abilities and that I would ultimately graduate has meant more to me than I can say. So I'll just say "thank you" to the following people: Good friends: Sheila Knop, Ed Knop and Wendy Barrett; Family members: Caroline Kay Luellen, Lois Winner Mervyn (my "ersatz aunt"), Bob and Kris Strader, Ruth McKenzie, Dawn Laughlin, Denise Dippel, and Lloyd and Gladys Laughlin (with special thanks to my niece Jessica and nephew Hennerey for helping me remember to enjoy the "now"); and Colleagues: Naomi T. Krogman, JoAnn DeRouen Darlington, Pat Mahoney, Erich Stroheim, Aimee Shreck and Julie Raulli. I also thank Jeff Wood for his love and support (and many other things . . .).

This paper is dedicated to Dr. Frank Santopolo

Dr. S.,

Good friend and mentor,

You are missed.

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter offers some context for the study of households in Pakistan's Punjab region. It includes a brief history and some contemporary information about Pakistan and the Punjab region where the study took place. In Chapter Two I offer a review of modernization and socialist feminist theories, including criticisms of each. Chapter Three describes the study's method of inquiry. In the fourth chapter is a presentation of the data from the Pakistani study. In addition to several tables and descriptions of the 29 households and respondents, this chapter includes a discussion of the four themes found in the data. The first important theme is work and the division of labor by sex in rural economies. The second theme is the changing expectations about the size and contents of the dowry. The third theme is women's decisions about land inheritance, and the fourth theme is the low status of females.

In Chapter Five I summarize recent case studies that shed light on some of the social and economic transitions in Pakistan and elsewhere. Chapter Six lays out the analysis of the Pakistani data, supplemented with insights gained from the analogous case studies. In the last chapter I offer a summary of the analysis and a discussion of policy implications for Pakistan in reference to the four themes.

CHAPTER ONE

PAKISTANI RESEARCH SETTING

Pakistan has been in a mess for so long that it is tempting to conclude that the country is doomed. It was created in the chaos of partition, and torn since birth between conflicting cultures. It has a tribal social structure, an Islamic ideology and a legal political system that is British in origin. Islamic and secular law battle each other. Tribal loyalties distort the democratic process. Shia and Sunni Muslims shoot each other on the streets. From the West, Afghanistan's Taliban spill into Pakistan and bolster the growing ranks of its fundamentalists. On the other side of the country, the perpetual conflict with India over Kashmir helps destabilize domestic politics. (*The Economist* 1999:17)

The research presented in here focuses on four major themes from the data. Of particular interest are work and the sexual division of labor in Punjabi households that leave some families and family members vulnerable. The second and third themes are the changing expectations about dowry and women's decisions regarding land ownership and inheritance. These three themes are intertwined with the fourth theme, the low status of females. Mills (1959) argues that we must use our sociological imagination to demonstrate the linkages between history and the life of the individual. This chapter includes a discussion of Pakistan and the Punjab region where my research project took place. Information about some aspects of Pakistan's history and descriptions of its current economic and political climate should enhance the reader's understanding of the four themes and the study's wider context. Decisions that are made at the national level affect rural life, families and individuals who live in Pakistan's Punjab. Similarly,

economic and social changes at individual, household and regional levels in the Punjab may influence state policy.

SUMMARY OF PAKISTAN'S HISTORY AND CURRENT POLICY CLIMATE

At Partition in 1947, Pakistan was declared an independent Muslim state, and the new country was distinguished by several factors that have influenced its development. These include little or no industrial base, uneven regional development and a high population growth rate. Pakistan started out with politicians who had no experience running a country, a largely illiterate population and a high concentration of landownership. Its first half century was characterized by political instability and turmoil (Hasan 1998). The economy currently suffers from inadequate infrastructure, and it is on the "verge of bankruptcy" (*The Economist* 1999:39). Fifty years after independence, Pakistan's manufacturing sector has low levels of productivity, idle capacity and lacks quality control. Despite an abundance of labor, water, and alluvial soils, Pakistan's agrarian surplus has not been sufficient to feed its population, much less to finance industrialization (Ispahani 1990; Qasir 1991).

The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency or CIA (1999) reports that the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is about twice the size of California. It shares borders with Afghanistan, China, India and Iran, and its most abundant natural resources are land and natural gas. Urdu is the official language, though almost half of its citizens are of the Punjabi ethnic group who primarily speak Punjabi. Ninety-seven percent of Pakistan's population is Muslim. According to the International Planned Parenthood Federation or IPPF, (1999), about 25 percent of Pakistan is under cultivation, thanks to one of the most

extensive irrigation systems in the world, and about 70 percent of the population live in rural areas.

In Pakistan there are just under 40 million people in the labor force, with almost half working in agriculture. An additional 17 percent work in mining and manufacturing, 17 percent are in services, and the remainder work in other occupations. In 1997, the gross national product was composed primarily of services (just under half), with industry and agriculture comprising about a quarter each. Pakistan's major industries are textile production, food processing, beverages, construction materials, clothing, paper products and shrimp. Its major imports are petroleum, petroleum products, machinery and transportation equipment. Child labor within Pakistan is extensive (CIA 1999). Many laborers out-migrate to the Middle East and elsewhere, and their remittances have a substantial impact on the Pakistani economy (Hasan 1998).

Pakistan's land and its people suffer from several environmental problems. Water pollution is a major concern, and a great majority of rural households have no access to clean drinking water. Pollutants include raw sewage, industrial wastes and agricultural runoff. Additional environmental problems include deforestation, soil erosion and desertification (World Bank 1989; Ispahani 1990; CIA 1999).

Crime and corruption are also major problems in Pakistan. Economists estimate that in the early 1990s, money from illicit sources comprised as much as half of Pakistan's GNP (Ispahani 1990). Speculation, or the use of "black money" as a source of income, has made capital investment look unattractive and this contributes to the downward spiral of the economy. Corruption permeates every facet of life and is biased against the poor who cannot afford necessary bribes. Easy access to drugs and guns have

added to a worsening social situation, especially since the war in Afghanistan when an estimated 40 percent of CIA weapons destined for that war made it into Pakistan instead.

Pakistan is the world's seventh most populous country and it is one of the most densely populated. The number of Pakistanis quadrupled from 33 million at Partition in 1947 to over 139 million today. There are about 2000 people for each doctor, and the average life expectancy at birth is about 59 years. Marriage is universal, with a high proportion of marriages taking place between relatives, especially first cousins. Like other less developed countries, Pakistan's demographic pyramid is bottom-heavy, with children under age 15 making up about 43 percent of the population. Because most of these young people have yet to reach their reproductive years, the rate of population increase is not expected to slow substantially in the near future (IPPF 1999).

Pakistan has a serious trade imbalance with its exports rising at only about half the rate of its imports. Deficits have mostly been financed through loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Western countries, and these loans have been used primarily to import manufactured capital goods and military hardware, and to pay off debt. Ten years ago, 80 percent of new loans were used to pay interest and installments on past loans, and Pakistan's estimated debt in 1997 was \$33 billion (CIA 1999).

In order to receive additional loans, Pakistan (and other countries) must meet IMF and World Bank requirements. In 1999 the Pakistani government was asked to increase its growth rate to 5-6 percent over the medium term, reduce annual inflation to about 6 percent in two years and reduce the external account deficit by about half -- from around 3 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) to less than 1.5 percent in two years -- while simultaneously improving social indicators. In order to do this, the government is

expected to raise sales taxes, increase energy export tariffs, reduce import tariffs, make further cuts in government spending, further liberalize trade, reduce the exchange rate, and make its financial sector “more attractive” to investors (*Dawn* 1999). Regardless of how far Pakistan’s government has been willing to go in order to please potential lenders, its rescheduling of about \$3 billion dollars in debt and a possible loan of \$280 million from the IMF are in jeopardy because American law stipulates an aid cut-off in the event of a military coup, which Pakistan experienced this past fall (*Economist* 1999).

Pakistan’s current economic problems can be only partly blamed on the policies of lender agencies such as the IMF/World Bank and the United States Agency for International Development. Local elites cannot escape responsibility for much of the misery that exists in many of Pakistan’s households, since it is they who tend to benefit most from international aid and government policies, while the remainder of the population suffers the negative effects of cutbacks (Babar Ali 1987; Qasir 1991). Rich Pakistanis’ palatial residences and wedding galas stand in stark contrast to brick and mud rural homes and the poor’s diets of *chapati* (flat bread), vegetables and legumes. Government spending priorities have increased the gap between rich and poor, and increasing income disparities and the coexistence of modern and traditional elements characterize much of life there (*Economist* 1991; Hasan 1998; IPPF 1999).

Pakistan’s defense spending, relative to population and resources, ranks among the world’s highest (Cohen 1984). This has come at great cost to its social sector. For example, in the late 1980s, education allocations were reduced by 58 percent, health expenditures were cut by 70 percent, and spending on public works programs decreased by over half, while the defense budget increased by 11.6 percent. This pattern has persisted for decades (Hasan 1998). In 1996/1997, military expenditures were about 3.3

billion U.S. dollars, or 5.3 percent of the gross domestic product in that fiscal year (Hasan 1998; CIA 1999).

The country's per capita growth has averaged 2 percent per year over the past 50 years, the highest average on the subcontinent, but Pakistan has had less success than many other countries in reducing poverty, and its development of human resources lags behind that of others in the region. This can be partly blamed on the government's failure to invest in its people. Turning Pakistan's situation around would involve making some difficult choices about how to best address the many problems that compete for immediate attention. Strengthening the economy is certainly important, but positive economic outcomes depend on investments in social infrastructure and on political stability (Hasan 1998). Normalizing relations with India after decades of conflict, symbolized by current difficulties in Kashmir, is a necessary prerequisite for improving Pakistan's security, and it could also lead to additional economic opportunities between neighbors. A changed India/Pakistan relationship might also lead to reductions in military spending for both countries, freeing up resources for other uses.

SOCIAL INDICATORS AND ISLAMIC TRADITIONS

Pakistan's literacy has variable ratings, partly because the definition of the term is in dispute. Some count a person's ability to read and write his or her name as sufficient for a claim to literacy, while others have more stringent definitions. One estimate puts women's literacy rate at 24 percent (IPPF 1999), while a pair of education experts estimated the overall literacy rate in the early 1990s at 26 percent, with female literacy rate below 2 percent in some districts of Pakistan. Though most Pakistanis receive some religious instruction, a public education system created by and serving the needs of the

mostly illiterate population is conspicuously absent (Jalil and McGinn 1992). This situation can be partly attributed to the government's failure to support education and to the relative strength of Islam and local religious leaders.

The strength of the Islamic tradition of female seclusion or *purdah* is inversely related to the likelihood that women will work outside the home, and Pakistani women's welfare and productivity are reported to be among the lowest in the world. Women make up 48 percent of the population, but only 13 percent of the labor force. They have, on average, only one year of schooling. The government's tendency to underfund education and health care directly impacts women's welfare and their productivity, and the tradition of *purdah* decreases the likelihood that women will access services outside the home and it makes travel difficult for female health workers. Women's health and education are especially important to the country's future because child mortality is inversely related to the educational status of the mother. Even small increments in mothers' education levels reduce child mortality rates (IPPF 1999).

PUNJAB: THE LAND OF FIVE RIVERS

Pakistan divided into five major regions characterized by linguistic, economic, and cultural differences. The research described here took place in the Punjab, one of the five regions. A subsection, Central Punjab, is comprised of the industrialized region of Faisalabad and the agricultural districts of Lahore and Gujranwala. My study took place in rural areas near Faisalabad. Half of the population of the Punjab's lives in this subsection, and these inhabitants control almost half of the seats in the National Assembly (Talbot 1998). The Punjab, or land of the five rivers, is predominantly agricultural, and major crops include cotton, wheat, rice, corn and sugar cane (CIA

1999). But agriculture is losing its predominance, and many people are taking jobs in the Punjab's major industry, textile production (Talbot 1998). Concentration of land ownership, division of family land into smaller and smaller units, and the decrease in land available for tenant farming has compelled many would-be farmers to search for other livelihoods. The landless problem is exacerbated in the Punjab by a high water table that is partly responsible for increasing amounts of saline soils that make land unsuitable for farming. Men may work in large textile mills or for small power loom owner-operators who sell their woven cloth to mills in nearby Faisalabad. In the Faisalabad mills, textiles are readied for export or for sale locally, depending on their quality (Talbot 1998).

Diminishing access to land, increasing numbers of manufacturing jobs, and the resulting changes in rural economies have had, and continue to have, profound effects on village life in the Punjab, as they have had elsewhere. As families lose their access to land, family members are deprived of a traditional source of sustenance and status, and people must quickly adapt to different conditions if they want to survive. The economic changes that are occurring in the Punjab tend to increase women's dependence on men while income-earning men become less dependent on female relatives since wage earners can purchase many goods and services formerly provided in the home. Women's dependence on males is exacerbated by their lack of control over resources and by dowry changes that make their maintenance more burdensome. These topics and others – including the Punjab's sexual division of labor in a changing economy and women's decisions about land inheritance – and how these may impact families and the health and status of females will be discussed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter includes a review of important works from theorists representing two major paradigms within sociology, with commentary and critique from other scholars. I have chosen to focus on modernization theory and socialist feminism for several reasons. The most important is that these two theoretical perspectives examine the issues and processes related to social change and development and as such they are highly relevant to my study. In addition, both perspectives have strong connections to social science's earlier theories of change. World system theorists argue that though internal characteristics of states are important, major social change occurs in the world context and is impacted by it (Frank 1966; Nash 1984; Chirot 1986), and I decided not to look at world systems theory here because of it pays less attention to nations' internal dynamics. Modernization theory is based on the work of Weber, Durkheim and others. Many of its assumptions about reason and progress can be traced to enlightenment thinkers. Socialist feminism is built on a strong Marxist foundation, adding considerations of gender to a critical perspective. Both perspectives have volumes of work devoted to their arguments – and/or their criticism. Both continue to influence current work, and they will be important to future studies. One should not study contemporary social change and development issues without first considering modernization theory and some variant of

Marxist theory. In my study of social change in rural Pakistan I consider these theories in terms of how they might help us understand and possibly explain what seems to be happening there. Major themes and ideas from these two perspectives will inform the analysis of data and interpretations featured in later chapters.

MODERNIZATION THEORY

Social scientists' task is to make sense of social change, especially the transition from traditional society to a modern one, and the term 'modern' has often been used as a way to view the present as the result of a transition from the old to the new (Gellner 1964). For Enlightenment philosophers, modernity's promise consisted of the continuing development of objective science, universal morality and the law and autonomous art. Enlightenment thinkers were inspired and exhilarated by modern science and believed in the infinite progress of knowledge and in the constant advance of society and morality. Awed by the prospects of objective science and confident in humanity's moral promise, these thinkers believed that science and the modern attitude, as it became increasingly rational, would enrich everyday life (Habermas 1990; Avery 1997).

Modernization refers to a society's increased capacity to utilize scientific knowledge to improve all types of production, and a major component of modernization is the social, cultural, and psychological framework that applies science to production processes. For many theorists and laypersons, the terms "development" and "modernization" have become synonymous (Eisenstadt 1973). Frequently used indicators of modernization in economic terms are a higher per capita income and/or a continuously expanding economy (Binder 1971). In modern societies it is possible, theoretically, for everyone to reach and maintain a decent standard of living (Parsons

1971; Nash 1984; Preston 1986). An important underlying assumption is that economic growth is available to those who would have it and that once a country has become modern, growth is self sustaining (Preston 1968).

With modernization, a society's capacity for transformation is increased (Roxborough 1998). The conditions amenable to this increasing capacity include high levels of autonomy in political, religious and/or ideological institutions; "social organization and stratification; and the relative openness and flexibility of broader social groups and strata" (Eisenstadt 1968:17). A central development in advanced stages of modernization is full literacy. Democratic participation is also an important trend in societies that become modern, as it is presumed desirable that all persons subject to political jurisdiction should have full membership status (Lerner 1958; Parsons 1966).

The economic impulse associated with capitalism and the cultural drive toward modernity is the individual making rational economic transactions (Bell 1990). Parsons (1971) argues that tendencies toward individualism in English law became more prevalent after market mechanisms developed, creating the institutional context in which it was possible to isolate the contributions and achievements of individuals.

A modern political system requires centralized administration and the participation of wider groups and social strata. Modernizing societies are characterized by social mobilization, structural differentiation and urbanization. Then come accelerated capital investments, maturing markets, industrialization, labor force changes and increasing demands for consumer goods. In Parsons' heyday – the 1950s and early 1960s – theorists often assumed that all societies would become modern and that transfers of technology to poorer nations would spark the modernization process there, just as it had in the West (Parsons 1966; Nash 1984). The process would involve

“progress and improvement, individuality and efficiency” and increased rationalization of human action and the potential for human control (Eisenstadt 1966:1).

Many modernization theorists note that the costs of modernization can be high. Not only will modernization induce continuous changes in all major social spheres, it will also bring disorganization, dislocation and conflict (Eisenstadt 1966). In the process of becoming modern, major clusters of old social, economic, and psychological commitments start to break down, and new patterns of socialization and behavior begin to emerge (Deutch 1961). Broad demographic and structural changes include increased differentiation and social mobilization, and large-scale, unified, centralized institutional frameworks that may undermine existing structures. As major institutional arrangements are undermined, individuals’ behavior patterns are reorganized, as are social participation and organizational, institutional, and symbolic frameworks. A cause and result of these major institutional changes is a tendency for more people from different groups and strata to practice greater participation in important social spheres (Eisenstadt 1968). Coleman (1971) argues that there are important contradictions associated with modernization 1) differentiation, 2) the drive for equality and 3) the “integrative, responsive and adaptive capacity of the polity” (p. 100). The process of social change is complex, disruptive and sometimes painful – as change occurs in economic, social and political spheres.

Modernization and Globalization

Modernization theory came into favor in the context of Cold War when superpowers were competing for influence in the Third World. In political circles in the U.S. in the 1950s and early 1960s, it was generally agreed that it was the United States’ imperative to “reconstruct the world in its own image”(Preston 1986:xv). In many

countries, modernization arrived with foreign forces in the context of colonial or semi-colonial relations (Eisenstadt 1968b). These economic, social and political encounters have had profound effects on societies' development processes, and the "economic consequences of *political* action" of these encounters – or series of encounters – have shaped and will continue to determine "whether, at what rate, for whose benefit, and at whose cost a society will modernize" (Nash 1984:117).

It has been argued that modernization theory fell into decline with the rise of dependency theory, such as that of Frank (1966). Others argue that commitment to the modernization perspective has survived, especially its premise that the West is the model to which nations should aspire, that science and technology can and should be used to solve any and all problems, and that society as a whole is, in fact progressing (e.g., Robertson 1990; Pieterse 1995). Development institutions, like the World Bank's International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, continue to formulate policies based on assumptions about progress based on a Western model (Killick 1993).

In the last two hundred years modernization has sometimes referred to the encroachment of Western European institutions on other countries where these efforts often have resulted in stagnation and breakdown, rather than the positive development that some expected (Eisenstadt 1968b). The major breakdown is demonstrated by some societies' inability to create and/or maintain institutional structures that can deal with ongoing change and with the exacerbation or the introduction of new problems (Eisenstadt 1968).

Globalization is the "process by which the world is being made into a single place with systematic properties" (Robertson 1990:278). It has led to a compression of cultures, societies, organizations and movements, and modernity's problems have

expanded and become subsumed by the problem of globalization. Robertson (1990) says that many sociological developmental studies in the 1960s neglected the issue of globalization and instead studied modernization “as if there were no *concrete* relationships between societies.” He claims that from 1965 to 1990 theorists have not coordinated their analysis of modernity with the phenomenon of globalization, and that this was a mistake.

The current focus on economic modernization in lesser developed countries (LDCs) is based on neoclassical notions of consumer sovereignty. People are seen as rationally calculating actors in pursuit of individual utility. Modernization theorists have shown a tendency to downgrade liberal democracy and policy makers have been content to support authoritarian systems if they promised to deliver economic goods (Preston 1986). In developing countries, the elites are supposed to translate modernization theories into practice. But theorists and policy makers have too often assumed that aid to LDCs is benign, and they have ignored corruption, urban-rural imbalances and class inequalities (Apter and Rosberg 1994).

Parsons wanted to accommodate, not reject conventional economic theory, but he believed that the free market system should be subordinate to democratic values and political institutions. He believed that “the strategies of instrumental rationality characteristic of economic action are of universal adaptive significance for processes of evolutionary and social change and for the making of modern society” (Holton and Turner 1986:95). This sentiment runs counter to the ways modernization theory has played out in policies that affect citizens in LDCs.

Parsons and Rostow

Talcott Parsons and W. W. Rostow are the theorists most closely associated with modernization theory. Parsons was greatly influenced by Max Weber's writings, especially Weber's argument regarding the importance of the Protestant ethic to the development of capitalism and modernity. According to Weber and Parsons, Western society is oriented toward activity that has been heavily influenced by Protestant asceticism. This world view emphasizes rationality and the devaluing of tradition. Universalistic standards are applied and people are willing to work toward impersonal interests.

Weber's work demonstrates the institutional patterns that are "distinctive of the modern Western world" with his comparative analysis of the "institutional structures of most of the other great civilizations." According to Parsons (1947), the distinctiveness of Western societies is best demonstrated by Weber's description of the West's "radical contrast" with classical civilizations in China and India (p. 83).

One of Parsons' (1967) more important arguments is that there are four complexes underlying the modern type of society. These are a "differentiated, predominantly universalistic legal system, money and markets, 'bureaucratic' organization, and the pattern of democratic association with special reference to its development at the level of government in large-scale societies" (p. 490).

Rostow's (1965) theory of societal evolution is based on a set of stages of economic growth: 1) traditional society, 2) pre-conditions for take-off, 3) take-off, 4) drive to maturity and 5) the age of high consumption. Societies in the earliest stage are characterized by continuing traditional productive methods, structure, values and regionally based political institutions. In intermediate stages, agriculture is

commercialized, and social and political structure become adaptable to steady growth. Important economic change results from political, social and economic forces – after the notion takes hold that economic progress can be utilized for some other “good” purpose. Growth may be stimulated by technology, capital build-up or the emergence of the political will to modernize the economy. During the take-off stage, forces of economic progress dominate and growth becomes normal.

A mature economy will have the technological capacity to produce whatever society needs and wants. In the last stage of evolution, leading sectors of the economy produce consumer goods and services beyond those necessary for survival. Real income and the number of factory jobs increase, and the population becomes more urban, and citizens become more willing to “support social welfare and security”(Rostow 1965:16).

Evolution and Dichotomies

Roxborough (1988) argues that most development theorists agree with the basic premise of modernization theory that societies are evolving, and that as societies become more modern, things in general improve. For modernization theorists, traditional societies become modern as they change and adapt to their environments. This evolutionary perspective was adopted (some would say adapted) from Darwin’s organic evolutionary theory, adapted by Spenser into social Darwinism. According to Parsons (1966), his perspective “implies both a criterion of evolutionary direction and an evolutionary scheme of stages” (p. 26). He agrees with Weber’s assertion that Western society’s modernization “is of ‘universal’ significance in human history” and that this “development has not been random but definitely *directional*” (p. 139), with the directional factor being the increase in general adaptive capacity. A series of

developmental “breakthroughs” emerges in societies, and these begin a process of innovation that will “always approximate our paradigm of evolutionary change” (p. 23).

Parsons’ (1966) study of social evolution focuses on the analysis of structure over process and change. Evolutionary universals are organizational developments that are important enough to further evolution and that are “likely to be ‘hit upon’ by various systems operating under different conditions” (Parsons 1967:491). These evolutionary universals are the structures and associated processes that lead to the adaptive capacity of a system. Only those systems that develop these complexes of structures and associated processes can reach higher levels of adaptive capacity. Administrative bureaucracy, money and markets are evolutionary universals found in societies that have developed past the “primitive” stage, according to Parsons (p. 503).

Societal evolution is not a continuous or simple linear process, but it is nevertheless distinguishable by three major levels – primitive, intermediate and modern. As an intermediate society becomes modern it will see major changes in its legal system and normative order. When law is developed to a certain level, values become increasingly independent from political and economic interests. Law must be organized along universalistic principles, and “It is this factor, above all, that precludes such imposing systems as . . . traditional Islam, from being classed as ‘modern’ law” since it is not based on formal rationality (Parsons 1966:26-27). The important connection between people’s views of the world and religion in the context of social change raises questions about the inevitability of modernity. Roxborough (1988) argues that most development theorists agree with the basic premise of modernization theory, that societies are evolving, and that as societies become more modern, things in general improve.

The underlying assumption is that LDCs will follow the Western model, moving progressively through a set of stages on the way to becoming modern. The changes that I observed in Pakistan, and those that are occurring elsewhere, seem to be much less even and much less progressive. Pakistan can be characterized as having some of the features of a modern state, such as an increasing appetite for mass-produced goods, but it does not have others, e.g., participatory democracy and universal education. While modernization theorists seem less interested in social change that does not fit their model, I think it deserves a closer look. I will return to this topic later on, comparing observations of change in Pakistan and elsewhere to the Western model of development espoused by modernization theorists and policy makers.

Dichotomies are used to represent the process whereby a society loses one set of attributes and acquires another. Talcott Parsons' modernization theory reinforced the tendency to conceptualize social change in terms of dichotomies, especially his focus on the change from "traditional" to "modern" society. Societies are seen as moving from primarily rural to mostly urban, while economies based on subsistence agriculture slowly become industrialized; structures that were communal become associative, and so on. Modernization theorists' emphasis on a society's progression from primitive or backward to modern or progressive is essentially evolutionist. For them, as a country modernizes, it travels over a bridge between two societal types (Preston 1986).

Modernization theorists argue that societies change from traditional to modern as peasant life slowly advances toward Western-style living. Traditional or peasant societies are described as being more self-sufficient, having a more family-oriented social structure and as having little contact with the "world outside" the village or small area (Wilkening 1968). Peasant production is oriented toward food and product security,

and the peasant is much less likely than the modern commercial farmer to innovate or expand production of goods past the subsistence level. What is produced on the peasant farm is consumed by the household, and there is little left for exchange.

As a society modernizes, its economy moves away from small-scale production for the family to large-scale production for society. As subsistence farming practices become more market-oriented, practices focused on meeting the needs of a smaller population tend to weaken, as do kinship associations (Eisenstadt 1966). The modern commercial producer specializes in making or growing goods geared to meeting market demand. As the availability and use of modern technology increase, and as transportation jobs in urban centers become more available, the importance of structures focused on solidarity with kin, centered on land ownership, decreases as a peasant society becomes a class-based market society. The shift to a market economy is a major breakthrough, even though social pressure and economic risk often result when production is expanded for the market (Wilkening 1968).

Culture and Values

Society is possible by virtue of general agreement on sets of values that define the boundaries and coordinates of the social order and individual identity in social groups. Societies will vary in their degree of internal differentiation, and rates of change will also vary. Roles and institutions are integrated by their functional contribution to the maintenance of the whole, and the concern for maintenance is ongoing, as societies adapt to changing environmental conditions, to “internal processes of differentiation and functional reallocation,” and to the stresses caused by internal factors (Dahrendorf 1968:139).

A crucial focus in modernization theorists' studies of change is the value system and the stability of that system (Savage 1981). Inconsistencies within the value system create strain on the individual and society, and the social system's fundamental need for order is at the root of the strain that appears when an inconsistent value system is acted upon. Relatively stable action systems have a tendency to build consistent systems of value-orientation and to generate and tolerate inconsistent subsystems (Parsons and Shils 1990).

Culture refers to the symbolic and learned aspects of human society, and values are ideas held by people about what is appropriate and inappropriate behavior. Values or value patterns are of central importance to modernization theory because culture and value patterns determine the impact of the factors of change. Actors commit to value-orientations and then consider the consequences and implications of these actions. Actors are not free to orient themselves to the particular cultural symbol on its immediate and intrinsic merits, according to Parsons and Shils (1990) because orientation to a "particular complex of symbols must conform with the imperatives of the larger system of normative orientations of which it is part" or the system will become disorganized (p. 40).

For Parsons, culture mostly determines the direction of change (Savage 1981). "Culture is unique in the sense that its most fundamental component – value-orientations – has the capacity to 'govern' action" (Savage 1981:207). Parsons (1966) is a cultural, not a social determinist, and he argues that within social systems, the normative elements are more important for social change than the "material interests of constitutive units" (p. 113).

C. Wright Mills (1959) offers a synthesis of Parsons' views on values from

Parsons' *The Social System*:

When people share the same values, they tend to behave in accordance with the way they expect one another to behave. Moreover, they often treat such conformity as a very good thing – even when it seems to go against their immediate interests . . . [Learned values] bind a society together . . . [and] this is important to the stability of any social system. (P. 31)

The normative structure of a society, says Mills, is not autonomous, and he disagrees with Parsons' assertion that social order is made possible by commonly accepted values. Mills accuses Parsons of ignoring critical issues of power, arguing that institutional rulers may monopolize or may impose "master symbols," and they may use community morals to legitimize their actions.

Modernization theorists' views about values are important to my study, especially assertions that social order and identity are defined by general agreement on sets of values, and that individuals often conform even when it may seem to go against their best interests to do so. In rural Punjab, women are making decisions about land inheritance that demonstrate their considerations of the consequences of their actions in terms of culture, values and sanctions. Changes in dowry expectations show how changing values create additional strain on individuals and social groups – especially females. Women's decisions about land inheritance and in-laws' changing expectations about dowry contents raise questions about the ways ideological forces perpetuate power and privilege, something Parsons and other modernization theorists failed to consider.

Boserup

Ester Boserup (1970) is often linked with modernization theory, mostly because of her studies of changing economic and social systems and her consideration of the ways women will eventually achieve economic security. She is the only modernization theorist I found who considers the effects of modernization on women. She supports policies that would move urban women out of “unskilled” low wage jobs and encourage their full participation in skilled waged labor, arguing that integration will increase the chances that a woman will be able to earn enough to support herself and her dependents. She says that rural policies should promote modernization and “attach young literate villagers to their home villages” (p. 209).

Boserup’s views are based on her study of changes in women’s work roles and economic security as societies transition from traditional to modern. In a society’s “primitive” stage, women produce goods for use by household members and often help with housing construction. At a “later stage,” goods that are used daily are exchanged between families within a single village or region, and women may specialize in making products such as pottery, baskets, clothing and beer. With further economic development, and as the transportation system improves, markets for special products may widen. If women are involved in making these marketable products, they may remain involved in small-scale mass production and sales. Eventually, larger industries begin to drive small home-based businesses out of operation. This negatively affects women’s money making opportunities in smaller concerns while the industries simultaneously deny high wage factory jobs to women (at least in the 1960s and 1970s when Boserup was writing). Boserup finds that home-based industries are often located in areas where women are not involved in other remunerative activities.

Boserup's descriptions of the economic and social changes that occur as societies become modern show modernization's negative effects on women. Women go from being relatively secure, self-sufficient household producers to more or less economically disenfranchised burdens on society. Their concentration in low-wage jobs in urban areas has apparently not reversed this trend.

Boserup's study of women's positions in traditional economies and their declining self sufficiency as they move through development stages demonstrates the deterioration of women's status as economies become modern. Women's status in modern economies contrasts greatly with their position in family production for subsistence – or in market production from home industries – in villages where work is horizontally and vertically distributed by age and sex. Boserup argues that “Economic progress benefits men as wage earners in the modern sector, while the position of women is left unchanged, and even deteriorates when competition from the growing modern sectors eliminates the traditional enterprises carried on by women” (p. 140).

For Boserup, it is not modern industrialization that creates economic insecurity for women, rather it is their being left out of the good jobs. Contemporary feminists criticize Boserup for her belief that women's circumstances will greatly improve when women, especially those in cities, become fully integrated in factories and industrial work (e.g., Benería and Sen 1981; Pearson 1994). These criticisms derive great benefit from hindsight and from a strong foundation of work built by Boserup and others.

Boserup deserves respect as a pioneer in the study of women in development, and her study of modernization's effects on women continues to be important. I will later discuss women's integration into wage work and the kinds of money and in-kind activities in which women in rural Punjab are involved. There, partly because of the

restrictions of *purdah* or seclusion, women tend to remain at home. In poor families, young boys may be sent to work for wages, and women may take low status work in agriculture or as domestic servants.

Some Studies Using Modernization Theory

In studies of non-governmental organizations in Nigeria and Kenya, modernization theory is making a comeback among African scholars. They have begun to emphasize civil society, effective governance and an accountable state (Barkan 1994). Modernization theory is important to his argument that effective, legitimate and predictable governance is associated with democratic rule and to institutions that are accountable to the citizens they serve.

Rudolph and Rudolph (1967) look at democracy and democratic processes within societies, and they disagree with modernization theorists' (and others') assumptions that industrialization, urbanization, increased income and increased education are necessary preconditions for democratic politics. Their study of Indian history shows that country's structures moving slowly from "traditional to modern corporatism without so marked an intervening individualist phase as the West is said to have experienced" (p. 23).

Killick (1993) studies the relationship between long-run economic development and structural adaptation in LDCs as they become modern states. He contends that those countries with economies that are flexible enough to adjust to the structural transformations that accompany and promote development for the long run have an advantage over those countries that do not. He finds that some types of structural change are especially important to long-run economic development, as they allow for more rapid progress elsewhere in the economy. These important structural changes include

industrialization, a stronger financial system, and human and fixed capital formation that are addressed by the International Monetary Fund. Because the world is becoming more and more interdependent, what happens in other countries – especially those that are industrialized – strongly influences developing countries. He argues that this is an important consideration for policy makers.

Criticisms of Modernization Theory

Parsons' and Spenser's evolutionary perspective is criticized for its teleological reasoning. Parsons' argument that progress is inevitable presupposes a predetermined order. This conflicts with the notion of random variation that is central to the theory of natural selection. This reasoning starts by taking an existing level of development and going backwards, defining the past in terms of its realization of the present stage. In addition, modern evolution implies advance, with humans' adaptation to the environment is an *active* process of gaining mastery over it. This contrasts sharply with Darwin's evolutionary theory that instead looks at the ways organisms are transformed *by* the environment (Savage 1981).

A major problem with globalization's current form is the result of the Darwinian evolutionist ideology that has been espoused by hard core modernization theories (de Alcántara 1996). De Alcántara disagrees with evolutionists' focus on life as a vicious struggle to be won by the strongest at the expense of weaker members of society. Similarly, Scott (1995) criticizes modernization theory's evolutionary perspective and the assumption that one group must dominate the other in order to increase society's long-run adaptive capacity. For Scott, modernization theorists have used evolutionary theory to defend industrial capitalism and women's subordination.

According to Scott, the terms modernization theorists use to define societies in LDCs have also been used to juxtapose male rationality and inherent superiority with the “lower order passions and instincts” that are more commonly associated with the feminine. She levels generous criticism at his typification of male/reason and its triumph over female/culture. She further criticizes Parsons’ assumptions that power must be concentrated in stratified hierarchies in order for political development to occur, while kinship and family ties are said to be rigid and not capable of generating the power necessary to affect change.

Modernization theorists have tended to describe traditional society as the negative to the modern, with “traditional” simply a residual category. They characterize traditional culture as “hidebound and static,” but moving to a “higher level” as it becomes an energetic, innovative modern society. Modernization theorists’ notions of traditional and modern are imprecise, and as such they are not useful as heuristic devices (Preston 1968). Rudolph and Rudolph (1967) argue that the “assumption that modernity and tradition are radically contradictory rests on a misdiagnosis of tradition . . . [a] misunderstanding of modernity, and a misapprehension the relationship between them” (p. 3). They argue that these terms are dialectical, or part of a whole, not simple opposites.

Additional critics of modernization theory argue that its assumption of linear development fails to consider the inequalities generated by capitalist accumulation, and that it completely ignores the negative effects that capitalist accumulation has on women (e.g., Benería and Sen 1981).

For the “struggling billions,” modernization has been like a “gulag” that has harmed and continues to destroy their cultures, while modernizing neo-liberal policies

are pushing the people they refer to as “social majorities” into the “wastelands of the modern world” (Gustavo and Prakash 1998:2, 4). Gustavo and Prakash argue that science, technology, objectivity, rationality and the “culture of progress” are the weapons of domination that have been used to subjugate the world’s poorest inhabitants (pp. 1-2). They contend that planners’ designs to modernize communities for their betterment have left people worse off and less human.

Galtung (1996) also looks at modernization’s social costs and its basis in a rational choice model. He asserts that modernization has left many human societies in an advanced state of social disintegration, the roots of which are “a twin process of destructuration and deculturation . . . [that leaves us] heading toward structurelessness and culturelessness” (pp. 165, 168). He blames these changes on large bureaucratic structures that have become unwieldy while community and family domains – where people connect individually – are being torn apart. This is happening, he says, partly because people are acting not as citizens of communities or as members of families. Instead they act as egocentric individuals who calculate their actions based on an analysis of their personal costs and benefits.

Disparities are increasing between the amount of resources available to people in rich and poor countries – and to rich and poor people within countries. The structure of the global population has become more unequal since the advent of modernity. Modernization theory does not explain or incorporate two major features of social development: “the global increase in inequality and the rise and crystallization of diverse and at least potentially mutually hostile collective identities” (Therborn 1995:129). Halton (1995) claims that, “Despite the many genuine achievements of the modern world

. . . the spirit of modernity has been one which denigrated the basic conditions of human beings” (p. 261).

Conclusion

Modernization theory is making a comeback – assuming it ever went away – as globalization theory. The 1950s and 1960s are being revisited world wide, since globalization is, in effect, a theory of Westernization by another name that repeats all the problems connected with Eurocentrism, especially its narrow view of the world in terms of culture and history. The conflation of modernity/globalization implies that globalization’s history starts with Western history, though it should begin with world history (Pieterse 1995). Globalization is not a “new” force. Rather, it is a continuation and intensification of existing networks. The preoccupation with themes like “global order” is indicative of a Parsonian approach, transferred from an artificially isolated and unified society to the global condition (Amason 1990).

I am most concerned about the ways proponents of “free markets” have used modernization theory to argue that only good things follow from increased market exchanges and industrialization. So-called development-oriented institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund operate under the assumption that progress in LDCs depends on their following a Western/U.S. economic model. This assumption is problematic partly because it is based on inaccurate depictions of Western nations’ development history and because it mostly ignores the complexities of the global market system.

Though 1950s modernization theory has been more or less out of favor in sociology since soon after its inception, it still has many followers in policy making

positions and elsewhere who have accepted many of the theory's basic principles. These followers are making development policy based on the assumption that if LDCs follow a Western model, they will enjoy the West's success. But the United States and other Western nations have not, in the course of their development, been subject to the kinds of rules and regulations that LDCs are expected to follow in order to achieve Western-style success. The United States' history as a British colony is unlike the colonial histories of less developed countries where experiences under imperialism and colonialism are as different as the countries themselves – though there are also many similarities among them.

The U.S. was never forced by outside lenders to open its borders to global capital, to follow strict austerity guidelines or to abide by other rules repeatedly applied by lenders to LDCs as conditions for their receiving loans. This ill fit between historical reality and theory driven policy making is ludicrous. In the real world, structural adjustment policies mandated in pursuit of countries' modernization can lead to job loss and cutbacks in state spending on education, health and food subsidies. This often has the worst effects on nations' poorest residents because it is they who are most vulnerable and who rarely have the political power to fight back (Killick 1993). These are the same people who, theoretically at least, should benefit.

Modernization theorists have failed to incorporate criticisms of their model in any meaningful way. Partly because of this, I have chosen to also consider socialist feminists' views of social change and development in this paper. Unlike modernization theorists, socialist feminists focus much of their energy on critiques of the effects of unrestrained industrial capitalism and markets. Also, socialist feminists are concerned with the conditions faced by females under industrialization and patriarchy.

Modernization theorists, with the exception of Boserup, mostly ignore women's issues, and this is a major omission. I will return to Boserup and other modernization theorists' arguments in Chapters Six and Seven. At this point I turn to a discussion of socialist feminism, the second major theoretical perspective of interest here.

SOCIALIST FEMINISM

Marxist and socialist feminist theories are critical ways of examining the world. Both focus on antagonisms rather than balance or symmetry. But while Marxism looks at class inequality, socialist feminists focus on inequality between the sexes, specifically women's subjugation to the authority of males within and outside the family, in the community and in society. Socialist feminism is an inquiry that shows how activities are organized and articulated with larger social and economic processes, and looks at how situations are organized and affected by social processes outside everyday experience (Smith 1987). Socialist feminists look at women's objectification, at the sexual division of labor that confines mostly women to domestic activities and at women's overall position in productive labor where their work often has low prestige and is compensated by low wages (Ehrenreich 1976).

Socialist feminists focus on the oppression of women as it results from patriarchy and class structure, not as simply a by-product of class structure, and they are concerned about what they see as the strong relationship between capitalism and patriarchy. For socialist feminists, capitalism is supported by the institutions, practices and ideologies of patriarchy, while patriarchy benefits from some relations under capitalism (Ingraham 1994). In "capitalist systems, patriarchy assumes unique forms that are interwoven with capitalism in mutually supportive ways" (Chafetz 1997:104-105).

Some socialist feminists argue that women's status and power decreased when productive work moved out of households and into factories. Hartmann (1979) asserts that when private and public life were separated under capitalism, men's direct control over women was replaced by an indirect one, mediated by institutions that were society-wide, where men are still able to control women. It is argued that capitalism did not create but rather reinforced the ideology of the inferiority of women in preindustrial and precapitalist societies (Chodorow 1979).

Feminists assert that though women's oppression is virtually universal, it has taken different forms in various places. Oppression includes exclusion from democratic processes, being confined to certain kinds of economic activities and the neglect or murder of female babies, what Ehrenreich (1976) calls a "difference is worth dying for" (p. 67). The varying manifestations of women's oppression are important to this paper. I will discuss females' low status in rural areas in Pakistan, as these are demonstrated by female's poorer health and education levels countrywide, looking, in part, at how this appears to be associated with the sexual division of labor and patriarchal traditions.

A comprehensive approach to the study of women's oppression should incorporate several components, including a commitment to the liberation of women and social equality for all. It must produce a concrete analysis of women's current situation and study how this arose, and it should present a theory of women's position in society. The discussion must be informed by a vision of women's liberation that is consistent with its theory, and it is important that feminists consider the history of women's subordination in order to find appropriate programs and strategies (Vogel 1983). Contemporary feminism has led to a large body of literature based on social science and Marxism that looks at women's oppression – its origins, the reasons for its perpetuation,

its contemporary functions and the conditions that might lead to its demise (Gimenez 1978).

Equality of persons under capitalism is central to the question of women's and others' oppression. As capitalism develops, it increasingly controls social processes and equalizes human labor, which could potentially increase the equality of persons. But these tendencies meet many obstacles, and capitalism's stratified labor market appears compatible with undemocratic political arrangements (Vogel 1983).

Socialist feminist theory is different from other feminist theories in its argument that the abolition of capitalism, while necessary to end patriarchy, is not sufficient to force its demise (Landry and MacLean 1993; Ingraham 1994). Socialist feminists look at capitalist patriarchy to better understand the system of power that comes from it. They find some common ground with orthodox Marxism and other kinds of feminism in their study of politics, economics and culture in societies characterized by monopoly capitalism, though they are critical of radical feminists for failing to incorporate considerations of economic relationships into their analysis (Eisenstein 1979). Socialist feminist theorists attempt to break out of the boundaries of Marxism and feminism to look at the whole of women's experience and to search for ways to end oppression (Ehrenreich 1976).

Feminist interpretation of history is materialist in the broad sense in that it considers the domination of some groups by others (Delphy 1981). Materialist feminism emerged in late 1970s from a critique within Marxism. Materialist feminists argue that Marxism is not adequate to address issues important to women because it cannot account for the sexual division of labor (Kuhn and Wolpe 1978). Traditional Marxism is an inadequate theory with which to understand the oppression of women and it is not

adequate for studying social relations, domination and relations of production's oppression (Young 1997).

Materialist feminists examine the division of labor and the distribution of wealth, using Marxist and feminist critiques of ideology to look at the social transformation of dominant institutions that tend to distribute resources and power according to gender (Ebert 1996). For Ingraham (1994) "patriarchy, capitalism, and racism . . . consist of unstable patterns of interrelations and reciprocal determinations which, when viewed together, provide a useful way of theorizing power and domination" (p. 205).

There are differences in Marxist, socialist and materialist feminist perspectives, but these may be more historical than theoretical. McCarthyism made the Marxist label problematic for many American feminists, though Eisenstein (1979) argues that the word socialism is more "open" than Marxism. Agreement on the usage or particular meanings of the terms is hard to come by. Materialist feminism has been referred to as pre-Marxian because of its focus on the material base and because it rejects dialectical materialism. But many feminists disagree with Marxist theory's emphasis on the "inevitable, scientific unfolding of all natural and physical processes according to universal law" (Landry and MacLean 1993:4). With apologies to all, I have decided to use the term "socialist feminism" in this paper. It will be used as an umbrella term that loosely covers variants of this large body of work that focuses critical attention on capitalism, patriarchy and the oppression of women.

Marx and Engels

Marx and Engels (1958) look at change and contradiction under different modes of production and at how these affect social groups. They put the woman question within a theory of social development, while socialist feminists approach the woman question from the framework of the women's movement, asking how women become oppressed and hoping to identify the elements required for their liberation (Vogel 1983). As feudalism was replaced by capitalism, old family forms that were obstacles to new production methods had to be removed or replaced for capitalism to be successful (Marx and Engels 1976). They argue that economic relationships are ultimately determining, and they are concerned with what they see as workers' self-alienation under capitalism. For them the, "life-process of society does not strip off its mystical veil until it is treated as production by freely associate men, and is consciously regulated by them in accordance with a settled plan" (p. 80). When members of society own the means of production and when laborers cooperate with other laborers, they lose their the "fetters of individuality," and develop their capabilities through work (1967:329).

Marx and Engels' materialism continues to be important to the work of many socialist feminists. Engels (1942) argues that "The social organization under which the people of a particular historical epoch and a particular country live is determined by both kinds of production: by the stages of development of labor on the one hand and of the family on the other (p. 5).

Socialist feminists argue that the sexual division of labor and of society is at the base of patriarchy and capitalism. This division defines what people do, their purpose, their goals and dreams according to biology, and it "divides men and women into their

respective hierarchical sex roles and structures their related duties in the family domain and within the economy” (Eisenstein 1979:27).

Marx and Engels (1976) argue that the division of labor in society is based on the natural division of labor in families, where “wife and children are the slaves of the husband” (p. 46). Marx did not question the hierarchical ordering of society. He saw women’s problems as arising from their reproductive status. For Engels (1942) inequality in marriage is caused by women’s economic oppression, and women lost status when the patriarchal household lost its public character. Women will be liberated when the wife is brought back into public industry, and this will abolish the monogamous family as an economic unit. Thus the solution to women’s oppression, according to Marx and Engels, is socialist revolution (Eisenstein 1979).

Vogel (1983) argues that it is not the sexual division of labor or the family but women’s responsibility for domestic labor that perpetuates their oppression. As long as there is capitalism, domestic labor will be needed for its reproduction. Women will disproportionately perform this labor, and it will likely be accompanied by a system of male supremacy.

Socialist Feminist Responses to Marx and Engels

Early Marxist feminists, such as Firestone and Millet, concluded that Marxism failed as a theory of history and a theory of oppression because it did not account for the origins, structure, and dynamic of male domination and because it failed to recognize sex oppression as the most fundamental oppression. They “rejected Marxian theory as a basis for understanding women’s oppression and rejected the socialist movement as a viable means of organizing to alter the social structure” (Young 1994:96). Socialist

feminists criticize Marx because he failed to look more closely at the link between production and reproduction (German 1989). Socialist feminist theorists argue that there is a reciprocal relationship that defines the life of women, and it is between society and the family, and between reproduction and production. The family and the need for reproduction structure society, as do patriarchy and its ideology (Eisenstein 1979).

The traditional Marxian position is that “the woman question” is secondary to the central questions of a Marxian theory of society. Oppression and exploitation are the same thing, according to Marx, though feminists disagree. For them, exploitation characterizes class relations under capitalism, and oppression describes the relations between powerful (white men) and powerless (women and minorities) within patriarchy, racism and capitalism (Eisenstein 1979). Thus women are exploited and oppressed under capitalist patriarchy.

Socialist feminists often argue that Marx and Engels’ work is inadequate to the study of women’s oppression. But others say that Marx and Engels added to feminists’ understanding of women’s situation more than feminists normally give them credit for (Vogel 1983). Vogel says that the socialist tradition has not adequately addressed feminist questions, but she adds that Marxism can be “used to develop a theoretical framework in which to situate the problems of women’s oppression and women's liberation” (p. 2).

Patriarchy

Patriarchy literally means “rule of the father.” It is defined as:

... a set of social relations which has a material base and in which there are hierarchical relations between men and solidarity among them which enable them in turn to dominate women. The material base of patriarchy is men’s control over

women's labor power . . . The crucial elements of patriarchy as we *currently* experience them are heterosexual marriage, . . . female child rearing and housework, women's economic dependence on men . . . and the numerous institutions based on social relations among men . . . (Hartmann 1981:18-19)

Marx and Engels use the term to describe the domestic household system of production and to refer to a specific form of the family, not women's oppression. They mostly ignore other aspects of patriarchy, and socialist feminists say that Marxists have "underestimated the strength of the preexisting patriarchal social forces with which fledgling capital had to contend" (Hartmann 1981:20).

There are several different theories of women's oppression, but the theory of patriarchy has become hegemonic for radical and socialist feminists. Hartmann (1981) argues that capital accumulation accommodates and perpetuates patriarchal social structure, creating a partnership between them. Most, if not all, leftist feminists agree that patriarchy is responsible for women's oppression. "Sometimes it is even said that patriarchy is women's oppression" (German 1989:87). Capitalist exploitation, patriarchy and their varying conditions of existence continue to be the focus of socialist feminist critique. These two forces continue to organize and justify the division of labor, the interests of the state, wealth and ideology (Ingraham 1994).

Reproductive Labor

Socialist feminism, though inspired by Marxism, is different from orthodox Marxism, in part, in its focus on the reproductive or nonwage labor that is mostly done by women. This work is also referred to as unwaged labor, domestic work, production of use value and necessary labor. In the sexual division of labor, women are primarily responsible for the maintenance and reproduction of the current and future labor force,

and the reproductive work done by women benefits capitalists who enjoy its advantages without having to pay for it directly (Chafetz 1997). Many feminists see this labor as exploitative and oppressive for women (e.g., Chodorow 1979; Chafetz 1997).

Vogel (1995) finds that women's oppression in class society is rooted in the reproduction of labor power. She argues, though, that "It is the provision by men of means of subsistence to women during the childbirth period, and not the sexual division in itself, that forms the material basis for woman's subordination in class society" (1983:146-148). In class societies, working class families become sites where necessary labor is maintained and replaced.

Several socialist feminists look specifically at women's struggle within the family. Ramazanoglu (1992) argues that family life does not, as such, give rise to women's oppression. Rather, she asserts, the problem is unraveling the complex set of factors that contributes to the domination of families by males. The "oppressive features of production systems, patriarchal sexuality, men's control of reproduction, and patriarchal ideologies . . . give rise to male-dominated families." Basu (1995) is also skeptical of Western feminists' view of the family. Ramazanoglu argues that feminism will have to do something more to entice women in LDCs to join their movement than simply advocating the abolition of the "only place in society which is theirs" (pp. 283-284).

Dalla Costa and James (1972) argue that the history of women's exploitation through domestic work is tied to the survival of the nuclear family. But class struggle is intimately tied with inequality within the nuclear family and this adds a new dimension. These authors look at the ways that families under capitalism ceased to be the productive and educational centers they had been in precapitalist societies. With the advent of

capitalism, the socialization of production was reorganized around the factory. Those who worked in the new productive center, the factory, received a wage. Those who were excluded did not. Women, children and the elderly lose economic power and worth as wage labor comes to be seen as more important. After men's exclusion from the home, children were sent to school, effectively excluding them as well. The struggle to organize a women's movement must overcome the separation that began in the so-called freedom of wage labor.

Some feminists question the role of the family under capitalism, especially as the benefits of their reproductive activities are enjoyed by capitalists and by individual men. If individual men benefit from women's reproductive activities – and there is no question that they do, it would appear that working class men have a material interest, just as upper class men do, in defending capitalism (German 1989).

Socialist feminists might follow hooks' (1984) example and look at the reproductive labor – that women and girls around the world continue to do each and every day – using some of Marx's writings on work (see below). "Doing housework" and other reproductive work doesn't have to be the drudgery that it is often assumed to be. Child rearing is a major household activity that is certainly more than just the reproduction of laborers for capitalists. Socialist feminists tend to ignore housework as work that is worth doing, as work that can be humanizing. Instead they often look at it in terms of how it serves the needs of male relatives and capital, or at how wage-earning women do more of it than their male partners, or at the tendency for many women to work double duty as wage earners and housekeepers.

Wage Labor

Marx and Engels argue that we realize our humanity through work that uses our “arms and legs, head and hands” (1967:177). They say that our work makes us truly human. By expressing ourselves through work we realize our humanity and show that we are more than animals producing only to satisfy physical needs. But work must be done freely, something that is not possible under capitalism, and it is only by overthrowing capitalism and taking control of the means of production that workers – humanity – are able to produce as creative beings. According to Marx and Engels, “Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. Thus integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated” (p. 763).

Following Marx and Engels, socialist feminist theorists often argue that the beginning of the end of women’s oppression occurs when women become wage laborers. As wage laborers, women will begin to realize their commonality with other workers, and they will first organize for better wages and working conditions. Socialist feminism is women’s and others’ bridge to freedom, and by “overthrowing the economic system of capitalism,” socialist feminism can liberate women and other oppressed people (Wong 1991:348).

Organizing workers is important, but wage labor by itself will not liberate women. It is not clear that LDCs should embrace capitalism to achieve “some kind of progress.” Still, women’s participation as wage laborers forces the struggle for their equality into the public sphere where it can connect with other movements to challenge capital and patriarchy. Wage work is exploitative, but it is also amenable to collective

struggle. For women in LDCs, wage labor is feminism's starting point, not its ultimate goal (Nanda 1997).

Unequal sexual divisions of labor exist under capitalism where labor is supposed to be "free." As the segregation of men's and women's jobs has increased, the inequality of wages has also increased. Women become more dependent or continue to be dependent on men for support, and this enables men to continue to control women in the household. Thus men will tend to support job segregation by sex. Working class men have been coopted by the ruling class's oppression of women workers, and women must attack both patriarchy and capitalism if they are to gain their liberation (Hartmann 1979).

Additional workers entering the labor force put downward pressures on wages, and increase the probability that laborers will have to work longer hours, often at tedious tasks. Instead of encouraging the increased participation of women in the wage labor force, shown to have both positive and negative consequences for individuals and families, socialist feminists continue to look at other strategies that may lessen household and work force inequalities.

Postmodernism and Socialist Feminism

Socialist feminism and postmodernism have an uneasy coexistence. Feminism is under siege, as postmodern theorists question its fundamental concepts. Ebert (1995) argues that postmodern theorists have "discredited Marxism and almost entirely erased the issues of labor and production from feminist theory" (p. 339). Postmodern feminists have understood changes in the superstructure as indicators that major economic changes have caused a break in capitalism and the relations of production, evidenced by such trends as post-fordism, post-industrialism and consumer society.

Landry and MacLean (1993) look at postmodernism and the history of the debates between feminism and Marxism in the United States and Britain, arguing that “socialism must be reinvented from within feminism and other new social movements” and that it is premature to say that socialism has failed and feminism has “won” (p. 3). For them:

The new emphases on race, ethnicity, postcolonialism, gay liberation, and the history of sexuality, and the cultural impact of postmodernism and its intellectual correlative, poststructuralism, have helped shift the . . . debates from a possible synthesis of Marxism and feminism to the construction of a materialist analysis of culture informed by and responsive to the concerns of women, as well as people of color and other marginalized groups. (P. x)

Postmodernism is partly the result of modernism’s inability to contain the contradictions of capitalism: the promise of universal equality and the reality of divisions of wealth, resources, and power by race, sex, region and class. These divisions have been legitimated by ideologies of the free market and individualism. But postmodernism mystifies these contradictions, normalizing material inequality as “difference” (Ebert 1996:50). Postmodernists simultaneously discredit the very idea of equality as a remnant of what is seen as the repressive universalism of modernism. For them, global capitalism benefits from this, as do “bourgeois, academic feminists” who “would, for the most part, like to see some measure of gender equality” but only “within the existing social relations” (p. 47).

Methods

Marxism and feminism’s critiques of ideology encourage suspicion of what appears to be natural. The de-fetishization of concrete experience encourages people to think of “social and political impossibilities” as “possibilities” (Landry and MacLean 1993:9). Hennessy and Mohan (1989) agree that our ways of making sense of different

kinds of oppression will have an effect on whether it continues or is eliminated. For them, feminists must incorporate theoretical frameworks that allow them to look at complex interconnections of the axes along which exploitation and oppression occur.

Many socialist feminists argue that scholarly work should be the basis for an activist stance. They argue that in addition to a consideration of women's issues, socialist feminists must support women's autonomous efforts to organize and encourage their use of a theoretical perspective. Socialist feminist struggle and organizing have tended to be against capital, focusing on the explicit connections between women's oppression and other forms of oppression (Young 1994). Socialist feminist theory must "disrupt the specific conditions and features of racist, patriarchal, and capitalist oppression but also transform the systematic relations of exploitation that produce local oppressions" (Ebert 1996:15).

"Feminism is mode of analysis, a method of approaching life and politics, a way of asking questions and searching for answers, rather than a set of political conclusions about the oppression of women" (Hartsock 1979:58-59). The politics of socialist feminists include a commitment to the struggle against capitalism and the struggle for the liberation of women (Young 1994). Additional struggles must be waged against women's position in the four social structures of: 1) production, 2) reproduction, 3) sexuality and 4) the socialization of children, because these four structures will have to be transformed if women are to be liberated (Mitchell 1971).

Some Studies Using Socialist Feminist Theory

The work of socialist feminists is as varied as the theorists who undertake it. While socialist feminists operate within a general theoretical framework, their studies range from empirically-based studies to highly theoretical ones, from those focusing on household dynamics to those analyzing the effects of global capitalism.

For example, hooks (1984) looks at feminism, work and women of color in the United States, noting that the service work mostly done by women is particularly devalued in capitalist patriarchy, as is housework. She says that for feminists, housework and service work are drudgery, since being compelled to work is not as liberating as having a “career.” Hooks argues that the effects of capitalism are especially hard on minority women, often family heads, who tend to be concentrated in low wage jobs, and she concludes that feminist academicians should focus more on the nature of work and on the economy, especially on working conditions, pay issues and other reforms, if they want to appeal to women of color.

Hartmann (1981) looks at the family, the working lives of family members and at the nature of family relationships as they are shaped by patriarchy and capitalism. She argues that the family should not be looked at as if it is an undifferentiated unit – there are unequal power relations and asymmetrical distributions of resources within the family. Others have looked at female headed households and poverty (e.g., Bergmann 1986; Zopf 1989; Lord 1993).

Pearson (1994) is interested in industrial work and gender and Engels’ assertion that women must work in industries to benefit from the opportunities offered by capitalism. She contends that the conditions outside the factory gate must also be considered, since capitalism extends beyond the formal workplace.

Nanda (1997) looks at some of the positive aspects of modernization. She sees it as a “contradictory development that erodes the hold of local patriarchal relations even while it integrates women into the circuits of global capitalism” (p. 366). She asserts that modernization has positive effects on women’s situation because wage work helps women survive when traditional support structures fail. The gains that modernization offers women in LDCs are limited, Nanda says, but they are significant compared to “the far more oppressive limits that the classical, private forms of patriarchy have imposed on women in Third World societies” (p. 391). Her work and others’ demonstrate the diversity of socialist feminists’ studies.

Some Criticisms of Socialist Feminist Theory

Vogel (1983) says that socialist feminists run into problems when they try to situate the oppression of women theoretically in terms of class and the mode of production. Though socialist feminists’ work is more theoretical, she criticizes their insistence that a materialist understanding of women in families is the key to understanding women’s oppression across modes of production and across classes. Vogel argues that socialist feminists should “abandon the idea that the so-called woman question represents an adequate category of analysis for theory” (p. 137).

Carby (1997) suggests that more work needs to be done in the area of noncapitalist social relations of production. Scholars should look especially at why these are maintained under capitalist systems and at how the reproductive work done mostly by women helps keep wages low. Carby argues for an investigation into the ways relations of imperialism have contributed to social relations in LDCs, especially relations within the family. Socialist feminist work must also look at the exclusivity of white, Western

feminists (hooks 1984). Feminism has failed to appeal to ethnic groups partly because bourgeois women have liberated themselves through work even as they've forced others, especially people of color, out of some jobs. Feminists in the 1980s weren't too concerned about poverty and the plight of poor working women until they themselves were poor, according to hooks.

Carby (1997) compares Western feminists' exclusion or near exclusion of Western women of color to their treatment of the concerns of women in LDCs. She agrees with hooks that black feminists from the U.S. have been ignored, as have indigenous black feminists. Socialist feminists have focused mostly on the effects of capitalism and patriarchy on Western women while mostly failing to look at the relationship between colonialism and its effects on women in LDCs. This is because, she argues, white feminists are "extraordinarily reluctant to see themselves in the situations of being oppressors, as they feel that this will be at the expense of concentrating upon being oppressed" (p. 118).

Western feminists have tended to frame studies of women in LDCs in the context of feudalism or to look at women as victims of local traditions, rather than studying the legacies of colonialism or looking at development as it is affected by contemporary global social and economic relationships. To remedy this, Carby (1997) argues that transformations of gender systems must be looked at on their own terms, not just in comparison to Western and other systems, since they may be the result of colonialism or particular migration patterns. Struggles for women in poorer countries must be understood in the context of race relations and imperialism, and beyond the gender and class relations that impoverish women in the West because "a narrowly defined (Western) feminism is insufficient to redress the oppression of Third World women"

(Johnson-Odim 1991:314). The oppression that women in LDCs face may not be limited to, or may not be primarily the effect of gender, and indigenous Third World gender relationships may be worsened by Western exploitation, patriarchy and racism.

Basu (1995) agrees that feminist literature has mostly ignored women's movements in LDCs, and she says that even when these are featured, feminist movements are portrayed as products of modernization and as the same across cultures. But she says that women in the South are refusing to define feminism with dominant values or groups. Instead they have relocated feminism within subordinate or marginalized groups, though they are still "seeking the most universal objectives" (p. 20). She and others argue that feminist politics are more likely to succeed in LDCs, where younger populations have framed new values and collective consciousness that have been formed, in part, by war and deprivation (e.g., Ramazanoglu 1992; Basu 1995).

Feminists should acknowledge that the economic participation of women in LDCs has been affected by capitalism, and they should remember that the economic participation of these women is much different from that of Western feminists (Deere 1979). Multinational capitalism has had disastrous effects on LDCs, especially as its network of exploitation becomes larger. Results of globalization and modernization include increasing violence against women in lesser developed countries. They have become the objects of medical research, and they have been sexualized and commodified. The fight over women's bodies as the site of reproduction in the West and of production in the South has intensified, and feminists need a more globalizing strategy for feminism that can be used to critique feminism itself along with new imperialism, white supremacy, homophobia, class exploitation and patriarchy. This critique would explore

the connection between oppression and exploitation situated in capitalist power relations and their global deployment (Hennessy and Mohan 1989).

According to Johnson-Odim (1991), economic exploitation and racism are the foremost forces of oppression for most women in LDCs, and there must be dialogue between Western feminists and women in poorer countries if there is to be any progress on lessening or eliminating this oppression. A feminist strategy must support women in all cultures in their pursuit of “autonomy for themselves and all aspects of their lives” (Pearson 1992:266).

The contradictions just demonstrated, between many socialist feminists’ beliefs and their practices contrast with the inclusivity expressed in early feminist writings. In the late 1970s, a statement from the Berkeley-Oakland Women’s Union (1979) activists observed that all are “oppressed by this international system of advanced capitalism that wages war against revolutionary struggles for liberation and destroys the culture and resources of Third World countries” (p. 357). Western feminists’ interest in poor women’s struggle against imperialism, sexism and oppression seems to be increasing.

Conclusion

In writing this paper, my aim is not to lessen or eliminate the oppression of women in Pakistan, though I would certainly like to see this happen. My goal here is to better understand the social change that is occurring in the Punjab region, especially as appears to be affecting individuals and families. The two major theories of development and social change, modernization and socialist feminism, will help me better understand what appears to be happening there. One or both perspectives should give better insight into what path of “development” or what series of policies might improve opportunities

and increase the number of choices available to the great many poor citizens of that country – and others.

CHAPTER THREE

METHOD OF INQUIRY

INTRODUCTION

The general area of focus or the research problem is broad. It will incorporate data about households in Pakistan's Punjab with information from additional case studies to assess the usefulness of two theories of social change and development in describing and explaining rural poverty in developing countries. This research project incorporates data from households in Pakistan's Punjab region, data and background on Pakistan, and analysis from analogous cases. I consider two major theories of social change and how they fit with the data and additional information. I agree with Mills (1959) that we cannot understand the individual life or society without having some understanding at more than one level.

The results of this research project demonstrate some of the ways people's choices may be linked to and constrained by larger structural forces (Finch 1989). This chapter discusses how the study was conducted – the design and strategy of inquiry into households in some rural villages in Pakistan's Punjab region, sampling, method of data collection and how the data were analyzed. I also discuss the additional sources, the study's reliability and validity, and its limits and benefits. During the research process, my intention has been to look for and discover answers to questions by applying

systematic procedures. When I went to Pakistan in 1992 to conduct research, I wanted to learn more about how people with few resources live their day-to-day lives in lesser developed rural areas, and to better understand rural poverty.

From November 1992 through March 1993, I and a female Pakistani research assistant collected household level data from 36 adult female respondents in the Punjab region of Pakistan. The research project was funded by a scholarship from the Fulbright Foundation. We collected household level data through observation and in face-to-face interviews where we used a semi-structured questionnaire. Focusing on households can enable a better understanding of members' predicaments and of various linkages between the household and the larger processes of society (Dube 1988).

Survey questions elicited descriptive data about the respondents, such as age, marital status and their parents. Other questions asked about people in the household, especially their work activities and their responsibilities within the household. We probed for additional information about household members' outside economic activities and their work for cash and in-kind payments. The survey also included questions about women's claims to immovable property and about marriage and dowry traditions. This cross-sectional study of households is primarily descriptive, and its purpose is to provide a snapshot of social life in its natural setting, not evidence of cause and effect relationships (Cole 1980; Bickman, Rog and Hedrick 1998).

Getting Started

Upon my arrival in Faisalabad, I was welcomed by Ashfaq Mirza, a faculty member at the University of Agriculture there. Mirza received his master's degree from the Department of Sociology at Colorado State University, and his thesis chair and

advisor, Dr. David Freeman, had also been my thesis chair. Mirza and his department head at the University in Faisalabad had written a letter in support of my application for a Fulbright award, and Mirza had arranged for me to rent a room on campus from a faculty member and his family during my stay. Mirza had also secured a commitment from a former student, Shahida Rani, to be my research assistant, agreement from another of his former students to be our driver, and consent from Shahida's family that she could travel by car with a young man who is not her brother.

My research assistant, Shahida Rani, received a master's degree from the University of Agriculture in Faisalabad from the Department of Population Studies. Prior to working with me she had been a translator for other Western researchers. Besides being trained in sociological methods and having experience collecting data in rural areas, Shahida Rani also speaks English, Urdu, Punjabi and she understands some local dialects.

Ashfaq Mirza was extremely kind and helpful in the early stages of my research and throughout my stay in Pakistan. Besides finding a research assistant and driver for me, he also helped me formulate items for the questionnaire, and he arranged for and accompanied us on our first interview. My conversations with him and faculty members at the University gave me a better understanding of the local culture, and they aided my interpretation of field notes.

Research Questions

Basic research is needed regarding family patterns and dynamics among the poor in developing countries so that we can obtain data to explain observed patterns of change and the effects of development efforts, and to guide planners in alleviating poverty. (Safilios-Rothschild 1980:47)

I was awarded a Fulbright Scholarship in 1992, to study the dowry system and how it affects women in rural Pakistan. After I arrived in Pakistan, talked to faculty members at the University of Agriculture and conducted some fieldwork, I decided to change the focus of the study. The revised research objective was to describe Punjab households, its members, their work activities, and marriage and dowry traditions.

A standardized survey instrument with probes was developed to match the nature of the investigation into Punjabi households. This survey is a fairly typical one – it included standardized questions and the interview sessions were mostly controlled by the research team. But interviews also elicited contextual data, they were interspersed with personal stories, and sometimes there were diversions into other topics not included on the survey. Also, Shahida and I demonstrated interest in the participants' lives rather than trying to appear neutral (Neuman 1997). Central questions were designed to elicit information about household members' work and about their income and in-kind generating activities both inside and outside the household.

This research project is qualitative in that it involved the use and collection of empirical materials – here data from interviews – that describe “routine and problematic meanings in individuals' lives” (Denzin and Lincoln 1994). Additional groups of questions asked about respondent and household members' demographic characteristics, the respondent's and/or her mother's marriage ceremonies, the respondent's and/or her mother's dowries and dowry traditions, and adult females' feelings about women owning land. (See **Appendix A** for a copy of the survey instrument.)

Sampling and the Sample

For this study, the unit of analysis and sampling unit are households in rural Punjab, Pakistan, and household representatives were the units of enquiry. In this study the household representative was always a female, 18 years old or older. We interviewed adult females, rather than adult males, for several reasons. First, it is more appropriate to Pakistani culture that I, as a female, should speak to women and not men. Also, the original topic was about the dowry, and I assumed that women would be more knowledgeable than males about this subject. In addition, I wanted to interview women because women's status in Pakistan, compared to men's, is among the world's lowest. My research was not intended to empower women, but I hoped that listening to them and reporting what they said would give them a voice they otherwise would not have had. I believe that the women we spoke to were generally pleased to talk to us about themselves and their families. Most of us enjoy being listened to, and I don't think these women were much different from anyone else in that respect.

I used a purposive sample to select households, attempting to maximize variation on two variables 1) the work activity of the primary male householder, or, if the primary householder was female, the work activity of her father, and 2) the household representative's age. I assumed that work activities of the husband or father would mostly determine household economic status. By interviewing women of various ages I assumed we would include women in different life stages, such as unmarried girl, bride, mother, mother-in-law and grandmother (Lamphere 1997). Faculty members and students from the University of Agriculture helped me determine which male work activities were characteristic of the wider population so we would be sure to include households that represented these. Our intention was to select a sample that was a model

of the regional rural population using typical cases that were known beforehand to be useful examples of rural households, not extreme ones (Henry 1998).

Shahida and I interviewed a total of 36 women over a period of five months. Seven of these women represented households in the city of Faisalabad, and when I decided to focus only on rural households, data from these respondents were separated from that of the other 29 women and the rural households they represented. Some of the information we collected during interviews with the seven women in urban households (those who live in Faisalabad) is used to supplement the data on rural women and/or to illustrate or reinforce certain points.

The seven urban respondents, interview numbers 27-30, 32, 35, 36, lived with their families in Faisalabad. Except for two urban households whose members live in tents, the urban households were different from their rural counterparts in several respects. For example, none of the rural residents had toilets inside their houses, none had glass windows and none had “tap” water. All the rural households we visited had dirt floors and most had a buffalo, chickens or other domestic animals, while the urban households, except for the two families living in tents, did not.

Twenty-nine respondents represented families who live in rural villages in Pakistan’s Punjab region. To preserve their anonymity, each household representative is identified by a common name. To help readers trace stories of separate households, each participant’s name is followed by the interview number in parentheses. For example, Bushra (31) is the 31st woman we interviewed. We spoke with Bushra in Faisalabad, so her interview came later than those of other rural households (rural respondents were not interviewed in sequence, so there are breaks in rural respondent numbering).

The rural respondents and/or their families live in eight different villages in the Punjab. All eight villages are within a 45 minute drive from Faisalabad. Twenty-six of the 29 rural respondents were interviewed in their or their neighbors' homes. By conducting the interviews in people's houses, I was able to study people in their normal settings (Taylor and Bogdan 1998). To preserve respondents' anonymity, the villages will not be identified by name. The majority of the rural respondents and their families live in three villages – 13 live in one of these, and dozen more were split evenly between the other two. Three respondents were interviewed in Faisalabad, but their families live in three separate villages near Faisalabad. Another of the respondents lived in an orphanage in Faisalabad when we interviewed her. Information about her household was included with that of the rural respondents because her other family members live in a village. The first woman we interviewed lived with her family in an eighth village.

Respondents' ages showed good distribution (see **Table 3.1**). Six of the women were less than 25 years old at the time of the interviews. Six were between the ages of 26 and 35; seven were between the ages of 36 and 45; five were between 46 and 55 years of age, and five were between 56 and 69. The youngest respondent was about 18 years old and the eldest respondent was about 69. The median age was about 39 years. All ages are approximate. It is common for villagers not to remember their days of birth or even the year, though they can come up with a rough idea by matching significant life events, like marriage, with a historical event like Partition (Ahmad 1977).

Table 3.1 Respondents' Age Group^a

n	Age Group
6	18 to 25 years
6	26 to 35
7	36 to 45
5	46 to 56
5	56 to 69

^a All ages are approximate – most respondents were able only to estimate them.

Field Visits

The first interview served as a pretest for the survey instrument. Ashfaq Mirza selected the first village and household where we interviewed the village head man's mother. We spent some time in their courtyard and in the village, and Mirza used this opportunity to explain more about village life and practices to me. As a result of the pretest, we revised the survey slightly for the remainder of the interviews. We did not return to that first village for additional interviews.

On the days we went to villages for interviews, we generally left Faisalabad in the morning and returned late in the afternoon. The three villages that we visited for the majority of the rural interviews were chosen by my driver and my research assistant. In each of them either Shahida or Tariq had family members who lived there.

Interviews lasted from about an hour to almost three hours. Most respondents answered all of our questions, but some of the sessions were cut short because we or our respondents had other commitments. Shahida served as my translator, and her observations added to my understanding of the data we collected. Most of the women we

interviewed speak Punjabi. Many of these women were born in what is now Pakistan, while many of the older women were born in what is now the Indian Punjab and came to Pakistan with their families during or after Partition in 1947. A few respondents in one village had come from or had ancestors from western Pakistan, and they spoke a dialect called Balochi.

Shahida asked our respondents the questions from our survey, in order, then translated the answers for me. I transcribed the answers, sometimes asking for clarification or probing for additional information. None of the interviews was translated verbatim. It was not possible, given resource constraints, to use a tape recorder or to bring a second translator to the sites. This is certainly unfortunate, since many of our respondents' exact responses were not recorded. But Shahida and I discussed much of what the respondents said to us during our drives each day, and we were both committed to representing the respondents on their own terms and to being factual and descriptive (Lofland 1971). I am confident that she relayed the sense of their comments to me as well as possible under the circumstances.

We conducted most of our interviews in respondents' or their neighbors' courtyards. Almost always, our visits attracted large crowds who wanted to listen to and see what was going on. There seemed to be very little we could do about this. When Shahida asked people to leave, sometimes they did, but others would come to take their places. If we went inside, people would follow us there. We seemed to be the prime attraction, and people – mostly women and children, but a few men also – came to see and hear what we were doing. They also came to see the American, and some told me I was the first one to ever visit their village.

Having a crowd of people around us meant that the women's responses were not confidential. This undoubtedly caused some women to tell us less than the truth in some of their responses. For example, one woman told us during the interview that the sisters and sisters-in-law she lives with were nice to her. Later, when Shahida had time to talk to her alone, she told Shahida that the sisters were mean to her because she had a small dowry, compared to those of the two sisters-in-law. She told Shahida that she could not tell us this during the interview because one of her husband's sisters was there listening.

During another interview, a woman who is her husband's second wife told us that she had good relations with her husband's other wife, who also lived in the village. During the interview she moved away from us to feed her son, and a neighbor told us that our respondent's comments about her relationship with the other wife were untrue. The respondent overheard this, and she later told us that her relationship with the other wife was not good, just as the neighbor had said.

Data Analysis

The descriptive data were obtained during interviews and through observation are mostly qualitative, and in this study I try to provide an "explicit rendering of the structure, order and patterns" that I observed in and between households and household members (Lofland 1971). I typed all the interview data and my field notes while I was in Pakistan, usually on the day/evening of the interview or the day after. In addition to the interview data, I also typed Shahida's and others' comments and explanations. I also recorded my observations of the women, their homes, family members and circumstances – I usually wrote these while Shahida asked survey questions and listened to women's responses.

Once these were typed and I was back in the United States, I read and reread all the responses and my comments. Each time I revisited the data, I looked for patterns to emerge (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Beginning analysis can be tough, even paralyzing. The researcher has to look at the data in order to see what they might want to *look for*. It is important for beginning analysts to try to get a sense of the whole of the data, to extract facts and identify themes, topics or storylines that can be used to organize the data (Sandelowski 1995).

Although there are several software products on the market that can be used to analyze qualitative data, I decided to use WordPerfect 8. Windows environments allow the researcher to look at several screens simultaneously, and word processing programs can be used to sort data in formatted files, and they have the ability to search for text (Richards and Richards 1994).

After years of looking at the data separated by respondent and household, I knew that I would have to put them all together in order to analyze them. The data were in separate files in WordPerfect, and I began by dividing the notes in each file into short statements – by theme, response to a certain question or by a point stressed by the respondent. These shorter statements ranged in length from a sentence or two to a paragraph or two. After I separated the notes into shorter statements I reread them and made adjustments. As I was doing this, I noted that there were several comments I wanted to come back to, so I marked them.

I initially intended to do a line by line analysis and coding of the statements, but I soon ran into what Miles and Huberman (1984) call word overload – where the analyst loses all sense of the whole by trying to attach labels to lines of data. My analysis was becoming bogged down in details. As noted, I had already read and reread each

interview and my field notes numerous times. The process of separating comments into statements also helped me become more familiar with the data. So, with the data already separated into statements I began to read through the interviews again, comparing incidents and looking for themes (Strauss and Corbin 1998). An obvious advantage of returning often to the raw data is that the researcher is continually immersed in it on different occasions and in various frames of mind and contexts. Just reading field notes often moves the researcher forward as each interaction with the data yields new thoughts (Sandelowski 1995) and there is increasing interplay between the researcher and the data (Strauss and Corbin 1998).

As noted above, I had marked some of the comments, and after some time I began to focus on these and other comments that stood out or that caught the sense of several other statements. I found that these statements represented some social change-related themes and that I was beginning to bring the analysis to a more abstract level (Strauss and Corbin 1998). A couple of the themes were subtopics linked to groups of survey questions – household members' work activities and dowry traditions. Additional themes were not part of the initial focus, but they emerged during this process. These themes are related to the low status of females and women's feelings and decisions about land inheritance.

I highlighted statements that were related to work activities, land and inheritance, the status or treatment of boys and girls, methods, and changes in dowry traditions. The statements were then grouped for separate analysis. Each statement retained the participant's "name," the interview number and the statement number.

Reliability and Validity

Our interviews were conducted while community members listened, and this raises questions about the reliability of our methods. Would women have given the same responses if the interviews had been private? The two examples listed above demonstrate that the answer is yes and no. One woman told us something that was not true because her husband's sister was in the crowd listening. Another woman gave a false statement but later recanted it because a neighbor interfered. Because it was virtually impossible for us to interview people in private, we would not have been able to conduct as many interviews, or they would have been much shorter if we had insisted on privacy. Because most of the questions were about things that villagers would normally know about each other, like the number of people in the household, number of animals, work activities, etc., it is likely that having an audience did not keep respondents from being truthful in their responses to these questions. One result of our lack of privacy was that we asked few or no sensitive questions or probes unless we were alone with the respondent. For example, though Shahida and I were interested in whether or not women used birth control and what type, we rarely asked them about this because of the sensitive nature of this line of questioning.

Because I set out to improve my understanding of the problem of rural poverty, this study is partly applied research, and in applied research, external validity is more important than internal validity. To improve external validity, applied research relies on the use of multiple levels of analysis (Bickman and Rog 1998). Generalizations can gain credibility by comparing them to similar dynamics and constraints described in other situations, the universality of the circumstances studied and corroboration from additional studies (Maxwell 1998). All research attempts to maximize validity, and

external validity refers to the extent it is possible to use the data and context of the research study to understand broader populations and settings (Bickman, Rog and Hedrick 1998). It was for these reasons that I decided to consider findings from analogous cases, as these would enhance the study's external validity.

ADDITIONAL SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND ANALYSIS

Additional data from Pakistan add context to the descriptions of Punjabi households. In order to better understand social and economic change in Pakistan, I considered recent history and statistics from a variety of sources. These helped put the Punjabi household data in its larger context. I looked at the history of laws and traditions relating to land use in Pakistan and India for insight into some of the complexities involved in women's decisions about land ownership, and I considered data on infant mortality in Pakistan as compared to that in other countries.

This study includes an evaluation of the usefulness of two major theories of social change in explaining rural poverty, and I have incorporated findings from studies of analogous cases in order to broaden and strengthen my argument. Findings from these studies are compared to my data on households in the Punjab partly because a comparative perspective can be useful in helping to identify aspects of household dynamics and development that are general across units (Neuman 1997; Maxwell 1998).

I looked at other writers' studies of rural families in similar economic situations and/or in countries with comparable demographics. Studies chosen include those that discuss topics relevant to my study, that describe rural poverty, and those whose authors describe the effects of social and economic changes on households and household members. Many of the analogous cases focus on women and families in Islam

dominated areas. These were chosen because I assume that Muslim household dynamics in other places are more like the households I studied than are households in places where most people practice other religions.

The sexual division of labor was present in all of the cases, though this played out differently in various contexts. Some authors of analogous studies describe women who have access to land and/or who perform agricultural labor. Dowry traditions similar to those in Pakistan's Punjab are discussed in a couple of the case studies. In the analogous case studies, as in Pakistan, the low status of females is a running theme. These studies will be considered in relation to the four Punjabi themes when I discuss the uses and limits of the two theories of social change in Chapter Six.

STUDY LIMITS AND BENEFITS

The study is limited in that the session translations are not verbatim. There are at least a couple of ways that I could have insured more exact translations of our respondents' comments, had we had access to adequate resources, but we did not. But I believe that the translations that we obtained retain the basic sense of respondents' answers and that the data are reliable.

The sample of households in Pakistan's Punjab was small, and this affects my ability to generalize findings. However, because the population of the Punjab is homogenous, and because we chose households that represented a good variety of the population, it is likely that many of the findings can be generalized to rural areas in the Punjab. Because the majority of Pakistanis live in the Punjab, the study, along with other data on Pakistan and findings from analogous case studies, help us better understand general patterns there.

Good qualitative research helps the reader understand the whole and it situates relations within a social setting (Morse 1994). This study uses empirical data from Punjabi households and findings from similar cases to illustrate household circumstances and strategies in rural areas. The inclusion of qualitative data gives depth and meaning to the descriptions of respondents and members of their households. A benefit of this study is that it incorporates qualitative descriptions of people and rural households in Pakistan's Punjab, and that it offers insight into the complex ways that individuals and households may be affected by, and may participate in, social and economic change.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DATA AND THE FOUR THEMES

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I discuss the four major themes from the data, presenting descriptive data that relates to each of them. Of particular interest are economic and social changes that appear to be taking place in rural society, work, and the sexual division of labor that leave some families and family members vulnerable. Also notable are changing expectations about dowry and women's decisions regarding land ownership and inheritance. I argue that these three themes are intertwined with the fourth theme, the low status of females. The four themes are described below and illustrated with information from interviews and observations. This chapter also offers several tables with information about the 29 households and the family members who live in them.

The four themes in this chapter demonstrate ways that cultural factors and a lack of sufficient economic opportunities appear to have limited the choices available to individuals and families in some areas of Pakistan's Punjab region. A number of the households we visited seem to have become economically marginalized as a result of economic changes. Especially hard hit are those families headed by lone females. These women have been negatively affected in two major ways. On the one hand, their economic situation has become more precarious as those males who are traditionally

responsible for their support often are unable or unwilling to assist them. On the other hand, cultural constraints limit women's survival options – the Islamic proscription against women moving freely outside their homes often translates into a lack of money earning opportunities for women in rural areas.

Changes in the local economy and patterns of land ownership have tended to erode some men's ability to support their immediate families and to provide maintenance for female relatives. Women who are trying to support themselves, and sometimes their dependents, have taken low status work for others, and many must still maintain the household and care for youth. To supplement family earnings, some young boys have entered the work force, and daughters make rugs at home or sew dresses for neighbors. This chapter presents material that illustrates these activities and highlights how changes outside the home affect the livelihoods of individuals and households in some rural areas in Pakistan.

What I observed in some villages in Pakistan can be seen in terms of global economic and social changes. These same kinds of changes have occurred and are occurring in other places as local economies become more strongly integrated into global markets and as people continue to be exposed to western culture. In Chapter Five I will look at additional case studies of rural communities in other places and compare the authors' findings to the Punjabi findings. Then I will consider two major theories of development, modernization and socialist feminism, and how they fit the empirical data. Before discussing the data in terms of the four themes, I will briefly review some general characteristics of female respondents and their households.

Description of Respondents and Households

Twenty-nine respondents and their families who live in rural villages in Pakistan's Punjab region are the focus of this study (see **Table 4.1**). My research assistant, Shahida Rani, and I interviewed 36 women in the Punjab, but seven of them live in the city of Faisalabad. These urban residents are not part of the group of rural respondents discussed at length below. Some information that we collected during interviews with the seven city-dwelling females is used to supplement the data on rural women and to further illustrate certain points. When mentioned, they will be identified as representatives of households in Faisalabad.

Seventeen of the women were married at the time of the interview. Of the remaining 12 women, seven were widows and five did not have husbands or did not live with their husbands. Respondents represented households with as few as two individuals and as many as 16 people living in them, including all adults and children. A household is defined as "an aggregate of individuals who reside in the same house, maintain a common purse, and prepare food and eat together" (Ahmad 1977:44). This definition is useful for describing subgroups of people who may live in a larger compound with additional relatives. One woman in our sample works as a servant for other villagers and receives her meals from them. She is considered here to be a member of her son's household partly because she sleeps in his home.

Respondents' fathers' occupations varied. Two were shoemakers; two were blacksmiths and one was a potter. One father was a laborer; one was a peon and one was a trash picker and basket maker. Five fathers were in government service. One father was a supervisor; one was in the oil business and one was a soldier. Nine of the fathers

were full time farmers on their own land, and three fathers were tenant or contract farmers on someone else's land (n = 28 because two respondents are sisters).

Husbands were employed at a variety of occupations, and many had the same employment as the women's fathers. This is not a coincidence. Most of the married women we met had wed their first cousin, so the women's fathers were often the husband's uncles, and family occupations have traditionally passed from one generation to the next. According to our respondents, two husbands were shoemakers; two were blacksmiths, and one was a potter – these occupations are the same as the men's fathers-in-law (often their uncles). Several respondents married men whose occupations were different from the women's fathers. This may demonstrate the weakening of tradition in changing rural economies. Rural economies often do not support some of the occupations they once did, and men whose families' are losing their traditional occupations are starting to take other kinds of employment. Five of the husbands were laborers, in contrast to only one of the fathers who worked as a laborer. And while 12 of the respondents' fathers were farmers on their own land or on others' land, only five husbands were full time farmers. Three husbands owned their own businesses. Two were clerks. One was a mill foreman and one was a firm manager. Two husbands were in government service. One husband, whose father-in-law was a farmer, was a stone mason. One husband was unemployed and three of our respondents had no husbands.

Table 4.1 Some Respondent, Household (HH) and Family Characteristics

HH No.	Respondent's First Name	Age ^a	Marital Status ^b	No. of People in HH ^c	Respondent's Father's Occupation ^d	Respondent's Husband's Occupation
01	Makhdoom	60	Widowed	8	Gov't Service	Gov't Service
02	Rashida	60	Married	9	Farmer	Farmer
03	Kouser	25	Married	12	Farmer	Stone Mason
04	Akhtari	33	Married	9	Gov't Service	Farmer
05	Niamat	62	Widowed	10	Oil Business	Laborer
06	Sakeena	45	Widowed	9	Farmer	Mill Foreman
07	Fouzia	31	Widowed	6	Supervisor	Firm Manager
08	Marium	65	Widowed	12	Farmer	Clerk
09	Hamida	45	Never Married	5	Gov't Service	—
10	Bashira	48	Widowed	3	Farmer	Laborer
11	Naseem	40	Married	6	Contract Farmer	Unemployed
12	Amina	30	Estranged	8	Soldier	Shop Owner
13	Nawab	69	Married	4	Shoemaker	Shoemaker
14	Asthma	36	Married	10	Farmer	Laborer
15	Kishnood	38	Married	10	Farmer	Gov't Service
16	Shanaz	28	Married	9	Farmer ^e	Farmer
17	Anila	53	Married	16	Potter	Potter
18	Shameem	21	Married	2	Laborer	Business Owner
19	Sabra	52	Married	7	Blacksmith	Blacksmith
20	Kharan	54	Married	5	Shoemaker	Shoemaker
21	Riffut	35	Married	2	Gov't Service	Clerk
22	Tahira	24	Married	5	Tenant Farmer	Laborer
23	Ullah	32	Married	10	Tenant Farmer	Tenant Farmer
24	Erum	40	Married	11	Gov't Service	Poultry Farmer
25	Khurshid	50	Widowed	7	Farmer	Laborer
26	Sahib	39	Married (2 nd Wife)	7	Blacksmith	Blacksmith
31	Bushra	19	Single	12	Trashpicker, Basket Maker	—
33	Sanya	24	Single	10	Peon	—
34	Zabunisa	18	Engaged	n/a	Farmer	Contractor

^a The ages here are approximate. Most respondents were able only to estimate them.

^b "Never married" = not expected to marry; "estranged" = not living with husband; "married (2nd wife)" = married to man who has another wife; "single" = young respondent expected to marry.

^c Number of people in household (HH) refers to people who live in the same dwelling and who share a cooking stove. Many are part of larger "compounds" that are composed of more than one household.

^d All fathers' and husbands' occupations are listed, though some of these men are deceased.

^e N of fathers = 28. Respondents 15 and 16 are sisters, and this man is their father.

Data collected on housework responsibilities show that females are responsible for much of the work that goes into maintaining a household including preparation of meals, often from scratch on outside fire pits or fuel powered stoves; doing laundry by hand at the canal or with a washing machine and hanging them outdoors; making and unmaking beds; sweeping and cleaning. Many respondents told us they walk to the fields to collect vegetables for meals, and some collect cane strips or other combustible materials for cooking fires. Caring for animals may be done by women, children, adult males, or some combination. This could include tending a plot growing fodder, collecting fodder, feeding the animals, milking, collecting eggs, collecting dung and making dung cakes. Another important task is childcare, and adult women have primary responsibility for this work.

In general, primary housekeepers are helped by other females who live with them (see **Table 4.2**). Most (n = 18) of our respondents said that they are the primary housekeepers. Of these, 16 do not have daughters-in-law who generally do most of the household chores soon after they move in, though their mothers-in-law retain decision making power. Of the two women in our sample who have daughters-in-law but who are still responsible for housework, one of them was doing it because her daughter-in-law was “new” – this girl would be expected to do the housework after a short time. The other mother-in-law was intimidated by her daughter-in-law who allegedly abused her husband and would not do housework. Six respondents’ daughters- or sisters-in-law are the primary housekeepers. One woman’s nieces are primarily responsible, and two women have daughters who are the primary housekeepers. One woman cooks meals for herself and her husband, and the family employs a servant who does most of the housework. Two younger respondents’ mothers are the primary housekeepers in their

homes. Five respondents have servants who help with housework and/or with their animals, though respondents may have listed themselves or a female relative as having primary responsibility for housework or decisions regarding housework.

Several respondents (n =11) work for income or in-kind payments. Three of these women perform more than one income or in-kind producing activity. Of the eleven, three do housework for other people. Five of the eleven work in other people's fields for in-kind payments. Two of the women sell animal products for cash. Another woman sells vegetables and her handmade baskets for cash. One young woman is a trashpicker, as are most of her family members, and she sells the trash to recyclers in Faisalabad for money. One young woman is employed by the orphanage where she lives. She is a house mother to children who live there, and she receives room and board and some cash for this work. Eighteen respondents do not work for cash or in-kind payments, though some have daughters who do. Of the 29 households, eight contained school aged children working for cash. Three of these eight households are headed by laborer fathers and two wives are servants in other households. One household with a child working is headed by an unemployed father whose wife does field work. Three of the eight households with children working are headed by a blacksmith (whose wife does field work), a tenant farmer (whose wife sells milk), and a government worker. In the eighth household where children work as trashpickers, our respondent was unmarried and her father is a trash picker whose wife does not work for others. In some of the households there were additional adults working to support the family. These are not listed here.

Table 4.2 HH Members' Work Responsibilities

HH No.	Person(s) Responsible for Housework	Have Servants	Respondent's Occupation for Income or In-Kind Payment	No. of School Aged Children Known to be Working	Husband's Occupation
01	2 D-i-Ls ^a	Yes	None	0 ^b	Gov't Service
02	2 D-i-Ls	No	None	0	Farmer
03	Resp., 5 S-i-Ls	No	None	0	Stone Mason
04	Resp.	Yes	None	0	Farmer
05	Resp.	No	HH Servant	2	Laborer
06	Resp.	No	None	0	Mill Foreman
07	Resp.	No	None	0	Firm Manager
08	Nieces	Yes	None	0	Clerk
09	Resp.	No	None	0	—
10	Resp.	No	HH Servant	0	Laborer
11	Resp.	No	Fieldwork, Sells Eggs & Milk	1	Unemployed
12	S-i-L	No	Fieldwork, HH Servant	0	Shop Owner
13	Daughter	No	Sells Veggies & Baskets	0	Shoemaker
14	Resp.	No	None	4	Laborer
15	Resp.	Yes	None	2	Gov't Service
16	Resp.	No	None	0	Farmer
17	2 D-i-Ls	No	Fieldwork	0	Potter
18	Resp.	No	None	0	Business Owner
19	Resp.	No	None	0	Blacksmith
20	Resp.	No	None	0	Shoemaker
21	Servant	Yes	None	0	Clerk
22	Resp.	No	None	0	Laborer
23	Resp.	No	Sells Milk	1	Tenant Farmer
24	Daughters	No	None	0	Poultry Farmer
25	Resp.	No	Fieldwork	1	Laborer
26	Resp.	No	Fieldwork	4	Blacksmith
31	Mother	No	Trashpicker	3	—
33	Mother	No	None	0	—
34	Resp.	No	Orphanage "Mother"	0	Contractor

^a S-i-L = Sister-in-Law; D-i-L = Daughter-in-Law.

^b Includes those working for wages, those doing contract work in the home and those working for their parents. Data on work activities were not available for all school aged children.

Table 4.3 Respondents' Education and School Aged Children's Enrollment Status

Respondent			School Aged Children			
HH No.	Reads Koran in Arabic	Is Literate	No. of Children in HH	No. Too Young for School ^a	No. In School	No. Not in School
01	Yes	Yes	4	0	4	0
02	Yes	No	2	2	0	0
03	Yes	No	3	3	0	0
04	Yes	Yes	4	0	4	0
05	Yes	No	7	no data	1	4
06	Yes	No	7	0	7	0
07	Yes	Yes	5	2	3	0
08	Yes	No	3	2	1	0
09	Yes	Yes	0	0	0	0
10	Yes	No	1	0	0	1
11	Yes	No	4	1	0	3
12	Yes	No	5	2	1	2
13	No	No	2	1	1	0
14	Yes	No	8	no data	3	4
15	Yes	No	7	2	3	2 ^b
16	Yes	Yes	3	3	0	0
17	Yes	No	3	2	1	0
18	Yes	Yes	0	0	0	0
19	Yes	No	3	0	3	0
20	Yes	No	2	1	0	1
21	No	Yes	0	0	0	0
22	Yes	No	2	2	0	0
23	Yes	No	7	4	1	2
24	Yes	No	9	no data	3	2
25	No	No	4	0	0	4
26	Yes	No	5	0	0	5
31	No	No	6	0	0	6
33	Yes	Yes	2	0	2	0
34	Yes	Yes	10	0	10 ^c	0

^a Data are not available for all children in household. The children who are not accounted for were either too young for school or of age but not in school. Some may have been working.

^b These two girls had graduated at the intermediate level.

^c At the orphanage, all school aged children were enrolled in school or educated at home.

Education is an important indicator of quality of life, and about a third ($n = 9$) of the women we interviewed told us that they are literate (see **Table 4.3**). Something that I found interesting is that many women (and perhaps men, though we didn't ask) are taught to "read" the *Koran* in Arabic. But they are not taught what the words mean – they only learn how to pronounce them. Of the 29 rural respondents, all but four could "read" the *Koran* in Arabic. One of the four who could not was raised a Christian. The other three who could not pronounce Arabic were among the poorest women we interviewed – a shoemaker's wife, one of the widows and the young trashpicker whose family members live in tents.

A total of 118 children were living in the households studied, for an average of four children per household. Of these 118 children, 27 were too young to be in school. At least 48 of the 91 children old enough for school, or just over half, were enrolled in school. About 40 percent of the school aged children ($n = 36$) were not enrolled in school, and at least 18 of these children (about 15 percent of all children) were known to be working. Some of the respondents told us that they could not afford to send their children to school. Besides paying fees, children must also have uniforms, books, school bags and shoes in order to go to school. There is no data on the school enrollment of seven of the school aged children in households studied.

Television is an important medium because it offers news and information about people, conditions and cultures in other parts of the world. Many people in the Punjabi sample watch television. In Pakistan, television broadcasts are censored by the government. Televised news is a major source of information, partly because literacy rates are high. The news programs are controlled by the government. Standards are heavily influenced by Islam, and the programs offered for entertainment are visually

censored by “fuzzing” out such things as improper showing of flesh (like a woman’s bare arms) and any touching between males and females (such as a woman holding a male baby or President Clinton shaking hands with a woman). There are plenty of commercials on Pakistani television, mostly for consumer goods. When I was there, the government was sponsoring commercial spots encouraging families to limit family size to two children. Most respondents told us they liked to watch the popular Pakistani dramas. The only American television program I saw in the Punjab was “Dukes of Hazard,” which seemed to be broadcast weekly. People in the Punjab don’t see “Baywatch” and other American programs that are often broadcast by satellite into other developing countries. Over a third of households studied ($n = 12$) have televisions (see **Table 4.4**), and many additional households ($n = 8$) have members who watch television at relatives’ or friends’ homes.

**Table 4.4 Household Ownership and
Access to Television**

	Own a TV	Watch TV^a
Yes	12	20
No	17	9

^a Respondent and/or children may watch
television at a neighbor’s or relative’s house.

The Interviews

Women told us who lives with them, who works for others and who does what household chores. They showed us their homes and introduced us to family members. They shared information about where they get their water and where they wash their clothes, and they described the kinds of fuel they use and how they use it. They told us

about their relationships with other family members and with other villagers. Some of the women we interviewed were almost desperate about their situation, displaying little hope that things would get better. Some were optimistic about the future. Some women worked hard in the fields all day, then came home tired, only to have to work some more to fulfill household and childcare responsibilities. A few respondents did little or no work, and many told us that they live happy lives. Some women told us they were worried about what would happen when it was time for a daughter to get married or when an adult male could no longer work. Some respondents were in antagonistic relationships with husbands, brothers or in-laws.

The remainder of this chapter focuses on the four major themes discovered in the data. The women we interviewed answered many questions about themselves and their families, and their answers plus additional observations will be used to illustrate the themes. They described household economic circumstances and strategies, how family members earn income and what work some family members do for in-kind payments. The descriptions partly illustrate ways that individual and household decisions and opportunities are affected by social traditions and by economic forces. In Chapters Six and Seven, I look at these and other economic and social patterns in country and world contexts.

FIRST THEME: WORK AND THE SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR

The individuals and households we talked to and visited use a variety of strategies to survive – to stay in their homes, to feed themselves and their children, to prepare for the future. Some households rely on a single worker for support because the working adult male earns or produces enough to support the whole family. In other families it

seemed that every family member who could was doing some kind of income or in-kind generating activity. Some families have assets – a business, land, buildings – that earn them money. Some families send young sons out to work – sometimes in the next village, sometimes overseas. Some sell the household animals' milk or eggs to other villagers. Some individuals make and sell baskets or clothing for a few rupees. Other people do field labor for crops and their by-products, a few clean others' houses. One young respondent recycles trash for money. Individuals and households combine economic strategies in various, sometimes creative ways. Some do whatever they can to get by.

Many families we learned about have strong economic connections to agriculture. Many men (fathers, husbands, sons) are landowners, small farmers or tenant farmers. Some landowners contract their land to others for a share in the produce. A family with animals might rent or own a small plot of land to grow fodder. Another way that people are connected to land, especially those in the villages we visited, is by picking vegetables from others' fields for their families and by doing fieldwork. Two households are headed by blacksmiths who make and repair farm implements in exchange for crops.

Some households in the study are supported by income from traditional activities such as pottery making, hand weaving or making shoes. Textile production is a major enterprise in and around Faisalabad, and many of the households we visited had connections to this industry. Some families own power looms and pay people to work at them. Other families have one or more (male) family members working for small textile manufacturers in villages or at larger mills in Faisalabad.

Women who are involved in income- or in-kind-generating activities mostly work close to or inside their homes. Important exceptions are the women who do fieldwork,

women who work in other people's houses, and the young trash picker whose work takes her to and around the city of Faisalabad. A couple of village women help their shoemaker husbands in their main income-earning activities. Some daughters work for income – making rugs by contract for loom owners, for example. In one household two of the daughters do much of the work on the family poultry farm. Two sisters in another household had worked on a research project with Shahida in Faisalabad.

Though each household was different from others in its particulars, there are many similarities across households. Generally speaking, adult men and boys contribute wages or crops to support families while adult women's contributions tend to supplement working males' earnings. When there is no male head of household, boys and women try to support the family. If daughters work, their incomes are often used to purchase items for their dowries. Within a household, women and girls are responsible for household maintenance and childcare. Boys and adult men may care for animals and collect firewood or other fuel, though in some households women and girls do this work. Males will often do any outside shopping, since this requires contact with male vendors.

The following descriptions demonstrate some of the economic strategies employed by households and offer some indicators of families' economic well being. The descriptions are intended to convey a sense of the individual and household circumstances. They are not uniform – I selected different contextual information from each interview. They include information that demonstrates the lifestyles of some rural Pakistani women and their families. What I learned and what is presented here were influenced greatly by my research assistant Shahida Rani's translations, her knowledge of local culture and by her patience in explaining many things to me. Accounts of

households are grouped according to respondent's marital status. There are similarities and differences among households within these groups.

Widows

The importance of males' economic support to family well being is best demonstrated by looking at the lives of the widows we interviewed. In general, the two older widows who have economic support from adult male relatives seemed to be doing better than most. They do little housework except to help care for their grandchildren, and their long-term economic and social circumstances appear secure. The economic support they receive from adult male family members is substantial in these two examples – in one case a son, in the other two brothers, own land *and* have businesses that generate income. A third widow appeared to be doing well, though she lived more frugally than did the older two widows, and she enjoys support from a land-owning brother who lives in another city.

Marium (08) is an elderly widow living with one of her three brothers. Marium's sister-in-law has a daughter and a daughter-in-law who do the housework, so the two older women don't do any, although they help with the small children. They also have women servants working for them. "They're called *dindar*, the people in the village who work for other houses," she explains. "They collect dung from our animals, and make the cakes on our roof where it will dry faster." They are paid with wheat. Marium's brother owns 12 power looms in the village that are managed by his son, so he no longer works very much. (We found out in later interviews that men and boys come to this village from other nearby villages to work at these looms.)

Sakeena (06) was 45 years old when we interviewed her. She and her mother are both widows and they live together with Sakeena's seven young children, ages five to 18. The women contract out two acres of family land for 3,000 rs (about \$120 US) per year. Sakeena's brother lives in another town, and he gives her and her children clothes and 1,000 rs every two months, she says. Her husband was a foreman in a textile mill, and he died five years prior to our interview. When he died there was no pension. Sakeena got 30,000 rs from her in-laws at his death, which was her share in the house they all lived in. Sakeena makes clothes for her children in order to save money.

The relative comfort enjoyed by Marium and Sakeena contrasts sharply with circumstances of other widows we interviewed. Three of them enjoy little or no support from male relatives and so must work for others to support themselves and/or their families. One of them works in others' houses and two do fieldwork. The domestic worker lives with her son and his family. One fieldworker has a son who works for wages, but he does not make enough money to support the family, so she goes to the fields. The other fieldworker, who had several young children, seemed to be the only earner in her household. All three of these women are paid with meals or produce.

The field and domestic work that women do are not well compensated. Neither are they high-status occupations. *Purdah*, or the seclusion of women, is often demanded by Islamic males as a demonstration of their religiosity and status, so sending women to work outside the compound is avoided whenever possible. Work in the fields is a low-status occupation for women in Muslim countries (Mies 1982). The job of doing housework for other villagers is also a low-status position, as illustrated by the work history of a young, city-dwelling beggar we interviewed. She had done housework for other families as a young girl and into her late teens. But when she married, her husband

didn't like her working in others' houses, and he insisted that she do work he saw as more desirable – going from house to house begging for food and money. In some rural areas, domestic work and fieldwork are two of the few opportunities unskilled women have to earn even a meager livelihood.

Niamat (05) is a widow who lives with her son, his wife, and their seven children. Niamat's adult son is a laborer at the power looms. He works 12-hour night shifts, six days a week. The oldest sons, ages 12 and ten, also work. I asked their mother how many hours a day they work. Twelve, she told me. And for how many days a week? Six. I hoped to hear that the kids worked fewer hours than the dad did. The mother must have seen something of this in my expression because she asked "How many days off do the children in America have?"

Niamat has one grandchild who goes to school, a nine-year-old girl. The boys who work at the looms went to school up to the third grade. They were both at work when we visited Niamat's house after our interview. We saw some power looms in one of the "buildings" – sheds, really – about two houses down. Some young boys were working outside, threading string on the smaller binders. These binders are hand-powered and so are not as dangerous as the power looms. The work is tedious, requiring manual dexterity and good eyesight to thread the binders quickly and properly. When we saw the boys they were working in the sunshine while other kids played nearby. The boys make 800 rs per month each (about \$35 US).

Niamat, their grandmother, was 62 years old when we interviewed her. She cleans other people's houses and is compensated with meals. Niamat says that she does most of the work around her own house, too. If this is true, it was not like most mother and daughter-in-law relationships we learned about where the daughter-in-law is

expected to do most of the housework. Niamat told us that her daughter-in-law, a large woman, beats the husband. Niamat told us that she is afraid of her daughter-in-law, and this may explain why Niamat does the housework.

Niamat has a daughter, Nasteen, in another village, whose husband treats her harshly. This young woman's story also demonstrates women's dependence on economic support from male family members. Nasteen would like to take her two daughters and leave the husband, her mother says, but where else would she go? She cannot divorce her husband because she has no other means of support. Her brother will not or cannot take care of her and her daughters (her brother is Niamat's son who works 12 hours a day and has two children working). So for the sake of her daughters, Nasteen stays married. "She must bear cruel attitudes and be treated like a servant in that house," Niamat told us through tears.

Bashira (10) is a widow and was 48 years old at the time of our interview. Her face was stone-like. She had been working at the cooking fire when we arrived unannounced, and she had dried flour on her hands from making *chapattis* (flat bread, similar to wheat tortillas). Bashira does not work in others' houses, but she works in people's fields stripping sugar cane stalks. She doesn't get any money for this work – she is "paid" with cane strips and wood from the fields. Her son, a young man, drives a truck between Faisalabad and Karachi for a monthly salary.

Her married daughter nursed her infant while we began talking to Bashira. This daughter is married to Bashira's nephew (Bashira's brother's son), and the relationships are not good between Bashira and these men. We found out later that the son-in-law is afraid to come to Bashira's house, and that's why Bashira's brother came later to collect his daughter-in-law. Bashira has another daughter, unmarried, in her late teens. Bashira

told us that she would like to marry this daughter to another of her brother's sons, but that the mother wouldn't allow it. The woman wanted her son to marry into a rich family, and Bashira is not rich. Bashira's husband died and her brothers have not taken care of her and her children, she says, because of this woman.

We interviewed Khurshid (25) in her courtyard where she sat with some of her children on a *charpoy*. Khurshid's husband worked as a laborer in other villages until he died two years ago. He had no land, but the house belonged to him. Two of her sons are married and they work in the power looms earning 750 rs each per month. They live in separate houses in this compound, and they do not give her any money, she said. It appeared that Khurshid supports her family by working in farmers' fields for crops, supplemented by the milk and eggs produced by their animals.

When her married daughter visits, like she did the day of the interview, she does most of the housework. Otherwise Khurshid does it herself and a younger daughter helps sometimes. Khurshid tells us that they are a poor family and cannot afford to send their children to school. How much does it cost? Khurshid didn't know exactly, but it costs money for uniforms, books, fees, school bags and shoes.

The married daughter was at Khurshid's house during our interview. Her husband moved in with Khurshid a month before so he could work at the looms near here. He gives all his earnings to his parents who live about three hours' travel from Khurshid's village. His wife (Khurshid's daughter) lives with the in-laws there. She is thirteen years old and the husband is nine. They have been married for six years – he was three years old at the marriage and she was ten. The girl has been living with her in-laws since the marriage, which was part of an exchange between the two families.

The three working women discussed above are not earning wages, though all three have sons who are. Modernization and socialist feminist theorists argue that in an industrialized society, women who have jobs outside the home will be better off, in general, than women who do not. Neither discusses ways child labor might affect women's participation in the labor force, though Marx and Engels look at the incorporation of women and children into textile production. Both perspectives argue that industrialization and wage labor bring progress to traditional societies. The production and consumption of mass produced items, an important outcome of industrialization, are major components of modern society, according to modernization theorists. Socialist feminists see industrialization under a capitalist system as a necessary step toward social and economic progress. Whether or not these and other working women's lives might be better if they were working for wages is discussed in Chapter Six.

Adult Women Without Husbands

We interviewed other women whose families were economically insecure. Two were older women without husbands and a third was a younger woman whose abusive husband was not currently living with her. The first one discussed here is not likely to marry. Her family is poor and she was 45 years old when we met her. She lives with four other adult family members whose livelihood is threatened by the possibility that their major breadwinner could marry. A second woman, Naseem (11), was married to an abusive man who was away during our interview. He was sick and unemployed, and so had not been contributing to the household even before he left. Naseem does fieldwork, and one of her sons works as a bus conductor to support the family. Amina (12) is

estranged from her second husband and lives with her brother and his family. His children are young, and he is the only wage earner. These women's stories further demonstrate the difficulties women face when they receive inadequate or no support from male relatives.

Hamida (09) was 45 years old and single when we met her. She lives with her widowed mother, two brothers and a sister. The younger brother works in a government office in Faisalabad where her father worked before he died 18 years ago. This brother is the household's primary breadwinner, though the elder brother receives a small monthly pension and the mother receives a smaller pension for her deceased husband. If the younger brother were to marry, Hamida didn't know if she and the rest could make it without his support, but her younger sister can sew; the mom and elder brother have pensions and "God will help," she said.

Hamida and her sister do most of the housework. The mother is too old to work, though when we visited she was twisting cord to make a cot for the family. Sometimes the women collect free sugar cane from their relatives' fields, but none do fieldwork. When we asked if any of the women in the household work for others Hamida told us that they did not, but that her sister could sew clothes if they needed money.

When we visited Naseem, (11) she told us that her second husband was sick, unemployed and abusive. Before their marriage he was a conductor on a bus. He also worked for a while as a laborer in nearby Faisalabad. At the time of our interview he had some kind of stomach problem. Naseem took him to a doctor who "gave him an operation," but the husband had not recovered. Her nephew took the husband to Faisalabad for a few days, so he was not at home during the interview.

Naseem lives with her husband (sometimes), three sons (ages 13, five and two years old), and a nine-year-old daughter. Naseem's youngest son was still nursing when we interviewed her. She works in the fields for cane strippings and food (not money). Her oldest son, the 13-year-old, works as a conductor on a bus. He makes 800 rs per month. He started out working as a binder in a textile mill when he was five years old, making 800 rs per month, and he has been working ever since. Naseem hopes that he will be a driver in a few years.

They live rent-free in a house owned by a family living in another town who knew Naseem's family in India. Because the daughter is younger, Naseem does most of the housework. They have a hand pump for water, and Naseem washes her clothes at home by hand. Her buffalo produces the dung that Naseem makes into cakes. She uses these cakes to cook vegetables, and to cook *chapattis* she uses the sugar cane strippings she gets for her fieldwork.

The seasonal crops she gets for fieldwork are not enough to feed her family, she told us. She uses her young son's income to buy the additional wheat they need. She also rents a field to grow fodder on, using her son's wages to pay 500 rs for six months' rent. The farmer who owns the field irrigates it for her, and apparently there is not much additional labor involved. She had been doing this for two years when we met her. She also makes money by selling eggs and milk to other villagers. She has a sewing machine from her dowry, and she bought a pedestal fan and a ceiling fan with money from her son. Naseem's knack for making profitable, though small, investments is impressive, though this was built partly with money she got by sending her young son to work.

We had tried to interview Naseem on two other days, but she was working in the fields when we came by. When I shook her hand later, I noticed how strong and rough it

was. During our next trip to the village we watched people working in the sugar cane fields. The workers we saw – some men and children but mostly women – stripped the leaves from the cane stalks and threw each into a separate pile. We noticed many people in and near the village carrying bundles of strippings on their heads or on donkey carts. We did not learn how many strippings workers are allowed to take home as compensation for their work.

Amina (12) lives with her brother and his family, but otherwise she is pretty much on her own. She has been married twice and was “estranged” from her second husband when we interviewed her. Of her first husband she said, “He wouldn’t give me any money, so I couldn’t buy food and things for the house. I demanded a divorce and he agreed.” Amina thought that she could live a better life without him, and the whole family agreed to the divorce. She married a second time but found that she didn’t like living in Lahore with him, so she went to live with her brother, his pregnant wife and their five children. They share a cooking area, but Amina usually eats at the homes where she works. Amina’s sister-in-law does most of the housework with help from a daughter. Amina told us that each of her marriages produced a daughter, but that both girls died in infancy.

Amina works for two households. At one house she works for about an hour each day. There are three family members at this house and they pay her 60 rs (about \$2 US) per month. They are able to pay her more than the other family she works for because they are wealthier, she says. There are more people living at the second house, including children and grandchildren. She works for several hours a day at the second house, sometimes longer if someone is sick (like the day we met her) or if they have relatives visiting. They pay her 120 rs per month. Both houses give her food and second-hand

clothes. Amina also works in other villagers' fields. She helps to collect the sugarcane, but not for money, only for strippings.

Young Single Women

Three women in our study were unmarried. They were interviewed in Faisalabad, but each girl's family lives in a village so they are considered rural residents. They were different from the women just described in several ways. These unmarried women were young and they expected to marry. Two of them were working for money, and the other was in school to learn a trade. Two had financial support from the Pakistani government (one directly and the other indirectly). The young student's story demonstrates the kind of choices that women might enjoy if there were more support for education. The trashpicker's story demonstrates families' resourcefulness in making a living, and it exposes the economic desperation many families find themselves in. It also reveals, as other families' stories do, that in poor families, children who can earn needed income for the household will probably not go to school.

We interviewed Bushra (31) in Shahida Rani's family's courtyard in Faisalabad. Bushra lives in a village about an hour's travel from there. Bushra's family lives in a tent colony, and she leaves her house at six a.m. and works in Faisalabad until one p.m. every day except Friday. She sorts through people's garbage for pieces of paper, glass, chicken bones and plastic. (The chicken bones are used to make animal feed.) At the end of the day she sells these things in the city. Each day she makes 40 to 50 rs, and she gives this money to her mom or her dad. We did not see her smile during the time we spent with her.

Her three brothers' wives are also trashpickers. Two sisters-in-law keep all the money they make. The third keeps some of her earnings and gives some of it to Bushra's mom. One sister-on-law brings her one-year-old infant with her to "work," while the rest of the brothers' kids stay with their grandma. Bushra's older brothers and sisters are also trashpickers. Her younger brothers do not work and they do not go to school – none of the children go to school.

Bushra's mom cleans the house and washes dishes after the family members leave for work. The younger sister stays home and helps with the housework and childcare. They use wood and dung cakes for burning. Sometimes the mom brings wood, sometimes the father brings it. She washes clothes at home by hand. They have two hens and a cock, and mom sells the eggs.

An older woman and her children came into Shahida's courtyard to find Bushra, and we asked her some questions as well. The information is included here with Bushra's since the family occupations are the same and because it demonstrates why some children must go to work or starve. The visitor is older than Bushra, and she is married to a laborer. She has five sons and five daughters who all work as trash pickers. None of the children go to school.

The visitor told us she would like to have a different occupation. She said that she would like for her children to go to school but that she can't afford the fees. They make about 200 rs per day, total (about \$8 US), she said. Do they do other kinds of work for money? Sometimes they make baskets, but recycling work is more profitable. Can she save any money? Sometimes she does, and they use the money on rainy days when they can't work. Do they drink milk every day? All the family members drink tea every day but no milk. They never eat eggs. After weddings (where they often serve chicken)

she and the children collect bones from people's yards. Her children carried large white bags over their shoulders for collecting trash. They do not beg for money, though sometimes they beg for food, Shahida told me. They call themselves *Changher*, and they are always moving, like gypsies.

Sanya (33) was at a secretarial school in Faisalabad when we interviewed her. Her older sister was also in school, on a government scholarship to nursing school. The sister's scholarship, 2,200 rs per month, also pays for Sanya's room, food, uniform and tuition. Sanya lives with seven girls in the school's servant quarters. All these girls are from villages near Faisalabad. Sanya was 24 years old and unmarried when we met her.

Her father is a peon in a *ghee* (clarified butter or oil) mill near her village. He has no land. There are ten family members at her house sharing one cooking area. They are not a rich family, but all four sons and at least two of the daughters are in school. The youngest brother is in fifth grade, and the middle brother will take a vocational course and hopes to work overseas. Sanya can read Urdu and a little Punjabi, and she believes that her parents will look for an educated boy for her to marry.

Zabunisa (34) lived most of her life in a village, but we met her when she was living in an orphanage in Faisalabad. The Pakistani government owns the land, and the buildings and facilities are funded by donations from local business owners, organizations and foreign governments (e.g., the Japanese government pays for the dispensary and some local doctors donate their services). When we interviewed her, Zabunisa was engaged and would soon be leaving the orphanage.

When Zabunisa lived with her father, she did fieldwork and cut fodder every day for the buffalo. She also helped her father harvest and sow. When we saw her she worked as a "mother" in one of the houses in the orphanage. She made 750 rs per month

plus room and board. She told us that she puts most of her earnings in a bank, and sometimes she uses it to buy presents for her older brother. She said that if she gives him one suit now, one day he'll give her two. She was looking forward to her upcoming marriage to a Pakistani man who works overseas.

Married Women

Some families, like those where adult males have lucrative employment and those where there are more than one son who can be sent to work, seem to be relatively better off than others. Many of the two-parent households we visited appeared to be doing quite well, especially compared with many others we heard about. That the families were better off was indicated in part by the fact that many had large numbers of animals and electric appliances, and that in most of these households the adult female(s) do not work outside the compound, but many had young sons who work for wages. In some of these households the daughters also worked, most often at home, for a contractor or for a family business.

Given earlier examples that demonstrate the importance of male relatives' support to family and individual livelihoods, one might expect that two-parent households would be better off than households headed by women. This was often but not always true. Some two-parent families are experiencing economic difficulty partly because they have not been able to adapt to a changing local economy. Another reason they may be facing hard times is a shortage of family income earners. Rural economies are in transition, and many families are finding it difficult to adapt to new economic realities, like the increasing use of cash for exchange. Also, as more mass produced goods are available in local shops, there is less demand for the traditional products that some families produce.

Rural economies in the Punjab have always included occupations besides farming and supporting occupations like blacksmith and pottery maker. And exchanges have long included cash and in-kind payments for work done or products received. Now monetary exchanges for labor, goods and services are becoming more commonplace, and more goods produced outside the area are available locally.

Rashida (02) has a relatively comfortable life. Her husband is a farmer who grows potatoes, wheat, sugar cane and rice on his four acres. One of her adult sons owns a truck, and he is a driver and a mechanic. Her other son is in the army. Their salaries help support the household. Rashida says that when she was younger she enjoyed work very much, but she doesn't work much now that she has daughters-in-law living with her. She helps take care of the grandchildren – feeding and changing them. She also does some embroidery and crocheting, and she looks after the animals. When Rashida was young she collected vegetables and helped at harvesting season along with other family members. Now, she says, her husband does all the fieldwork. The daughters-in-law “cannot go to the fields because they are educated.”

Kouser (03) lives with her husband, their four-year-old son and their two-year-old daughter. They are part of a 13 member family that shares a cooking area. Household members include three of Kouser's husband's married brothers and their wives, one child, and two of her husband's unmarried sisters. Two of the husband's brothers manage the land their parents left them. They share the produce with the others, and Kouser's husband shares his salary with them. The youngest brother is a cloth printer.

On a typical day Kouser gets up early and takes fodder to the animals. She prepares breakfast for the household members some days, taking turns with the other

women who live there. She also cleans house, washes clothes, takes care of her children, prepares lunch (some days) and takes care of the animals again in the afternoon. She does not work in the fields – none of the women do because the men “do not allow it.” Nor do they work for other villagers.

Riffut’s (21) father worked in a union council before he retired and he had 12 acres of land. When he died, Riffut’s brother inherited the land, and now tenants farm it. Riffut has one brother and two sisters. The two sisters married two of the father’s brother’s sons, and both couples live in this village.

Riffut’s husband, a clerk, is one year younger than she is. She was 29 when they married. It seemed to us that she was older at her marriage than Pakistani girls usually are, so we asked her about it. She told us that her engagement had been decided in her childhood. It was an exchange marriage, and her brother’s wife-to-be was very young. They had to wait for this girl to grow up before the marriages could take place.

Her father-in-law divides his produce into six parts for his five sons and himself. He gives one part to Riffut’s husband. The other sons are unmarried, so the father keeps the rest in his house where they all live. Riffut cooks, but she doesn’t do much household work because she has a servant. The servant works for Riffut’s household, Riffut’s father-in-law and at her brother’s house across the street. Her father-in-law and brother pay her 400 rs per month total and they give her some meals for her services.

Akhtari’s (04) family’s relative affluence is indicated in part by their ownership of four buffalo. The amount and quality of cattle a Punjabi family owns is a significant indicator of their socioeconomic status (Ahmad 1997). They also own two goats, a donkey, six hens and a cock. The family members eat all of the eggs and drink most of the milk from the animals, and Akhtari sells what’s left. She cares for all the animals,

she goes to the fields to collect vegetables for her family, and she has a fruit garden.

Akhtari does not work for other villagers, and she has servants who clean the animals' sheds.

In Akhtari's house, a wooden door opens onto a dirt-floored room that had held more than ten power looms until they were recently been moved to another location. Akhtari's father-in-law owns these, and they are overseen by him and his sons. The family's income from the looms is about 4,000 rs per month, according to Akhtari.

Another family we met also appeared to be relatively secure economically. Kishnood's (15) husband works as a clerk for the government in Lahore and comes home every week for the Friday holiday. He had been working there for the past 15 years, and his income is 2,700 rs per month (about \$108 US.) Shahida knows two of Kishnood's daughters because they worked as surveyors on a project in Faisalabad with her.

Three families, including Kishnood's, live in the same compound and share an electric hookup. There are 22 people living in the compound, and, like other compounds in the village, they have no toilet. Kishnood's husband pays the electric bill in exchange for the security his brothers provide for Kishnood and the children. Kishnood is the main housekeeper in her household, though her oldest daughters, 19 and 15 years old, help her.

Kishnood's family contracts three acres of land. They now grow their own wheat, sugar cane, cotton and some vegetables. A servant cultivates it, and Kishnood and her daughters pick cotton and vegetables. The sons do not work in the fields – they are in school. Kishnood said, "I want to educate my sons . . . I want to send them to Faisalabad for their higher education so they can work as government servants, not as farmers."

Shanaz (16) is Kishnood's (15) sister. She does most of the work in her household. Her mother-in-law lives there, and sometimes she helps by looking after the

children. Shanaz's 17 year old nephew and two nieces also live with her. The two girls go to school. Her husband is a farmer, and the nephew helps him with the fieldwork. Shanaz helps her husband in the fields occasionally. During harvesting season she takes lunch to him and sometimes she helps him gather wheat and pick cotton. She picks vegetables when they're available and she makes dung cakes every day. Shanaz knows how to sew clothing, but she does not do this for money. Shanaz had two babies who died – one girl died at two and a half years and another daughter died at birth.

Erum's (24) daughters, especially the two older ones, do most of the housework with her help. At the time of the interview, the family had been running a poultry farm for two years. Before this, Erum's husband worked in the city at the power looms. They have 2,000 chicks and hope to eventually have 3,000. The two oldest daughters do most of the work with the chicks – one feeds them and the other cleans the shed. The dad brings food and wood. Each year at *Eid* the family sells the chickens and starts over. Before the family had the poultry farm, the daughters made rugs for money. The owner of the loom supplied the materials and paid them for their labor. The girls could make one 7' by 10' rug in a month for 3,000 rs.

Shameem (18) was "born" a Christian, but she converted to Islam so she could marry her childhood sweetheart after his wife died. Both of Shameem's parents are still alive. Her Christian father does not have a regular job, but sometimes he works as a laborer in Shameem's village or in Faisalabad. When an animal dies in the village, he takes it and sells the skin in the city. Shameem's mother works in other people's houses as a sweeper, and her two brothers live and work in the city as laborers.

Only Shameem and her husband live in their house, and Shameem does all the housework. They have a hand pump for water and an electric motor pump. She uses

wood and dung cakes that her husband buys for fuel. Shameem washes her clothes by hand at home. They have no animals and she has never worked in the fields.

Shameem's husband has a share in a poultry farm, but he was not working when we interviewed her. He had contracted his share to another person for about 600 rs per month. We learned later that day that Shameem's husband is addicted to "the brown powder." [In the summer of 1999, Shameem's young husband died of a heart attack, leaving her with a young son.]

Tahira's (22) husband was 60 years old at the time of our interview. The couple was wed in an exchange marriage when he was 48 and she was 12 years old. The husband works as a laborer in Faisalabad and has four acres of land. His brother also has four acres, and he cultivates both parcels, with Tahira's husband helping sometimes. Tahira's husband receives one-half of the total produced on his four acres.

They have two buffalo, a goat and three kids, and Tahira takes care of them. Sometimes she goes to the fields and cuts fodder for the animals and sometimes she works in her husband's fields, but she doesn't do fieldwork for money. They have no machines, no appliances, no television – they have no electricity. Tahira does most of the housework herself. Her children are too young for school.

Ullah's (23) husband is 15 years older than she is. He has been a tenant farmer for 12 years. "My husband buys the seeds . . . The owner has a half-share in the fertilizer and the canal water. Sometimes they use tube-well water that costs 50 rs an hour," she explained. They split all the crops in half. What kind of a contract or agreement do a farmer and tenant have? "Sometimes a farmer has a different tenant every year. Sometimes a tenant can stay on the same land for two, three or five years. My husband

has been on the same land for 12 years.” Before being a tenant her husband worked as a laborer in this village.

Ullah sells her cows’ milk to other villagers for five rs per liter. She got the cows by breeding one that her husband bought long ago. Sometimes she sells fifteen liters twice a day. She buys dresses, shoes, vegetables and bedcovers with the money. Ullah does most of the housework and her daughter helps her.

Sabra’s (19) husband is a blacksmith. He has a shop across the street from their house where he makes grass cutters, iron blades for plowing, wooden doorframes and many other things. Later we saw one of the doors he’d made, and it was attractive and looked well crafted. He works for about 100 farmers and he has enough work to keep him busy, Sabra said. The farmers do not pay him cash. Each gives him 40 kg of wheat, 40 kg of maize, fodder for the animals and other crops depending on the season, as payment. He also has a fourth of an acre in the village. His tenant cultivates it and they split the produce in half. Their son works in the village making wood frames and as a mason. Mostly he works as a blacksmith at his father’s shop.

Three men sat with us for most of our interview with Sahib (26) – her husband, his adult son by his first wife, and their landlord. When we asked her who does the housework, the men laughed because, they said, Shahida is a Pakistani and she should know that women do all the housework in Pakistan.

Sahib’s husband is a blacksmith and her daughters make carpets. He is 15 years older than she is, and she is his second wife. He is still married to the first wife, and Islamic men who marry more than one wife are supposed to treat them equally. His first/other wife is the servant we saw during our interview with Riffut (21). His wives live in the same village but in separate houses. His mother lives with his first wife and

their two sons. We asked him why he married a second time. He replied that it's because he "liked this one." Again the men laughed.

Sahib's husband told us that he works for a group of 20 farmers. Like Sabra's blacksmith husband, Sahib's husband does not take any money for his work. The farmers give him seasonal crops and fodder for his animals. His brothers are all blacksmiths in the same village, working for separate groups of farmers.

Sahib works in the wheat fields at harvest time, and sometimes her daughters help. Sahib used to sew for village women for 40 rs per dress, but now she's sick and can't stitch. Her daughters make rugs for cash. It takes then one or two months to make one 4' by 10' rug, and they are paid 900 rs for it.

There was a lot of activity in Asthma's (14) courtyard. This was a special day because the family just bought a buffalo and part of a field for fodder. In addition to the new buffalo, they have three goats and 11 chickens. Asthma takes care of the hens and the goats, and her husband will be caring for the buffalo, she told us. He will clean the sheds, and she will make the dung cakes. The husband will milk it, and they will all drink the milk and maybe sell some of it later.

Asthma does not work in the fields or for other villagers. Of her six sons and two daughters, four of the sons work for wages. One son works in Faisalabad and three work at power looms in a nearby village. We did not ask her the ages of her children. She was 36 years old and had been married at 14, so the oldest son could have been about 21. Three of the four youngest children, including one daughter, were enrolled in school.

Anila (17) wore a nose pin and her frequent smile showed no teeth. Her caste is potter, she told us. Her father was a potter, and sometimes he was a weaver and at other times he worked in the power looms. Now he is old and does not work. Anila's husband

is also a potter. We asked if he is primarily a potter, or if he also does other jobs like her father did. She replied:

Yes, he sometimes weaves cloth here. By only making pots he couldn't make enough money, so he left that profession . . . Ten years ago he got sick and could no longer work . . . He was a potter for about fifteen years. He was a weaver for five or six years. After that he worked as a mason.

Anila's adult sons earn money to support the household, and there are three unmarried daughters. All but one son work at the power looms – none of them are potters or weavers. The son who does not work at the power looms lives in Lahore and works in the iron industry. Her youngest son is also in college (he has a night job at the looms).

Anila told us that none of the girls work for money, though we found out during our tour of the house that one or two make carpets on a huge loom in one of the bedrooms. The loom was against a wall, and the girl would “get into it,” by sitting between the threads and the back of the frame to work. She makes a knot then pushes it down and cuts it off at the same time. The man who owns the carpet loom provides the wool. The girls can make one carpet in about three months, and they are paid 1,200 rs per carpet. Anila says that she would like for the girls to be able to do other work but there are no opportunities for them in the village.

Who controls the money for this household? “All my sons give their money to me. Then I give money to each of them for the month, 50-100 rs to each.” There is one cooking area for the 16 people who live here, including two daughters-in-law and Anila's four grandsons (the younger son's wife gave birth to three daughters who all died). Anila's daughters-in-law and daughters do the housework. In cotton season Anila works as a picker, as does her youngest daughter. The owner of the field does not pay them cash, but sometimes she sells some and uses the money to buy things.

Kharan (19) lives with her husband and three sons, one of whom is disabled. Kharan's husband is a shoemaker, and he came in during the interview, wearing cheap, plastic factory-made shoes. He told us that his eyesight is weak so he no longer makes many shoes. There are probably five other shoemakers in his village, he told us.

Kharan's father, who died in India before Partition, was also shoemaker. One brother is a shoemaker and the other makes houses. They have land in another village. Two of Kharan's sons work at the power looms in Faisalabad. They do not make shoes. Sometimes Kharan helps her husband by embroidering the shoes by hand. When they sell shoes, the family gets income but she does not make money for herself, she says. Kharan does the housework and her daughter-in-law helps her. Kharan never worked in the fields.

Nawab's (12) husband is also a shoemaker. Her parents are both deceased and they left her nothing, she tells us. Her brother is a shoemaker in another town. He gives her nothing at *Eid* or other times because he is very poor. He makes shoes by hand, and he can't get much money from this occupation. "Also he has four children, so he can't give me anything," Nawab told us.

Nawab lives with her husband and their unmarried adult son and daughter. Nawab's was the first home we'd been to that didn't have electricity. They do not live in a house with a courtyard like others we visited. They live rent free in an animal pen in exchange for caring for the landlord's animals, so they have no toilet. The son cares for the family's four goats and three kids, and they will sell the kids for money when they're older. They don't use the milk, Nawab tells us, because it's only enough for the kids.

The adult daughter works in fields and is allowed to collect vegetables. She also brings fodder for the animals. She does most of the housework with some help from

Nawab. The son also helps other farmers sow and harvest, and he digs potatoes. He gets only seasonal crops and fodder from them, not cash. Sometimes he helps his father make shoes.

Nawab earns cash by making large, plate-shaped baskets out of local materials including natural straw, dyed straw and the foil parts of cigarette packages. Nawab sells about fifteen baskets each month. Sometimes she gives her son money to buy vegetables cheaply in the market, then she sells them out of her yard for a small profit. When we were there she had a pile of onions she planned to sell. Nawab also helps her husband make shoes by embroidering the toes and backs. But she said spends most of her time making baskets.

Nawab's husband came home during our interview to cut some fodder and feed the goats. He was the first man we'd spoken with at any length. He told us that in Pakistan many women do not work for money and that in very large families maybe only one person earns money. This creates problems for families, he said, because one man cannot earn enough. He told us that his family's circumstances are not secure. For example, they live in a home that does not belong to them. Nawab said that "If the owner says tomorrow that he wants it, we have no home. Both the government and rich people should help the poor." Her husband added that, "The government should take care of old people – like houses for old men and pensions for old people. These days I can work, but if I become sick I can't earn any money."

Theme One Summary

People's lives are difficult to categorize in ways that do justice to complex realities. Each woman we talked to and each household we learned about was different than the others, but patterns exist that can be described and analyzed. These can be looked at in terms of theories of social change and how these fit with what's happening in some rural villages in the Punjab. The central theme described above is the sexual division of labor. Patterns demonstrate the strong link between support from male relatives and a family's economic well-being.

In one village we visited we talked with an ex-army official for a short time about what was on his mind: Pakistani men's treatment of women. He was good natured and straightforward, and he wanted to know why American men make their women work while Pakistani men treat their women so much better. I believe he was referring to Pakistani women's staying in the home while men support them economically. This is the ideal male/female economic relationship.

Women's observance of *purdah* demonstrates the family's religiosity, and, if observed, it also shows that men are able to support the women in their family – that women don't have to go outside the home to work. But support requires resources that men may not have – like land and cash – that would allow them to feed, clothe and shelter their relatives. The ex official's family is relatively well-off, so he is able to fulfill his responsibility. In other households this is not the case.

According to local norms, women should receive economic support from their male relatives. But the culture does not proscribe what should happen when male relatives cannot or will not fulfill their duties. When men don't support their relatives,

for whatever reasons, family members suffer, in part because there are real economic opportunities for women and also because women often have no resources of their own.

Some of the above stories demonstrate that the existence of a male family member is not sufficient to guarantee a family's well-being. He had to be both willing and able to provide for his relatives. Many males we heard of or spoke with seemed willing to do whatever they could to fulfill their responsibilities to family members, though this often created hardships for them. For example, Niamat's adult son worked long, late shifts at the power looms, but he had to send two young sons to work to help the family. Still, Niamat had to work in other people's houses for food. Nawab's husband the shoemaker had worked all his adult life, but people are buying plastic shoes, and he worried about what would happen to his family when he was too old to support them. Some men may be persuaded to use their resources to support nuclear family members only. Relatives are pitted against relatives when wives pressure their husbands to neglect other family members when resources are scarce.

The labor and service work we heard about is often compensated with very low wages. There is a shortage of high paying jobs for men and boys who may have few or no skills, and there are no wage jobs for women. In addition, competition from mass-produced items has affected the ability of some traditional craftsmen, such as shoemakers and potters, to support their families and/or to continue to practice their trade. In these circumstances additional family members may be asked or forced to forced help supplement the family income. These economic realities appear to have hit women-headed households especially hard.

It is easy to see how these economic realities have social consequences, as young children are left unattended when the parent goes out to work. Working children's

education may be cut short or they may never even go to school. These issues and others will be discussed later in this paper as they relate to two theories of social change and their perspectives on industrialization and development.

SECOND THEME: CHANGES IN EXPECTATIONS ABOUT DOWRIES

Males' importance to a household's economic livelihood and young females' relative unimportance is demonstrated and reinforced by the dowry tradition as it is practiced in rural (and urban) households we visited in Pakistan's Punjab. In North India and Pakistan there is a strong preference for sons because they are important economically – they provide farm labor and they will send money home if they leave the village to work elsewhere. Sons tend to remain with the family after marriage and take care of the parents as they get older. Daughters, on the other hand, tend to leave the family after marriage, and after marriage they do not contribute to their natal households. While sons bring dowries and brides, daughters take wealth away from their natal families in dowries and gifts that are given her later (Miller 1997). Women's overall economic dependence on males is illustrated in the above accounts. The burden daughters' marriages impose on family resources is demonstrated by the following discussion of changes in expectations about the dowry.

We asked most respondents several questions about the dowry tradition, including if it had changed in their lifetime and if so, how it had changed. Respondents' replies to the following questions are of particular interest here (see Appendix A for a copy of the questionnaire):

- ◆ Please tell us about any changes you have noticed in the current marriages as compared to previous marriages.

- ◆ Are the dowry items the same?
- ◆ Why do you think these changes have occurred?
- ◆ What is your opinion of the changes?
- ◆ Do you know about the legal limits on dowry size?
- ◆ Do you think there should be limits?

Women's responses leave no question that the dowry continues to be important to girls and women in the villages we visited and/or learned about. They also made it clear that dowries are tending to get larger, and that they now include additional and different kinds of items. We found that more families are asking or demanding that more "modern" items be included in the dowry, such as household appliances and even cars. What is less clear is how the changes in the size and composition of dowries may be negatively affecting girls and women. Possible negative effects are explored in this section and elsewhere.

Twenty-seven respondents (out of 29) told us that their families have a tradition of giving dowry at a daughter's marriage. Twenty-six women responded to the full set of questions listed above. Of those 26 who responded to the entire set of questions, 18 (about 70 percent) noted that dowries are increasing in size. Eight women specifically mentioned families' expectations that appliances should be included in contemporary dowries (these responses were voluntary – we did not ask each respondent about appliances). Traditional dowry items like dishes, bedding, jewelry and clothing remain important components of most dowries.

Eleven respondents believed that there should be limits on dowry size. The husband of a twelfth woman suggested that equalizing wages would better address the problem of differences in dowry size and the resulting hardship on some families,

especially poorer ones. Many women told us that rising expectations about dowry size and contents are creating problems for some families. One respondent asserted that there should not be limits on dowry size because limits are not enforceable.

There *are* legal limits to dowry size in Pakistan, but respondents who knew about the limits told us that these are not enforced. Some regretted the ways prominent families flaunt their defiance of the law – their excesses were often the subject of newspaper articles and TV news reports. Some people thought these well-known families should set an example by not spending so much on dowries and marriage parties.

It is more expensive for families to buy additional and different items for dowries, and the increasing expenditures can affect families and family members in various ways. Young boys may be sent to work to earn money, in part to pay for dowries. Girls may work inside the home making some of the items and/or for money, while others may get jobs outside the home if they can. Some girls may not be able to marry if their families cannot afford the expense of the marriage party and dowry.

The changes in people's expectations about dowries and the implications to the lives of girls and women must be considered in the context of a social and economic system where female status and quality of life indicators are already lower relative to males' than they are in most other countries. As it gets more costly to buy all the necessary items for a dowry, parents may have more difficulty arranging daughters' marriages. They may further neglect the health of female children who give little or nothing back to the family – by withholding food and medical care from them.

Given the noted changes in dowries and some women's negative opinions of them, most respondents still felt that the dowry tradition should continue. On the whole, women agreed that the dowry is important and that it is difficult for a girl to marry

without one. Also, several women indicated that dowries can determine how young women's in-laws will treat them. Girls who bring appliances to the husband's home might be given a warmer welcome by new female in-laws members whose work would be easier and/or their free time more comfortable if they had access to, say, a juicer, a pedestal fan or a TV. Brides will likely have an easier time if their relatives like the dowry items they bring, and the girl's own workload may decrease because of dowry items, especially if she brings large appliances, like a washing machine or refrigerator, with her.

Examples of Families Who Can't Afford Dowries

We asked Kouser (03) to tell us about her relations with her in-laws. Her husband's parents are deceased, and she lives with five sisters-in-law – three are the wives of her husband's brothers and two are her husband's sisters. She told us that the women in her household do not cooperate in many matters because the brothers' wives brought dowries that were much larger than hers.

Some women who said that there should be limits to dowry size told us that having to buy dowries was especially difficult for poor families. Family members might be ashamed that they could not afford to buy large dowries like other family members and neighbors do. Some who can't afford dowry items and marriage parties borrow money to pay for them. If their families can not afford dowry items, the girl(s) may never marry.

For example, when we got to the questions about the dowry, we told 45-year-old Hamida (09) that we were curious about why she was not married. She looked away when Shahida asked her this (she had been looking at us and mostly smiling before). She

told us that her father died, and when he was alive he wanted to arrange her marriage.

We asked her again why her father didn't arrange it before he died, when she was younger. She looked thoughtful at this point, but she did not say anything. Then she told us, "My father was a poor man and he could not afford my marriage." When her father died, her older brother was already married and supporting a wife, and it seemed likely that he would not arrange a marriage (and dowry) for her.

Nawab (13) and her shoemaker husband have two single adult offspring living with them. Nawab's family is relatively poor. They live in an animal shed that belongs to one of the neighbors. Nawab first told us that her daughter was 15 and her son was 17. We later discovered that the unmarried daughter was 30 years old and that she works in the fields (her son was also much older than she had originally told us). Nawab said that they would like to buy dowry items and find a husband for the daughter.

We asked Nawab if she knew about the legal limits on dowry size, and if she agreed with them. "There should be a legal limit on the dowry from the government, and the government should strictly enforce it," she replied. She told us about changes she has noticed in marriage and dowry traditions:

In these days there are many differences in the ceremonies and the dowry items, like a car for the groom, good quality dresses, more jewelry. But a few years ago people didn't think of these things. This is why I am having difficulty arranging my daughter's marriage. I think these changes are very bad. We should stop them and try to help the poor. A family came to this house to see about marrying their son to my daughter. When they saw the condition of this house they decided that we could not afford a good dowry. So my daughter is not married.

Her husband added:

The tradition of marriage and dowry is much better in America than it is in Pakistan. Here a daughter is very costly for her parents. First the parents must look after the daughter and spend many rupees on her. They must also spend money on her dowry. But they cannot get anything from her.

Married and widowed respondents told us a lot about the items in their dowries. They gave us detailed information about the contents, and they expressed a variety of sentiments about the tradition. Respondents told us that it is difficult for a girl without a dowry to be married, but we interviewed women who were married without dowries. (Some of these women were married during the upheaval of Partition when not having a dowry was more acceptable.) We also learned about women, like those mentioned above, who had not “yet” married because their families were “too poor.” Following are some respondents’ comments related to the importance of the dowry, its increasing size and the changes in its contents.

Dowry Size and Composition

Asthma (14) told us that her parents arranged her dowry within two months of the marriage, and she noted the differences between current marriages as compared to hers:

The major differences in marriages these days is the dowry items. Now people give more dresses, more utensils, many bedcovers, many appliances like washing machines, fans and grinders . . . The changes in the composition of the dowry cause problems for today’s parents. Now everyone tries to give more things to the daughter.

Naseem (11) told us:

At my marriage I received much more dowry than my mother did. My daughter received more than I did . . . Now, people are more advanced, and things are more expensive. There used to be only one bed necessary for a dowry. Now there are two. Also today’s dowries must have more jewelry. Dowries are different now. It is a problem for poor parents to raise them . . . Now parents who can afford it want to give lots of appliances to their daughters.

Rashida (02) explained:

There have been many changes with the passage of time. My daughters-in-law brought different items, including TVs, washing machines, a juicer, spice grinders. The elder one brought a refrigerator. My daughter’s dowry included . . . [traditional items and] an electric milk churner, two ceiling fans, and one

pedestal fan . . . There have been many changes in marriage and dowry. Appliances are now necessities of life. The parents who can afford these things will give them to their daughter. This creates problems for the poor parents who cannot afford to give so much. The ceremonies are also different . . . Now this gathering must include too many people. The marriage and the ceremonies are too expensive.

Shanaz (16) told us that dowry and marriage ceremonies have changed and that the changes are good because people are “more advanced.” But, she said, “There should be a legal limit on the dowry . . . because it creates problems for the poor parents. Those who can’t afford it try to borrow money, and it may be difficult for them to return it.” She told us that her father had some difficulty paying her uncles back. He borrowed 10,000 rs (about \$400 US), and it took him four years to pay it back. Anila (17) was also concerned about poor families’ ability to buy dowries because this makes them feel ashamed. She agreed that there should be a law about dowry and that the government should enforce it.

Sanya (33) was a student at a government school in Faisalabad when we interviewed her. She told us that her father borrowed 10,000 rs (about \$400 US) from a government agency for her sister’s dowry. She explained that the government does not give money for dowries and that he probably asked for a loan for his house or his business. He has since paid it back. Sanya’s sister-in-law had no dowry. We asked what people said about this, and Sanya told us that when people asked where it was, the girl’s mother told them that her brother would be arranging the dowry later. To others she said that the dowry was in one room but that visitors could not see it. Sanya said that, “There should be no dowry. The other [groom’s] family should not demand a dowry because some parents are poor and cannot afford a dowry, and this creates problems for them.”

There Should be No Limits

Ten respondents (of the 26 who answered the set of questions about dowry) told us that there should be no limits to dowry size. Following are a few representative comments. Fouzia (07) was the recipient of a relatively large dowry. We asked if the size of her dowry would put pressure on her relatives to pay more for their daughters' dowries. She said no and added that "Parents can refuse if demands are too much. My family dislikes family members who demand too much dowry." When asked, she told us that she would probably never be able to use all the items in her dowry. We asked why her family (in this case her grandmother who raised her bought the dowry items) gave her so many things when she would not be able to use them all. "My grandmother could afford all these things and she gave them of her own choice," she said.

Shameem (18) told us that there shouldn't be any legal limits on dowry but that those who could afford it should give it. Sabra (19) agreed, saying that there should be no limits and that the rich should give more. Zabunisa (34) was living in an orphanage in Faisalabad when we interviewed her. Her upcoming marriage and dowry had been arranged by orphanage patrons. She said that there shouldn't be limits and that parents who can afford things should be able to buy them.

Kishnood (15) wants to give her daughters everything necessary for the house because if she can't afford a dowry the daughters will not have a happy life. She said, "if the government made a law about dowry, it would be useful, but in these days people don't obey it, so a limit is useless." When we asked if there should be limits on dowry, she told us that "No daughter can live a happy life without a dowry."

Yes, There Should Be Limits

Makhdoom (01) told us that she thought there should be limits on dowries, but that the law attempting to limit their size “hasn’t worked.” Sakeena (06) agreed. She said, “There should be limits to dowry size because I am not rich. Limits are good for poor families.” Makhdoom said:

Many girls cannot get married because families are too poor. Legal limits will have no effect unless people change their own minds . . . Dowry problems even cause illnesses for the poor, like heart attacks . . . But the government cannot solve problems, since government officials do not set a good example.

We asked Marium (08) what she thought about limits to dowries. She told us that:

There should be limits because most Pakistani families are poor and they cannot afford dowries. The government should enforce limits. In these days prospective in-laws look at the bank balance of parents first and the daughter is only second priority. Most people think there should be more dowry, but this creates problems for the parents, and the daughters can’t get married.

Some Additional Comments about Limits to Dowry

Respondents held a variety of opinions regarding whether or not there should be limits to dowry size. Some comments did not fall in the yes or no limits categories. One comment below is from a respondent who thought that limits, though perhaps a good idea, would be useless since the government could not enforce them. One respondent’s husband took a different position when he answered our question about limits.

We asked Naseem (11) what she thought about legal limits on dowry size and she told us that:

Dowry creates a problem only for poor parents. If the government had a law to check them, it would be better for poor parents. In Pakistan there are two classes – rich and poor. Wealthy families can afford to buy warm clothes for their kids, but the poor can’t afford them. The rich should take care of the poor. But if the government tried to do this, people might not obey the law.

We asked Asthma (14) if she knew about and then if she agreed with the legal limits on dowry. She discussed this with her husband who was with us for part of the interview. He said:

In Pakistan there is much difference in people's salaries . . . Many people in Pakistan cannot afford the dowry, and when people see the bigger dowries of rich people they demand more. This creates problems for poor people. So the government should try to equalize wages, then there will be no problems because everyone will make the same.

When we asked him if he is saving now for his daughters' marriages he replied, "I am poor, but maybe after a few years I will start saving for them. I am not worried about their dowries. They may die."

Theme Two Summary

In a culture where females are already devalued, the noted changes in dowry size and components suggest the possibility of a further deterioration of females' status. The health of women and girls in much of South Asia is affected by cultural norms that include early marriages, the importance of fertility and the tradition of the dowry that puts special burdens on the parents of daughters. Much of the burden of reducing consumption, when this is necessary, falls on women and female children since men eat first (Agarwal 1992: 189). In addition, the devaluation and subservience of women lessens the likelihood that they will seek medical help for themselves and for their daughters (Lateef 1981: 208-9).

It is clear that dowry remains an important tradition in many households in Pakistan. It also appears that significant changes are taking place that make the dowry tradition more "modern." Its components may now include electronic devices or appliances that make life easier for women who do housework. Modern technology can

make life better, but it may also create hardships. As noted by many of the respondents, it is difficult for many parents to buy dowries for their daughters. Respondents also said that some daughters might remain unmarried if their parents cannot afford to buy them a dowry. The societal trends that dictate the size of a dowry may give married women whose families can afford them a chance at an easier life. Girls in poorer families who are expected to have a larger, more modern dowry may never marry. Worse, they may not receive the care that will ensure that they become adults.

THIRD THEME: WOMEN'S LAND INHERITANCE DECISIONS

A woman has no automatic right to maintenance from her brothers or her parents, and she relies on their good will if she becomes widowed or divorced. By giving a dowry to her in-laws at marriage, the girl's family transfers responsibility for her maintenance to her husband's family (Sharma 1980), though her natal male relatives are expected to give a woman money and gifts even after she is married. Because Pakistani women lack access to and control over resources, they are dependent on male relatives for support. Because they tend to lack power and control of resources, we might expect them to take a share of their land inheritance at a landowning fathers' death, since land ownership would give women more economic security and possibly less dependent on male relatives for support. But it doesn't happen this way.

There are two sets of rules in Pakistan regarding the inheritance of land by women. These are 1) the local, customary laws and 2) the state's statutory laws. Customary laws in much of Pakistan prevent women from inheriting land as daughters unless there are no sons, but even then it is difficult for women to claim their rights. According to customary law, women serve as links if necessary, but not as actual owners

in a system that passes land from males to males, from generation to generation. Local, traditional law often subordinates the rights of the individual, in this case women, to the maintenance of local kinship groups. The West Punjab Muslim Personal Law Application Act of 1948 opened up possibilities for women in Pakistan to own land through appeal to the *Sharia*, or Muslim personal law, in questions regarding succession to agricultural land (Gilmartin 1981). According to the Koran, daughters should receive a half share of land upon the father's death, while sons are entitled to a full share. Half a century after this law was passed, few women exercise their state-given rights to inheritance, apparently because customary law has proved to be much more powerful (Sharma 1980).

In most communities in South Asia today, women have legal rights to inherit land from their fathers, but they are largely only rights on paper – not in fact (Agarwal 1992). Women may be reluctant to demand their rights to property because of their respect for male authority and tradition. Or, women refuse it because they know that taking it will make relatives angry. A girl soon learns that by displeasing her relatives, especially by acting independently, she will have to live in an inhospitable social atmosphere. Because women have few resources and fewer economic opportunities, there is virtually no “escape” from family. Men's control over family land continues because of several factors. For one thing, girls move to their in-laws' villages after marriage, and these tend to be away from their father's land. In addition, the tradition of seclusion, or *purdah*, would constrain women's efforts to manage land. Also, many village women may even be ignorant of the fact that there are laws giving them rights to inherit land. And finally, men and even female relatives may intimidate women who attempt to claim their rights (Luschinsky 1963; Agarwal 1988). According to Sharma (1980) “for a sister, the

goodwill of her brothers is important to her after her parents' death, and a woman will prefer to be in a position to be able to call on her brothers for help of any kind should she need it after her marriage" (p. 57). (See **Appendix B** for a short history of land laws in Pakistan.)

We asked women several questions related to land ownership and inheritance, and all respondents responded to many of these questions:

- ◆ What was your father's occupation? (Ask for details like amount of land owned, income)
- ◆ Are your parents still alive?

If yes, do they give you money or gifts on a regular basis?

If no, what did you inherit from them?

Did you get the portion of immovable property allowed to you under Islamic law?

If you did not get anything, why not?

- ◆ Do you think that women should own land?

Would you like for yourself or your daughter to own land?

Would you prefer land or dowry for yourself/your daughter?

We asked respondents some of these questions about land inheritance in order to find out if these women took or would take their share of land when the father dies. We also wanted to know their reasons for taking or not taking it. According to Pakistani law, women have a right to a half share in any land owned by the father, but we found that those respondents whose fathers had land rarely took their share. When we asked them why they did not, the most common response was that they wanted to maintain good relationships with their brothers and other relatives.

Land is a valuable resource, and many women mentioned that they would like to own some land because of the wealth it can produce. But many also told us that they did not want land if taking it meant diminishing their brothers' share. In the villages we visited, women often marry first cousins, so if there is land it is kept in the immediate the family. In this sense, a woman who does not take land from her father would still enjoy many of its benefits, as her husband would likely inherit land that was once a part of the same parcel. She also benefits if her brothers give her produce, gifts and cash. But because female status in Pakistan is low and their economic options are scarce, it is interesting that many women do not take advantage of an opportunity to increase their control over resources.

Table 4.5 is organized by amount of land the family owns, and it includes information only for those respondents whose families owned land. The table shows that of the 29 rural respondents, 14 parents/fathers owned land. Of the 14 parents/fathers who owned land, six owned nine or less acres; six owned from 10 to 19 acres, and two owned more than 20 acres. Not all of the fathers in landowning families were farmers. Five fathers in families that owned 12 or more acres of land worked elsewhere, mostly for the government, and did not farm their land. Of the 15 respondents who come from landowning families (two of these are sisters), only two have a share of the family land, and neither of these women has brothers. One woman received her share and sold it to her brothers. Two women gave their share to their brothers. Three women said they were offered land, but they refused it. One woman told us she didn't take it (it may or may not have been offered to her). Several ($n = 6$) weren't asked whether they wanted their share or not. Of these women, four said they would have refused had they been asked. The fifth woman who wasn't asked and whose family had only one acre, said she

would like for her son to have her share. The sixth woman told us only that she wasn't asked.

Table 4.5 Amount of Land Owned by Respondent's Family and Dispensation of Respondent's Share of Family Inheritance

HH No.	Amount of Land Owned by Parent/Father	Dispensation of Respondent's Share of Family Inheritance
04	22 acres	Received 1/4 acre (her uncles got remainder)
01	20+ acres	Sold it to brothers
08	12 acres	Gave it to brothers
20	12 acres	Refused it
21	12 acres	Gave it to brothers
24	12 acres	Would have refused, but they didn't ask
34	12 acres	Wasn't asked
02	10 acres	Refused it
03	6 acres	Refused it
15	6 acres	Would have refused, but they didn't ask
16	6 acres ^a	Would have refused, but they didn't ask
25	4 acres	Would have refused, but they didn't ask
06	2 acres	Did not take it (brother gives her and mom all profits from it)
10	1 acre	Wants it for her son, but they didn't ask
14	1 acre	Would have refused, but has no brothers

^a Respondents 15 and 16 are sisters, so they were legally entitled to portions of the same inheritance.

In the majority of households we visited, women's most valuable resource seems to be their male relatives. This is demonstrated by statements from women whose parents/fathers own land. The shortage of economic opportunities and women's refusal to take their legal share of land takes place in an Islam influenced social system where family members loose status if females go outside the home to earn money (or to spend it) because this violates *purdah*. Maintaining good relationships with male family

members is important to women partly because village economies have few or no work opportunities for them. Often, as is demonstrated in the section on the division of labor, a male relative's support makes all the difference to women and children's well-being. Women who lack access to wealth except through their relations with men will remain dependent on them (Sharma 1980). It appears that maintaining good relations with male relatives is more important to women in landowning families than having control of resources and some measure of independence.

Table 4.6 is also organized by amount of land owned, and it includes information on all 29 households. Of the 29 respondents, six did not answer the question, "Would you prefer land instead of dowry for yourself/your daughter?" Of those who answered the question ($n = 23$), nine said yes, they would prefer to have land for themselves or their daughter instead of a dowry. The remainder ($n = 14$) told us no, they would not prefer land over a dowry. Of the nine women who said they'd prefer land over a dowry, seven are from families that do not own land.

The difference in sentiments expressed by women from landowning versus those from families that don't own land may be a result of the way we worded the question. We did not ask respondents whose parents/fathers did not own land if they would have taken land from their relatives. We asked them if they would like for themselves or their daughters to own land. If women could get land in some other way, besides claiming an inheritance, this would likely result in a different response from family members, though Kelkar (1991) documents a case in Bihar, India, where women who received title to about ten percent of 1,100 acres of land that the government distributed were not able to maintain control of it in the face of strong opposition from male agricultural laborers who viewed women's ownership of property as a threat to their control.

Of those respondents whose families had no land, a few told us that they if they had the opportunity they would refuse a share of the family land in order to keep good relations with their brothers. But many other women whose families had no land appreciated the importance of having it because of the benefits that it brings. Some of their comments are included below.

In Pakistan's Punjab, land holdings are continually being subdivided, and plots are becoming smaller and smaller, and eventually there's little or no land to inherit. As plots become smaller and as cash becomes more important to the local economy, adult men and their family members will be more likely to work for wages. As was demonstrated in the section on the division of labor, supporting a family already seems to require the wages of more than just one male head of household. Thus trends in wages and the number of working males required to support a household have negative implications for many families and family members.

Women's decisions – and their reasons for them – not to take their share of the patrimony can be seen as both cause and effect of their economic dependence on male relatives. As long as women refuse to take or keep their share of their father's land and as long as their male relatives own land, the women will likely to continue to receive male relatives' economic support. Land and its produce are valuable, and women from land owning families tend to receive more support from male relatives than do women whose families do not own land. Women from landowning families appear determined to maintain good relationships with male relatives. This is demonstrated by many of the following comments.

Table 4.6 Respondents' Preferences Regarding Inheritance/Patrimony of Land versus Dowry (in order of the amount of land owned by parents/father)

Resp. No.	First Name	Amount of Land Owned by Parents/Father	Would You Prefer Land Instead of Dowry for Yourself/Your Daughter?
04	Akhtari	22 acres	No, daughter will not get land
01	Makhdoom	20+	No, daughter should have a share of parents' property, but not land
08	Marium	12 acres	No, there should also be dowry
20	Kharan	12 acres	Did not answer question
21	Riffut	12 acres	No, women should not own land
24	Erum	12 acres	No, it's not possible in our society
34	Zabunisa	12 acres	Yes, land is better
02	Rashida	10 acres	No, only men should have land
03	Kouser	6 acres	No, her brother will take care of her
15	Kishnood	6 acres	No, dowry is better for women
16	Shanaz	6 acres	No, dowry is better for keeping good relations
25	Khurshid	4 acres	Yes, would prefer land
06	Sakeena	2 acres	No, there's not enough, so the brothers will get it
10	Bashira	1 acre	Did not answer question
14	Asthma	1 acre	No, must have dowry to arrange a marriage
05	Niamat	none	Did not answer question
07	Fouzia	none	Yes, daughters should choose land
09	Hamida	none	Did not answer question
11	Naseem	none	Yes, land is better than dowry
12	Amina	none	Did not answer question
13	Nawab	none	Yes, women should own land
17	Anila	none	Yes, women should own land
18	Shameem	none	Yes, would prefer land over dowry
19	Sabra	none	Yes, would rather have land than dowry
22	Tahira	none	No, daughters will get land only if there is no son
23	Ullah	none	No, only sons should get land
26	Sahib	none	No, only men should own land
31	Bushra	none	Did not answer question
33	Sanya	none	Yes, land is better than a dowry

Women Who Directly Benefit from Family Land

Three of the women we interviewed received their share of land at their father's death. One of the three was raised by an uncle, and she was his only "child." Two of the women received their shares of land and then sold them to their brothers. A fourth woman did not take a share of land, but she lived off the proceeds of her father's land.

An aunt and uncle raised Akhtari (04). She had no brothers or sisters. When her uncle died, she received her share of his property, 1/4 acre out of his six acres. His brothers (her uncles) received the rest. Her aunt's brother-in-law cultivates Akhtari's land, and he gives her a share of the produce. She told us that her daughter will not get any land. It will go to the sons.

Sakeena (06) and her family live off the proceeds of her father's two acres. She remarked, "I feel lucky to have a brother who lets me live off the proceeds from the land and who also gives me money each month." She and her mother are widows and they rent this land to a farmer for 3,000 rs per year. Should women own land? "Yes, there should be some land for women. My household gets many benefits by having the land that was my father's, even though it belongs to my brother. Because I have land, I don't have to work in other peoples' houses."

We asked Sakeena if she thinks women should own land instead of a dowry:

Yes, it is better for women to own land. No women in my family have land, only my grandfather had land, but he sold it. My ancestors had land in India. When they came here they had some land, but they sold it . . . Daughters should choose land instead of a dowry because when you have land you can use it to make money to buy other things. You cannot use a dowry to get other things.

When we asked Makhdoom (01) about land inheritance she told us that when her father died she inherited her share of land – seven acres. She didn't want it because it was too far away from where she would be living, so her brothers bought it from her and

she used the money to buy things for her house. We asked about her husband's reaction to this sale. (He was the village head man and had land of his own.) She told us, "He thought I got what I deserved. It was more than he expected and he approved of my selling the land for cash." When asked if she would like for her daughter to own land she replied, "A daughter should have a share of parents' property, though not necessarily land. In the Islamic point of view the dowry should be paid. I got both money and land and this is uncommon." She bought a fridge and an air conditioner with the money she got from selling her land to her brothers.

Marium's (08) father was a farmer who had land in India. At Partition he moved to the village where Marium now lives, and he had 12 acres there. Marium was 16 when she married. Her husband died less than two years later, leaving her with an infant daughter. After Partition she came to her father's house in the village where she now lives, and her father looked after her until he died. She never remarried. When her father died each of his three sons got 3 acres. Marium and her sister received one and a half acres each, though they gave the land to their brothers just before the sister died six years ago. Marium inherited no part of the house or any money, but she has lived with one brother for almost 50 years. He has land and power looms that earn income for the family.

Marium's father-in-law came to her village after Partition also, and when he died she and her daughter inherited her husband's portion of land, three acres. Marium and her daughter still have this land, and she contracts it out to her son-in-law and his brother (her sister's sons) for 2,000 rupees per year. She says that women should own land because it enables them to look after their children if the husband should die, but she said

that a daughter shouldn't have land instead of a dowry. Marium did not say how a woman might get land if she doesn't take a share from her father.

Women Who Refused to Take Land from Brothers

A woman who maintains good relations with her brothers can expect to receive gifts and/or money at *Eid* and other special occasions, and she expects them to take care of her when she needs it. Marium's and others' stories demonstrate the kind of support that a woman may receive from a father and brothers when she has good relations with them and when they have the resources and the will to support her. Many women told us that they gave up their legal share of land to brothers or that they simply refused to take it.

When we asked Rashida (02) about land inheritance, she told us:

My brothers wanted me to have something, but I refused because if I took a share of the land it would cause problems in my family. My brothers give me many things on many occasions. I refused the land so I could continue getting gifts and keep good relations with them . . . Women shouldn't own land because brothers take care of the sisters, so they should get the land and continue to help the sisters.

Kouser (03) told us that at her son's birth (her first child), she got 200 rupees (rs) from her parents and 200 rs from her brothers. She doesn't expect to receive a share of her father's land. She doesn't want to take land because her brothers give her many things, and if she takes land they would not. Her taking land would cause problems in the family and she would like to avoid this, she explained. "Women shouldn't own land because the land of her husband is also her land and so a woman shouldn't take a share from her parents." Kouser doesn't want her daughter to own land because, she says, "her brother will take care of her."

Asthma (14) told us that her father gives her cotton and rice when he grows them, but he never gives her cash because he is too poor. She has no brothers, so she and her sisters may get a share of the land when the parents die. But if her cousins in the village take care of her father, he may give the land to them, Asthma explained, adding that if she had any brothers, she would refuse a share of the land. Responding to our question about women owning land, Asthma said, “Yes, women should own land. Although she cannot cultivate it herself she can still earn money from it. A woman can get different crops from a field, and if her husband dies she will still be able to look after her children.” Would you rather have gotten land or a dowry? “The dowry has its importance. Land has its own importance. Land is much better, but I cannot imagine that I could arrange my daughters’ marriages without dowries.”

Kishnood’s (15) father was a farmer in a village about nine km from the village where she now lives. When we interviewed her he was too old to work, so Kishnood’s brothers cultivate his six acres for him. Kishnood’s brothers give her some crops, and they also give her money on *Eid* days. When she visits them they give her money and they give clothes to her and to her children. She doesn’t expect to get land when her father dies and she said that she would refuse any offer because she has good relations with her brothers and would like to continue them.

Kishnood thinks that a woman should have land, but she won’t take land from her brothers. “My brothers have given me many things and they still do. If I take land from them, they may not take care of me and my family.” She told us that she doesn’t want her husband to give any land to her daughters. “My sons should be the owners,” she says, “and they should take care of their sisters.” According to Kishnood, this is a better way of doing things than for women to own land.

Shanaz (16) is Kishnood's sister. The brothers give Shanaz seasonal crops, gifts for her children on *Eid* days, and sometimes they give her dresses and money. Every so often a brother asks her if she needs anything, like an iron or a fan, and he'll buy it for her. At the births of her children her brothers gave clothes to all the family members and they give rupees to her and her children. Shanaz says that, "Women shouldn't have their own land. If a woman takes land from her brothers, she won't have good relations with them. It's better to have good relations."

Kharan (20) told us that her brothers share six acres of land. They offered her a share of the father's land, but she refused it. Her brothers give her many things at every visit, she says. At her daughter's marriage her brothers gave her lots of gifts. What did her husband say when she refused the land? He told her not to take a share but to maintain good relations with the brothers.

In Riffut's (21) family the land was legally divided among the brother and his three sisters. The sisters decided to return the land to their brother because he treats them so well. When Riffut needs something, her brother provides it. We asked her what would happen if she insisted on taking land. She replied that she doesn't know what would happen because her ancestors had no tradition of giving land to the daughters. The ownership of the house was also divided into four parts, but Riffut and her sisters knew that if they insisted on their share that the relatives wouldn't like it, so they didn't take it. She told us that women shouldn't take their brothers' land because society doesn't approve of this behavior.

Erum's (24) father had 12 acres of land in another town. He died, and when we interviewed Erum, there were tenants cultivating the land. Her father had tenants instead of farming it himself or letting his sons farm it because all the sons are educated and they

have government jobs. After Erum's father died all the land was taken by her step-brothers. Did she want a share of the land? No. Did they offer her a share? No, but if they had she would have refused it. She says,

If the brothers take care of the sisters, the sisters shouldn't take their share of the land. If the brothers treat the sisters kindly, they should refuse a share in their brothers' property. In our society every woman has a share in her husband's land. So if the husband dies, a woman can look after her children better if she has his land. A woman should prefer land to a dowry, but no one in our society can arrange a marriage without dowry.

Khurshid's (25) deceased father was a farmer. She has four brothers and three sisters. One brother is a policeman, the others are farmers. They have four acres that are still in her father's name. At all births the brothers give silver bracelets for the baby and clothes for the parents. Every year at *Eid* her brothers give her 100 rs, sugar and rice. Her brothers also give her clothes. Khurshid said that if the brothers should offer land to the sisters, they would refuse it. The amount of land in her family is very small, so it is better for her to give her share to her brothers, she says. She felt that women should own land because they can buy things with the income. Khurshid added that even though land is better than dowry, it is too expensive to buy for a daughter.

Zabunisa (34) lived in an orphanage when we interviewed her. Her dad had a house and 12 acres in a village. Now Zabunisa's step-brother cultivates the land, and he doesn't give her or her brothers any of the produce or any money. Zabunisa thinks that "Women should have their own land. If the husband and wife become separated, the women can earn money from the land." Should a girl receive land or dowry? "Land is much better than dowry" because women can buy things with the income from it.

These women seem to appreciate the value of land, but they also value good relations with brothers and other male relatives. They understand that they will be

sanctioned if they try to take their legal share of family land. Their decisions not to claim their inheritance seem quite rational given the context in which these decisions are made.

Poor Women Whose Fathers Had No Land

Bashira (10) is a widow, and she had two children at home when we interviewed her. Her youngest daughter was four months old when her husband died. Now this girl is in her late teens. Her husband was a laborer and had no land when he died, but his father had land in the village where Bashira lives. When Bashira's father-in-law died, her husband's younger brother began to cultivate it. He didn't give any share to Bashira's son. She explained, "My father and my brothers don't give me anything . . . They give me no land and no money. I don't have good relations with them, and this worries me."

Tahira's (22) parents had no land. Her brothers aren't able to give her many things, but she still has good relations with them, she said. Her husband earns 2,000 rs per month (about \$80 US). He also gets some crops from his land. We asked what would happen to her husband's land when he dies? It is only for his children, she said, none of his brothers will take a share. "If I have a son he will get the land. If I have no son, then the daughters will own it."

Ullah (23) has six brothers and two sisters. Her parents live in her village. Ullah's father is a tenant farmer who cultivates 12 acres that belong to another man in the village. He and Ullah's brothers cultivate the land, and they get one-half of the produce. Her grandfather was also a tenant farmer. In her family there is a tradition that when a family brings in crops, the parents give some crops to the daughters, like wheat, maize

and cotton. Ullah says that her brothers and father give her some money and dresses on *Eid* days and at the birth of male children.

Ullah says that, "If a parent has only daughters, then all the land should go to them. If they have sons and daughters, then only the sons will be owners of land. In this society, girls cannot take their share because the other relatives dislike it. Dowry is more important than land because if a girl has no dowry, then her in-laws will taunt her."

Sanya's (33) father is a peon in a *ghee* mill near her village, and he has no land. Sanya said that "Land is much better than a dowry. A woman can get money from land because she can earn money from crops each season. But when she uses the dowry items they decrease in value." But parents can't afford to buy land so it should be the husband's responsibility, she said.

The Benefits of Owning Land

It is clear from women's comments that they appreciate the importance of land and the benefits of owning it, whether or not their families own any. Other economic options, such as laboring jobs in textile mills, may seem meager to people who see the wealth being created on land around them while they benefit little or not at all from it.

Fouzia (07) told us that land is better than a dowry. "Daughters should choose land because when you have land you can use it to make money to buy other things. You cannot use a dowry to get other things. Responding to our questions about whether or not women should own land, Naseem (11) said that women should own land. "Land is a very good source of income for women. Even an uneducated woman can get some money from land on a contract basis." Would you rather have land or dowry for your

daughter? “Land is much better than dowry. If a woman has land she can use the income to buy things.”

We asked Nawab (13) if she thought that women should own land. “Yes. My parents, my in-laws and I have no land. It is better for a woman to own land.” Her husband the shoemaker came in during the interview. He said that land is best for women and men because “We can get everything from the land – cotton for clothes, vegetables for eating and other crops.”

Shameem (18) told us that women should have land. “In case of my husband’s death I can earn money from it.” When a husband gets money he should buy land, she says. “I would rather have land than a dowry.” Sabra (19) would also prefer to have land over a dowry. She added that rich relatives and rich neighbors should help those who are poor. She told us that “Education and land are much better than dowry because nobody can steal these things, but people can steal dowry items. Also education and land increase in value with time while the dowry items’ value decreases.”

Kishnood (15) disagreed. She said that dowry is better for women than land. “At marriage people come to see the dowry. If parents gave land instead, their daughter may have some difficulty. Women shouldn’t get land instead of dowry because the dowry has its own importance.”

Urban Women’s Stories

The responses of city-dwelling women are useful in helping us understand some of the complexities of land ownership and women’s refusal to take their share of the land when the father dies. One woman gave an example of the strength of the tradition to give daughters dowry instead of land. The other two believe that land and education are

important resources for families. Nejma (27) made an important point – women should take land because too often male relatives do not support them. Women should take it as a safeguard against poverty.

Mehmooda (28) told us about one of her female relatives who brought land – 25 acres – instead of dowry when she married. This woman was Mehmooda's daughter's sister-in-law. When Mehmooda's daughter married into that family later on, people said that while she had brought many things in her dowry, the sister-in-law had brought nothing. Mehmooda says this is because people want to see things instead of land.

Semina's (32) comments in part demonstrate the differences between the expectations of poor villagers and those of urban residents who can afford to send their children to school. While many village residents do not send their kids to elementary school, Semina's family was able to send her through school up to professional level courses. She was a student when we interviewed her, and she said that a woman should take some professional courses and maybe get a technical diploma, and that these things are most important. Land would be less important than these, according to Semina. If a husband dies, a woman can sell land but not dowry items. So a diploma is best, then land, then a dowry.

Theme Three Summary

Dowries are said to represent females' portion of the family wealth. Though many women remarked that land is a source of wealth more valuable than dowries, few women in landowning families are willing to take their legal share. The discussion of women's decision-making regarding land – whether their family owns any or not – demonstrates the value of land and women's economic dependence on their fathers and

brothers. Many women were willing to forgo a share in real property to maintain good relationships with male relatives who would hopefully give them money, gifts and produce, and perhaps support them if necessary. The majority of women from landowning families refused to exercise their legal right to land.

Some say that since women receive dowries, they do not need land. Goody (1976) argues, in defense or explanation of traditional land inheritance practices, that women's share of the "patrimony" comes in the form of a dowry. But others strongly disagree. For example, Sharma (1980) says that this argument about patrimony is a "convenient fiction which serves to obscure a real difference between men's and women's relationship to property" (pp. 47-48). She asserts that by giving a dowry, the family cancels the daughter's right to inherit immovable property. Agarwal (1988) maintains that "inheritance and dowry in general, and inheritance in land and dowry in movables in particular, cannot be equated in legal, economic, social, or symbolic terms" (p. 547). At marriage, much of the dowry becomes the property of the in-laws – not the daughter – and if her husband divorces her, or if she dies, the dowry remains with the husband's family. Land, on the other hand, becomes the sole property of the heir, and it cannot be sold without the heir's permission.

Given the constraints women face in trying to farm and/or manage property for themselves and the expectation (often fulfilled) that their brothers will take care of them when they need it, it seems rational for a woman to give up any land she might inherit in order to stay in their good graces. When a family has access to resources, women's expectations that male relatives will take care of them may be fulfilled. But women in poorer families also expect their male relatives to take care of them. These expectations may not always be met, especially when males have few resources and many

responsibilities. This seems to be true for families in which adult males work as laborers at power looms. Landless laborers appear barely able to support themselves and one or two other people.

FOURTH THEME: FEMALES' LOW STATUS

Running throughout the above three themes is the fourth theme discussed in this paper, the low status of females. The fourth theme is intertwined with the others. It is demonstrated and reinforced by them. The status of females does not appear to be improving.

As is demonstrated in the above accounts, female children are often seen as economic burdens on their families because families have little to gain materially and much to lose by their existence. Females' marriages drain household resources, and after they are married women often expect gifts and money from fathers and brothers. Women's natal male relatives are responsible for the females' support if other relatives, especially husbands and sons, will not or cannot care for them. Thus females are an economic liability for the men in their immediate family from birth to death. This is not to say that females – daughters, sisters, mothers – and the work they perform are not valued. It is to say that relative to men, they are valued less, and are too often treated as burdens that male relatives must support, rather than as fully contributing or potentially contributing household members. In general, females' status is generally lower than that of males their age and older. Generally, a woman's status within a family increases as she gets older.

In the households we visited we found that many girls and young women did much of the housework themselves or helped older women. Many were involved in

activities that created income for the household or that would be used to purchase items for their dowries. Many adult women, besides taking primary responsibility for keeping the house clean, preparing meals and more, also contributed to the household by working for others. Still, males tend to contribute more resources to the household, and females may seem to consume more resources than they contribute.

As demonstrated in the section on dowry changes, dowries are tending to become larger and their contents more expensive. Evidence also demonstrates women's economic dependence on fathers, brothers, husbands and sons. Some examples are offered below. Selections from interviews with women whose families are Faisalabad residents are also used to illustrate the low value placed on females there.

Marriage, Motherhood and Status

Hamida (09) lives in poverty with her widowed mother and her unmarried siblings and has little hope of ever marrying or living at a standard above what she had when we met her. Her story illustrates the economic burden created by women's dowry and marriage and offers reasons why women from resource poor families might remain unmarried. Hamida is an older, unmarried woman. When we asked her why her father had not arranged her marriage when she was younger, she told us that her father was too poor to arrange it. Her older brother was the next person responsible for arranging the marriage, but when their father died, the brother was already married, and his wife was concerned that if he took care of the women in his family, she and he would be just as poor as the rest of them. Hamida lives in a compound with her older brother, but she shares a cooking area with her widowed mother and her unmarried siblings. Because

women's status improves when has sons then daughters-in-law, an older, unmarried woman has little hope of achieving a higher status.

Shanaz's (16) story demonstrates the increasing status and power that women gain as they get older. She told us that her husband treats her very well but that her mother-in-law is strict. In the early days of her marriage, Shanaz would visit her parents' house for ten days to two weeks at a time. Now she goes only once a year and stays for only one or two days. Shanaz told us that her health is not good. We asked her how often she eats meat or eggs. She told us that she has an egg once every two or three months and she eats meat maybe once a month. When we asked, she told us that her mother-in-law eats an egg every day and that sometimes they sell their extra eggs in the village instead of eating them themselves. Shanaz was nursing a female infant, but she was eating little or no protein.

The Importance of Sons

The circumstances of a young widow, Fouzia (07), and her family illustrate the importance of sons. Her husband left rental property and she receives income from it every month. But the home she lives in is only half hers, and her access to depends on the existence of her infant male son who has rights to half the house. If he were to die, his mother and sisters would be homeless. The family's economic support comes from her deceased husband's investments, while their domestic security depends on her infant son's health. Her husband had only one brother, and he lived with his family in England until he died a few months before our interview.

Fouzia has five children – four daughters and one son. One daughter lives with Fouzia's mother, and the rest live with Fouzia. They are supported by the rent from her

husband's shops, supplemented by money from her brother who works in Saudi Arabia. When we had almost finished the interview, Fouzia's visiting mother cried as she told us about the family's precarious situation. When Fouzia's husband died there was no male child, and some of her relatives tried to deprive Fouzia of the house. After Fouzia's husband and then his brother died, the brother's widow came from England to sell the house for her share of the money. She told Fouzia to leave.

But when Fouzia's husband died, she was pregnant with her fifth child. When the son was born, the sister-in-law agreed to let them stay in the house, though Fouzia is expected to pay them for half of it. Fouzia will continue to receive money for the rented shops, but life is uncertain, she says, and she has three daughters to marry off. The first day we came to interview Fouzia she talked to us briefly while she nursed her infant son then changed his diaper. Then she put clean clothes on herself and the baby, preparing to take him to a doctor in Faisalabad. They have a doctor in this village, she said, but he wasn't much help. Her son had what sounded like a mild cold, and he did not seem unhappy or feverish. Still, she was very anxious about his health . . . This son is very important to Fouzia's household, and she asked us to pray for his long life. Not only did he make her life easier just by being born, but he will also help support the family when he is older.

The (Un)Importance of Daughters

Nasreen (35) is not from one of the rural households that are the focus of this study, but her story demonstrates the value of daughters to households. She and three daughters live in an orphanage in Faisalabad. She is a house "mother" at the orphanage, and she looks after her children and six others there. The deputy director of the

orphanage told us that Nasreen came to live there after her husband divorced her for giving birth to four daughters. When we visited, she and her daughters had been at the orphanage for nine months.

While we talked to Nasreen she held her sick infant daughter in her arms. The child looked and sounded unhappy. At one point during the interview the deputy director came into the house and checked the baby's temperature. It was 103 degrees. We suggested that we reschedule the interview so the baby could be taken to the orphanage doctor. But the deputy director told us that she had things "under control" and that she would bring some medicine for the girl.

Nine years before, when she was 19, Nasreen married her husband. He works as a laborer in a hosiery manufacturing plant in Faisalabad. She gave birth to four daughters while she was married to him. When her third daughter was born, her husband asked her why she had daughters every year. That baby died before she was a month old. When the fourth daughter, the sick one at the interview, was two months old Nasreen's husband divorced her. Nasreen's oldest daughter was seven years old then. Nasreen told us that her husband disliked her and her daughters even though she was earning money by making rugs.

After her husband divorced her, Nasreen went to live with her father. But he told her that she could live with him but that the daughters could not. He wanted to arrange her second marriage, and he told her to give the daughters to her husband. We asked why her father would want to give the daughters to the husband when he knew that the husband didn't like them. Her father said that if the husband didn't like the daughters, then he couldn't accept them either.

Nasreen had visited the orphanage earlier with her sister-in-law. She was not divorced when she visited, but the case was in court. She and her daughters lived with Nasreen's father for five months. She and he fought about returning the daughters to her husband and about her marrying a second time, which she did not want to do, so she moved to the orphanage. Her family members and ex-husband know where she is.

Her husband was only a *biradri* member – a relative but not a first cousin. Both families agreed to the marriage. She started crying when she told us about her marriage and dowry. Her sister had told her that her fiancé was handsome and that he had a job. She had to leave all the dowry items at her husband's house after the divorce except a nose pin that she kept.

Her parents live nearby, and though her father makes 1,700 rs per month, he can't give her any money because he has a very large family to support. He is the only earning member in the household that includes the wife of his dead son and their four children. Toward the end of the interview, Nasreen's older daughter came in loudly and sat in her mother's lap. She said that a boy who lives at the orphanage hurt his nose and they were taking him to the doctor. The sick baby girl slept, never having gotten any medicine or attention from the deputy director.

Shahida told me about a cousin of hers who had twin girls who died. Everyone said it was because she didn't take care of them. She also told me that since this cousin's father had three boys, there was a competition among the brothers to have the same number of sons. One of the brothers has three daughters, but the other one's wife had recently given birth to another, a fifth, girl. When we visited this family they asked me to adopt the baby girl, Iram, and they dressed her up in Western clothes so I would find her more attractive.

Anila (17) lives in a house with her husband, five sons, three daughters, two daughters-in-law, and four grandsons who are the children of the oldest son. One son's wife had three daughters who died. I asked Shahida later what might have happened to the younger wife's daughters. She thought they may have died of malnutrition. We asked Anila's husband, a potter, if he was saving money for his daughters' marriages. He told us that he is poor but that he might start saving in a few years. He told us that he is not worried about buying dowries for his daughters because "they may die."

Theme Four Summary

The health of girls, especially infants, may suffer especially when there are "too many" girls in a family. It is difficult to directly connect infant girls' deaths and young girls' ill health with dowry and other traditions, but the early deaths and females' general ill health are also difficult to attribute otherwise. According to Miller (1997), families in North India and Pakistan to the Near East and possibly North Africa, practice indirect female infanticide. Indirect female infanticide is neglect that leads to a child's death, such as depriving them of adequate nutrition and/or health care. Pakistan's health care system is poor on the whole, but countrywide statistics show that female children are more likely to die before age 5 than are males. In Pakistan, the costs associated with supplying a daughter's dowry often make female children liabilities for parents. In contrast, having a male child who might someday support his parents and/or his sisters is seen as a blessing. There is a strong value placed on the survival of sons rather than daughters because the family is dependent on the reproduction of strong sons while daughters are often seen as financial burdens (Miller 1997).

1998 mortality rates for children under age five in Pakistan show that infant males are more likely than females to die before age one (see **Table 4.7**). This lower male/female ratio is similar to that of infants in other countries. But from age one to four the rates change dramatically, with female children much more likely to die than their male cohorts (62 vs. 50 per 1,000) . The under five mortality rate shows that males die at the rate of 140 per 1,000 while the rate for females is 148 per 1,000. According to the International Planned Parenthood Federation (1999), the sex difference in child mortality in Pakistan is one of the world's highest. The world average child mortality rate for less developed countries is 95 males and 92 females per 1,000, and 93 per 1,000 for all children under five. The under five mortality rate is higher for girls over boys in only nine other countries, including Bhutan, China, Guam, India, Maldives, Nepal, Niger, Papua New Guinea and Vietnam (U.S. Bureau of Census 1999).

Table 4.7 1998 Mortality Rates^{a, b} for Children in Pakistan, by Cohort and Sex

	Both Sexes	Males	Females
Infant Mortality Rate	93	95	92
Age 1-4 Mortality Rate	56	50	62
Under 5 Mortality ^c	144	140	148

^a Source: U.S. Bureau of Census 1999 Table A-9

^b rates are per 1,000 children

^c "Under 5 mortality is the probability of dying between birth and exact age 5 (. . . before the fifth birthday)" (U.S. Bureau of Census 1999 Table A-9).

Poorer women and female children in developing countries tend to suffer from inferior nutrition, worse health in general, and have higher mortality rates than do children in rich countries (Vickers 1991). Gender inequality is manifested in the division of labor and the lives of villagers. Cultural practices and economic calculations

regarding the value of offspring may contribute to the higher ratio of males to females in Pakistan.

The above examples illustrate the status of females in Punjabi society. Their lower status is pervasive but often insidious. It varies with a woman's age, her marital status and her bearing of children – older married women with sons tend to have higher status than do younger married women with daughters. Status also varies with wealth. Females from families with more resources are able to observe *purdah* – and would likely not have to work in the fields or in others' houses.

During our interviews, I had a lot of time to notice the people and surroundings in the villages we visited because of the rather long interview process – Shahida asked the questions, listened to responses, got clarifications, then translated the responses to me so I could write them down and ask follow up questions. While I listened to Shahida speak to our respondents in Punjabi or another dialect, I noticed the children who would sit with us while we talked or who would watch and listen from nearby. The older girls, maybe ten years and older, would sometimes have a younger child on a hip. I noticed that these older girls were often so thin that they hardly had hips, but they held the children there anyway. I also noticed the girls' hair. Young girls of all ages often had light colored streaks in their hair, and I assumed this was because they used henna to color it. Henna is a reddish dye that is used to decorate girls' hands at marriage. I had seen a buffalo that had the hair on the top of its head dyed with the rusty stuff, and I thought this looked pretty in the girls' hair. I found out much later that the girls' hair wasn't dyed. The streaks were caused by malnutrition.

CONCLUSION

In the households we visited, women have primary responsibility for keeping the home clean, cooking and caring for children. Men are the primary wage or in-kind earners. In those households where women work outside the home, the major employers are other villagers who hired them to work in their homes or in their fields, and this work is compensated in-kind. Domestic work is usually compensated with meals and clothes but little cash. The work that women might perform in any given context is affected by various factors including the jobs available, cultural norms prescribing which jobs are appropriate for women, women's movement outside the home and household responsibilities (Redclift and Sinclair 1991). Young boys may be sent to work at the power looms to supplement the family income, and girls might be recruited to help their mothers with chores or they may make rugs for a contractor. In households we visited, the sexual division of labor is distinct.

Women we spoke to generally agree that dowry traditions are changing. Most noted that in-laws are expecting more and more items in the dowry, and some women specifically noted that many in-laws now expect more "modern" items like appliances – even large ones like refrigerators and washing machines. Islam does not deserve full responsibility for the tradition of dowry as it is practiced by Muslims in the Punjab, since Punjabi cultural practices like the dowry have been heavily influenced by the Hindu traditions of their former countrymen. But regardless of the tradition's origins, its continuance does not bode well for females there. Dowry traditions like those in the Punjab are blamed by theorists, in part, for the low status of females. If they are correct, recent changes in the traditions could be expected to make females more of a burden on their families and to cause their status to further decline.

Poor people are people who lack resources. Western culture often defines resources in material terms, so it may be difficult for Westerners to understand why poor women (at least by our standards) in land owning families do not take a share of land – a valuable resource – at their fathers' death. For these women, their male relatives are a major asset, and when they consider other economic options available to them, they often choose to decline their share of land. When seen in context, the decision to maintain good relations instead of taking land appears to be a rational one.

Women who come from families that do not own land told us they'd be glad to have some. They see the value of land and its uses. Many of the women we talked to were not averse to owning or controlling land or other resources, but they all appreciate local norms and sanctions. Women will not take land if they believe it will anger their relatives since they have few or no other viable options.

The status of females in the Punjab is low, as illustrated by the anecdotal evidence presented above. Their low status can be at least partly blamed on the dowry tradition and on patriarchy. Besides subservience, this low status implies ill health and sometimes early death. This sad fact is demonstrated by a comparison of the infant mortality rates of female as opposed to male children in Pakistan. As long as women lack resources and as long as traditions change in ways the disadvantage females, their status will not improve. And if changes in the economy continue, and more men are pushed out of agriculture and into low wage jobs, females' situation should not be expected to improve,

Pakistan is a classic example of an underdeveloped country. Its "development" in terms of the consolidation of land holdings, limited small industry and integration into the world market appears to have created more poverty in rural areas than it has alleviated. This type of economic change can lead to unequal burdens in the household,

especially if the major income must be supplemented by work for wages or in-kind payments by family members (Sen and Grown 1987).

Changes in rural areas, especially people moving off land and going into wage work appear to have negatively affected men's traditional status as providers for their families. Men in poor households may be willing to support their female relatives, but they may not have the necessary resources to do this. While male authority seems to be based in tradition and their control of resources, their responsibility to care for female relatives is normatively controlled. The normative aspect has apparently eroded, much to the detriment of women in many cases (Cain, Khanan and Nahar 1979).

The examples presented in this paper illustrate how changes in the economy can have negative impacts on all family members. In the Punjab, opportunities in the changing economy do not always compensate men well enough that they can support all the relatives they are responsible for. For some lone females and women-headed families, there is a contradiction between cultural prescriptions regarding a woman's place and the reality faced by them and their children when they can't depend on economic support from an adult male. On the whole, lone females are not doing well, but those who live with working age sons and daughters may be doing better economically than elderly couples with no children. They may also be better off than younger couples with many children who are not old enough to work (Mencher 1988).

The following chapter presents case studies of families and areas that have characteristics similar to those described above. In Chapter Six I will return to the two theories of development and social change and look at how they may or may not be useful in describing and explaining what appears to be happening in the economies and households discussed here and in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOME ANALOGOUS CASE STUDIES

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I look at studies that are analogous to my study of households in Pakistan's rural Punjab. These comparable case studies tend to focus on the family, gender and work in lesser developed countries (LDCs) – especially rural areas – in transition from systems based on subsistence agriculture or extractive industry to those based on the production and marketing of goods (including, but not limited to farm products) for consumption. In these economies, using cash for purchase is replacing the exchange of crops and/or service. As individuals and families become more involved in cash based exchanges, and as production for exchange replaces work for subsistence, people's lives are affected in complex ways. Some case studies from countries that are considered newly industrialized are included here, since they demonstrate the ways a changing economy may affect groups, families and individuals.

These case studies shed light on aspects of the four themes from the Punjabi data, including the sexual division of labor; ways that social and economic changes affect families and family members, especially the status of females; changing dowry traditions; and agriculture and decisions about land inheritance. The cases demonstrate ways that family members' livelihoods are affected by the ways people are integrated

into market economies. They show how governments' economic, social and distribution policies affect family members' well-being in intended and unintended ways. Some of the case studies also describe ways that individuals and families are influenced by patriarchal traditions, including Islam. These different aspects of social and economic transition will be explored below and in Chapter Six.

WOMEN'S INTEGRATION INTO MARKET ECONOMIES

Rural societies are different in many ways, including the kinds of economic opportunities available, the size and composition of households and people's access to resources such as land and labor (Long 1984). As traditional rural economies begin to transition into market based economies, families use a variety of strategies that reflect these differences. As economies change, people may lose the ability to produce food and other items they need for subsistence. As they become "free" wage labor, people are compelled to meet subsistence needs by working in the cash economy (Charles 1993). Families that were previously engaged in subsistence farming may start to produce cash crops for local or export markets, or family members may become involved in commodity production or look for work in nearby urban areas. Families may abandon agriculture altogether if other work is available (Lockwood 1997). Women may remain at home to try to care for family members when men migrate to work in urban areas. When whole families migrate, men are more likely to find wage jobs, and those women who work are more likely to find employment in the informal sector for lower wages or to become self-employed (Charles 1993; Lockwood 1997).

Women are affected during the transition to market economies when structural changes shift from kin- or family-based property ownership to ownership by individuals.

When land and labor are commodified, production is oriented to markets and making money, and the goal is to accumulate wealth. Market driven value structures tend to define women's tasks as primarily reproductive, and greater rewards are allocated to production roles in the public domain. This gives males an edge over women, and this edge often supports patriarchal systems within and outside the home. Ideology, family and kinship structures are important determinants of what roles are seen as appropriate for women (Lockwood 1997). Different forms of capitalist integration affect men and women differently, depending on how the sexual division of labor is renegotiated.

Market penetration affects communities in different ways and at varying rates. And it affects individuals and groups differently as well. For example, a traditional Quechua community in the southern Andes of Peru has retained its strong peasant economy even though producers interact with capital markets. This is mostly due to strong cultural norms that are expressed through kinship based work relationships (Skar 1984).

In other places, advanced market penetration has negatively affected certain groups. A case study of a Taiwanese village discussed how the economy changed dramatically over 30 years, away from agriculture to a system dependent on off farm employment. During this transition the land lost its ability to sustain life due to changed land use practices, cash became necessary for survival and women who had been housewives became agricultural and industrial workers in response to changes in the economy and in family needs. The village's elderly population fared worst under this scenario, as they had little or no labor to sell and no way to pressure their children to help them (Gallin 1997).

ISLAMIC CONTEXTS

Contemporary Muslim women's lives are affected by traditions dating back to nomadic periods when children were taught at home and the education and emancipation of women were considered unnecessary. Women in contemporary Muslim-dominated areas tend to have less education than women elsewhere, and the percentage of Muslim women in the labor force outside of agriculture is less than that of women in other cultural areas (Keddie and Beck 1978).

In strongly agricultural areas in North-West India, men control the right to allocate work for wages. Men may also own land and hold tenancies, while women generally can't. These practices create and reinforce women's dependence on men, and this is strengthened by women's seclusion and their limited access to education (Sharma 1980; Ferchiou 1998). *Purdah* or seclusion has individualized women and given them few opportunities to organize with other women for economic power (Longhurst 1982). The extent to which women are able to observe the important Islamic tradition of *purdah* or seclusion is affected by families' economic status. Women in wealthy families are able to observe *purdah* to a greater degree than poor women.

Women in some Muslim-dominated areas have been recruited into production work, both in the home and in factories. In the case of India's Kapu lace makers, secluded women continued to make lace to supplement family income even when their control over production and income decreased as the lace industry was integrated into the world market system (Mies 1982).

Feldman (1992) looks at family and community dynamics as former agricultural workers are forced to look for wage work in Bangladesh's changing economy. Family security has eroded primarily because men's wages in rural Bangladesh are not enough to

meet the costs of subsistence. Low wages have forced family members to use a variety of strategies to survive, and increasing numbers of women have gone to work in garment manufacturing. These wider economic changes have affected families' negotiation processes, decision-making strategies, the sexual division of household labor and the distribution of resources within the family.

Women going to work for wages is often a family's last resort. A study of women in rural Bangladesh found that only 15 percent of the husbands had direct access to land or were skilled craftsmen, and the remainder worked at "irregular" jobs. A study of 200 women in this Muslim-dominated area found that 40 percent of employed women were forced to go to work because their husbands did not earn enough money to maintain their families. Over 30 percent of women who were working did so because their husbands were ill or deceased. An additional six percent had been abandoned or divorced by their husbands (Feldman and McCarthy 1983).

WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE

The changing structure of agriculture affects women by breaking down or reshaping the proscriptions against women working outside the home. Changes in landowning patterns and in agricultural production methods continue to affect households and the work done by family members. Rural (and urban) households are not harmonious units but hierarchically arranged structures, and they are often characterized by relations of subordination and domination that are based on age and gender. Households have different access to land, to other means of production and to wage incomes, and these reinforce women's dependence on household survival strategies (Sen 1982).

In peasant and landless labor households in India, farm size has declined partly because land is continually subdivided among heirs. In addition, some land that was previously tenanted has reverted to the direct control of owners who use new technologies and hired labor to produce cash crops. The new technologies have not pushed women out of agriculture, but women in these areas tend to be concentrated at the bottom of the strata of permanent and temporary labor. In these Indian households, women in landowning families live in relative comfort though they are economically and otherwise dependent on men, while women in families with small parcels of land and those in landless families, while also dependent, are often forced to into low- or non-paying, physically demanding agricultural occupations (Sen 1982). Women in agricultural work are often seen as “helpers,” and their washing and packing activities have low status. Their weed pulling is often regarded as a natural gesture (Sharma 1980; Ferchiou 1998).

A case study by Kelkar (1991) illustrates the difficulties faced by women who attempt to gain rights to property, in opposition to local norms about acceptable male and female. In Bihar, India, a group of women decided that they should have their own property. At a village level meeting in 1981, some women demanded their rights during a land distribution program. Their efforts were relatively successful, and in 1982, women received title to about ten percent of 1,100 acres of land that had been held by a religious group. But the women could not maintain their control in the face of strong opposition from male agricultural laborers who tended to view women’s ownership of property as a threat to their control.

The Tunisian government’s plans for modernization included a focus on improving agricultural production and technology, and it has encouraged family farms to

become more commercial. This combination of production-oriented agriculture with traditional patriarchal family structures led to a decline in farm women's status even as the family production unit became more profitable and women's workloads have increased. The number of women and girls working on farms has grown, but their "helping" labor tends not to be remunerated (Ferchiou 1998). In rural Lebanon's tobacco cultivation, women's roles and gender relations have been strongly affected by the government's policy of providing fewer educational and employment opportunities for women. This has effectively kept women available for unpaid production in the household and in tobacco production (Atallah 1997).

THE SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR

It must be stressed that the family or household is not an undifferentiated unit. This is evident when we look at responses made during times of economic hardship. Larger structural forces affect family members in different and unequal ways (Folbre 1986). Whether we are looking at industrial homework (e.g., Benería and Roldan 1987), factory work (e.g., Elson and Pearson 1991), or housework (e.g., Hartmann 1881), it is apparent that there are differences in both the choices available to men and women and in how these differences intersect to reinforce or reconstruct gender inequalities. The sexual division of labor exists in all cultures, not just those dominated by Islam.

If there is one constant running through the current of day-to-day social and economic relations, it is the inequality that exists between sexes. This inequality becomes apparent when we look at the economic and cultural opportunities available to men and women. Upon closer inspection of particular contexts, we often see that men dominate in both individual and structural relations – both inside and outside the home –

and through both cultural and material means. Thus what are sometimes referred to as “pure” economic forces, such as labor market supply and demand, must be seen in context – they are embedded in social networks that include gender inequalities (Scott 1986; Beechey 1988). This cultural embeddedness helps explain how some jobs can be female- or male-dominated, and why some jobs may be gender-specific. But there is no linear or determinate relationship between capitalism’s uneven development and the sexual division of labor in production (Deere and León de Leal 1982).

Deere and León de Leal (1982) looked at the increased participation of women in agricultural fieldwork in areas with rapid development. They found that women from the lower/poorer strata of the peasantry tended to participate in fieldwork. To them, this suggests that capitalist development and rural poverty “contribute to a greater flexibility in the sexual division of labor in productive activities” (p. 87). When the authors looked at gender and labor force participation in Latin America, they found that men and women tend to find different types of employment. While men tend to work in local industries and in agriculture as permanent workers, women are more likely to be working as servants in others’ homes as cooks and laundry workers. They found that women’s pay was lower than half of what the men were paid. The development process affects groups of men and women differently, and as access to land decreases, poorer men and women will have to sell their labor while women in higher strata will not have to work for wages. As labor markets develop in rural areas, they present different opportunities for men and women.

In a Muslim-dominated village in northern Nigeria, there is a clear cut sexual division of labor, and market opportunities have had different effects on men and women there. Households of poor unmarried women are the most vulnerable, partly because it is

more difficult for them to combine wage work, housework and caring for children (Longhurst 1982). The sexual division of labor in the West Bank keeps women in rigid reproductive and productive roles, restrains their mobility and increases their vulnerability at home, in markets and in society (Hindiye-Mandi 1998). In rural Lebanon, some women in female headed households are able to earn an income and achieve some measure of independence by growing tobacco – as long as they do not go against traditional constraints on women's activities (Atallah 1997).

A transnational agricultural corporation operating in rural Senegal hired women whose husbands were either unemployed or were working for low wages. These women were employed as “unskilled,” low wage workers, and they continued to be responsible for housework, receiving little or no help from adult men who nevertheless tried to gain control of their wives' and daughters' wages. Single mothers were most vulnerable of all village inhabitants, having the most difficult time getting and keeping wage work while taking care of their children (Mackintosh 1989).

Women who work for wages in Mexicali's *maquila* industry often take employment in oppressive patriarchal workplaces in order to earn money and achieve some measure of freedom from patriarchy at home. The pervasiveness of male domination there is demonstrated by women's response to an open-ended question asking about the most pressing problem facing women in contemporary Mexico – for most, the answer was “machismo.” Factory work is a mixed bag for these women whose employers often employ patriarchal ideology in hiring practices and public relations. Employers take care not to challenge women's traditional roles – encouraging husbands and people in the community to “allow” women to work in the factories where employers

will watch over them. Employers are able to pay women less because strong patriarchal ideology helps maintain women's economic vulnerability (Tiano 1994).

INVISIBLE WORK

Women's official participation in the economy in the Middle East and North Africa is one of the world's lowest (Keddie and Beck 1978; Larson 1998). But many women are participating unofficially in local economies. This work is often invisible to those who calculate gross domestic products and so lacks calculated economic importance. But it has important effects on families and the economy since it often provides lower cost goods and services to poor people (Larson 1998). But women's economic activity often puts them at the juncture between contradictory forces – the drive toward modernity and strong traditionalism (Ferchiou 1998).

Much of what women contribute to the official economy (besides housework and child rearing) is overlooked because they are often self employed their firms are small. Their profits are often low, their work may be seasonal or otherwise infrequent, and they may not be registered with the government. Women work in the informal sector because it is easier to enter since education and capital are often not required in large amounts. Also informal sector work is more flexible and this more compatible with the domestic work for which women are largely responsible (Larson 1998).

Invisible, non-capitalist forms of labor exchange can be looked at as cultural responses to the need for additional income for the household, especially where rural women's formal and informal income generating opportunities are limited (Butler 1998). But industrial home-work often differentiates between men and women, it is hierarchically structured, and it often results in unequal access to resources (Benería and

Roldan 1987). The sexual divisions within and outside the hierarchy of these industries tend to favor male workers over females. For example, male workers are more likely to qualify for loans to purchase equipment and supplies. And it is often easier for men than for women to establish direct connections with major buyers who tend to be male as well. Contractors tend to control access to work, scheduling, and connections to capital and markets. Male home-workers are better positioned to bypass contractors' market connections and/or to themselves become contractors (Hindiye-Mandi 1998).

Women's home-based work in West Bank cities, villages, towns and refugee camps shares several similarities with home-based work in other LDCs, notably the lack of job security and the association of certain traits – like patience and dexterity – with women. In addition, women's work tends to be low paid and their turn over is very high. The social reasons for their working at home and the relationships they have with subcontractors and contractors demonstrate the constraints that tradition or *purdah* exerts on women. This tradition hinders women's mobility and increases their economic vulnerability (Lobban 1998).

GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION

Governing structures can have major influences on local, regional and national economies, and their policies have positive and negative effects on family members' work and labor force participation. These may be intentional or unintended, and policies that are intended to improve the economy as a whole or certain parts of it may have negative effects on certain groups and/or certain sectors, especially workers' long term security, status and wages.

For example, government and industry have been working together to control workers in northern Thailand's electronics sector (Theobald 1997). Here, policies that are intended to improve the country's economy have had negative effects on women electronics workers. Industrial leaders have used various strategies, like threats of layoffs, to counter and dilute women's protests of factory conditions in northern Thailand. Worker activities can increase the possibility that companies will relocate to other countries, and this possibility prompted Thai government officials to crack down on them. The government chose maintaining a competitive labor force over protecting these women's rights to organize. In South Korea, the government's failure to invest in training women and the lack of affordable childcare is blamed for keeping women out of higher skill occupations. Most exported items are those made with cheaper, lower status female labor (Saguino 1995).

In other places, government policies have had effects contrary to what was intended. From about 1950 to the early 1980s, the male labor force participation rate in all Latin American and Caribbean countries decreased while the female participation rate increased (Safa 1995). Safa attributes these changes to government policies that promoted women's education, gave them better access to family planning and that redistributed some resources. Together, these lessened women's dependence on male wages, though some governments continue to see women as supplemental wage earners.

In the Dominican Republic, export-led industrialization reinforces women's subordination by taking advantage of their inferior position in the labor market. Women there are paid lower wages and are concentrated in dead end jobs (Safa 1995). But women's income earning challenges patriarchal traditions and may lead to more

egalitarian relationships within the family. Many families in the D.R. have become dependent on women's income, and women's authority in the household has increased.

Since 1947, Puerto Rico has focused on modernizing major sectors (Wells 1969; Safa 1995). The big push for industrialization began in the 1970s, with the aim of increasing jobs for males displaced by changes in agriculture. Government actions did not have the intended effect, however, and women were hired for the majority of jobs in the large apparel production and food processing sectors. Partially as a result of this paid employment, working-class women gained more leverage in household decision making and budget control, though they remain mostly responsible for housework. Puerto Rican women report that while they have increased their power within the family, male authority goes mostly unchallenged in the workplace and politics (Safa 1995).

The Tunisian government has made great efforts to improve women's lives by encouraging women to enter jobs vacated by former French colonists. Between 1966 and 1984, the female percentage of the workforce increased from 5.5 percent to almost 22 percent (Ferchiou 1998). Iran's government, though conservative, has encouraged additional participation of women in the labor force by creating several programs that increased women's entrance into the job market. The government sponsored technical and on-the-job training; longer leave entitlements; and training courses in textile, health, and animal husbandry related skills. While these efforts have increased the number of women in government jobs, men are still more likely to be employed in the better paying private sector (Moghadam 1999).

DEPENDENCE AND INTERDEPENDENCE

As noted above, transitions to market based systems have affected families' economic and social circumstances in a variety of ways. One effect that market systems have had in many societies is the tendency to change the ways family members depend on each other for maintaining the household. Monetary transactions in market systems have lessened the interdependence among male and female family members because wage earners, especially males who are often more likely to work for wages and who are usually paid more, are able to buy more goods and services that were formerly provided by close female relatives (Hoodfar 1988). As men spend more of their income on goods and services for themselves, women may become more dependent on male support since they have little control over the few resources left to them, they make lower, if any, wages, and they remain the major caretakers of children and other family members. The issue of dependence is important to the overall discussion of industrialization's effects on families and family members and to discussions of women's participation in the wage labor force.

In Corrientes, Argentina there is strong interdependence between male and female labor in one type of peasant agriculture as a result of a very strong connection between housework, reproduction and production (Melhuus 1984). Tobacco growing households are based on a clear cut division of labor where women's jobs are crucial to the operation, so much so that a widower without an older daughter is forced to dissolve the producing household. But there are dependent relationships at other levels since Corrientes tobacco growers are share croppers who depend on international companies to buy their crops.

Over the course of several years, modernization has restructured the Guatemalan economy, changing the economic options for women and making them more dependent on male family members. The Guatemalan economy has shifted away from subsistence farming, and families have moved to urban areas for work. Prior to this economic transition, women were weavers, independent entrepreneurs and traders in the nation's traditional cottage industry, and they produced and distributed fine cloth and clothing. But the demand for traditional weaving began to shrink in the late 1960s as consumers began buying factory made fabric and goods. While women have new opportunities to work for wages, their employment opportunities are not secure, and their relationship with the products of their labor has changed, depriving them of the control they enjoyed in their traditional occupation (Ehlers 1983).

In a study of lower income neighborhoods in Cairo, Hoodfar (1988) found that higher income families and poor men benefitted from Egypt's last economic boom, while poor women and other vulnerable people did not. The changing social and economic conditions deepened the inequalities between men and women in Egypt, especially in lower income families where men's decreasing dependence on women for goods and services affected the balance of power within households. Women do not have to participate in the economy outside the home for their contribution to the family to be important, but women's status depends on this contribution being recognized and valued. Women's status is greatly affected by the interdependence of husband and wife, by ideology and by the sexual division of labor. Women's economic participation should be looked at in terms of how it affects the male/female balance of power within the household.

Consideration of the changing balance of power and decreasing interdependence within households is especially important when studying Muslim-dominated areas where women's segregation decreases the possibility that they will work outside the home for wages. In these cultural areas (and those of other cultures), people believe that it is men's job to provide for the family, though if there is need, women going to work is accepted (Hoodfar 1988). In Islamic households and states, women's need or desire to work is seen as secondary. Women's economic dependence in these areas is likely to increase, especially if they have few or no opportunities to gain control of resources, if services they have traditionally provided can be purchased elsewhere and if their perceived importance as care givers and housekeepers decreases.

In Islamic and other cultures, women have traditionally been valued for bearing and nurturing children, especially male children. This major source of status for women in traditional families tends to decrease as families move away from agriculture and as children become less important as farm workers. A study of dowry murders in India demonstrates the powerful link between dowry and women's declining importance as bearers of children there. It also demonstrates their lack of power and their dependence on others for their livelihood. In Stone and James's (1997) study of dowry murders in urban areas in India, they conclude that to their prospective in-laws, these women are often more valuable as bearers of dowry than for anything else. This is because women's traditional source of status the bearers of sons has declined in the modern urban environment. These young women remain valuable to prospective in-laws because the dowries they bring can be quite large. But after her marriage, a daughter-in-law may be seen as a burden on family resources, and she may "accidentally" die in a cooking fire as a result.

CONCLUSION

Industrialization and globalization are affecting the composition of the labor force in complex ways. Family members have been integrated into wage work, though women's subordinate position continues to be "highly visible" in many places (Benería 1982: xii). In the case studies described above, women are often concentrated in low status work where they receive little or no pay. This is true for women who work in industry and agriculture, and whether women work for their relatives or other employers. When there are factory jobs available, women's work tends to be considered less skilled, and women tend to be paid less than men. In some of the cases described above, women took low paying jobs because men's earnings could not support the family and/or because male family members were unemployed or nonexistent. Some women and men may look for or create work opportunities outside the home in the informal sector, though men tend to fare better there for a number of reasons. Some women may have no choice but to work in low paid or uncompensated agricultural work. Some women's choices to take work outside the home are limited by the practice of seclusion and/or housework and childcare, and they may take on industrial home work.

Women are often negatively affected by asymmetry in the sexual division of labor and by discrimination in employment and wages. In the home, women are often oppressed by inheritance systems that favor males and by the unequal distribution of resources. Added to this are negative effects of patriarchal religions, the seclusion of women, and violence or other sanctions that can be used to keep women compliant (Benería 1982). According to Lockwood (1997), studies show that capitalist development and discrimination against women have "contributed to women's deteriorating position in many developing regions" (p. 506). Development has

sometimes brought types of gender bias that did not exist previously, while in other cases it brought biases that increased the asymmetries that previously existed.

The Four Themes

The first theme in the Punjabi data is the sexual division of labor. The analogous case studies demonstrate the persistence of this division of labor in industrial and invisible work, and they show that patriarchy is stubborn and able to adapt itself to social and economic changes. The analogous case studies suggest that women's entrance into the industrial workforce has had some positive effects on equity in some households. But while wage earning women may gain some control in household decision making processes, they remain primarily responsible for childcare and housework.

The second theme in the Punjabi data is changes in women's in-laws' expectations about dowries. Stone and James's (1997) study of dowry murders in urban areas in India demonstrates that larger dowries are coveted by in-laws, and that once they are in possession of a dowry, in-laws may kill the bride who brought it into their home. The third theme of interest in the Punjabi data is women's decisions about land inheritance. Kelkar's (1991) case study describes women who gained then lost rights to land distributed by the government. Other case studies looked at women tended to be concentrated in the low paying and low status. The case studies, dowry and land inheritance decisions will be explored in more detail in Chapter Six.

As for the low status of females, the fourth theme, an important way to improve women's and girls' status, as it is described in some of the case studies, appears to be for females to gain more control over resources. In some of the case studies described above, wage earning women gained power to influence household decision making,

though no case study included evidence that wage work brings increased status for women in the larger economy or in politics.

As might be expected, just as scholars disagree on the overall impact of modernization on women, there are different opinions about what should be done to improve family life for all members. The belief that women's and families' economic and social conditions will improve when women are integrated into the formal economy is expressed by both socialist feminists and by modernization theorists. Some theorists add that women must be integrated to the labor force under conditions of equality between the sexes (e.g., Boserup 1970; Sharma 1980; Benería 1982). Deliberation of this issue and discussion of the four Punjabi themes continues in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION OF THEMES AND THEORIES

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I look at ways in which modernization and socialist feminist theories help describe and explain the economic and social transitions that are occurring in rural areas in Pakistan and elsewhere. The discussion begins with a brief overview of contemporary global social and economic change, followed by summaries of modernization and socialist feminist theorists' views on change. The rest of the chapter is organized by the four major themes I found in the Pakistani data. It includes information from the Pakistani data and analogous case studies. Discussions of each are followed by my analyses of their fit with modernization and socialist feminist perspectives.

Contemporary Global Change

In many parts of the world, many countries' economic bases are moving away from agriculture and primary resource extraction, and toward small and large scale manufacturing and/or services. As economic bases change, people must find other kinds of work. Those who find jobs as wage laborers or service workers often find that the earnings from one job are not enough to support themselves and their family members.

There is a fundamental change in the structure of wage labor when the so-called family wage no longer supports the family, but instead all able family members must work to achieve subsistence. Some workers join the ranks of the unemployed or the underemployed. Others become part of invisible or underground economies.

As local economies become increasingly integrated into global markets, the gap continues to grow between the amount of resources controlled by the world's richest inhabitants and the amount controlled by its poorest. I see this as the most important feature of the current global transition. This gap often translates into decreasing access to education, health care, adequate housing, clean water, security and nutritious food for the world's poor.

Economic and social change occur at different rates and with varying effects throughout the world, but there are also similarities. Individuals and families that are affected by larger economic forces operate within economic and social networks, and during times of transition people consider the risks and uncertainties when formulating their tactics for economic survival. These strategies cannot be understood apart from larger structures like capital accumulation that has a powerful tendency to separate direct producers from the means of production, making families' conditions of survival less secure and more contingent (Benería and Sen 1981).

As agriculture becomes less important to local economies, cash tends to replace in-kind trade as the primary means of exchange. A variety of mass-produced consumer goods often becomes available, and locally produced goods may have to compete against cheaper consumer goods made elsewhere. Some individuals and families move out of rural areas and into urban areas where jobs – and job seekers – may be more plentiful.

Pakistan

Pakistan is a country in transition. Once primarily agricultural, now only about half of its labor force works in agriculture. Almost half of the gross national product comes from the service sector, with industry and agriculture making up equal amounts of the other half. The manufacturing of garments and textiles has often been a major part of early industrialization in advanced industrial and developing countries (Safa 1995), and this points to the importance of Pakistan's production of cloth and articles of clothing to its development. The majority of Pakistan's textile industries are located in the Punjab, the area where I conducted my research.

Like economic transitions' effects in other places, Pakistan's has tended to affect the rich and the poor, urban and rural residents, and males and females in different and inequitable ways (Central Intelligence Agency 1999; International Planned Parenthood Federation 1999). Large land owners have long been among the richest families in Pakistan. Many of these same families are now the owners of large textile mills and small shops where laborers weave cotton into cloth. Pakistan's wealthy families tend to benefit most from government policies and from the huge loans Pakistan has received from major lenders like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (Babar Ali 1987; Qasir 1991). Meanwhile, the country's infrastructure and basic resources are inadequate to meet the needs of the vast majority of the population.

My study of rural Punjab residents, supplemented by information from analogous case studies, offers a view of ways people and families are faring in the context of global economic and social change. The Punjabi data demonstrate some of the effects that global and national policies and forces have on rural society and how these affect some Pakistani households. In Pakistan, as in many other places, economic changes tend to

have the most negative effects on households headed by lone females, by wage laborers, by males who are still involved in traditional occupations and by those headed by aging adults. Families that appear to be less negatively affected by changes in the Punjab's economy are those that own land, those headed by men whose traditional livelihoods are still connected to agriculture (like blacksmiths) and families who own the technology that produces textiles.

Modernization Theory

Contemporary assumptions and perceptions about the modernization process can be partly traced to Enlightenment era social scientists. They believed in the eventual triumph of reason, science, progress, morality and law. According to these thinkers, scientific knowledge and technology could and would be used to increase production and improve society. Modernization theorists since Weber have stressed the importance of increased production and other economic changes as societies progress from traditional to modern. Since Weber's time, Western economies have continued to expand, and more and more people have been able to enjoy the products of science and technology.

Whether or not Weber and Parsons intended it, capitalism and industrialization have come to be seen as the driving forces of modernization, and other "good things" like democracy, universal literacy and equality are expected to follow. This perspective is continually demonstrated by the policies of major lending institutions and governments. At the root are assumptions taken from modernization theory.

It is relevant here that contemporary policy makers follow a variant of modernization theory because some of these decision makers are influencing the way development occurs around the globe. This is one connection between my research and

modernization theory. I spoke with people in Pakistan whose lives are influenced, in part, by policy makers' beliefs that markets and industrialization are necessary and sufficient drivers of progress. When members of the government request loans for Pakistan from the World Bank and other institutions, they are required by those lenders to make certain structural adjustments that will enable Pakistan to pay back the loans. The structural adjustments most often imposed are those that favor increased "free trade" to improve the health of the economy, and governments are supposed to cut spending on social services and infrastructure that tend to promote the health of individuals and families. Lending institutions cannot be blamed entirely if governments accept their loans with strings attached, but they can be held partly responsible for the misery their policies create, especially when they continue to require that countries meet structural adjustment requirements.

Socialist Feminist Theory

Like modernization theorists, socialist feminists are interested in social and economic change, and progress. They are especially concerned about patriarchy and the effects it has on women in economic and social spheres. Socialist feminists, following Marx, generally regard capitalism as part of a stage that economies pass through, and their studies of industrialization are often attempts to understand why women and other marginalized groups have not benefitted from it. Like Boserup (1970), many socialist feminists argue that women need to be integrated into higher wage jobs as a major step toward full participation in society. But as some of the negative effects of women's integration into industrialization become known, socialist feminists have begun to look more closely at other ways that women might gain control of resources.

Increased consumption, better access to education, improved health care and equality are important to socialist feminist theorists, as they are to modernization theorists. But there is disagreement between the two on the genesis of these things. For socialist feminists, these are rights that must be fought for, since they tend to argue that capitalists and governments are not likely to make progressive change without impetus from workers and citizens.

FIRST THEME: WORK AND THE SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR

Gender consciousness grows as the contradiction between women's increasingly important economic contribution to the household grows and their subordination in the family, in the workplace, and in the polity becomes more apparent. (Safa 1995:124)

The first theme in my review of the Pakistani data is work and the sexual division of labor. Changes in Pakistan's economy are making it necessary for some families to use different strategies in order to get by. In some families, the adult male has taken a laborer job to earn income for the family. Laborer jobs do not appear to pay enough for one working family member to support the family, and to supplement an adult male laborer's wage, other family members may do a variety of things to help. Sometimes very young boys work as laborers for up to 10 hours a day, six days a week. Girls may contract out to make rugs at home. Adult women in the rural households I studied sometimes work for in-kind and/or small sums of money.

In Pakistan, and in other Islam dominated regions, the sexual division of labor is intensified by the tradition of *purdah* or the seclusion of females within the household. Women who are able to follow the dictates of *purdah* rarely leave the household, and when they do they avoid talking with or looking at men who are not in their immediate

family. In the Punjab, male relatives are expected to care for their female relatives, and most seem willing to do this, if they have the resources.

Currently, wage work is not available to women in the Punjab villages we visited. Lone female heads of household who are already doing low status work in agriculture or other people's houses would likely take advantage of additional options to increase their resources if these were available.

Case Studies

One of my criteria for selecting analogous case studies was the inclusion of some discussion of women who do work in addition to housework and childcare in their own homes. In many of the analogous case studies, the authors considered the sexual division of labor in wage work or other kinds of work for income.

The case studies describe some of the economic and social consequences of women doing industrial homework or participating in formal or informal economies outside their homes. Like the women and boys in the Pakistani study, women described in the case studies worked for others out of economic necessity, not because they wanted to. In some cases, authors found that women's access to wages gave them increased power in making household decisions. In case studies of agricultural work, the focus was on changes resulting from the modernization of that sector. Men continue to control technology, while women working in production agriculture tend to be concentrated in low status jobs, and the work they do is often considered "natural" to them.

In all cases where this was discussed, authors argued that housework and childcare remain the primary responsibility of women. To accommodate their other responsibilities, women may take on industrial homework or they may try to find outside

jobs with flexible hours. The case studies demonstrate, in part, that economic changes affect groups and individuals in various and unequal ways, and that while some groups and individuals benefit, others are negatively affected. It is often poor women and children who receive the fewest benefits and/or are hurt most.

Modernization Theory

Modernization theorists, aside from Ester Boserup, have mostly ignored the negative effects that economic changes have had on women and other groups. Their discussion of the division of labor is concerned more with the specialization of work that makes workers and industry more productive. Boserup (1970) argues that as traditional economies become more modern, the effects on women and their livelihoods are mostly negative. If urban women are to enjoy the benefits of a modern economy, she argues, they must be fully integrated into high paying jobs with men. Increased access to better working conditions and higher wages will improve the lives of these women and their dependents, and women's improved position in the economic sphere will lead to greater equality and other social benefits for them. Boserup does not stress rural women's need for industrial jobs because, she says, they have access to subsistence work. In general, modernization theorists do not consider the possibility that other kinds of paid work – besides wage labor – might be more suitable for rural residents. But rural areas may not have the infrastructure and resources to support industry, and wage work is often not compatible with women's responsibilities at home.

Modernization theorists treat Islamic traditions, like *purdah*, as cultural forms that will disappear when societies become more advanced (Parsons 1966). In other words, advanced countries are partly defined by the absence of cultural forms like Islam. The

weakening and strengthening of tradition are affected by economic and social changes, but modernization theory does not explain how this happens or predict when it might occur. It also does not explain why traditions persist in so-called advanced cultures, such as the American tradition of the bride's parents paying for the wedding.

Pakistan is not a modern country, but it is becoming more modern in the sense that its economy is moving away from agriculture and toward services and industry. Men and boys in rural areas there are entering the wage labor force in increasing numbers. It is possible that women in rural Pakistan will eventually enter the wage labor force, as women have done elsewhere, including some of Pakistan's urban areas. Women who must earn resources appear to be restrained more by lack of choices than by *purdah*, and it is likely that they would welcome additional opportunities.

Socialist Feminist Theory

Socialist feminists are concerned about work and the sexual division of labor because these seem to embody and perpetuate the subordination of women (Mackintosh 1981). Nanda (1997), argues that modernization will lead to the end of the traditional patriarchal bargain – where women trade the production of sons and their sexual fidelity in exchange for economic security and protection from other men. This is partly because in many instances men are not able or willing to keep their end of the deal. Industrialization is important because entering the wage labor force enables women to provide for themselves when traditional support structures no longer do so. While industrial wages are often insufficient to sustain women and their families, Nanda says that women in lesser developed countries (LDCs) must take wage work in order to get through the “turbulence caused by modernization” so that they can “break out of the

classical patriarchal bargain altogether” (p. 390). She also argues that this is only one strategy and that it is an imperfect and temporary one.

Other socialist feminists, like Nanda, have begun to temper their arguments that women’s main route to equality is through participation in the wage labor force. There is disagreement among socialist feminists about whether or not wage labor expands women’s opportunities and how it might affect gender relations (e.g., Elson and Pearson 1991; Tiano 1994). There is evidence showing that when women go to work, they may only trade one type of patriarch for another, so socialist feminist scholars are looking at other strategies that may enable women to gain equality through control of resources.

Some socialist feminists argue that women’s decision making power in the home will increase when they gain access to wages (e.g., Beneria and Roldan 1987). But it is not clear that working for wages is the best way for women to achieve equity. Women in the Shah’s Iran had divergent ideas about the benefits of working outside the home. According to Afshar (1988) career women tended to support the Shah’s policies that encouraged them take jobs outside the home. But poor women did not experience work for low wages as particularly liberating, especially given their responsibilities at home. They wanted to go back to having just one job, that of head housekeeper in their own homes, and so they supported the overthrow of the “progressive” Shah, under whom the “liberation” of women was made possible.

Socialist feminists have mostly ignored the importance of the housework and childcare that women remain primarily responsible for. They argue that women’s position will improve as they enter the labor force, and they often do not consider the ways wage work is largely incompatible with women’s responsibility for domestic work in their own homes. If mothers and other women must earn income to support

themselves, socialist feminists want them to work in industry, regardless of the hardships that long days of factory work may create for families. Informal sector work, which has a better fit with women's other responsibilities, is problematic for socialist feminists because they don't expect these women to organize for their rights, as factory workers allegedly will (Benería 1989).

Marx and Engels (1967) argued that it is not wrong, per se, for women and children to work for wages. For them it was the way they were made to labor, under circumstances existing then, that was in question. To draw women and children out of social isolation and patriarchal oppression so they can participate in social production is, for Marx and Engels, progressive. But often when additional household members enter the wage labor force, wages decrease and the rate of exploitation increases. Marx and Engels note that the value of a worker's labor tends to fall so that the wages of additional household members will be necessary to sustain the household. When reproductive labor within the household decreases, families will spend more money "outside" to purchase goods that were formerly made in the home.

Socialist feminists are interested in wage labor because it is supposed to bring workers together who will eventually organize for better conditions. But it is still unclear whether or not working women are likely to organize, and what kinds of women might be more likely to. In case studies of the integration of more mature women in the industrial labor force, such as Elson and Pearson's (1991) study of factory women in East Asia, women were unlikely to organize. Though the women they studied were working at low wages for long hours – or perhaps because of this – they were not creating or supporting large, successful organized labor movements. Mies (1994) argues that when women work for wages, they are seen and they see themselves as housewives who work to

supplement men's wages. Because women don't consider themselves workers, they won't organize. Global capital also defines women as housewives, since flexible production finds the least resistance not among working women but among housewives have a side job.

Studies of patriarchy and capitalism mostly focus on the West, and arguments about their intersection have not been fully developed for other kinds of production systems. On the whole, socialist feminists have found that patriarchy continually reconfigures itself. If it decreases in the home, it may remain strong in politics and can show up in unexpected ways in the workplace. What is clear is that it is very difficult to predict the behavior of patriarchy. There is an "inseparable link between the gender division of labor at the household level and such a division at the societal level, demonstrating that no strategy of change confined to one level alone can succeed in eradicating female subordination" (Leacock, Safa et al. 1986).

Socialist feminist work is notably different from modernization theory in many ways. One important aspect of socialist feminist scholarship is a continuing focus on issues of production and reproduction. The relationship between the two concepts is complex, confusing and still under consideration. But for socialist feminists they are core elements in the sexual division of labor, and many would argue that as long as women have primary responsibility for childcare and housework, they will continue to be disadvantaged in the wider economy. Still, socialist feminists continue to argue that taking work for wages – which is largely incompatible with reproductive, household labor – is women's most promising route to equity.

Summary

Women and men in the Punjab and in the case studies have different work responsibilities, with women primarily caring for children and doing housework, while men have certain responsibilities in agriculture and other occupations. When women are involved in activities that are part of men's traditional work, they tend not to define this as such. For example, we interviewed two women whose husbands make shoes. Though work done by these women – stitching parts of the shoes and embroidering them – contributed to family income, they told us that they were not employed but were just “helping” their husbands. Lebanese women interviewed by Attalah (1997) also often viewed their work activities as simply a part of the family's overall economic strategy. This view of women's work activities serves to perpetuate the ideology of sexual division of labor.

While women in the Punjab sample do not work for wages, some couples or lone women have very young sons who do. The wages these boys bring home decrease the possibility that their mothers or older sisters will have to work for others. While this allows women to observe *purdah* and to fulfill their household responsibilities, it has negative effects on the sons. Boys as young as nine years old are taken out of school, if they were ever enrolled. They work long hours in unhealthy conditions, and they are not likely to learn many skills in the kinds of jobs that are available to them.

Boys' integration into the wage labor force in the Punjab calls into question the usefulness of modernization theory regarding women's integration into the work force and socialist feminists' argument discussion that women will gain some power when they control resources. If women's equality depends, in part, on their being employed in wage labor and their having access to greater resources, how will this be accomplished in a

context where boys rather than women are going to work for others? It could be said that the Pakistani example, where women stay home and boys work, is an exception to the general rule and that this situation might be explained, at least in part, by the tradition of *pardah* and its effects on families' decisions about work. But in other Islamic settings (i.e., McCarthy and Feldman 1983), it is not young boys but unmarried girls who have been integrated into the workforce.

When we consider the sexual division of labor in Pakistan and elsewhere, Boserup's description of how economic transition has negatively affected females shows how development impacts women and families in the Punjab and in the areas discussed in the analogous case studies. Her argument that women will achieve economic security and greater equality by participating in wage labor seems at this point to be premature. As socialist feminists' studies suggest, women are/will be better off if they have more access and control over resources, but it is not clear that women's integration into the wage labor force will accomplish this, since at this time they are often segregated in low paying, low status jobs.

Modernization and socialist feminist arguments about women and wage work do not explain and predict as much as they prescribe what should happen. But the evidence that this would achieve the desired results of more equality for women, is slow to surface. In Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1952) he argues that it's not the increased use of technology but capitalism's drive to accumulate profit that makes the cheap labor of women and children attractive to employers, and that capitalists can push wages downward by drawing more members of the household into wage labor. According to the logic of capitalism, one reason that women should be incorporated into wage labor, then, is to keep wages low and/or unemployment high.

In contemporary Pakistan, where Islamic traditions are still strong, men are expected to take care of their female relatives who then take care of children, the elderly, the sick and the house. But the tradition starts to break down when male family members are unable or unwilling to support the women in their families. It is possible that if laboring men were better compensated, they would be more likely to take care of their family members. It seems that families could be made stronger if wages for earners were increased, rather than encouraging more workers to join the labor force.

Women's tendency to work for wages in addition to doing much of the household and childcare labor in the home has been called the "double day" or the second shift by Western theorists (Hochschild 1989). It has been referred to as the "endless day" by those studying women in developing countries (Epstein and Watts 1981). But those women who want to work for money should not be denied the opportunity, and there are a variety of income or resource generating possibilities that are suitable for women and men who live in rural areas.

SECOND THEME: CHANGES IN EXPECTATIONS ABOUT DOWRIES

Though in many of Pakistan's rural areas trade in crops and services is still common, cash is fast becoming the prevailing means of exchange. Many people have access to television, and they see commercials for all kinds of consumer items there – and elsewhere – that can be purchased in the Punjab. It is in the context of an increasing visibility and availability of consumer goods that expectations are changing regarding the kinds and amount of items that are expected to be in a girl's dowry. Women I interviewed agree that expectations about dowry contents are changing, and this is true about expectations of dowries in India as well (Sharma 1980). Not all families feel

obligated to provide different items in larger dowries, but people agree that expectations about them are rising. In-laws and others want brides' dowries to contain – in addition to traditional items like dishes, bedding, dresses and jewelry – modern appliances like washing machines, refrigerators, fans and even cars.

The bride's family is expected to provide the dowry. Some of the traditional items, like bedding, are often made by the girls themselves. But major consumer items must be purchased with cash that is either earned before it is spent or that is borrowed and (hopefully) repaid after the wedding. Since males are the primary providers in almost all families, they must pay for the majority of dowry items. This puts girls in a difficult situation. As noted, they may make some of the items for the dowry, and some do contract work to make rugs at home for money that can be used to buy some items. But generally girls are perceived as not contributing as much to their families' resources as they cost to raise and then to wed. As expectations about dowry size continue to rise, and as young females continue to control few or no resources, females' status seems likely to worsen.

Rising expectations about what should be included in dowries make daughters' marriages more expensive, and, by extension make promotion of the health and long life of girls bad investments. That families see girls' health and long life less important than boys' is demonstrated by the differences in male and female child mortality rates in Pakistan. Death rates for Pakistani girls aged one to four are 66 percent higher than that of boys in the same age group. According to the International Planned Parenthood Federation (1999), the sex difference in child mortality there is one of the world's highest.

As noted, female Pakistani children are much more likely to die than their brothers. Girls are more likely to be given less to eat than other family members, and they are less likely to receive medical care when they are sick. Girls, especially those who are members of poor families where there is more than one daughter, are aware that they are burdens on other family members and that they are expendable. Changing expectations about dowry may also impact young male family members since they may have to go to work or work longer hours to earn money to purchase the items.

The dowry tradition and changing expectations about its contents strain family resources. At the same time, girls' value to potential in-laws increases as brides bring more and better items into their in-laws' homes. It is these same young girls who later become potential mothers-in-law and who then have the biggest stake in perpetuating the dowry tradition and its expanding list of contents.

Case Studies

In Stone and James's (1997) study of dowry murders in urban areas in India, they find that larger dowries are coveted by in-laws, and that once they are in possession of a dowry, in-laws may kill the bride who brought it into their home. This practice pits the value of dowry against the lives of daughters-in-laws, and it is, unfortunately, not rare in urban India.

Dowry tradition and changing expectations affect the value of females. In too many families, girls have little or no value because they and their marriages are perceived as burdens on the family's resources. Conversely, it is the dowry items, along with the expectation that daughters-in-law will do housework, that give girls worth in the eyes of potential in-laws. Dowry can convince in-laws that a girl is worth taking into their home

and supporting. Bride burning in India is an extreme example of this. In-laws receive large dowries when a new daughter-in-law comes into the house, and they get to keep the gifts when the girl “mysteriously” dies in a cooking fire or other accident. Once the in-laws have the dowry, the girl becomes expendable.

At present, dowry murders like bride burning do not appear to be as common in Pakistan as they are in India. Currently, India is more industrialized than Pakistan, and India’s middle class is proportionately larger. Because members of India’s middle class seem to be more likely to burn brides and to abort female fetuses than are women from poorer families, there are implications for the status of Pakistani brides if its economy improves and if wealth continues to be distributed unevenly within families.

Modernization Theory

Modernization theorists’ discussions of culture and values shed light on changing expectations about dowry. For Parsons (1966), culture’s most fundamental component is value-orientations, and these govern the action that mostly determines the direction of change. Commonly held values help people determine what behavior is appropriate and what is inappropriate. It is argued that commonly held values are functional for the system as a whole, and that even if an individual sees that it is in his or her best interest not to act according to group norms, he or she will tend to act in ways that preserve the larger system. Parsons’ discussion of values seems to help explain why the dowry continues to be important, and it appears to predict that this tradition will continue as long as it helps maintain system stability.

Mills (1959) criticizes Parsons’ discussion of values because Parsons ignores power, especially that of institutional rulers who can impose their values on others or

coopt values to legitimize their behavior. But it seems that Mills ignores small scale power holders at the family level who tend to gain at the expense of the least powerful. In Pakistan there are laws that limit the amount of money that families are allowed to spend on dowries. These laws are visibly violated by the wealthy, whose daughters' marriages and dowry contents are reported in the news. A better appreciation of how women eventually benefit from dowries – not their own but those of a son's wife – demonstrates one way that women gain power by imposing their values at the expense of other females.

Young girls in Pakistan have no control over the dowry system in Pakistan. Those with the most to gain from perpetuation of the tradition and dowries' "improvements" are in-laws, especially mothers-in-law. They benefit most because they assume ownership of most of the items. Though the bride will use many of the items after her marriage, it is the mother-in-law who maintains control over them – and over the bride. This system can, in a way, be seen as providing stability to the larger system. Females have something in life to look forward to. If and when a woman finally becomes a mother-in-law, she gains power and status . . . at the expense of another female.

Modernization theorists argue that increased access and ownership of commodities are indicators of progress. For Rostow (1965), the last phase of modern development is the age of high mass consumption when people are able to consume beyond what is required for their survival. Pakistan has not reached, and may never reach, the stage of high mass consumption. But Pakistanis' embracing of consumerism, as it relates to dowry traditions, is notable.

People appreciate consumer items for their promise to improve daily life. Refrigerators keep food cold and items from spoiling. Washing machines can free women from having to wash clothes by hand in a canal. In the households we visited, family members are more likely to have access to television than to safe drinking water. The mingling of consumerism with the tradition of dowry raises questions about the usefulness of dichotomies to explain and predict social change. In this example, the two “extremes” of tradition and modernity collide in a single transaction. This demonstrates the complexity of development, and it shows the nonlinear nature of social change.

Socialist Feminist Theory

From the larger perspective of socialist feminist theory, dowry and changing expectations could be seen as an aspect of patriarchal traditions that might change as women begin to have more control over resources and have more equal participation in society and politics. But dowry could also be looked at, in part, as a way – and one of the only ways – that some Punjabi women gain power and prestige. This line of inquiry could be a difficult one for socialist feminists since patriarchy and capitalism do not seem to be the only forces at work. Because mothers-in-law are directly affected by dowry size and content, their role in the maintenance of this tradition, at the expense of girls and their families, must also be considered.

The differences in the status and power of mothers-in-law, often at the expense of their daughters-in-law, demonstrate ways women’s status may change with life cycles and with other circumstances in individuals’ lives. Women will have different choices depending on many things, like their age, their family’s economic situation, whether or not male relatives support them, whether or not they have sons, the temperament of their

in-laws, the size of their son's wife's dowry and more. For girls, dowries, and especially dowries that are expected to be larger than those in the previous generation, reinforce girls' low status. And dowry does not seem to be diminishing in importance. On the contrary, it is becoming more visible as a sign of a girl's worth to her potential in-laws.

The family is not an undifferentiated unit, and within it are unequal power relations and distributions of resources (Hartmann 1981). An important subject for socialist feminist analysis would be the contemporary changes in Pakistan's dowry tradition, and how these affect the distribution of resources in families. A goal of socialist feminist inquiry is to discover the ways activities are organized and how they fit into larger social and economic processes (Smith 1987).

Some socialist feminist theorists have looked at the oppression of women by women. Hooks (1984) pointed out some of the inequalities between middle class white women in the Western feminist movement and working class black women in America. Mies (1994) argues that Western female consumers oppress producing women in LDCs.

Western feminists have tended to frame studies of women in LDCs in the context of feudalism or as victims of local traditions, rather than as part of the legacy of colonialism or as an integral part of contemporary global social and economic relationships. It is also common practice to lump many contemporary practices under "feudal residues" that are the product of economically "backward" or "underdeveloped" nations (Carby 1997). To remedy this, Carby suggests that gender systems be looked at on their own terms, as the possible result of colonialism or particular migration patterns. She says that patterns of women's subordination should be considered in their historical context and not simply dismissed as products of pathological family structures.

The tradition of and changes in dowry are examples of a broad pattern that could be studied in the context of migration patterns and globalization. On the one hand, dowry traditions in Muslim families in Pakistan have been greatly influenced by Hindu traditions (and possibly others). The dowry tradition in the Punjab is much changed from the way it is described in the Koran, where it includes only a few items. The increasing availability of consumer items from around the world is certainly important, as is what could be seen as the adoption, from Western culture, of the belief that ownership of consumer items gives status. These connections and others would be useful and important topics for socialist feminist analyses.

THIRD THEME: WOMEN'S DECISIONS ABOUT LAND INHERITANCE

Respondents' answers to the questions about landownership demonstrate, in part, the strength of their expectations that male relatives are ultimately responsible for their well-being. They also demonstrate the strength of norms and women's appreciation of the availability of sanctions against them if they violate these norms. Not all respondents come from landowning families, but of those who did, the vast majority refused their rightful share of property upon their father's death. They reasoned, in part, that if they asserted their right to claim their inheritance, this would upset their brothers and perhaps other relatives. On the whole, it was more important to these respondents to maintain good family relations than to control resources of their own. Of interest is the often repeated assertion, mainly from women whose families had no land, that it would be good if women owned land since they could get many things from it, like food, money and security.

Women whose families have no land realize its value and would like to own some land, and women whose families have land tend to defer control of land to their brothers and other male relatives. This demonstrates that when Pakistani males have access to resources like land, women's expectations that males will take care of them is fairly strong. They refuse to take their own share of the land because, at least sometimes, they say they don't need it. When families have more resources, women and girls are likely to fare better because males are more able to provide for them.

Kandiyoti (1991) uses the term "patriarchal bargain" to describe the continuum of concrete constraints faced by women in different cultural and economic settings. These constraints shape the strategies employed by women in particular contexts, as they define and limit women's market and domestic options. In the ideal-typical system of "classic patriarchy," the senior man has authority over other members of the household, and the Islamic practice of seclusion tends to reinforce the subordination of women and increase their economic dependence on men. Her characterization of classic patriarchy helps explain much of what goes on socially and economically in Pakistan's Punjab. Under the economic and cultural conditions of classic patriarchy, many women are constrained by patriarchy while some are simultaneously denied many of its benefits – especially males' economic support. She refers to these women as "anomalies" who society views as the "accidental casualties of a system that otherwise made sense" (p. 114). One would expect that the number of "casualties" would increase as the economic situation deteriorates, as wages remain low and as cultural prescriptions regarding men's obligations tend to be ignored. The contradiction between the real and the ideal under classic patriarchy is a problem for many women living under classic patriarchy.

Patriarchal traditions including the sexual division of labor appear to influence Punjabi women's refusal to take their share of land. Men control land and its produce, and women are responsible for caring for the children and home. This bargain between males and females isn't really a bargain, though, since women do not really have anything to bargain with. If they try to take their share of land, they will likely be sanctioned by male and female relatives for going against tradition. Women who do not have the support of their family members will find life very difficult, and they know this. Thus their lack of resources seems to keep women from demanding other resources – their share of the patrimony.

Case Studies

Kelkar's (1991) case study describes women who gained then lost rights to land distributed by the government. In that example, men's reaction against women owning land was strong. Their reaction is especially notable since the land given to women was not previously owned by families but by a religious group. Perhaps they realized that land ownership could increase women's power and income, and that it could decrease women's dependence on men.

Other case studies looked at women in production agriculture who tended to be concentrated in the lowest paying, or non remunerated, jobs. Women's work in production agriculture has low status and is even seen, in some places, as women's natural behavior (this is a variation of the "low skill" justification for paying women less for industrial work). As agriculture becomes more modern, women do not seem to enjoy the benefits of increased production, and they may even see their work loads increase.

That women's work in agriculture is viewed as necessarily different from men's has implications for women who would be land owners. They may be seen as taking over men's roles as agriculturalists and giving up their current position as helpers. This kind of behavior may give rise to strong negative sanctions against women owning land.

In Islamic societies where seclusion is practiced, it would probably be difficult for land owning women to access loans and to sell their produce to male contractors. Their position as land owners would be similar to those of women described in some of the case studies who were doing industrial homework. These women had more difficulty than men in getting loans to buy supplies and equipment, and women often had to rely on male relatives to negotiate with contractors and distributors.

Modernization Theory

In rural Punjab, women are making decisions about land inheritance that demonstrate their considerations of the consequences of their actions in terms of local culture, values, norms and sanctions. Women's decisions and statements about whether or not to take land and whether or not land is valuable are rational ones, but their justifications for their actions imply that rational decision making must be seen in the larger context. Women understand that having control of resources is important to their and their families' well being. Those women whose families own land perceive that their primary resource is their male relatives, and women are careful to cultivate strong relationships with these men.

Women in land owning families appear to be better off due to their families' control of land and because of the benefits that come from it. These women, whose families seem to be better off than other families, appear more likely to receive support

from male relatives. Women in families that do not own land appreciate land's importance as wealth, and they say that they would like to have a parcel of land. A few women listed some of their reasons for wanting it, including the fact that land is valuable in itself as a kind of savings account. Land can be used to grow things that are of value and that can be used or sold. Land is a form of wealth that has great importance to women and men in rural Punjab. Women's statements about land ownership shows them to be rational – they display what could be called modern attitudes.

Modernization theorists mostly see small scale and subsistence farming as becoming less important with increases in large scale production agriculture for markets. But small scale agriculture continues to be important in LDCs, and this tradition may be slow to change. In many places around the world, people are losing access to land and many are moving to urban areas where jobs and affordable housing are often scarce. As cities become mega urban areas, many planners see the importance of encouraging people to stay in rural areas. They would be more likely to do this if land ownership were less concentrated and they had better access to technology needed to grow crops for themselves and for the market.

Socialist Feminist Theory

Marx and Engels' (1967) discussions of changing land ownership patterns and factory work are relevant to this theme. The historical process they observed in England shows families' slow and painful separation from land and agriculture, and textile industries' voracious appetite for labor. The capitalist system requires the alienation of workers from all property. In the transition to capitalism, agriculturalists are transformed into workers with only their labor to sell. The Punjabi data suggest that many families

would be better off if they owned a small plot of land instead of having one “breadwinner” being employed as a laborer.

Socialist feminists studying Western society are concerned about women’s control of resources, and many see land ownership as beneficial to women. Scholars concerned about women’s access to resources in lesser developed countries see land as an important resource, and one that women will gain some control over only through struggle and legal reform. Bina Agarwal (1988; 1992) studies land distribution in India, and her arguments are relevant to women and land ownership in Pakistan’s Punjab. She explains why women often have no control over land and then discusses some of the reasons why it is important for women to own or control land (see Appendix B for more on women and land ownership in India and Pakistan). Socialist feminist theorists are much more concerned about resource distribution than are modernization theorists. They see women’s control of resources as important to their economic security, their equality within the household and their fuller participation in society. But socialist feminists would rather see women gain control over resources through wage work because work in social settings gives women the opportunity to network, and eventually organize, with other women. These ideas about the ways women’s condition will eventually improve do not appear to be compatible with the situation that exists in rural Punjab, where land is more plentiful than opportunities for wage work – though women currently have little or no access to either.

FOURTH THEME: FEMALES’ LOW STATUS

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that a preference for boys lies at the heart of the inferior status of women and girls in India and many other countries . . . If a

family has to choose between children in deciding who will receive food or medical care, boys will be given preference. (Charleton 1984:36)

Girls have low status in Pakistan in large part because they are seen by family members mostly as resource consumers. They have no resources, and their contributions to the household are less than their expense to the family. In the current context, it seems rational for families to neglect female children. They don't contribute much until they are older, then they become even more expensive when they need dowries in order to be married. As long as dowry traditions remain strong and girls have few or no opportunities to contribute resources to their parents' household, they are likely to continue to have low status within the family and in society.

Though daughters are valued less than sons for economic reasons, parents may still care for them because they are their children. One of the participants in my study lived and worked at an orphanage with her three daughters. She moved to the orphanage after her husband divorced her for giving birth to so many girls (she had borne four female babies, but one died in infancy). Zabunisa's (34) father told her she could live with him, but he refused to take her children into his home. She chose to move her family to an orphanage rather than give them up to strangers or let her husband and his wife have them. That she and her daughters went to live together in an orphanage demonstrates at least two things. One is the lack of choices in living options that she had. Another is that she valued her daughters and wanted to care for them.

In another household, the parents dressed up their youngest daughter when I came to visit because they wanted me to take her back to America with me. They may have had several reasons for doing this. She was one of several female children, and they had only one son to help support them. Perhaps they believed that their daughter would have

a better life with me in the U.S. than she could have in Pakistan. This example shows that these parents were prepared to give their daughter to a stranger in order to improve the family's economic prospects and perhaps to improve the girl's.

Case Studies

In some of the analogous case studies, scholars demonstrated that as women's control of resources increases, they are more likely to have a greater say in decision making processes within the family. The improved position of women within families has a direct effect on the health of their children, so it follows that Punjabi female children's health would likely improve if their mothers – or the girls themselves – controlled or had access to more resources. But it does not necessarily follow that girls' health and status will increase as much, as or more than, that of boys, even if families' resources increase. Punjabi mothers should not be expected to favor daughters as long as it is the sons who are expected to care for their aging parents. If dowry, work, marriage and land ownership patterns persist, daughters will not compare favorably with sons as economic assets.

Modernization Theory

As the division of labor occurs, hierarchies will emerge because some jobs or positions are more important than others. The system seeks balance, and groups that make up the lower strata are important to preserving system stability. Modernization theorists are not generally concerned about the equality of groups in a system. They tend to ignore the ways some groups of people – like young females or people of color – are often concentrated in the lower rungs of social, economic and political strata. Like low

status groups elsewhere, female children are at the bottom of the social hierarchy in Pakistan for reasons that are linked to culture and tradition, not simply to the division of labor. They are likely to be the last fed and the least likely to receive health care and education, regardless of the kinds of work they may be capable of. Cultural, economic and legal practices that perpetuate girls' low status have short and long term effects on the health of females, and they could eventually have negative effects on the system as a whole.

Socialist Feminist Theory

An important field of socialist feminist study is the inequality that exists between family members within a household. Scholars have attempted to better describe what is happening in households and how family interactions are affected by members' access to resources and by social and economic structures. Socialist feminists' focus on control of resources helps explain women and girls' low status in rural Punjab and elsewhere. The theory is predictive in its argument that their increasing control of resources will lead to more power for women within families. This thesis is borne out in the findings reported in some of the analogous case studies where it is shown that women's decision making power increases as they gain access to resources.

CONCLUSION

Creating opportunities for women and encouraging them to become employed for wages is viewed by Boserup as the best way to bring women into the development process. This position assumes that women are subordinate because they lack job opportunities and that their subordination will end when they have significant

opportunities to work for wages. Socialist feminists point out the weaknesses in this approach, since women are not only negatively affected by being left out of the development process, they are also often hurt by how they are integrated into it. The relations that wage earning women have with employers and governments may be part of women's problem rather than a solution (Elson and Pearson 1981).

Too often, working for wages leaves women, especially poorer women, working an "endless day." Wages for women are often lower than the average, and they tend to be segregated into jobs that give them few or no opportunities for advancement or for additional learning or training. Employers have a variety of ways of justifying these conditions, like paying women less because they are only the secondary earner in a family. Women who do industrial homework face difficulties because they are women. They have less access to credit and capital, and they have more difficulty than men do in making connections with male contractors and sellers (Atallah 1997). Women's increased participation in wage work is one strategy that may eventually lead to economic security and increased equality, but the shortcomings of this strategy point to a need to look at other ways to increase women's access to and control of resources.

Upon closer inspection of particular contexts, scholars often find that men dominate in both individual and structural relations – both inside and outside the home – and through both cultural and material means. Thus what are sometimes referred to as "pure" economic forces, such as the supply and demand of the labor market, must be seen in context – they are embedded in social networks that include gender inequalities (Scott 1986; Beechey 1988). This cultural embeddedness helps explain how some jobs can be female-or male-dominated, and why some jobs may be gender-specific.

Socialist feminist theorists are much more likely than modernization theorists to study inequality in the workplace and within families, and the perspective is more relevant to my study in that it offers ways to look at how changing economy and tradition affect household members differently. But socialist feminists, like modernization theorists, also see industry and wage labor as women's primary means of advancement. Neither perspective seriously looks at economic strategies that might have a better fit with women's lives and the resource available in rural areas.

The Pakistani example shows how women are tied to home and family, and it suggests that income earning opportunities that are more compatible with their other responsibilities would be more viable. But besides a consideration of women's other responsibilities, it is also important to consider rural areas' resource constraints when considering reasonable economic strategies. Rural areas in general are not well suited to mass production because of the relatively large amount of labor, infrastructure and other resources required. In rural Pakistan, the tradition of *purdah* appears to be another obstacle in the way of mass production because it would be expensive for firms to create separate work spaces for men and women.

As noted, an additional social consequence of economic changes in rural Punjab is the continuing tradition of keeping children out of school so that they can earn wages or do other work that helps the family. Young boys working in the mills have no time for education, and young girls may not be sent to school if they are expected to take on their working mothers' responsibilities at home. Pakistani children's enrollment in school has never been high, so it is unfair to blame their low attendance solely on economic changes. But if the point of industrialization and modernization is economic and social progress, we might expect that children's enrollment would increase as industrialization

increases and villages become part of the global, market economy. But boys who work in the mills – and girls who help with childcare and housework when moms must work in others' fields – do not have opportunities to go to school. When girls are needed at home, formal education for them is often seen as just one more expense. And boys who work in the mills or at the hand looms have no time for school, the work they do requires little skill, and it may even have negative effects on their physical health.

As the global economy continues to reach into the most remote sites, we should not lose sight of its possible negative effects on those who are already some of the poorest of the poor. Modernization theorists' discussion of values and norms helps explain how dowry traditions and the devaluation of girls maintain a system's stability. But it does not offer insight into how long one might have to wait before values change and patriarchy will decline. Many modernization theorists assume that scientific knowledge combined with capitalism will lead to progress, but only a small number of them are concerned that economic and social change can be painful for certain groups (e.g., Eisenstadt 1968).

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this study is to look at how modernization and socialist feminist theories help describe and explain the changes that are occurring in rural Punjab and some other rural areas. In this section I will briefly review some of the major points made in Chapter Six, comparing the usefulness of modernization and socialist feminist theories. I will then look at policy implications and considerations regarding Pakistan's future.

Both perspectives have tended to focus more on development as it has occurred and continues to occur in the West, and this limits their ability to describe and explain what is happening in Pakistan's Punjab and other lesser developed regions. Both perspectives fall short in their attention to the effects of colonization and globalization on lesser developed countries. While many lesser developed countries' (LDCs) governments seem to have embraced industrialization and modernization, their development processes are still very different from Western countries' development, and it is not clear that they will – or should – develop in similar ways.

MODERNIZATION THEORY

Modernization theory began with Enlightenment thinkers' belief in the infinite progress of knowledge and in the constant advance of society and morality through science. Parsons, Rostow and others hoped that other societies would go through stages similar to what they believed was happening in the United States and other Western countries, and that societies would become industrialized and that their citizens would enjoy universal education, participatory democracy and increasing equality. The contemporary modernization perspective has become increasingly narrow, focusing mostly on industrialization and on opening markets to investment. Modernization theory has greatly influenced policy makers who have tended to prescribe a one-size-fits-all model on nations and citizens in developing countries requesting loans from major lenders (Arnason 1990; Killick 1993). Results have often been negative, but modernization theorists have not tended to incorporate results of these studies into their perspectives. Modernization theory seems to be most useful in its ability to help clarify some of the major assumptions behind major lenders' policy making.

Modernization theory's most notable irony is the fate of many rural residents who live in its exemplar country, the United States. U.S. rural areas exhibit some of the same kinds of problems seen in developing countries' rural places. In the United States, the number of jobs in primary extraction or resource based industries has declined. In those places dominated by a single industry, rural residents have become more vulnerable to economic ups and downs. In the 1960s and 1970s, many rural areas in the U.S. attracted new manufacturing industries that tended to produce non-durable goods requiring less skilled labor and paying low wages. These types of jobs are vulnerable because less skilled workers are more easily replaced by machines and/or by cheaper labor in other

countries (O'Hare 1997). Recent analysis of demographic statistics shows that child poverty in rural America continues to be higher than in metro areas, especially in those households headed by women (Rogers and Dagata 2000).

SOCIALIST FEMINIST THEORY

While modernization theorists' focus seems to have become more narrow over time, socialist feminist theorists continue to take a critical stance toward their and others' arguments, and they have broadened and deepened their analyses by incorporating new evidence. They continue to try to better understand gender, society, politics and the economy. Socialist feminist theory is influenced by scholars who look at gender, the economy and society together, even though other aspects of their work may be quite different. This can be viewed as a strength – the work is diverse and the scope is broad, and many interests intersect.

An example of the broadening of feminist analysis is in the movement away from advocating women's inclusion in industry as the only strategy that can lead to women's increased equality. The integration of women into industry has been important to socialist feminists because they have tended to view this a way to increase women's control over resources, as women workers realize their common circumstances and eventually organize in support of changes in the workplace and in society. Time and studies have shown, however, that wage earning women – who are also responsible for children and housework – often do not have time to organize for better wages and/or that they will not because they cannot afford to lose their jobs (e.g., Elson and Pearson 1991).

Studies have shown that women's power over the decision making process within the household tends to increase when their control of wages increases, but the resource

under women's control may not necessarily need to be wages earned from work in industry. Socialist feminist theorists continue to study power at the household and other levels and to adjust their positions accordingly. For example, socialist feminist theorists have looked at small scale agriculture and land ownership as means of subsistence and as a way for women to gain control of resources.

Socialist feminist theorists, like modernization theorists, have been criticized for their focus on the West and for ignoring the concerns of groups in developing countries. While modernization theorists continue to view the world through a Western lens, many socialist feminists have analyzed problems of concern to women and other groups in other settings. In addition, a growing number of scholars from developing nations are contributing to socialist feminist analyses (e.g., Ramazanoglu 1992; Nanda 1997).

Production and reproduction continue to be useful, though slippery, concepts for any analysis. Much feminist work on this issue aims to better understand the complex ways that women's responsibilities for housework and childcare affect and/or intersect with their opportunities to earn income.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Economic development must take into consideration the things that people can or cannot do, such as enjoy a long life, be well nourished, avoid unnecessary illness, and be literate and involved in educational and intellectual pursuits. People should have more control over chance and circumstances. For Sen (1988) development is freedom, and he argues that traditional development economics concentrate on "national product, aggregate income and total supply of particular goods rather than on 'entitlements' of people and the 'capabilities' these entitlements generate" (p. 47).

Though the global market has been called the most efficient route to development, it has demonstrated its destructive potential as inequalities between countries and between groups of people within countries have increased (Einhorn and Yeo 1995). It often seems that those who advocate structural adjustments assume that “leaving people to fend for themselves . . . is the surest way to promote economic progress” (de Alcántara 1996:12).

Aslanbeigui, Pressman, Summerfield et al. (1995) looked at 11 countries and Sub-Saharan Africa. They argue that in all those countries and “whether per capita income has increased, stagnated, or decreased, women have been over-represented among the losers or under-represented among the winners” (p. 2). Economic changes there have led either to fewer gains for women, as opposed to men, or to greater losses for women. The African situation is a major example of the results of structural adjustment policies.

Structural adjustment endangers the poor by increasing job losses, creating cut-backs in state spending on social services and on food subsidies, and causing economic slow down that has additional adverse effects on them. To help the poor during periods of structural adjustment, governments must adopt policies that increase the poor’s access to productive resources, help them make these resources more productive, “improve their access to education and health services, and supplement their resources by transfers” (Killick 1993:360). Policies that protect a society’s most vulnerable groups must be integral to structural adjustment programs, not just added to them. Dividends from reduced military spending, if there are any, should be used to improve conditions for the poorest.

Under pressure from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, LDCs have pursued trade liberalization, privatization, and fiscal and monetary restraint. The

negative results of these policies hurt the poor most, especially women and children (Aslanbeigui et al. 1995; Santamaria 1997). Restructuring has had many negative effects on women (Buvinic, Gwin and Bates 1996). It has lead, in many places, to increased discrimination in hiring and decreasing opportunities for work that pays well. Women make up a larger portion of the unemployed. Because they control few assets, they are often unable to get loans. They usually do not control household resources, and as economic conditions deteriorate, they lose bargaining power. Many countries' traditions include male dominance and discrimination against women, and "these traditions have reasserted themselves with greater force in the age of economic transformation" (Aslanbeigui et al. 1995:6).

The United States influences the Pakistani Government's spending priorities through world Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) lending policies (Chossudovsky 1997). The structural adjustment policies favored by these institutions generally favor market reforms over social spending (Gupta, Clements, McDonald and Schiller 1998). In Pakistan, deficits have mostly been financed through loans and these loans have been used mostly to import goods and military hardware, and to pay off its huge debt (Central Intelligence Agency 1999). The government of Pakistan has demonstrated that it prefers to spend money on the military rather than make large investments in its infrastructure. The United States must take some responsibility for this. During the Soviet war with Afghanistan the US was more than willing to sell weapons to Pakistan, partly in exchange for allowing using Pakistan as a base from which to encourage anti-Soviet fighters.

Though the structural adjustment strings attached by lenders often only exacerbate internal problems, it is likely, given the economic difficulties faced by

Pakistan that it, along with other developing nations, will continue to request large loans. Currently, Pakistan's debt rescheduling and new loans are in jeopardy because American law stipulates that aid will be cut off if there is a military coup, as there was in Pakistan in the fall of 1999 (*Economist* 1999). Hopefully, the current government will schedule elections soon, and the new government will pursue more progressive development policies.

If lenders are going to continue to have such power over nations' economic policy, there are other ways to direct spending besides the current focus on markets. Contemporary modernization strategy appears to assume that all countries are the same and that structural reforms' negative impacts will be equally distributed and short lived. These assumptions have not held up, yet the policies have changed little or not at all. Varying the approach to take different countries' history and politics into account might be useful. Long term sustainability depends not just on macro level stability but stability at the local level, and lending policies should encourage governments to focus attention on groups that have too often been left out of the development process.

Economic theory has difficulty identifying how women who work in the home affect the economy, so economic policies often disadvantage them and others who care for dependants (Donath 1995). Barriteau (1996) advocates investigating economic aspects and the consequences of household behavior on the market. Economic growth and income distribution would be measured at the household, not national, level. This change in focus could help development planners appreciate the need to account for women as economic resources. Women at home and in the invisible or informal sector too often suffer the costs of failed economic policies, and they take a "disproportionate share of the burden of surviving economic and political crises" (p.153).

As was demonstrated in some of the analogous case studies, government policies can have positive and negative impacts on different groups. Governments and their lenders can learn from research on negatively impacted groups and possibly avoid some of the mistakes that have been made in the past. For LDCs, the most promising development strategies are not focused on development of capital since it is often scarce or absent altogether. One approach is to encourage people to produce and create at the local level, drawing on their, perhaps latent or misdirected but still usable, skills and supported, in part, with people's as yet untapped ability to save and invest (Hirschman 1988).

Women and Families

The inclusion of a "second generation" or socioeconomic human rights to food, shelter, and work – which are clearly delineated as part of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights – is vital to addressing women's concerns fully . . . The most insidious myth about women's rights is that they are trivial or secondary to the concerns of life and death. Nothing could be farther from the truth: sexism kills. (Bunch 1990:488)

What most Middle Eastern women lack when compared either with their wealthier and better educated compatriots or with Western women of many social classes is freedom of choice regarding basic life decisions. They have little or no choice over whether to go to school and for how long, they generally do not choose a marriage partner, a girl's in-laws control her young married life, her husband decides whether or not she will work outside the home for wages, and laws in general favor husbands and fathers while they disfavor single and divorced women (Keddie and Beck 1978). Moghadam (1993) argues that patriarchy should not be conflated with Islam, rather it should be understood in structural terms. In her study of inequality in the Middle East,

she finds that state policies have major effects on the economic and legal status of women, not Islam.

In order to understand the effects of development on women, we must look at the household economy and the sexual division of labor in it. We must also consider the bargaining power within the family to try to determine whether and how inequality might be associated with systematic differences in bargaining power and at how this is affected by the capitalist development (Beneria 1982; Folbre 1988). The sexual division of labor in industry is based on the generally accepted role of women in the domestic sphere. In order to counteract this, it will be necessary to extend social provisions for the care of the young and the elderly, and men will somehow have to be convinced that they should share responsibility for domestic work (Mitter 1997).

Recent literature has paid a great deal of attention to the intersection of material and ideological forces, especially as they relate to gender inequalities (e.g., Beneria and Roldan 1987; Beechey 1988; Daune-Richard 1988; Tiano 1994). It has been suggested that we cannot look at these factors in isolation from each other because they are not linked in a simple causal relationship. They are entangled in the fluid process of social change (Scott 1986). Seen in this light, it is clear that people's life chances and their limited range of choices are not easily explained by what goes on in only one sphere. They must be considered in terms of the convergence of cultural and material forces as they continually transform particular contexts.

Economic changes are affecting families' resource base, and modern values that focus on the individual are affecting traditional norms based on mutual obligations. A worthwhile goal would be to help families as they face the challenges of modernization which has uneven and unreliable effects on development. Progressive development

efforts should focus on gender-sensitive projects and on projects that help strengthen families, and efforts should be sensitive to the ways the family adapts to the changes in agricultural production, urbanization, male out-migration, and environmental degradation (Jaquette 1993). Contemporary development strategies often start with a focus on assets and strengths, rather than on needs (e.g., Flora 1992; McKnight 1997). Chatterjee (1993) advocates viewing the poor as a “vast and challenging resource,” not a problem.

Agarwal (1992) argues that as a person’s ability to physically survive outside the family increases, their bargaining power within the family will increase, and that the risk of poverty for a woman and her children may depend on whether or not she has direct access to income and productive assets (1988). Development efforts must move cautiously, because as women threaten male power, men react strongly against them (Kelkar 1991). It is important that women’s pursuit of economic gains benefit the whole family, since this will be met with less opposition from men (Agarwal 1988). Men’s support of families is important, and women who try to support children without male assistance are among the most disadvantaged groups worldwide (Folbre 1986).

Lateef (1981) found that village women tend to participate and cooperate with urban women who attempt to organize them in economic activities that will benefit them directly and immediately. She argues that for a women’s movement to be successful, it should be linked to the goal of economic survival. Some activity on this front has already occurred in India, where women’s cooperatives plant trees and manage farms. In Bangladesh, loans from the Grameen Bank enable women to start small poultry farms (Agarwal 1992). Bangladesh’s Grameen Bank demonstrates how micro-lending can overcome traditional barriers and help very poor women earn income and participate in the economy (Jansen and Pippard 1998).

Consciousness to build organizations depends on a sense of community and shared interests, and activists employed by development organizations should address issues of leadership capacity and collective power for women. Further, though local organizations may likely not be able to deal with the issues of women's inequality and domestic violence directly, they can help women in other ways that may lead to women's increased abilities to confront these problems on their own (Viswanath 1991).

Problem solving must begin at the bottom where the problem exists and where the people are, and in order to re-center political power in civil society, organizations must be built and nurtured at the local level (Friedmann 1987). If women's organizations are to be viable, they must have the cooperation of men in the community, and they must not appear to threaten the privileges of local power holders. It is important to consider men's possible reactions to efforts that aim to improve conditions for women and children since men have relatively more power in the household and in local economies, and they may reject development efforts that appear to threaten them. Longhurst (1982) studied Muslim women in northern Nigeria, and he supports policies that target poor families rather than individuals because, he says, men will resist programs that target women as beneficiaries.

Poor women in Sri Lanka have demonstrated their initiative and enterprise in difficult situations. They've found some space in local economies to sell their goods and services. Women like these would benefit from organizations, like the Grameen Bank, that support women's initiatives to generate income from their homes (Samarasinghe 1993). Wilson-Moore (1997) looks at women with home gardens in Bangladesh and at how this fits into larger patterns of society and the local economy. She argues that home

gardening is compatible with seclusion and that it benefits the health of all family members.

Mies (1994) takes issue with the western model of development (especially as it has been imposed on developing nations) because as more women become commodity production workers, they produce less for sustenance. According to Mies, developers' so-called "investments in women" help them get access to credit, help them get more education and training, promote effective and sustainable use resources, and show them how to slow down population growth. But she says that this strategy assumes that poverty is a result of the lack of money, modern technology, education and capital growth. For her, progressive development must be based on strengthening women's control over the subsistence base. They must have more not less independence from the market economy.

POLICY AND THE FOUR THEMES

The Sexual Division of Labor

Like other countries, Pakistan's economy and political situation is changing. Given the history of industrialization in other developing countries, it is likely that, at least in the short term, Pakistani citizens will face economic hardships and that women headed households, the elderly and children will bear the worst of it. Women's involvement in wage earning activities is different in rural Punjab than it is in many of the other case studies described here.

Children in traditional economies have often worked alongside family members in the fields, in the home and at trades. Child labor is not new. What has changed is that

the work available is not teaching them skills or giving them useful training and knowledge. Work at the hand looms is repetitive, tedious and it requires little or no skill. Boys and girls are taking on different kinds of responsibilities, but they are not working with or learning from their parents and other relatives, since adults are otherwise occupied, trying to make a living. As resource based economies “progress” toward becoming industrialized, market-based systems, one would hope that life would improve for children – that they could spend their days in learning environments and participating in other healthy activities. Instead, life seems to be getting worse for them. Many boys come out of the mills with vision and other health problems, and girls spend their lives doing domestic chores without the benefit of education or training.

As women’s control of income increases, they tend to spend more on the children. In landless laboring households in two South Indian villages, where over half of the women working for wages were able to keep control of their earnings, they tended to spend a higher percentage of their wages on household maintenance than did men. This has implications for policy, since efforts to increase male workers’ wages by keeping women out of the job market may exacerbate problems like children’s malnutrition (Mencher 1988). Economists and others often assume that increasing the male’s income will help the household as his increased earnings are distributed to family members, but they fail to consider the possibility that an increase in males’ income may “leak out” to other purposes, and they often fail to consider the possibility that males may have a weak attachment to women and children in their households. Males and females have different self interests within the family, their goals are affected by institutional inequalities, and they often fail to pursue goals cooperatively (Dwyer and Bruce 1988).

Must women work in industry for wages so that they can increase the amount of resources they control and thereby take better care of their children and gain increased input in household decision making? If it is determined that women should have more control over resources, this might be accomplished in other ways, though modernization and socialist feminist theorists mostly ignore other economic development strategies. For example, the Grameen Bank's revolving loan program enables women to help themselves through small scale development projects they themselves design. Socialist feminists, wedded to Marxist notions of progress, are disdainful of the Grameen Bank, partly because of its small scale (e.g., Benería 1989). Their disdain is unfortunate because the Bank has been an overwhelming success in rural areas – it has increased the resources controlled by women and their families while building social capital and improving rural economies.

Education is a resource that women could gain more of without men having less, and the government could become an active partner by offering greater access to education and training. Women and children would benefit directly if the government focused on providing information about ways to improve nutrition and health. Because of the constraints of *purdah*, education could be offered on radio and television programs. Eventually they could receive training, access to loans and encouragement to start small businesses. This strategy would give women opportunities to meet with and learn from other women. They would learn things that could improve the lives of family members, and they could slowly gain greater access to and control over resources.

Changes in Expectations about Dowries

In Pakistan there is a law that limits the size of dowries. It is mostly ignored, notably by wealthy families of law makers. If girls contributed more to the family than they appear to cost, the negative effects of increasing dowry size might be lessened.

Safilios-Rothschild (1980) argues that the economic and social value of females could be increased by involving unmarried adolescent females in income-generating activities that increase their literacy and knowledge and that require them to distribute information and provide assistance to other females. In her plan, young unmarried girls are trained as health workers, teachers' aids, teachers and extension workers. This would benefit girls by improving their skills and giving them access to wages. It would also benefit older women whose access to health care, education and information would improve through contact with these young women. This type of plan would generate resources that could be multiplied at the local level, and it does not involve women in industrial production. The constraints of *pardah* would be an obstacle to this kind of project and would likely slow progress. But, as mentioned, some training could be done via television and radio, at least in the early stages of such a project

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Women's Land Inheritance Decisions

Women in rural South Asia tend to spend a larger proportion of their earnings on their children and themselves than do men (Mencher 1988). It would therefore seem likely that both women and children would benefit if women controlled more resources, and it is for this reason that women's decisions about land ownership and the observed changes in dowry traditions are important to this study. Because rural women often lack access to productive resources such as land, they have a weaker bargaining position in

the family, and this translates into a disadvantage for both women and children (Agarwal 1992). Increasing dowry size only exacerbates this inequality. In agrarian societies, land is the most important generator of wealth, and women's virtual exclusion from land ownership – a condition that is perpetrated by use of cultural, not legal sanctions – is a major reason for their dependence on men. It may also be the basis of or for their devaluation. The maintenance of the male property system is congruent with family values – sons have a religious and cultural value as heirs and working adults, while daughters are more often a burden since they must have food, clothing and dowries (Sharma 1980).

Direct access to land appears to be significant to the well-being of both women and their families (Palmer 1985; Agarwal 1988). Especially in poor households, access to land could reduce the risk of poverty for women and children because it could improve the intra-household distribution of resources; it could facilitate access to agricultural credit, technology, and information; it may provide more economic security in difficult times; and it might even provide protection against gender-related violence within the family and outside if it affects women's economic bargaining position within the household (Agarwal 1988). But in Pakistan, most villagers who own land have only small plots, and these are not easily divisible among heirs. This makes the issue of women demanding their inheritance rights more problematic.

Females' Low Status

Despite the many efforts that have been undertaken in South Asia to raise the status of women, their situation is actually worsening in many areas. This is partly due to the fact that too many projects have assumed that women's well-being is served by a

focus on men (Lateef 1981). The health of women and girls in much of South Asia is affected by cultural norms that include early marriages, the importance of fertility and the tradition of the dowry. The burden of reducing consumption too often falls on women and female children since men eat first (Agarwal 1992). The devaluation and subservience of women lessens the likelihood that they will seek medical help for themselves or for their daughters (Lateef 1981).

Lockwood's (1997) research demonstrates ways that material conditions and gender ideology shape the effects of capitalist development on women. She argues that women's control of strategic material resources and capital is necessary if women are to achieve positions of relative authority and power in the household and in the community. Power is the decision-making authority over household resources and the "control of and access to knowledge of resources" within the household (Hoodfar 1988:122). It is important to determine the bases of this power, to look for possibilities for how these might change or be changed, and to look at how changes in the bases of power might affect the relationship between husbands and wives. Family members' relations of interdependence and/or dependence are affected in complex ways by economic and social forces.

It has been shown that mothers' education positively affects the health of her children, both boys and girls, and it stands to reason that increased social spending would have beneficial effects on families. The majority of people in Pakistan are materially poor and have little or no education. If there were more resources to go around, females would inevitably benefit. But where would these resources come from? One possible source is the Pakistani government, but it tends to ignore its poor population to look upward toward international lending institutions. Pakistan's resources are too often used

to pay interest on loans or to buy military equipment instead of being invested in infrastructure that could improve the health, economic security and education of citizens.

With a population growth rate that has not diminished in recent years, and with over 40 percent of its population under the age of 15, the future does not look particularly bright for many of Pakistan's citizens. Government spending on armaments rather than on infrastructure exacerbates the problem, and there is no social safety net for marginalized groups – government support for a few orphanages notwithstanding. Without dramatic changes in government priorities, Pakistan will continue its downward spiral.

Final Comments

Pakistan faces possible demographic and ecological disaster in the 21st century. Many difficult choices must be made. Pakistan must transform its security state into a participatory democracy if it is to meet the future. Up to now, great importance has been attached to using limited domestic resources to support the military, and this is not practical or sustainable. The government's failure to introduce effective land reform has perpetuated the inequalities left from colonization, and families are losing their means of subsistence. Literacy must be increased dramatically if participatory democracy is ever to become a reality (Talbot 1998).

Pakistani scholar Anita Weiss (1999) is optimistic about the country's future, but she says that Pakistan must build on its emerging civil society. The government should be careful to avoid the political crises that have compromised social development goals because the challenges that Pakistan and its people face are great, and so are their chances of failing. Weiss is confident that groups can work together to create a viable

civil society, but she contends that this will not be easy. Much depends on the ability of nascent women's groups to become a vanguard of positive change. They have much to gain, and the country has much to lose if they and others fail.

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APPENDIX A

PUNJABI HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name of village:
2. Date, time, case no.
3. Name of respondent:
Age:
Caste:
Religion: sect:

What village are you from?
How far is it from here?

(If married), age at marriage:
4. What was your father's occupation?
(Ask for details like amount of land owned, his income)

How many brothers do you have? sisters?
5. Are your parents still alive?
If yes, do they give you money or gifts on a regular basis?

If no, what did you inherit from them?
(Land, house, ornaments, cash, other)

Did you get the portion of immovable property allowed to you under Islamic law?
If you did not get anything, why not?
6. What is your husband's caste?
His age:
His occupation:
(Ask for details like amount of land owned, his yearly income, etc.)
7. Please tell us who lives in this house (relationships to respondent)
Do you have a joint farm with them?
Do you share a cooking area and food with them?
If there are children of age, do they go to school? How often?
8. Do you have other relatives living close by?

Who are they? (Relationships to respondent)

9. Who does most of the housework here?
Does anyone help? Who?
Do you have electricity?
How do you get your water?
What fuel do you use for cooking?
Who gathers the fuel?
Where are your clothes washed?
Do you have farm animals?
What kind?
Who takes care of them?
Do any of the women in this house work in the fields?
What kind of work do they do?
Do any of the women living here work for other villagers, or do you have other women working for you?
Do any of the women in this house earn income for the house or for themselves? How?
Do you have any appliances?
What are they and where did they come from?
10. (For grandmothers and older mothers) Do you have married children who do not live here? Who?
11. Do you have a television set or access to one?
If yes, do you watch it every day?
What are your favorite programs?
12. Did you go to school?
To what grade?
Do you know how to read?
What language(s)?
Did you learn to read the Koran?
With understanding?
13. What was your relationship to your husband before marriage?
14. These questions are about marriage arrangements.
Who arranged your marriage?
(If not parents, why not?)
Was there an engagement ceremony or public announcement?
When?
How much time passed between the original agreement and the marriage?
Were you consulted?
Was your husband consulted?
Did you talk freely with your husband before the marriage?
If yes, when?

15. Had you or your husband been married before?
16. Was this an exchange marriage?
(If yes, describe the exchange)
17. These questions are about the marriage ceremonies.
How many people were there in the *barat*?
How many at the *nikah*?
At the *valima*?
Were *tail* and *mehndi* performed?
18. These questions are about the dowry.
What was in it?
Clothes, utensils, furniture, ornaments (weight), immovable property,
animals, cash, appliances, other
(Can we look at items later?)
Do you use all the dowry items?
19. What gifts were given to your in-laws?
Were there any disagreements about any of the items? (Explain)
20. When did dowry preparation begin?
How was the dowry assembled? (Explain)
Did you make any of the items yourself? (Explain)
21. Did your parents have difficulty paying for your dowry?
Did they have to sell land, cattle or borrow money?
Did your family have to delay the marriage in order to have time to prepare the dowry?
22. What did people think about your dowry? (Explain)
22. Did the dowry cause any disagreements? (Explain)
23. How did it compare to other dowries among your *biradri* at the time of your marriage?
24. What did your in-laws give you at the time of the marriage?
Dresses, ornaments (weight), cash, other
25. Was there a dower (*huk mer*) agreement made at the time of the marriage?
How much was it?
How was the amount determined?
Has it been paid yet? (Why/why not?)
26. Do you have any sisters?
How were their marriages different from yours?

- aa. Please tell us about any changes you have noticed in the current marriages as compared to previous marriages?
Are the ceremonies the same? Are the dowry items the same?
Why do you think these changes have occurred?
What is your opinion of the changes?
28. Do you know about the legal limits on dowry size?
Do you think there should be limits?
29. Do you think that women should own land?
Would you like for yourself or your daughter to own land?
Would you prefer land or dowry for yourself/your daughter?
30. How is your married life?
How does your husband treat you?
How do your in-laws treat you? (Explain)
How often do you visit your parents?
For how long?
How is your health? (Explain)
Which daily tasks take most of your time?
Do you have enough time in the day to get all your work done?
31. (If there are any) under what conditions do your married daughters live?
32. That is all the questions we have. Do you have any questions for us?

APPENDIX B

HISTORY OF LAND LAWS IN PAKISTAN

British rule had significant effects on land ownership patterns in South Asia, especially its trends toward private ownership and commercial agriculture, and the resulting increase in strong, local landlords. Following British penetration, old institutional arrangements disintegrated under the impacts of mercantilism and colonialism, and new patterns formed around landlords who were encouraged by foreigners pursuing the extraction of surplus from the subcontinent (Migdal 1988). Colonial policy included making land available to soldiers as partial compensation for service, and this practice, like others, has continued beyond post-colonial rule (Moore 1966; Agarwal 1988; Talbot 1998).

There are primarily two sets of rules in Pakistan regarding the inheritance of land by women: the local, customary laws and the State's statutory laws. The West Punjab Muslim Personal Law Application Act of 1948 opened up possibilities for women's ownership of land in the Punjab region through appeal to the Shariat (Muslim personal law) in all questions regarding succession to agricultural land (Gilmartin 1981). According to the Koran, daughters should receive a half share of land upon a father's death, while sons are entitled to a full share.

But decades after the law was passed, few women exercise their State-given rights to inheritance, apparently because customary law has proved to be much more powerful

(Sharma 1980). Customary laws in much of India and Pakistan prevent women from inheriting land as daughters unless there are no sons, but even then it is difficult for women to claim their rights. According to customary law, women serve as links, if necessary, but not as actual owners in a system that passes land from males to males, from generation to generation. Local, traditional law often subordinates the rights of the individual, in this case women, to the maintenance of local kinship groups, and marriage patterns in which brides move away from home tend to preserve the integrity of family and village property (Gilmartin 1981).

The history of land inheritance law in Pakistan offers an interesting example of organizational coalitions within states and the problems some states face when they attempt to implement unpopular laws. The two major coalitions of actors who were at odds over inheritance rights during the later days of British rule and the early days of Independence were the urban-based intelligentsia and commercial class on one side, with powerful landlords on the other. For many urban-based reformers in both India and Pakistan before Independence, the guarantee of daughters' inheritances was a reaction against British laws which emphasized the protection of private property. But rural leaders in the Punjab were suspicious of the personal law guaranteeing inheritance rights to women because they feared its effects on their lifestyles. Rural Punjabis especially viewed the legal reforms as a threat to rural community and to tribal law (Gilmartin 1981). Punjabis dominate the military and the government bureaucracy of Pakistan, and the agricultural land in the Punjab would be the most seriously affected if the law were ever enforced. This explains the fact that while the eager statemakers were able to get land legislation passed in the early days of Independence, the laws have been mostly ignored since then.

In most communities in South Asia today, women have legal rights to inherit land from their fathers, but they are largely only rights on paper, not in fact (Agarwal 1992). Men are reluctant to give up land rights, and they are able to intimidate women who attempt to claim their rights. Brides most often move to their in-laws' villages and away from their father's land, and the tradition of seclusion, or *purdah*, constrains women's efforts to manage land. Further, many village women may even be ignorant of the fact that there are laws that give them rights to inherit land (Luschinsky 1963; Agarwal 1988). In order to maintain good relations, a sister often will not claim her portion of land because she knows that if her brothers eat, she eats. She knows that she will benefit from their prosperity. Her right to ask a brother for help and the maintenance of good relations with male relatives may be more important to her than owning land (Luschinsky 1963; Jeffery 1979; Sharma 1980; Hershman 1981). A sister's claim to her share of land "would be in brazen contradiction to all Punjabi traditional customs" and she would do it only if there was "considerable family hatred" (Hershman 1981). Women in traditional cultures who are dependent on male relatives for support are less likely to want to alienate them by demanding their rights to land ownership, and since female children are already devalued (partly because of the dowry tradition), enforcement of a law guaranteeing them rights to land might also have negative effects on their life chances.

It has been argued, in defense or explanation of traditional land inheritance practices, that women's share of the "patrimony" comes in the form of a dowry (Goody 1976). Sharma (1980) argues that this is a "convenient fiction which serves to obscure a real difference between men's and women's relationship to property" (p. 47). She asserts that by giving a dowry, the family cancels the daughter's right to inherit immovable property. Agarwal (1988) maintains that "inheritance and dowry in general, and

inheritance in land and dowry in movables in particular, cannot be equated in legal, economic, social, or symbolic terms” (p. 547). At marriage much of the dowry becomes the property of the in-laws, not the daughter, and if her husband divorces her, or if she dies, the dowry remains with the husband’s family. Land, on the other hand, becomes the sole property of the heir, and it cannot be sold without the heir’s permission. Ensuring women’s access to property could also give women “recognition as independent and legal individuals in a social order where they were consigned to being wholly dependent on men from birth until death” (Jalal 1991: 87)