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The Attitudes, Environment and Activities of Rural Women: A Case Study of Jhok Sayal

by

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PREFACE

Our objective in this study is to report, as accurately and comprehensively as we can, what village women do 'economically'. It is common knowledge that women participate at different times of the year in the harvesting and planting of crops, but very little is known about how much time is spent in these tasks and how these activities affect the lives of village women. Beyond work in the fields rural women are active in producing goods and services, mostly for their families own consumption but some for sale or exchange in the local market, such as handicrafts and foodstuff. No one has yet calculated the NFP -- the net female product -- of a country, but it is likely to be quite large and in a developing country such as Pakistan the bulk of the NFP is generated in the rural sector.

Our purpose in this report is to outline the different dimensions of economic activity of rural women and to describe the attitudinal and environmental factors which influence village women's participation in the rural economy. The approach is more narrative than analytical, but on subjects such as rural women where there is relatively little previous research and almost no theoretical models, careful description is a necessary prelude to sound analysis. No policy recommendations emerge directly from this study but a number of hypotheses are suggested which can be examined in finer detail in subsequent research.

The study owes much to the guidance and invaluable advice of Dr. Stephen Guisinger who originally suggested that we undertake a study of rural women, and to the comments and encouragment of Molly Mayo, Frank Child, Lucy Melbock, Dr. Nasra M. Shah and Dr. N.A. Shah who read and commented on various drafts of the report. Special thanks are due to Molly Mayo, S.H.H. Naqavi and Robin Raphel who gave generously of their time in providing excellent editorial advice. None of the above is to be blamed for the shortcomings of this study, for which we take full responsibility.

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Introduction

The changing social and economic conditions in Pakistan and throughout the world require an appraisal of the role women play in their environment. Strategies are being proposed to promote integration of women into the development process. In Pakistan there is a particular concern for rural areas where the majority of the population lives. But to make such strategies effective, however, we need to have more baseline data about the target population, i.e. the rural women. What role do they play within their family and village structure? What are their aspirations and attitudes towards themselves, their families, and their society?

We have limited data to help us answer these questions. To help fill this gap we lived in a Punjabi village for two weeks in April 1975. We shall call the village "Jhok Sayal". Our intent was not to produce a definitive study of a "typical" rural village, but rather to explore and identify attitudes and actual living conditions of women in one Pakistani village. We hope that our initial

investigation will lead to future studies in other villages and promote a wider understanding of the conditions of rural women and family life.

We lived in the village as guests of a landowner. After several days we established ourselves as research students and dispelled the immediate suspicion that we were from a family planning organization. We spoke their Punjabi dialect, wore their local dress, observed purdah* as they did by covering our heads and bodies with a large dopatta, and tried to integrate ourselves into the village life as much as possible. Most women mixed freely with us, were friendly, and usually were responsive to our inquiries.

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* See Glossary

Chapter One

THE VILLAGE

Location and Settlement History of the Village

Jhok Sayal[1] is located in the Lyallpur district near the Lahore-Jaranwala-Lyallpur highway. The nearest town is eight miles away and furnishes railway service to the villagers. The principal and cheapest means of transportation is provided by three road transport companies that connect Jhok Sayal with the neighbouring settlements.

The village was settled in the Nineteenth Century in an area known as Sandal Bar. There was no vegetation, and cultivation was possible only near river banks. Under the British Raj, colonization was begun, and in 1890 the Lower Chenab Canal was constructed[2]. In 1897 irrigation water from the Gogera branch canal was available to Sandal Bar. The land was then distributed by the government to settlers[3], or abadkars. The land in Jhok Sayal was allotted to a landlord from

[1] The real name of the village has not been used in order to preserve the anonymity of respondents.

[2] For more details about this area's settlement history, see / 1 /.

[3] "Settlers were drawn from three categories: (1) peasants to whom right of occupancy for 20 years was promised if they resided on and cultivated their grants, (2) the yeomen who were permitted to purchase proprietary rights on favourable terms on the fulfilment of certain conditions including personal residence and (3) capitalists from whom larger payments were realised but were subject to the same privileges as regards acquisition of proprietary rights" / 1 /.

East Punjab who, in turn, brought in tenants, mostly agriculturists of Arian caste, from his native village to cultivate the lands.

An immediate conflict arose between the local inhabitants and the new settlers. The local inhabitants, known as Janglees, were mainly graziers who allowed their cattle to roam the countryside[4]. They strongly resisted the settlers who opposed open grazing that destroyed their crops. Law and authority were on the side of the new settlers. So the resistance of the Janglees eventually gave way and the land was brought under cultivation.

In the 1940's the problem of salinity arose and by the late 1950's more than three-fourths of the land in Jhok Sayal was put out of cultivation. In the mid-Sixties, under the SCARP (Salinity Control and Rehabilitation Programme) scheme, the Government of Pakistan installed tubewells in the area and supplied electricity to the village. Today all the salinity-affected land has been reclaimed and 663 acres (including the fallow land) of the total area of 690 acres is being cultivated.

Village Setting

The village boundaries extend to the main Lyallpur-Lahore highway from where a dusty, non-metalled road winds its way through the fields to Jhok Sayal. The village graveyard is situated at the beginning of this road, tended by a caretaker-cum-grave-digger who lives in his katcha house opposite the

[4] Janglees were cattle-breeders and land owners and did random cultivation with the aid of rain water; see / 1 /.

graveyard. A fifteen-minute walk down the road takes one to the village itself.

At the entrance to Jhok Sayal there is a tubewell where the village children bathe and play while their mothers wash clothes and dishes. Nearby is a Karrass in which wheat is ground with the help of oxen. Straight ahead is the village mosque, white-washed, neat, clean and electrified. A two-room house adjacent to the mosque belongs to the maulvi. All the houses and the two shops of Jhok Sayal are situated on either side of the 15-foot main katcha street.

Population

The 1951 Census of Population reports the combined population of Jhok Sayal and an adjacent village to be 811 people, comprising 445 males and 366 females. The District Reports for the 1972 Population Census are not yet available. According to the patwari of this area, the present combined population of both these villages is around 1300. The manager of the ration depot for Jhok Sayal had the names of 700 people on his roll. People frequently misreport their family size or leave names of deceased family members on the roll. Therefore, this figure must be treated as an estimate only for purposes of this study.

The population is predominantly Muslim with only 5 Christian families living in the village. The total number of households in Jhok Sayal was 102 to 110[5]. Sixty-three women

[5] A household was defined as a unit with separate Chulah(hearth).

from 63 separate households were interviewed. Women from the remaining households could not be included because (a) some houses were locked and the occupants absent, (b) some households had no female member, (c) some women were unwell and could not be interviewed, and (d) some women were unresponsive.

The total number of people represented in the sixty-three households in our sample is 362. Of these, 183 were males and 179 females.

Age Distribution

The age distribution of the sample is shown in Table I below. The figures are not precise because most of the people do not know their age; age and birth dates are not regarded as important by the villagers. A reference to important events like World War II, Independence in 1947, and the 1965 and 1971 wars with India helped in verifying the villagers' age approximations.

In the households where a literate person was present the age-reporting appeared to be more accurate. One father had even written down the birth dates of his children in a diary — a very uncommon practice for a villager.

Table I

Age Distribution of the Sample Population

Age Groups	Males	Females	Total	Age-Group Total Percent of Sample Population
0 - 4	27	24	51	14.1
5 - 9	30	27	57	15.7
10 - 14	10	24	34	9.3
15 - 19	14	9	23	6.4
20 - 34	49	40	89	24.6
35 - 49	29	26	55	15.2
50+	15	17	32	8.8
Undetermined	9	12	21	5.9
Total	183	179	362	100.0

Table I shows that 39.1 percent of the population consisted of children under 14 years of age. Only 8.8 percent were 50 years old and above which suggests a short life expectancy. The sample also shows that the sex ratio (males per 100 females) in the village is 102.2.

Castes

There are a variety of castes in Jhok Sayal. The major division is between the abadkars and the Janglees[6]. The abadkars live in the village proper while the Janglees have their houses in the fields at the outskirts of the village. The janglees and abadkars generally do not intermingle. The Janglees have a different dialect and a different dress. The janglees women always wear a black kurta, dhoti and black chadder and their menfolk wear a white kurta and dhoti. The two communities do not intermarry; nor do they visit each other except on important occasions like marriages and deaths when they do come together socially. With only four families in the village, the janglees in Jhok Sayal are in a minority. In other villages of the area, sometimes a reverse pattern is found where the abadkars are in the minority.

[6]The word "caste" has not been used here in the sense, usually associated with the Hindu religious beliefs. In Pakistan, the word caste is used to identify a person according to his or her place of birth or occupation. The caste system, as it exists in Pakistan, in no way hinders mobility between occupations.

The jangloes reported only one caste, Lurkay, whereas the abadkars reported a variety of castes and sub-castes(Table II).

Table II

Numbers of Sample Households by Various Castes

Castes	No. of Households
Abadkars	
Bhatti	15
Rajput	11
Aarian	10
Jat	6
Malik	3
Sheikh	2
Gujar	2
Gil*	2
Pathan	1
Mughal	1
Others	3
Subtotal	56
Jangloes	
Lurkay	5
Subtotal	5
Nomads	
Oad	2
Subtotal	2
Total	63

*The Gils are Christians.

The Bhatti, Rajput and Aarian are the major castes in the village. The Rajputs are both tenants and landowners. Aarians and Lurkays are also tenants. Bhattis are landless labourers (permanent or casual). This pattern does not necessarily repeat itself in other villages of the area.

Land Ownership and Tenancy Status

The families of three large landowners in the village control 69.9 percent of the cultivated land. Two of the landowners cultivate their own land and the third cultivates 25 acres himself and rents out the rest. These landlords reside in Lahore. They stay in the village only for short periods of time to attend to business. Their households have not been included in the sample, but they are described here briefly because the village economy is highly dependent on them.

The three landlords have built pucca houses in the village which they occupy continuously during the peak seasons (wheat and sugarcane harvests) but only occasionally in the off-peak periods. By village standards, they live luxuriously. They have electricity (their houses being the only electrified structures in the village apart from the village mosque), hand pumps, bathrooms, and flush toilets. Two of the landlords have refrigerators and one has the only television in the village. In addition to the landlords there are four families which have small landholdings and are relatively better-off than the tenants and landless labourers. In the following text they will be referred to as "relatively better-off families."

In order to cultivate the lands the landlords employ permanent labourers on monthly wages. Whenever the need arises some casual labourers are also employed. The permanent labourers are known as nowkar or servants of the landlords. They receive free lodging, two maunds of wheat at no charge, 20 maunds of wheat at concessional rates after the harvest, and wages of 140 rupees per month. The wives of the servants are allowed to cut grass and weeds from the fields to use as fodder for the animals. The green fodder raised by the landlords on their land is sold at reduced rate to the servants. The servants are also allowed to prune the trees and collect brush from the landlord's fields. Under the landlord-tenant agreement, the servants are obliged to turn over animal waste to the landlord who uses it as manure. But in practice, the women make dung cakes from this waste for fuel.

Table III classifies the occupations of the male heads of households in the sample. Twenty-seven households are in farming and 34 in other occupations. There are no female heads of households. The widows live with their parents or brothers.

Table III

Classification of the Heads of 63 Households by their Occupation

Classification by Occupation	Number of Households Involved
Small landowner	1
Owner-cum-tenant	4
Tenant	22
Permanent labourer	8
Casual labourers	7
Tubewell worker	2
Rearing Sheep	2
Tractor driver	1
Cobbler	1
Wall constructor	2
Blacksmith	1
Barber	1
Carpenter	2
Maulvi	1
Weaver	1
Grave-digger	1
Shopkeeper	2
Worker in city	1
Machhan (Bread-baker)	1
Others	2
Total	63

Table IV shows the land ownership and tenancy status of the 27 farming households in the sample.

Table IV

Land Ownership and Tenancy Status of 27 Farming Households

Status	Number of Households	Farmed by Households (Acres)
1. Owners	1	10.5
2. Owner/tenants	4	48.5
a. Land owned		(20.0)
b. Land under tenancy		(28.5)
3. Tenants	22	195.2
Total	27	254.2

Of the tenants, 73 percent have land holdings of ten acres or less. However, we found that share-holding is common among large families i.e. three or four tenants pool the land under their tenancy and divide the final output among themselves. So in practice, the size of the farm is more than 10 acres with two or more people sharing the work and the produce.

Main Crops Grown

The main crops grown in the village are wheat, sugarcane, cotton, rice, maize, chillies and onions. Wheat, the staple food of the villagers, is grown on a large scale as a cash crop. Other important cash crops of the area are sugarcane, rice and cotton. Since rice has been found to be more profitable than cotton the harvested area of cotton has been

declining and that of rice increasing. Sugarcane is sold to the Jaranwala Sugar Mills and cotton and rice are sold to wholesalers in Jaranwala mandi. Chillies and onions are widely grown because they are important food items and also because they bring a good price in the market. Only a small amount of maize is grown.

Livestock and Poultry

Livestock and poultry are important sources of livelihood for the villagers. Fifty-five of the sixty-three households own animals, of which the village has 35 oxen, 68 buffaloes, 10 cows, 27 goats and 14 donkeys. Some villagers raise sheep (two families had 107 sheep) and sell them in the market where they fetch high prices around the sacrificial time of Eid-ul-Azha. Buffaloes and goats are also very highly prized for their food-producing value. The villagers get milk from these animals, which is then converted into lassi, ghee and butter, the major components of their diet. Looking after the animals is a woman's job, a point we shall return to later.

Housing

There are two types of houses in the village - katcha and pucca. Table V gives numbers and percentages of the sample houses by the different types.

Table V

Type of Housing in the Village

Type of House	Number	Percentage
Katcha	55	87
Pucca	7	11
Partly both (One pucca room & the rest katcha)	1	2
Total	63	100

Forty-two houses have only one room each, 19 have two rooms each, 2 have three rooms each and another 2 have four rooms each. Seventeen houses have separate kitchens. The houses are usually poorly ventilated. Most of the rooms have only one door, although a few also have a window or a small ventilator.

Most of the houses are grouped together in clusters around small compounds. There are six big compounds: three of them belong to the landlords and are named after them. The houses have little privacy and only a few are walled. The walled houses belong to the small landowners. Three of the small owner-tenants have houses on their own land. The janglees, who are tenants, have houses away from the village in the fields.

The houses are scantily decorated. In some, crockery, including glasses, cups and saucers, china bowls and tea trays, line the mantlepiece in a paradigm of symmetry. Colourful straw baskets and old calendars, printed with Quranic Verses, are also seen occasionally. Typical furnishings are one or two peerees, a wooden or tin box, a few charpoys for everday use, and a palang. Only two houses have chairs. The tethering pegs for cattle are usually in the room and in the winter months (Nov. - Feb.) the animals are kept in the same room as that occupied by the family for additional warmth. In two-roomed houses, with no separate animal sheds, one of the rooms has tethering pegs for the cattle. The other room is decorated according to the village standards and family status, and is used only infrequently for entertaining guests.

The pucca houses belong to the tenants of one of the absentee landlords who could evict the occupants at will. They are all in one big compound known as pucca haata and are generally neater in appearance than the katcha houses. Even the one-room pucca houses have doors. The inhabitants of pucca houses keep their animals in fields at night and during winters with the result that their compounds or haatas are noticeably cleaner. The interior decorations are typical, with one exception - in addition to the china crockery, the tenants keep copper utensils on the mantle-piece, a sign of affluence.

Health Facilities

There is no health centre in Jhok Sayal. Medical facilities are available in Jaranwala and Bucheki, both eight miles away. The landlords usually have supplies of medicines like quinine and aspirin, which they provide free to the villagers. There is no trained health visitor or nurse so that illnesses are diagnosed by either the patient or the landlord. If the patient is a female, it is usually the male member of the household who asks the landlord for medicine. The villagers have a wide range of time-honoured home-remedies and nostrums for different ailments e.g. "put oil in head if you have a headache", "drink saltish water for stomach-ache" and "drink tea for a cold" but serious cases are usually taken to the hospital or dispensary located in Bucheki or Jaranwala.

The people are highly superstitious and believe in supernatural beings. They have great faith in pirs. We saw an extremely sick child who appeared to be under-nourished. His mother

reported that the child shivered and perspired profusely at intervals. She had taken him to two or three medical doctors but when he was not cured within a week, she took him to a pir.

There was, until recently, an amil (exorcist) in the village who could scare away the Jinn[7]. He is now dead and recently there have been no occurrences of a Jinn disturbing a person. The belief is that the Jinns live under trees and if someone makes the place dirty, the Jinn takes revenge by troubling the person in various ways. Under a jinn's influence, a person starts behaving oddly, has fits, and sometimes goes mad.

There are only three or four houses with separate latrine facilities. However, there is no proper sewerage system and in one compound dirty water collected near the wall of the latrine. Four or five houses have bathrooms. Three of these belong to the small land owners and one to the barber. The men bathe at the tubewell while women bathe behind a charpoy, set up on its side in a corner of the house and covered with a cloth to serve as a screen. Bathing is easy in the houses that have hand pumps in their own courtyards. In other homes, water is brought from hand pumps belonging to others' compounds. The degree of personal cleanliness appears to be related to economic status, as the women from the poorer houses are usually filthy.

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[7]The existence of Jinns has been mentioned in the Holy Quran. The illiterate people have associated Jinns with evil spirits or ghosts.

In almost all the households a stove has been erected on a raised mud platform in the compound outside the room. Only eight houses have separate kitchens and these are used only in winters. The mud stove is portable and the cooking is done in the compound during summers.

The hygienic conditions of the village are very poor. There are two big ponds in the village, which, being full of stagnant water, provide an excellent breeding ground for mosquitoes. Until recently, these ponds provided drinking water for the animals and laundering facilities to the women of the village. With the introduction of tubewells and hand pumps, however, these ponds have fallen into disuse.

Education

Until 1971-72, when a primary school for boys was established, no educational facilities were available for the village children. One reason for this was the absenteeism of the landlords, who had little interest in having a school opened in the village. The present school owes its establishment partly to the efforts of one of the landlords, who is also planning to provide a handicraft centre for embriodery and sewing. Two young unmarried girls, who have learned sewing in a city school, are planning to run the centre.

The primary school for boys is situated in a vast compound surrounded by a wall at the end of the main street. The two katcha class rooms occupied by the senior classes (IV and V) are badly in need of repairs. Students of the remaining classes sit on jute

mats spread under the big kikker tree in the compound. During the winter, they sit in the sun.

At the time of the survey there were 100 boys on the rolls of the school. Six girls were also attending the school regularly but they were not on official rolls. The school has two teachers, one of whom is the headmaster of the school and is a Junior Vernacular* with schooling up to the 8th grade, while the other is a matriculate but is not a Junior Vernacular.

According to the teacher the villagers are not interested in educating their daughters partly because they have no appreciation of the value of formal learning and partly because they do not want their daughters to attend a boys' school.

There is a Middle School in a nearby village (about 2½ miles away) where 16 village boys are enrolled. Eight boys attend a high school in Jaranwala, but as there are no boarding facilities they have to travel daily between their own village and the school.

Table VI gives the educational level of the total sample population, aged five years and above.

Table VI

Educational Level of the Sample Population(5 years and above)

Educational level	Male	Female	Total
Illiterate	80	75	155
Quran only	27	63	90
Class 1- 2	14	7	21
Class 3- 5	17	6	23
Class 6 - 8	7	4	11
Class 9+	11	-	11
Total	156	155	311

*A diploma in teaching.

Seventy-nine percent of the population is illiterate. We have not included among the literate persons who could recite the Holy Quran because they recite without understanding either Arabic (the language of the Holy Quran) or the translation given therein.

Surprisingly, the level of education of the females is almost the same as that of the males. Moreover, it seems that more attention is paid to the religious education of the females than of the males.

Chapter Two

THE VILLAGE WOMEN

This chapter focuses on the village women's education, attitudes towards educating their daughters and sons, attitudes toward family planning, and knowledge of different skills.

Of the 63 women interviewed, 57 were married, five were widows, and one was a divorcee. Seven unmarried girls, aged 12 to 15, were also interviewed. Two of the women were Christians while the rest were all Muslims.

Education

Forty-nine percent of the women did not know how to read or write. Forty-four percent knew how to recite from the Holy Quran, but very few could understand Arabic, the language of the Holy Quran. The literacy rate for the women in the sample is 7 percent excluding the 'Quran-only' group.[8] In absolute terms, only four out of 63 women knew how to read and write.

Table VII

Educational Level of the Women in 63 Households

Education	No. of Respondents	No. as Percentage of the total Sample
Illiterate	31	49
Recite Quran only	28	44
Class 1 -2	0	0
Class 3 - 5	3*	5
Class 6 - 8	1*	2
Total	63	100

*Could read Quran also

[8] The literacy rate of both males and females of Jhok Sayal and the adjacent village was 4.8 percent according to the 1961 Census Report.

Of the four literates, two are city girls who came to the village after marriage. One who had studied up to the 8th class reported that in her family females often obtained baccalaureate or Master's degrees. She was married at a young age so that she herself could not have high education. She did not show any desire to study further, but if ever a girls' school were established in the village, she would apply for a teaching post. The other girl was the duaghter of a retired school master. All her sisters received only primary education. The other two literate women belonged to the wealthier families.

Some of the illiterate women do not show any desire to learn reading or writing. One of them said, "I am too old now; what will and old parrot like me learn now". A few younger women do want to learn. However, most wish to acquire skills like sewing and knitting. Two unmarried daughters of one of the wealthier families are taking diploma courses in skills like stitching and embroidery in Jaranwala. They are planning to open a centre in the village where they could help other women acquire these skills. The women are anxiously waiting for the centre to open.

Table VIII shows the educational status of the 57 households of married women and their husbands, interviewed by us.

Table VIII

Educational Status of 57 Married Couples

Education	Husbands		Wives	
	Number	No. as Percent of all sample Husbands.	Number	No. as Percent of all Sample Wives.
Illiterate	34	60	28	49
Can recite the Quran only.	12	21	25	44
Class 1-2	1	2	-	-
Class 3-5	4	7	3*	5
Class 6-8	3	5	1*	2
Class 9+	3	5	-	-
Total	57	100	57	100

*Could read the Quran also.

The literacy rate among the married males is 19 percent when the class 1-2 group is included and 17 percent when it is excluded. Children who drop out after one or two grades tend to forget almost everything after a while, and one must, therefore, keep this fact in mind while viewing these percentages. Only 21 percent of the males compared to 44 percent of the females could recite the Holy Quran. Many reasons were given for the neglect of the religious education of males. Several men made the following comments; "Girls have more free time; I could only learn the namaz by heart."

Aspirations for Daughters' Education

The women who have school-age daughters were asked if they would like their daughter to finish primary school. For women who have no daughters as yet, the question was altered a

bit. The older women were asked about their grand-daughters and the young women about their hypothetical daughters. Table IX reports the responses.

Table IX

Women's Attitude Towards their Daughters' Completion of Primary School Education.

Women's Responses to the Question if they would like their Daughters to finish Primary School				
	Yes	No	No Opinion	Total
Number of Respondents.	35	27	1	63
No.of Respondents as Percent of all Sample Respondents	55.5	43	1.5	100

Forty-three percent of the women do not want their daughters to finish primary school. One major reason could be the lack of school facilities for girls in the village itself. Some women stated that poverty was an obstacle to their daughters' education. One of them said; "My daughter will need decent clothes, a pair of shoes, a bag and books. We hardly cover ourselves." Some women also said that as their girls helped them with housework, child care, and fodder collecting, they could not send them to school. A few relatively better-off families(mostly tenants) reported custom and prestige to be the main reasons for their reluctance to send their daughters to schools, claiming, "We are zamindar. We don't educate our daughters because they are not going to earn a livelihood." A young woman told us that she wanted her daughters to learn how to read and write, but her

mother-in-law, who strongly believed in old traditions, would not allow them to do so. Family elders often have a very strong hold over all the domestic matters and their authority is not questioned. The nomadic oads find it difficult to send their sons and daughters to school because they are constantly on the move. Some women consider religious education to be sufficient for girls. This education consists in learning the namaz and a few Quranic verses by heart and learning to recite from the Holy Quran. The wife of the village maulvi teaches the Holy Quran to the girls.

Fifty-five percent of the women expressed the desire for their daughters to complete primary school education. Six girls are, at present, attending the boys' school. In a village where the majority of people disapprove of girls' education -- not to mention co-education-- this is indeed remarkable. But here again one must remember that the education motivator is not the mother. Instead, it is the father who takes the initiative to send his daughter to the boys' school. Women who favour at least primary education for their daughters gave varied reasons: "education is good"; "my daughter will learn how to write a letter"; "she will become wise with education and will command respect from her husband"; and "her husband will regard her as his equal." The last two observations are foremost in the minds of most of the 55.5 percent of women favouring primary school, suggesting a hidden desire to upgrade their status, at least in the eyes of their own men.

When the 35 women who wanted their daughters to finish primary school, were asked whether they would like their daughters to complete secondary school, only 11 percent responded affirmatively. The 11 percent are the four literate women in our sample. One of them wants her daughters to obtain a teaching diploma after completing their matriculation. The one from the relatively wealthy family wants her daughters to go to college. She said that she had made great sacrifices to provide education to her daughters. Since there is no girls' school in Jhok Sayal, she lives in Jaranwala during the school session for the sole purpose of educating her children. Her mother-in-law stays back in the village to look after the house. Two of her daughters have finished middle school and are receiving training in a sewing school in Jaranwala. These two young girls are the ones who want to open a centre in Jhok Sayal on the completion of their courses. The youngest daughter wants to go to the college and her mother is prepared to send her.

Eighty-three percent of the women do not want their daughters to get even primary education school level. Again the reason is the high opportunity cost of girls' education because their utility in households is very high, moreover, there is a preceived lack of value for education since it is assumed that girls won't take jobs outside the home.

Table X

Mothers' Attitude Towards Their Daughters' Completion of Higher Education.

Mothers' Responses	About Daughters' Completion of Secondary Education.		About Daughters' Completion of College Education	
	No. of Respondents.	No. as Percent of all sample Respondents.	No. of Respondents	No. as Percent of all Sample Respondents.
Yes	4	11	1	3
No	29	83	32	91
No Opinion	2	6	2	6
Total	35	100	35	100

Equal Educational Opportunities for Boys and Girls

Very few of the 63 women interviewed believe in equal educational opportunities for both sexes. Eighty-four percent consider it quite absurd. Their replies vary like, "boys have to earn a livlihood for themselves so they should be educated more", "boys' education is an investment", "boys have to tackle the worldly affairs etc.." One of the women remarked, "Girls become bold and outspoken when they are educated." Another said that when girls started reading books they did not tend the animals. A very poor woman told us that one of her sons was studying F.A.[9] class even though it involved acute financial hardship for her to educate him. She hoped that when he got a job after his M.A. he would not only bear the expenses of his younger brother's education but would also not let his mother

[9] F.A., standing for fellow of arts, represents the highest degree one can obtain at a Higher Secondary School.

Table XI

Should Girls Have at least the Same Educational Facilities as Boys?

	Number	Percentage
Yes	6	10
No	53	84
No response	4	6
Total	63	100

work so hard then. It was observed that in many instances the parents chose only one son to be educated even when they could afford to educate all of their sons. The under-educated sons help the father in farming. In many cases, however, families could not afford to educate any of their sons.

Our interviews suggest that while poor families educate sons as a measure of security for their future, they do not spend their scarce resources on girls' education since girls are married off in other families and their assets are passed to their husbands and their families.

Among the six women who believe in equal opportunities, three are from relatively rich families. One of them said, "Education can be helpful in hard days." The illiterate wife of a tube-well operator wants her daughters to get a job. The only Christian woman interviewed said that she could not educate her own daughters as there were no school facilities available when her daughters were of school age. Now that education facilities are available she wants her grand-daughters to take full advantage of these facilities.

The evidence suggests that poor families do not take much interest in the schooling of their daughters. Girls have to help their mothers with house work and they go on doing the same chores all their lives. The tubewell operator's wife, who was literate, said that she was willing to teach the village girls informally but complained that the girls' mothers just did not bother to send them to her regularly. When queried about this, the mothers responded that the operator's wife[10] made their daughters do her own housework instead of giving them lessons. It is a social custom in villages and cities that teachers of the Holy Quran have claims on their pupils' personal services. The women in Jhok Sayal are willing to grant this privilege to the maulvi's wife but not to the operator's wife. They disliked the latter because she was an outsider who disapproved of the ways of the village women.

We talked to a few unmarried girls in the absence of their mothers. Most of them were resigned to the prevailing attitude that boys were superior to girls and therefore deserved preferential treatment. They commented, "Boys are sharper than girls and thus it is their right to be educated more." This view is natural to girls in rural areas where they grow up seeing boys being given special treatment by their families and are made to consider it as their duty to make sacrifices for their brothers.

One girl from a relatively rich family considers all discrimination based on sex as unjust. Her parents, who are both literate, are in favour of educating both sons and daughters; and she will probably have no problem in securing education.

[10] Popularly known as "Pelaterni" (operatoress).

A young girl of 18 with a deformed hand had received instruction up to the level of class 6 from one of her relatives in the city. She wants to become a teacher but girls in her family are not allowed to have jobs. "there are no blessings in a woman's earnings", she quoted her fellow villagers to reflect their attitudes toward employed women. She found this attitude unjust and felt sore that while woman might earn half the family's share from her work during the harvest with her own efforts, her work was not considered a job, nor the wheat as her earnings".

Mass Media

The four literate women of Jhok Sayad do not do much of reading. Only one of them reported buying magazines occasionally. The other three borrow them from their sons or relatives in the city. One woman reported reading religious books. Some illiterate women reported listening to stories and interesting news from their sons, who read to them from books and magazines borrowed from the school library in Jaranwala. No one reported purchasing a newspaper regularly. In one of the richer households, however, a weekly newspaper is brought regularly by the son from his college library. Some women reported having urdu publications at home, consisting mainly of religious books, novels, and magazines.

Radio is the only mass communication medium available to most of the villagers. Twenty of the 63 households in the survey own a radio set and 52 women reported listening to it. Only 29% of the total women listened daily to the radio and 53% listened rarely.

Some of these women said that their husbands did not let them listen to the radio because they considered it bad. "I am a father of four grown-up daughters. I do not want them to listen to love songs", said one of the villagers. (However, he himself listened to these songs while working in the fields.) Another woman said that she was not allowed to touch the radio for fear she would break some thing. Clearly, men often decide whether it is good or bad for women to listen to the radio. They have convinced many of the women that listening to the radio led to immorality. However, the women readily agreed that the quality of the religious and farming programmes was good. Ten percent said they listened to the Qawwali, Hamd and Naat programmes on Fridays. Fifty-three percent reported that they rarely listened and eight percent said that they listened to the radio over the wall or in passing. Most of the women said that they could understand only the Punjabi programmes, and, therefore, did not pay attention to the Urdu programmes. Only a few women know the days and times of the programme they like best. The old women prefer the religious programmes. An older Christian woman reported listening to the Punjabi songs. The younger girls and women, when interviewed separately, said they liked songs, but they did not mention songs when replying in the presence of their elders.

In general the village women are oblivious of the happenings in their country and the world. From the perspective of the city-dweller they are strangely isolated from the day-to-day news, of which almost every one in the city would be aware, irrespective of their economic status. The women of the relatively rich families and a few younger girls did know some details of the important news stories of the week.

Purdah

On their basic dress-shalwar and shirt-women and grown-up girls cover their heads and shoulders with a big dopatta or a chaddar. This is a sign of modesty and also reflects their concept of purdah. The two city girls married in the village wear black burqas when they go out. The women of the richer families also observe purdha by wearing burqa when they go shopping in Jaranwala. It was observed that purdah is considered to be a symbol of affluence. The majority of women in Jhok Sayal are poor and have to work physically outside their houses. They cannot, therefore, afford the luxury of purdah. There, however, does not appear to be a correlation between purdah and the desire for daughters' education because the purdah - observing families of this village, are also educating their daughters.

Marriage

Because of old customs, girls in the village usually get married at an early age despite the 1961 Muslim Family Laws that sets the age of marriage at 16 for females and 18 for males. "The reason for marrying off the daughters at an early age", the women said, "is to avoid subjection to degarding remarks which the parents get in case the daughters' remain unmarried even after puberty." Another reason for early marriage is the custom of watta in marriage. A brother may ask for the hand of his sister's daughter for his son and give his own daughter in marriage to the sister's son. This is known as watta. Marriage within the family and the baradari (kin) is preferred. However, when watta is not

possible within a family or baradari, an outside family is approached. While we were in the village a marriage based on watta took place. The bride was 12 years of age and had come in exchange for her brother. Her husband was 35 and it was his second marriage. He had recently divorced his first wife, blaming her for having loose character, a fact corroborated by the village women. Another villager told us that he got a wife with the promise of giving in marriage his six months old niece (when she comes of age) to his brother-in-law, who is already eighteen. The betrothal pledge is a word of honour and, if broken, can lead to disputes and even murders in villages.

Table XII shows the age at which mothers expected their daughters to get married. The unreliability of age-reporting means that ages must be treated as approximations rather than the actual ages of girls at their marriages.

Table XII

Expected Age at Marriage of the Village Girls as Perceived by Mothers.

Expected Age of Girls at Marriage (Years)	No. of Respondents	No. as Percentage of all Sample Mothers.
12 - 14	24	38
15 - 17	15	24
18 - 20	13	20
21+	3	5
Age undetermined.	8	13
Total	63	100

Thirty-eight percent of the women reported that they expected to marry their daughter off between the ages of 12 and 14. Many of them reported marrying off their daughters two months after the first menstruation (i.e. around 11 or 12 years). The three respondents who expected the marriage age to be 21 or more still have their nubile daughters unmarried at ages of more than 21 years, and u their responses should be interpreted in the light of this fact.

Poverty and lack of suitable bridegrooms due to the unavailability of watta were given as reasons for the delay in marriages. Several village women told us that some people (mostly tenants) arrange for their daughters' marriages at a relatively late age because they are considered an economic asset to the household. However, no distinct pattern is discernible. Some tenants marry off their daughters early, others very late. The same applies to landless labourers, salaried workers, and others.

The Janglees tend to marry off their daughters late, usually between the ages of 18 and 25. Bhattis and Aarians marry off their daughters very young, a month or two after puberty. "Girls are just a burdern", one of them remarked. To rid themselves of the burden, some families marry their aughters off even before puberty. In the two Christian families of the village the girls were at least 18 and the boys 20 years of age at the time of their marriage.

When asked at what age girls should get married, the respondents shifted slightly in favour of an early marriage.

Table XIII

Right Age at Which in the Opinion of Mothers Girls should get Married.

Age Considered as Right for Girls Marriages. (Years)	Mothers Interviewed	
	No. of Respondent.	No.as Percentage of all the Mothers Interviewed.
12 - 14	26	41
15 - 17	12	19
18 - 20	15	24
21+	3	5
Total	56	89

Family Planning

There is no family planning centre in the village. Nurses and Lady Health Visitors (LHV) come to Jhok Sayal from the clinic located in a nearby village to provide information about family planning practices. The village dai, the field motivator, receives Rs.15 per month from the family Planning Centre. She also receives Rs. 2.50 for each woman she sends to the clinic. The LHV supplies contraceptives to the dai and gets a report from her, but she herself seldom visits the women in their houses.

Seventy-nine percent of the women had heard of family planning (Table XIV). The attitude of the village women towards the LHVs is generally quite hostile. A few approve of them and of family planning but complained that the LHVs visit irregularly and that they do not keep them supplied with contraceptives. A few of them accused the dai of not being interested in birth control

practices because such practices affected her earnings as a midwife adversely. The dai receives Rs.10 for delivering a boy and Rs.5 for delivering a girl. Sometimes she also receives sugar and wheat. Thus her earnings in cash and kind far exceed the monthly pay she gets from the family planning authorities, and it is unlikely that she would whole-heartedly support a programme whose success could lower her income. However, the dai denied any laxity on her part and attributed the villagers' lack of interest in family planning to the fact of their considering boys as economic assets.

Table XIV

Women's Knowledge of Family Planning

	Women who had heard of Family Planning.	Women who had'nt heard of Family Planning	No. Response	Total
No. of Respondents	50	6	7	63
No. as percentage of total women in sample	79	10	11	100

Seventy-nine percent of the women had heard about family planning. Awareness of family planning methods does not seem to be correlated with age or education, although the four literate women had heard and approved of the practice. Table XV lists the village women's sources of information about family planning.

Table XV

Sources of Women's Information about Family Planning in Jhok Sayal.

Source of Family Planning Information	No. of Women Benefiting from the source
Radio only	13
Neighbour only	11
Radio & Neighbour	5
Village Dai	11
Radio & Dai (both)	4
LHV	10
Magazine	1

The major sources of information about family planning were radio, neighbours, Dai and LHV. One of the four literate women said she had read the family planning magazine, Sukhee Ghar (Prosperous Home).

The subject of family planning made the women laugh and giggle with embarrassment, and it was difficult to extract answers from them because they would not be serious about the subject.

Table XVI shows that of the total of 50 women who had heard about family planning only 38 percent approved of family planning, 54 percent did not approve and 8 percent would not reply

Table XVI

Women's Approval/Disapproval of Family Planning Practices.

	Women who approved	Women who Disapproved	No Response.	Total
No. of Respondents	19	27	4	50
No.as percentage of women with knowledge of F.P.	38	54	8	100

Some of the women who did not approve of family planning were either old or pregnant and were not responsive. Two of them had recently lost a child which could be a cause of their negative reply. The non-respondents included a young bride who hid her face out of modesty and embarrassment and refused to answer, a divorcee, and a young widow.

When asked whether they would ever practice family planning, 50 percent replied negatively and 18 percent did not reply (Table XVII). The non-respondents included the older women who were not in the child-bearing age group. Only one of them said that she approved of family planning for her daughter. The 30 percent who approved of family planning included women who had practiced birth control.

It was not possible for us to measure the effectiveness of contraceptive use among the acceptors. However, our impression was that the use is marginal due, in part, to lack of follow-up by family planning personnel.

Table XVII

Women's Future Plans for Adoption of Family Planning Practices.

	Plan to adopt	Do not plan to adopt	No Response	Total
No. of Respondents.	15	26	9	50
No. as percentage of women with knowledge of Family Planning.	30	52	18	100

Women who do not want to practice family planning include a few who expressed their preference for son. "I have four daughters and one son; I want another son", said one of the women. Asked about the possibility of having another four daughters in the process of having an additional son, she replied "I will not stop till I get a son". Many women regard birth control as a sin, claiming "It is interfering with God's work", "stopping the souls from coming into the world is murder and against the will of God"; "God provides for every soul".

In a few cases the women who were questioned were satisfied with their family size but their in-laws were not. For instance, the maulvi's wife has two children, a boy and girl. She told us that she does not want any more children but her sister-in-law sitting nearby intervened by saying "No; she will have at least two more sons". Thus the women cannot express real preference for fewer children because it is not entirely their decision.

Fear of family planning is another reason for the unwillingness to practice it. A few women who did practice it became sick or the devices were defective, and their experiences affected the attitudes of other women.

Skills

The village women know a variety of skills, the most common being spinning, pickle-making, straw work, weaving of tapes embroidering and crocheting. Table XVIII shows the principal skills practiced by the villagers and the number of women who know them.

Table XVIII

Women Who Knew Different Skills

Skill	No. of Women	Percentage of Total
Spinning	59	94
Pickle making	61	97
Straw work	55	87
Embroidering	36	57
Crocheting	37	59
Weaving Tapes	42	67
Sewing	21	33
Knitting	17	27
Paranda making	8	13
Clay pottery	6	10
Other*	9	14

*Includes Dari making, Salma Sitara, making bann.

Young married daughters, or young daughters-in-law practiced the skills while the middle aged women usually did not. An exception was spinning that is done mostly by the elderly women. Many old women who are not needed for housework spin yarn all the day long. Twenty-four households have spinning wheels and several women said that they could borrow one from their neighbours or relatives any time.

In many poor families pickles are a substitute for curry or vegetables and an important part of the diet. Sixty-one out of sixty-three reported making pickles using chillies, mango, lassora[12] and day-la[13].

[12]No english equivalent is available.

[13]A fruit which grows on thorny bushes.

The village women also make baskets and Chhaba from straw. Chhabas are used to decorate the walls in most houses in addition to their functional purpose of storing roti.

Embroidering and crocheting are other popular skills. Young girls embroider small coverlets for the mantal piece and tables. They also make bedcovers and table cloths for their dowries. Some women make beautiful crochet bags, closely knitted with three or four different colours. These items would easily sell for Rs.50 in a handicraft shop in Lahore or Islamabad. They also make hand-fans covers fringed with crochet laces.

The majority of women in the village wear shalwar using tape as a belt. Sixty-seven percent reported making their own tapes from coloured thread on a make-shift loom. Silk tapes are given to the girls for their dowries.

Sixteen women reported owning a sewing machine. Twenty-one women know how to stitch clothes, but only four reported sewing for wages. The others reported sewing for their family only. Sometimes they also stitch clothes for friends and relatives free of charge.

Eight women reported making parandas, a type of thick tape made of black thread which is woven into the hair to form a plait. Coloured beads and golden thread sometimes cover the tape. Brides wear a paranda made of coloured silk threads. They are also worn on other festive occasions.

The 17 women who knit belong to the relatively well-off families. Some poor women know how to knit but did not because th

yarn is expensive. They buy second-hand winter garments rather than knit new clothing.

Some women make clay plates for decoration. They soak paper in mud or clay for a few days, mix it with sareesh (glue) and form a plate which they decorate with coloured flowers. They also make parolas in which they store grain.

The majority of women (71%) learn their skills from their families. There is no handicraft centre in the village, but there are plans for one to open very soon. Women are anxious for their daughters to learn skills, particularly embroidery and sewing, from the school. When asked about learning more skills themselves, they said, "we have passed our time. It is time for our daughters to learn things". Or "I do not have much time, but I will send my daughter to the sewing school."

The women generally disapprove of selling something made with their own hands. When asked about this, the women replied "we do not sell our skills", "people who sell their skills are Kammies[14]."

Table XIX

Do You Sell Your Products for Cash?

	No. of Respondents
For cash	1
For Family use	46
For cash and family	16
Total	63

[14] Low caste.

Table XIX indicates that some women do sell their work for cash. Some of them tried to hide this fact, others did not. The dai, for example, reported working for cash. Delivery charges are Rs.5 for a girl and Rs.10 for a boy. A boy often brings additional payment in sugar or wheat. The two female machhans in the village bake roties and take one roti for every ten they bake as commission. They also take a handful of corn for making popcorn. Four women reported sewing clothes for cash, the price being determined by their skill level -- and undoubtedly what people were willing to pay.

It was observed that women had clearly demarcated "not-for-sale" and "for-sale" skills. They could not think of earning a livelihood by selling chhaba, parola, or crochet bags, but they did not hesitate to spin yarn for others for cash.

Chapter Three

DAILY AND ANNUAL ACTIVITIES OF VILLAGE WOMEN

DAILY ACTIVITIES

The activities of women normally vary according to their economic status. As mentioned above, Thok Sayal is not a typical village in that it has little variation in economic status. The wives of the big landlords do not live in the village. The chores of the wives of the small landlords and the rest of the women do not differ very much. However, in the course of discussion any exceptions will be highlighted.

Almost all women reported getting up before dawn. The darkness facilitates their using the fields as latrines. They come back and wash their hands and face. Most of them say the Fajar Namaz and recite from the Holy Quran.

After the prayers they churn the milk that had been boiled the previous day. In the households where mother-in-law and daughter-in-law live together churning is usually done by the latter. In some cases however, it is done exclusively by the mother-in-law.

The next task is milking the animals. Animals are usually kept in the house though sometimes they are kept in separate sheds in the fields, in which case the women go to the fields to milk them. This trip is more than half mile in some cases. In many instances the men who sleep near the sheds milk the animals and bring milk home. Milking is considered to be basically a women's job with men helping them occasionally. In the Janglees community, however, women are not allowed to milk

because it is considered improper for a woman to touch the cow's teats. Jangles women will only milk the animals when the male members are not well. Among the Jangless the dung is also removed by men; however, the women made dung cakes.

Milk is put in big chatties, and dishes left over from the previous night are washed along with the milk utensils. Some of the women do not like leaving dirty utensils so they wash them after dinner. They usually use the water brought from the tube-well or the hand pump. If the hand pump is in the house or in the common courtyard dishes are washed there. A few women reported washing dishes at the tubewell.

Tending the animals is mainly a women's job. Eighty-seven percent of the households owned cattle. Women from the poorer families work very hard to keep these animals. They usuall get very little help from their husbands or sons. One household has a servant to tend the animals but here also the women supervis him. The young boys who take lessons in Holy Quran from the Maulv Sahib take care of his animals and fetch water and fuel for him[15]. In the morning the animals are fed the fodder which had been prepared the evening before. Sometimes an extra feed of grass and fodder is given to get richer milk.

After feeding the animals in the morning, the women boil the milk, over stoves specially made for the purpose. A big round dip is dug into the ground, mud walls are raised on three sides an it is roofed. The stove burns cow dung cakes. Milk is kept in earthern-ware Chattee and boiled on a low heat. The roof of the

[15] A person who teaches Holy Quran commands great respect and students consider it a privilige to work for him.

stove protects the milk from dirt. This stove has to be remade every fortnight. The milk stays on the stove until noon to make it thicker and produce a better quality of butter and lassi. The Jangloos women boil it for a much longer time till it is pink in colour. They said this increased the richness of the lassi.

When the children wake up the mother or elder sister wash their hands and face. In the poorer households breakfast consists of the leftovers of the previous night--usually roti, which is taken in the morning with butter, curd, and gur. The roties are wrapped in a cloth (dastar-khwan) to keep them soft, and put in strawbasket (chabbah). Some women reported that their husbands go to work without eating anything. However, the relatively rich households prepare a proper breakfast and sometimes tea. Tea is not very common and is usually made when someone is suffering from cold or fever. They also reported making paratha which is taken with tea.

Women knead flour before or after milking the animals. They let it stay for some time so that it becomes fluffy. In the meantime they clean the house, collect the beddings, bring them down from the roof where they sleep in summer, and put them in special big boxes. In summers they bring down the charpoys from the roof or from the courtyard and put them in a shady place.

During summers the women take the kneaded flour to the tandoor where the maachhan bakes rotis for them. For every ten rotis she takes one as her wage. During winter the rotis are baked at home because the fuel is damp and cannot be used in the tandoor, and also it is cosy sitting near the stove. Some people, especially

Jangloos community, have tandoors in their own houses also. They bake exceptionally large chappaties of about 10" to 12" diameter. The hot plate (tawa), which is used in winters is of about 18" diameter.

The next chore is cooking the food. This breakfast cum lunch is taken between 8.30 to 9.30 a.m. This varies according to the economic status. The poorer families eat rotis with onion, gur, or chillies and drink lassi with it, some of them cannot even afford to eat achar. Relatively rich families cook vegetables but also reported eating chillies which is a favourite food of the villagers. Green or red chillies with salt are ground in a special stone grinder. These are eaten with lassi and chappati. Meat and fish are eaten only once or twice a year by the poor, but at least once or twice a week by the wealtheir families.

The food is prepared on a chulah that is different from the one used for boiling milk. This, too, has to be remade at least twice a month. Dry cotton sticks, leaves, tree branches and sometimes cow dung cakes are used as fuel.

After preparing the food, women feed the children. Then the school children walk to school, leaving the others to roam about and play or help mothers in grass cutting and animal-care. Grown-up daughters help their mothers, not only in cleaning the house but also in cooking, and looking after younger brothers and sisters. Girls of about 7 to 10 years of age were seen carrying their brother or sister and playing in the street while their mothers worked. Some of the women reported eating with their children and mothers-in-law; others said they eat

along with their husbands in the fields. They wrap the rotis in a cloth, put lassi in an earthenware pot and take along a glass or a bowl. Achar, chillies or gur are also taken. They place a round beenoo on their heads to balance the chattee and other accessories. Then they carry the food to the fields where their husbands eat under a shady tree. In a few cases men come home to eat. Almost all the women, regardless of their economic status reported doing this job. Usually it falls to the daughter-in-law of the family. In April (when the sun rises at 5.00 a.m. or even earlier) they return by 9.30 a.m. to 10.00 a.m.

Most of the women reported cleaning the house and removing animal dung before taking the meals to the field. Others did it after they come back. They collected the dung, made dung cakes, and put them on the wall for drying. A woman owning one buffalo made about 12 dung cakes per day. The cakes dry in a day or two in summer and three to four days in winter. Dung cakes are stored or sold. All dung cakes are heaped in a circular formation, (gaheera), which becomes smaller and smaller at the top and is protected from the rain by mud plaster.

After cleaning houses women take animals out to tubewells for drinking water or bring water to the house for them. Then they tie them in a shady place in summer or in the sun in winter. Then all the women from one compound get together and along with their daughters and young boys go for fodder cutting.

The wives of the servants go to the fields which belong to their employers. They cut grass and other weeds which grow in the sugarcane fields (in April) and put it in their chaddars which are

tied around their heads. When the chaddar is full they empty it in a shady place and start filling it up again. During the rainy season when there is plenty of grass the women collect extra to use during autumn shortage. Usually the number of cattle they keep is directly linked with the amount of fodder they can collect.

When the sugarcane crop is harvested, women remove green leaves on the top of the sugarcane, tie it in bundles and carry it to a trolley. The green tops or aag which makes good fodder are the wage for loading the sugarcane.

At noon all the collected grass is tied in one or two big bundles and carried to the house. This is an extremely difficult task because the bundles are heavy. Two pregnant women were seen participating in this work. They said "This period is not regarded as unusual by our people. My man pities me but then I have to feed the animals, for our livelihood depends on them. We have to take more care of our animals than our children".

The petty landlord's wives did not cut or carry fodder. The son, father-in-law or husband did that instead. These landlords had a small boy as a servant who was responsible for this job. The main reason for this exception was that the men considered the job too undignified for their wives, who observed purdah and were not supposed to venture beyond their own fields.

It is usually 1.30 p.m. by the time the women reach home. If it is a washing day, they then take clothes to the tubewells. After soaping the clothes they beat them with a round wooden stick. When the clothes are very dirty they boil them in some soda. Some

of the poor women wash clothes infrequently to keep them from waring out. The servants' wives sometimes washed clothes for the landlord's families when they come to live in the village. They usually do it free of charge.

No meal is prepared in the afternoon, but the villagers eat rotis baked in the morning with lassi. They bake extra rotis so that whenever the children feel hungry they could eat. A chabbah full of rotis is regarded as prestigious. Some families just eat popcorns in the afternoon. Only three women reported making tea regularly - one of them had come from the city and tea was a habit with her. The other two belonged to relatively rich families.

Some women reported embroidering or crocheting in the afternoon. Some stitched clothes or spun yar. Spinning was a favourite activity, especially among the older women who reported spinning because they could not activelyparticipate in other domestic chores. The concept of leisure among the women is not linked with idleness. They reported keeping busy all the time, rarely sleeping during the day.

The grass collected in the morning is usually not sufficient, so most of the women go to cut fodder again at 3.00 p.m. Most of them chop this fodder into smaller pieces on a machine. Twenty-eight women reported owning fodder-chopping machines. Those who did not were free to use their neighbour's. Cuting the fodder in a machine is not a easy job; it takes more than one woman to drive the heavy wheel. Sometimes young children and adult males help. Two women reported cutting the fodder by hand with a toka; (a chopping knife) which is even a harder job.

Another afternoon chore was carrying water from the tubewell or the handpump. Women balance one to three pitchers on their heads and walk home. Young children also carry water in small pails.

Some of the women reported grinding pulses or wheat on the stone grinder Chakee in the afternoon, another heavy job. Often two women sit face to face with the grinder between them, which makes the task easier. However, most of them take wheat to the karrass where ginding was done with the help of oxen for a fee of one seer of wheat for every 40 seers. Women reported washing animals at the tubewell and feeding them in the afternoon.

Preparations for the evening meal start around 4.00 p.m. All the women reported preparing a salan (curry) or vegetables. In the poor families this is the only proper meal. It takes at least an hour to prepare the salan. As in the morning the women also knead flour and bake rotis.

The buffaloes are milked in the evening also. The milk is put up for boiling. Another important chore is adding yogurt to milk so that the curd is ready in the morning. Then animals are tied near their mangers for the night. When it is the time for men to come back from the fields, huqqa are prepared for them. If the women herself smokes she prepares a huqqa for herself in the morning also. Some men reported preparing the huqqa for themselves. The beds are taken out in the courtyard and food is served before the magrib prayer. Some women reported eating late enough to require lighting earthen lamps or deeva. Some of them wash the soiled dishes after dinner. Most of them go to bed after the Isha prayer about 8.30 p.m. The children are asleep earlier.

The grown-up daughters and young children help their mothers. If the mother-in-law is very old she stays at home to look after her grand-children, otherwise she also works.

The life of a village woman is a continual struggle. The intensity of the struggle increases as we go down the social ladder. The status of a woman is determined by the economic and social status for her husband. When a man becomes relatively well-off, his first act is to confine the women to the house. A woman whose husband is working in a mill in Lyallpur, earning Rs.300/- per month, no longer collects fodder or helps with the harvest. She is happy in her new role because it gives her a feeling of superiority.

Table XX

Work Load of a Woman on a Normal Day

Activity	Hours	- Min.	Percentage
1. Animal care	1	45	11.67
2. Collecting, carrying and preparing fodder.	3	45	25.00
3. House cleaning & making dung cakes	0	45	5.00
4. Cooking	1	45	8.33
5. Carrying food to fields, feeding children	1	30	10.00
6. Carrying water	0	30	3.33
7. Milking and churning	1	00	6.67
8. Child care	0	30	3.33
9. Other domectic chores	3	00	20.00
10. Afternoon rest	1	00	6.67
	15	00	100.00

Table XX gives the daily workload of a typical woman, 25-35 years old and wife of a tenant. The day is normal in the sense that it is outside the hectic harvesting season. While the exact amount of time spent on activities is not the same for each household, the tasks performed by women are similar in nature and intensity.

ANNUAL ACTIVITIES

Chet (March 14 - April 12)

Festivities and Preparation for Hard Work

Chet is the first month of the calendar followed by the people in rural areas. It marks the beginning of busy season and both men and women prepare for it. A five-day mela is held in the last week of the month around a nearby shrine. This is a big event for women for whom one day is exclusively reserved in the mela. Dressed in their best clothes they pay their respects at the shrine and then buy clothes, bangles, sweetmeats and toys for children. Some of them reported buying meat at the mela, one of the special occasions when the poor eat meat. Music is heard all day and in the evenings the cinemas show punjabi movies. The women, however, are not allowed to see movies because men feel they are a bad influence. Every woman talked enthusiastically about the mela because this is their only entertainment. They also claim that the mela stimulates them for the hard work ahead.

House repairs and mud plastering are also done in this month. Since 87 percent of the houses in the village are katcha, they have to be renovated twice a year. All the utensils, boxes, and palangs are taken out of the rooms and the mud with hay is plastered by hands on the walls and the floor. When it gets dry, hay and fresh cow-dung are mixed with the mud and a thin final coating is done. In order to give the room a smooth look, the walls and the floor are rubbed with a metal plate. The rooms are plastered first, then the outer walls, roof and the courtyard. The mantlepiece in the house is also renovated and oten decorated with painted

flowers. In a few houses women had white washed the inner walls. All the utensils are cleaned and the winter beddings are also washed.

Mud plastering is a very tedious job and is done exclusively by women whose hands become coarse and blistered. The women were, however, very skilled at plastering. Young girls were seen helping their mothers. Some women reported doing this job for others and were paid in kind.

In chet women also make large mud drums (Parola) for storing grain. A parola has a round, flat base on which mud walls are raised three to six feet high. The bottom and the neck are narrow, but the middle portion is wide. A small hole near the base to let the grain flow out is stuffed with some cloth. When the parola is filled with grain, the top is closed. A parola lasts many years if it is annually renovated. The women also make small flat mud containers for grain known as kothi . They make khurlees (mangers) for animals and cages for the fowl in this season.

Sugarcane planting continues from the previous month. The servants' and tenants' wives help with sugarcane sowing. A few women also reported harvesting barley, which is dried and husked at home. A favourite drink satto is prepared from it.

Baisakh (April 13 - May 13)

Wheat Harvesting Begins

In Baisakh wheat is ripe for harvesting. During this season women work very hard. The tenants' wives participate fully in harvesting. The wives of the landowners, however, do not.

During this month one can hardly find a woman or child in the village. They leave for the wheat fields before the Aazan in the morning and work until dark. Women have to cook three times a day. They come from the fields about 7.30 a.m; prepare a lot of rotis, grind chillies, a little curry or dal and a big matka (pitcher) of lassi, and hurry back to the fields. They then tend the animals. Around 12.30 a.m. or 1.00 p.m. another round of food is prepared and taken to the fields. Dinner is prepared around 5.00 p.m. After dinner the animals must be fed and other household chores are attended to . By the time they get to bed, they are totally exhausted.

After the wheat is harvested and stacks prepared some women have less work to do. The wives of the servants, however, help their men in winnowing the landlord's wheat. Husking is done by the men with the help of oxen. Their own share of the standing crop is still not touched. Wives of the other landless labourers collect their share of wheat and process it with the help of the men.

These women work hard and fast. They try to cut as much as possible to get a maximum share. They wear old clothes for harvesting because clothes tear easily when soaked with sweat and dust.

Jeth (May 14 - June 14)

Wheat is processed and stored

During this month the servants cut their own share of wheat. It is then husked and winnowed with the help of the women. The grain is collected and stored in the parolas and kothis

prepared during chet. The tenant's wives also reported working very hard during these two months.

Most of the women reported that they collect enough wheat for nine to ten months. However, some of them stated that since they exchange wheat for day to day necessities little is left. They also reported buying wheat in this month from the landlord against the advance pay of their husbands (in the case of servant) or as a loan which they must pay back gradually during the year.

Very few reported going to city for their monthly shopping. It was usually the husband or the son who brought staples from the city. A few women reported that their sons who go to the high school in Jaranwala buy the necessities. The local shopkeepers (two in number) usually have most goods which they trade for grain. A few women also reported making Achar (pickles) of deela and lasoora in this month.

Asarh (June 15 - July 16)

After the two hectic months of harvesting, the work load lessens. Women make mango achar which is eaten throughout the year. They cut green mangoes into four pieces with a sharp toka, add red chillies, salt and other spices and keep in the sun for two or three days. Mustared oil is added for preservation.

Since this month is very hot and there is not much work in the fields, women practice skills like embroidery and crochet. A few women who know how to sew, make clothes for others.

Rains start at the end of the month, bringing relief from the oppressive heat. Men begin the preparations for paddy sowing. Two women reported putting the rice seed in the ground and covering it with a thin layer of fertilizer, after which that area is irrigated by the men.

Sawan (July 17 - August 16)

Paddy-sowing and straw baskets

This is the rainy month. There is plenty of grass and weeds in the fields so it is easy to collect fodder. When it is raining women stay indoors and make straw baskets (changairs). The straw obtained from the hollow reed of wheat becomes flexible in the damp air and is easy to work with. Women are very adept in this skill. They dip the straw in different clours and then make beautiful designs in Chabas.

Jullians are also made in this month. All the worn-out clothes of the house are collected and stitched together to make a 3' x 6' pad, which is covered in relatively better cloth and quilted. Since only needle work is required, almost every women can do this. Coloured crocheted lace is put all around the Julli. These Jullians often are a part of the daughter's dowry, and are used as matting. Thus the old clothes do not go waste.

Paddy sowing begins in this month. Most of the wives of the (Janglee) tenants reported taking active part in it. The women take the seedlings from the nursurey and make bundles. The bundles are carried in a basket to the fields where they are sown. Men help them transport the bundles, but it is usually the women who take out the seedlings.

The wives of servants and other landless labourers reported getting Rs.20 per acre they sow. The tenants' wives get Rs.10 per acre because the landlord pays only half of the expenses incurred. The other half is paid by the tenant. Thus their work is partly family help and partly for wages.

Paddy-sowing is a very difficult job. The seedling is transplanted in the fields in knee-deep water and one has to bend forward all the time. Most of the women said that in the evening the back ached and the legs muscles are palsied. But the jangloos women, who work the hardest, said that since they did it every year they are used to it. They looked down upon the women who said that paddy sowing was difficult.

The Janglee women also participate in corn sowing. They follow the plough and scatter seeds in furrows. The Janglees men proudly confirm that their women have to share the burden equally. A few other women also reported helping their husbands in corn sowing.

Bhadon (August 17 - September 16)

During this month the rains slow down but it is very humid. The women continue to collect grass in this oppressive wheather. They also practice skills like straw-work and weaving tapes. Paddy-sowing may continue in this month.

To save wheat from worms and pests, it is taken out of the parolas and kohties and put in the sun for a week or so. Plenty of salt is mixed with it before it is again stored. Some women reported cleaning grain to remove small stones and other particles that get mixed up with it during processing.

Women visit their relatives and friends in this season and take along the straw baskets they have made.

Assun (September 17 - October 16)

House Repairs, Rice Harvesting

In Assun the rains are over and women once again repair their damaged houses in the rainy season. Mud plastering is once again in full swing. The houses are renovated and every one is active.

Women and children go out in the corn fields to guard them from birds and animals. They sit all day long for rakhi and scare away the birds by beating a tin-can with a stick. Only the wives of the landless labourers do not do this job.

By the end of the month rice sown in Sawan is ready for harvesting. After collecting the paddy the women carry it home where they separate the stalks for cattle feeds. Men help women with this job. The paddy is then spread out to dry during the day and collected in the evening for about two weeks. During the day a child or a woman stays near it to guard it against the birds. When dry, the grain is put into deep stone jars (Askhal) and pounded with wooden sticks (Mola) to remove the husk from the rice. This is done both by men and women. It is then pruned with a Chaj (winnowing fan) wheat to separate the rice and husk. Rice is stored in pitchers after cleaning. The servant's and labourer's wives reported processing their share themselves. However, the tenants with large crops took it to husking machine. Some of them reported processing a part of it at home.

Kartak (October 17 - November 15)

Rice harvesting continues throughout this month. Corn is also ready for harvest. The tenant's wives reported picking corn ears and bringing them home. The leaves and stalks serve as a good fodder. The corn is dried in the sun and then separated from the dried cob by beating with wooden sticks. Then some of it is converted into flour on the karugs. Sometimes it is also ground on the stone grinder Chaki. The dried cobs serve as fuel. The corn is also stored in pitchers stacked one upon another.

Chillies are also picked by women. This activity starts in Kartak and continues till phagan . Women take keen interest in this activity because they are paid Rs.2.50 per maund and are allowed to keep 1/20th of the total chillies they pick.

Magher (November 16 - December 15)

Cotton Picking and Quilt Making

Cotton picking is the main activity of this month. In Jhok Sayal all women, irrespective of the economic status, reported picking cotton. The land-owners's wives picked it in their own land. The wages are Rs.2.50 to Rs.3.00 per manud in cash or 2 to 2½ seers per manud of cotton picked.

After picking, the cotton is separated from its seed. The servants reported selling the seed or feeding it to the animals. The servants' wives separated the seeds from the cotton the landlored wanted to keep. The wives of the tenants reported keeping some for their own use and selling the surplus. The cleaned cotton is then spun, and taken to the weaver who makes cloth and

khes. Some of the cloth is used to make new quilts.

Wheat sowing starts by the middle of this month. The tenants' wives reported scattering the seed after the plough. Servants' wives reported this to be a man's job.

Sugarcane is the main crop of this area. Its harvesting starts in this month. Women did not report taking part in the harvesting of sugarcane.

Chillies are also picked in this month. As explained above, this is exclusively a woman's job.

Poh (December 16 - January 17)

Poh is one of the coldest month of the year. There is no grass in the fields for fodder. The wives of the servants and landless labourers reported that they peel the tops from the sugarcane (aag) to use for fodder. However, this aag is not free of cost. They make bundles of sugarcane and carry it to the trolley or the truck which transports the cane to the sugar mill in Jaranwala.

Wheat sowing continues in this month. Some women reported picking chillies . Cotton processing and spinning continues. Four women reported picking corn in this month.

Magh (January 18 - February 11)

This is a very cold month with short days. So the activities of women outside their houses are quite limited. However, collecting aag for the animals continues. The older women reported sitting in the sun and spinning all day long.

Achar of chillies is made in Magh. The corn picked and dried in the earlier month is beaten with wooden sticks and the corn is ground to make corn-flour. Since there is plenty of saag (spinach) in this month, it is cooked and eaten with a roti made of corn-flour. Corn is also popped occasionally by the maachhan in a furnace. The popcorns can be stored for a long time but are very tasty when warm, the women get them made only when needed.

Paghan (February 12 - March 13)

Sugarcane sowing starts in Paghan. The tenants' wives reported helping with sowing. The others described it as a relatively quiet month. Since there is not much work to do they visit their parents and other relatives. Going to parents' and brothers' house is regarded as a special occasion. Women buy gifts for their near and dear ones, make new clothes for themselves and their children. In the very poor families the visitors take an active part in all the housework. They even collect fodder. In a few houses special attention is given to the married daughters who are allowed to relax in their parents' home and are given gifts.

Preparations for house repairs also being in this month. Mud is brought from the ponds and stored. A few women reported starting house repairs by the end of Paghan.

Summary

The highlights of the study are as follows:-

(a) Education

The literacy rate for 63 married women in the sample is 7% . In absolute terms only four out of 63 women knew how to read and write.

(b) Attitudes towards education

Nearly half of the women interviewed expressed aspirations for their daughters to finish primary school (i.e. to learn to read and write). However, only 4 women who are literate themselves wish their daughters to be educated beyond primary school. Poverty, social traditions, lack of a girls' school in the village, the expectation that girls would not earn their livelihood and the participation of young girls in household activities are some deterrents to girl's education. The idea of equal educational facilities for males and females was rejected by women interviewed with greater importance attached to the education of males.

(c) Age at Marriage.

The majoriy of girls in the village are married off a month or two after the first menstruation. Sixty-two percent of women wish their daughters to be married between the age of 12-17. Marriages are arranged and the tradition of watta reinforces the role played by elders in determining the future of children.

(d) Family Planning

Awareness of family planning is high(79%) among the women interviewed. However only 30% of them indicated that they would practice it and there was no way of determining how many actually did practice it. Preference for sons, economic security in old age, "It is Gods will", and fear of birth control methods are reasons for non-acceptance of family planning.

(e) Skills

A variety of skills are practiced by the village women. Most of the products of these skills are consumed by the household. Most women disapprove of selling their skills for cash. However there are some goods that are socially recognised as being marketable.

(f) Daily Activities

A typical village woman works for 14 hours on a normal day i.e. a day outside the hetic harvesting or sowing seasons. Of these 14 hours at least 5 hours a day are spent in animal care, collecting, carrying and preparing fodder. Other major daily activities are milking and churning, cooking and carrying food to the fields.

(g) Annual Activities

Planting, harvest and processing seasons intensify the physical chores of the village women. During the wheat harvest for example, women spend about 10 hours a day in the fields. They also take part in husking, winnowing and storing

of wheat. They help their husbands in rice transplanting and sowing. Picking cotton and chillies are also major annual activities. Women living in Katcha houses have to renovate them twice a year after the end of the rainy seasons.

The rural woman in Jhok Sayal is an active but unrecognized participant of every economic and social activity inside and outside here home. She leads a very hard life. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that here life is filled with drudgery and few rewards. She is usually an unwelcome child, grows up with the idea that she is inferior to men, seldom is able to enhance her abilities through education, gets married when she is merely a child herself, rears half a dozen children or more, knows valuable skills but cannot use them to increase her standard of living. She performs all the dutics of a wife, a mother , and a daughter-in-law and simultaneously shares the burden of field work with her husband. But this situation need not persist. With diligent attention to identifying and applying practical solutions to the problems of rural women, future generations of women in Pakistan can lead more productive and fulfilling lives.

GLOSSARY

Aag:	The green top of sugarcane used as a fodder for animals.
Amil:	Exorcist.
Aazan:	Call for prayers.
Abadkar:	People from other parts of the country who settled in the parts of Punjab before partiton, to develop the area.
Achar:	Pickles.
Bann:	A rope or string made of reeds or twisted grass.
Baradari:	Kin
Beeno:	A round base made of cloth stuffed and sewn together.
Burqa:	A veil, a kind of mantle or veil covering the whole body from head to foot.
Chaddar:	A sheet of cloth used by women to cover their heads. Men in the village usually carry a Chaddar on their shoulders.
Chaj:	A winnowing fan made of reeds.
Chakee:	A stone-grinder. It consists of two big mill stones. The upper mill stone has a handle on one side and a hole in the middle. Grain is poured in from the hole and the upper stone is revovled to grind the grain which passes out from a hole at the bottom of the stone.
Changair:	A straw-basket used for keeping rotios warm. The villagers also use it for decorating the walls.
Charpoy :	A bedstead.
Chatee:	A flat-based clay pot used for churning the milk.
Chhaba:	Same as Changair.
Chulha:	A mud-stove or hearth.
Dai:	Midwife.
Dari:	A small rough carpet.

Dastarkhawn: A table cloth; a piece of cloth spread on the ground on which meal dishes are placed.

Dayla: A local fruit used for making pickle.

Deeva: A small tin oil lamp or an earthen lamp.

Dhoti: Loin cloth.

Dopatta: A cloth thrown loosely over the head and shoulder by women.

Gaheera: A mound of cow-dung cakes plastered with clay for long term storage.

Ghee: Butter oil; clarified butter.

Gur: Raw-sugar.

Haata: Housing compound usually enclosed by a mud wall.

Hamd: Praise of God.

Huqqa: A smoking pipe: a water pipe

Isha: Last of the five daily prayers.

Janglee: The local inhabitants of that area were known as Janglees.

Jhullian: A patchwork quilt used as a mattress to protect against cold.

Jinn: One of the genii; a spirit; an elf.

Katcha: Mud houses.

Kammees: Workmen. In villages the people in the lower economic and social status are considered to be the kammees or workers of the landlord and other people in the higher strata.

Karrass: It is a machine powered by animals to grind flour. A hole is dug in the ground where a machine is fitted. Around it is a raised mud platform. This process of grinding is comparatively easier and less labour intensive than the hand grinding machine called chakee.

Khes : A kind of cloth; damask, a sheet of a kind of figured cloth.

Khurlee: A manger.

Kikker: A type of shade tree.

Kothi: Store-house, in order to store wheat the people build small store houses of clay giving them various shapes, the one which is given the shape of a house is called kothi.

Kurta: A loose shirt worn by men and women.

Lasoora: A glutinous fruit.

Lassi: Diluted milk, Whey: water part of milk.

Machhan: A woman who makes popcorn and bakes roti.

Maghrib: Sunset.

Mandi: A market.

Maulvi: A learned man. A religious instructor.

Mela: A fair.

Mola: A rod used for grinding rice or chillies etc.

Namaz: Prayer.

Naat: Praise of Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him).

Nowkar: Servant.

Oad: Wanderers.

Palang: A bed.

Paranda: A three-stranded tape made of cotton or silken thread to tie the hair into a plait.

Paratha: Loaf of bread baked with ghee.

Parola: A storage bin for wheat made of clay with round base and narrow neck.

Patwari: A village registrar; a keeper of records and accounts of lands.

Peeree: A bann-woven stool or chair with short legs.

Pucca: Made of bricks and cement.

Qawali: Singing in chorus.

Rakhi: To look after.

Roti: Bread.

Saag:	Vegetable.
Salan:	Meat, fish or vegetable curry.
Salma-Sitara:	A kind of embroidery consisting of small stars between embroidered bands.
Sareesh:	Glue; starch.
Sattoo:	Barley parched, ground and made into a paste drink.
Sukhee Ghar:	A magazine of Family Planning (Prosperous Home)
Tandoor:	An oven, a stove.
Tawa:	Hot plate.
Toka:	A sharp edged knife with iron blade and wooden or iron handle.
Watta:	Marriage with in the family e.g. One brother might ask for the hand of his sister's daughter for his son and give his daughter in marriage to the sister's son.
Zamindar:	Landlord.

Reference

1. Office of the Census Commissioner, Ministry of Interior, Population Census of Pakistan, 1961. District Census Report, Lyallpur. Parts I-V. (Karachi: Manager of Publications).