

CHANGE IN MARITAL STATUS IN PAKISTAN: DISTRICT LEVEL COMPARISON OF TWO CENSUSES, 1981 1998

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Proportion of never married is an important determinant of fertility in a population. The purpose of this present study is to analyze and compare marital status from the Pakistani population censuses (1981 and 1998) at the national, provincial and district levels. For the nation, the percentage of never married and divorced increased while, that of married and widowed percentage decreased in 1998. In 1998 the proportion of never married percentage increased in all the provinces. The proportion of never married females has drastically increased. The percentage share of female widowed decreased in all the provinces in 1998. The proportion of female widowed percentage is greater than male widowed percentage. The female percentage of divorced increased in Punjab, Sindh and NWFP, while in Balochistan it declined in 1998 as compared to 1981. The male and female percentage of married decreased in most of the districts while in some districts it increased. The male and female percentage of never married increased in most of the districts in 1998 as compared to 1981. The percentage of male widowed increased in 23 districts, decreased in 16 and remained constant in 8 districts. The percentage of female widowed decreased in all the districts except in Mianwali and Karachi where it increased. The per cent share of female divorced increased in 20 districts, decreased in 14 districts and remained constant in 13 districts. The share of male divorced remained constant in 30 districts decreased in 14 districts and increased in only 3 districts in 1998 as compared to 1981.

INTRODUCTION

One of the important variables which affects the family formation and level of fertility is the marital status. The purpose of this study is to analyze and compare marital status from the 1981 and 1998 Pakistani population censuses at national, provincial and district levels. An attempt to search for a 'plausible' explanation of district level differentials of marital status over time will be made. Therefore, this study is limited to a purely demographic analysis to evaluate the marital status. The significance of this exercise lies in providing a useful background material to the demographers, planners and researchers.

POPULATION BY MARITAL STATUS AND SEX IN PAKISTAN AND THE PROVINCES IN 1981 AND 1998

As stated earlier the important variable which affects the family formation and level of fertility is the marital status. All individuals aged 15 years and above enumerated in the 1981 and 1998 population census were classified according to their marital status, namely, married, never-married, widowed and divorced in Table 1 and Figure 1.

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1981 Census

From the total population, 15 years and above in Pakistan 25.1 per cent were never married, 68.8 per cent married, 6.0 per cent widowed and 0.1 per cent divorced. The percentage share of never married male was much higher than the female, being 31.5 and 17.8 per cent respectively. The percentage share of married female was higher than the male, being 72.7 and 65.2 per cent respectively. The reason may be low literacy rate in the rural areas. Pakistan's 70 per cent of the population lives in rural areas, where the literacy rate is very low. Most of the girls are married in small ages. Also the fathers of their daughters feel that the girls are burden on them.

Table 1
Percentage Population by Marital Status (15 years and above) and
Sex in the Provinces and Districts of Pakistan: 1981-1998

Country/ Province/ District	Total Population		Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced	
	1981	1998	1981	1998	1981	1998	1981	1998	1981	1998
Pakistan	45333290	72601241	25.1	31.2	68.8	63.0	6.0	5.4	0.1	0.4
Male	24107473	37687834	31.5	36.9	65.2	59.8	3.1	3.2	0.2	0.1
Female	21225817	34913407	17.8	25.3	72.7	66.5	9.1	7.8	0.4	0.4
Punjab	26771764	42317254	25.1	31.8	68.4	61.8	6.1	6.0	0.4	0.4
Male	14157152	21891784	30.9	37.2	65.3	58.7	3.5	3.8	0.3	0.3
Female	12614612	20425470	18.8	26.0	71.9	65.2	8.9	8.3	0.4	0.5
Attock	670559	954442	22.6	31.3	68.8	59.9	7.9	7.7	0.7	0.1
Male	334452	452831	28.9	37.8	67.2	57.8	3.5	4.1	0.4	0.3
Female	336107	501611	16.2	25.5	70.5	61.9	12.3	11.3	1.0	0.3
Rawalpindi	1247922	2064722	28.3	35.7	65.0	58.3	6.3	5.7	0.4	0.3
Male	650090	1055424	34.1	41.3	62.9	55.7	2.8	2.8	0.2	0.2
Female	597832	1009298	22.0	29.8	67.3	60.9	10.2	8.8	0.5	0.5
Jhelum	698431	1042339	24.8	32.2	66.5	59.8	8.2	7.5	0.5	0.5
Male	341522	503055	30.5	38.3	64.9	57.4	4.3	4.1	0.3	0.2
Female	356909	539284	19.4	26.3	68.2	61.9	11.9	10.7	0.5	0.1
Gujrat	1344870	1904726	26.5	32.0	66.3	60.5	6.7	7.1	0.5	0.4
Male	697877	946423	32.6	37.8	63.2	57.3	3.9	4.5	0.3	0.4
Female	646993	958303	20.0	26.3	69.6	63.6	9.9	9.6	0.5	0.5
Sargodha	1487853	2098766	25.8	31.9	67.5	61.1	6.4	6.6	0.3	0.4
Male	777822	1062089	40.0	37.4	65.0	58.0	3.8	4.5	0.2	0.1
Female	710031	1036677	20.2	26.4	70.3	64.3	9.1	8.8	0.4	0.5
Mianwali	769291	1178345	25.2	31.8	68.6	61.3	5.9	5.7	0.3	0.2
Male	400830	592537	30.3	36.9	66.2	59.4	3.4	3.6	0.1	0.1
Female	368461	485808	19.7	32.1	71.2	78.3	8.6	9.5	0.5	0.1
Faisalabad	2705611	4166957	28.5	34.5	65.4	59.2	5.8	6.0	0.3	0.3
Male	1432659	2168488	33.7	39.6	62.6	56.1	3.5	4.1	0.2	0.2
Female	1272952	1998469	22.6	28.9	68.6	62.6	8.4	8.0	0.4	0.5
Jhang	115519	1651535	24.9	30.5	68.3	62.2	6.3	6.8	0.5	0.5
Male	615281	857488	30.8	36.2	65.3	59.1	3.6	4.4	0.3	0.3
Female	540238	794047	18.1	24.3	71.8	65.6	9.4	9.0	0.7	0.1
Lahore	2028184	3839751	30.9	36.3	63.9	58.7	5.1	4.9	0.1	0.1
Male	1109232	2053174	36.5	41.4	60.5	55.6	2.9	2.9	0.1	0.1
Female	918952	1786577	24.2	30.4	68.0	62.2	7.6	7.2	0.2	0.2

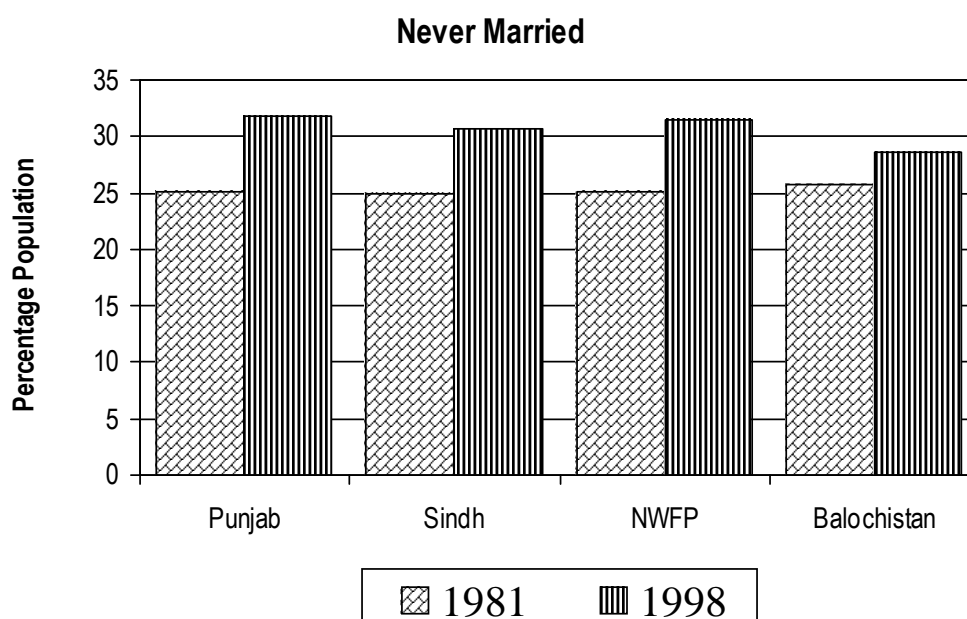
Country/ Province/ District	Total Population		Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced	
	1981	1998	1981	1998	1981	1998	1981	1998	1981	1998
Kasur	846638	1317566	24.2	31.6	69.2	62.1	6.3	5.9	0.3	0.4
Male	451478	697186	29.7	36.9	65.8	58.5	4.2	4.3	0.3	0.3
Female	395160	620380	18.1	25.6	72.9	66.2	8.6	7.8	0.4	0.4
Gujranwala	1492566	2445099	27.2	34.0	66.3	60.1	6.2	5.7	0.3	0.2
Male	794482	1282652	32.7	39.0	63.1	56.9	3.9	3.9	0.3	0.2
Female	698084	1162447	20.9	28.4	70.0	63.6	8.8	7.6	0.3	0.4
Sheikhupura	1178487	1893236	26.2	32.9	67.5	60.8	6.1	6.0	0.2	0.3
Male	630708	993725	31.7	38.1	64.3	57.5	3.8	4.2	0.2	0.2
Female	547779	899511	19.8	27.1	71.2	64.5	8.6	7.9	0.4	0.5
Sialkot	1532125	2293233	27.3	33.4	65.9	60.3	6.5	6.0	0.3	0.3
Male	797250	1160476	32.8	38.5	63.1	57.3	3.9	4.0	0.2	0.2
Female	734875	1132757	21.3	28.3	68.9	63.4	9.4	8.0	0.4	0.3
D.G. Khan	869745	1407506	19.9	23.2	74.8	72.2	5.2	4.5	0.1	0.1
Male	447682	733152	24.2	29.8	73.0	67.6	2.6	2.5	0.2	0.1
Female	422123	674354	15.2	16.0	76.6	77.2	7.9	6.7	0.3	0.1
Muzaffargarh	1186230	1964353	21.2	26.2	73.1	68.0	5.5	5.4	0.2	0.4
Male	610495	1019050	24.5	32.0	71.9	64.5	3.4	3.4	0.2	0.1
Female	575735	945303	17.6	19.8	74.3	72.1	7.8	7.6	0.3	0.5
Multan	2996534	4753986	22.9	30.5	71.1	63.3	5.7	5.9	0.3	0.3
Male	1601735	2486269	28.9	36.0	67.6	60.0	3.3	3.8	0.2	0.2
Female	1394799	2267717	16.1	24.5	75.1	66.8	8.5	8.2	0.3	0.5
Sahiwal	2057364	3113527	14.9	32.1	40.8	61.0	3.8	6.4	0.5	0.5
Male	1089856	1622504	30.5	37.0	65.2	58.1	4.0	4.5	0.3	0.4
Female	967508	1491023	18.9	26.6	71.8	64.0	8.9	8.3	0.4	0.1
Bahawalpur	797121	1353146	20.9	28.0	73.2	66.2	5.6	5.4	0.3	0.4
Male	427016	716241	27.2	33.3	69.3	63.1	3.4	3.5	0.1	0.1
Female	370105	636905	13.8	22.1	77.6	69.7	8.2	7.7	0.4	0.5
Bahawalnagar	766319	1179478	23.5	31.2	69.9	62.5	6.2	5.9	0.4	0.4
Male	405272	610886	29.0	36.0	66.8	59.5	3.9	4.2	0.3	0.3
Female	361047	568592	17.4	26.2	73.6	65.6	8.6	7.7	0.4	0.5
Rahimyar Khan	1014395	1694541	20.6	27.4	73.7	66.7	5.5	5.6	0.2	0.3
Male	541413	878134	27.2	37.1	69.6	70.6	3.1	3.8	0.1	0.5
Female	472982	816407	13.0	21.2	78.6	70.4	8.2	8.1	0.2	0.3
Sindh	10448780	17423661	24.9	30.7	69.2	64.2	5.7	5.0	0.2	0.1
Male	5658773	9236880	31.9	36.2	65.3	61.1	2.6	2.6	0.2	0.1
Female	4790007	8186781	16.4	24.4	73.8	67.5	9.6	7.8	0.2	0.3
Jacobabad	530259	765820	18.9	18.0	75.5	78.4	5.3	3.4	0.3	0.2
Male	281646	387811	28.7	23.4	69.2	75.0	2.0	1.5	0.1	0.1
Female	248613	378009	7.9	12.8	82.8	81.9	9.1	5.2	0.2	0.1
Sukkur	935799	1502098	19.9	24.3	73.6	70.6	6.4	5.0	0.1	0.1
Male	501115	783943	27.9	30.1	68.9	67.1	3.1	2.7	0.1	0.1
Female	434684	718155	10.8	18.0	78.9	74.4	10.1	7.4	0.2	0.2
Larkana	615319	1028024	18.7	24.1	74.4	70.8	6.7	5.0	0.2	0.1
Male	325067	518906	26.6	28.9	70.2	68.8	3.0	2.2	0.2	0.1
Female	290252	509118	9.8	19.1	79.2	73.0	10.9	7.8	0.1	0.1
Nawabshah	842172	1180177	21.3	28.1	72.7	66.1	5.9	5.5	0.1	0.3
Male	437214	602956	27.9	33.0	69.5	64.1	2.4	2.8	0.2	0.1
Female	404958	577221	14.1	23.1	76.2	68.5	9.6	8.3	0.1	0.1
Khairpur	520672	827543	18.9	25.8	75.2	68.8	5.7	5.2	0.2	0.2
Male	277715	428511	26.7	31.3	70.6	65.7	2.6	2.9	0.1	0.1
Female	242957	399032	10.0	20.0	80.5	72.1	9.4	7.7	0.1	0.2

Country/ Province/ District	Total Population		Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced	
	1981	1998	1981	1998	1981	1998	1981	1998	1981	1998
Hyderabad	1522516	2296943	24.3	31.2	68.9	63.0	6.7	5.7	0.1	0.1
Male	809804	1202204	30.9	36.4	65.8	60.4	3.2	3.1	0.2	0.1
Female	712712	1094739	16.9	25.4	72.2	65.8	10.5	8.5	0.4	0.3
Dadu	573303	950389	21.0	26.8	72.5	67.9	6.3	5.1	0.2	0.2
Male	308305	492659	29.1	32.1	68.0	65.3	2.8	2.5	0.1	0.1
Female	264998	457730	11.5	21.2	77.7	70.7	10.5	7.8	0.3	0.3
Tharparkar	826273	1304394	22.0	24.6	71.3	70.0	6.6	5.3	0.1	0.1
Male	446360	680241	29.8	30.2	67.1	67.0	2.9	2.7	0.2	0.1
Female	379913	624153	12.9	18.5	76.0	73.2	10.8	8.1	0.3	0.2
Sanghar	497045	793992	21.0	26.0	72.6	68.2	6.2	5.7	0.2	0.1
Male	266692	413952	28.5	31.9	68.3	64.9	3.0	3.0	0.2	0.2
Female	230353	380040	12.3	19.7	77.7	71.7	9.8	8.4	0.2	0.1
Thatta	402853	625109	22.2	26.6	70.5	68.2	7.2	5.0	0.1	0.2
Male	216679	328399	29.7	31.9	66.8	64.8	3.4	3.2	0.1	0.1
Female	186174	296710	13.5	20.7	74.8	72.0	11.6	7.2	0.1	0.1
Karachi	3182569	6149172	32.9	38.7	62.1	56.3	4.8	4.7	0.2	0.3
Male	1788176	3397298	38.7	44.0	59.0	53.6	2.2	2.2	0.1	0.2
Female	1394393	275187	11.2	32.1	28.9	59.6	3.6	7.8	0.3	0.5
N.W.F.P.	5882789	8074541	25.1	31.5	69.6	64.0	5.1	4.4	0.2	0.1
Male	3076072	4074210	32.2	40.3	65.8	60.3	1.8	1.9	0.2	0.5
Female	2806717	4000331	17.2	22.6	73.8	67.9	8.7	7.0	0.3	0.5
Hazara	1410042	1531156	25.9	29.5	68.8	65.7	5.0	4.6	0.3	0.2
Male	734056	756484	34.6	36.0	62.9	61.3	2.4	2.6	0.1	0.1
Female	675986	774672	16.4	23.1	75.3	70.0	7.8	6.7	0.5	0.2
Mardan	812316	1726335	26.8	32.8	67.5	62.0	5.6	5.0	0.1	0.2
Male	416834	861809	33.0	39.4	65.4	58.7	1.5	1.8	0.1	0.1
Female	395482	864526	20.2	26.3	69.7	65.3	9.9	8.1	0.2	0.3
Peshawar	1247649	2966994	28.1	32.4	66.9	63.8	4.8	3.7	0.2	0.1
Male	667959	1530058	34.5	42.3	64.0	56.4	1.4	1.2	0.1	0.1
Female	579690	1436936	20.8	20.4	70.2	72.8	8.8	6.7	0.2	0.1
Kohat	404687	673593	22.6	31.1	72.3	64.0	4.9	4.8	0.2	0.1
Male	202706	318977	30.3	38.5	67.9	59.4	1.7	2.0	0.1	0.1
Female	201981	354616	14.9	24.4	76.7	68.0	8.1	7.2	0.3	0.4
D.I. Khan	345229	577048	23.6	30.1	70.3	64.7	5.9	5.1	0.2	0.1
Male	186303	303487	30.1	36.1	66.8	60.9	3.0	2.9	0.1	0.1
Female	158926	273561	16.1	23.3	74.3	68.8	9.3	7.5	0.3	0.4
Bannu	384305	599415	26.6	30.2	68.2	65.7	5.0	4.0	0.2	0.1
Male	203375	303395	32.1	35.6	65.6	62.4	2.2	1.9	0.1	0.1
Female	180930	296020	20.5	24.6	71.0	69.1	8.2	6.1	0.3	0.2
Balochistan	2229957	3495949	25.7	28.6	69.2	67.8	4.8	3.5	0.3	0.1
Male	1215476	1836357	34.5	34.0	63.5	64.2	1.8	1.7	0.2	0.1
Female	1014481	1659592	15.2	22.5	76.1	71.7	8.3	5.6	0.4	0.2
Quetta	397595	796727	34.4	42.6	66.0	58.0	3.4	3.2	0.2	0.2
Male	225059	417800	45.7	42.8	60.1	55.7	1.1	1.4	0.1	0.1
Female	172536	378927	19.7	42.5	73.8	60.4	6.4	5.0	0.1	0.1
Sibbi	166031	274941	20.4	23.3	75.7	73.9	3.8	2.7	0.1	0.1
Male	89148	147378	29.7	30.3	68.9	68.3	1.3	1.3	0.1	0.1
Female	76883	127563	9.6	15.3	83.6	80.3	6.7	4.3	0.1	0.1
Loralai	206820	289334	28.3	30.1	67.5	66.9	4.1	2.9	0.1	0.1
Male	113462	154005	38.2	37.0	60.4	61.6	1.3	1.3	0.1	0.1
Female	93358	135329	16.3	22.3	76.1	72.9	7.5	4.6	0.1	0.2

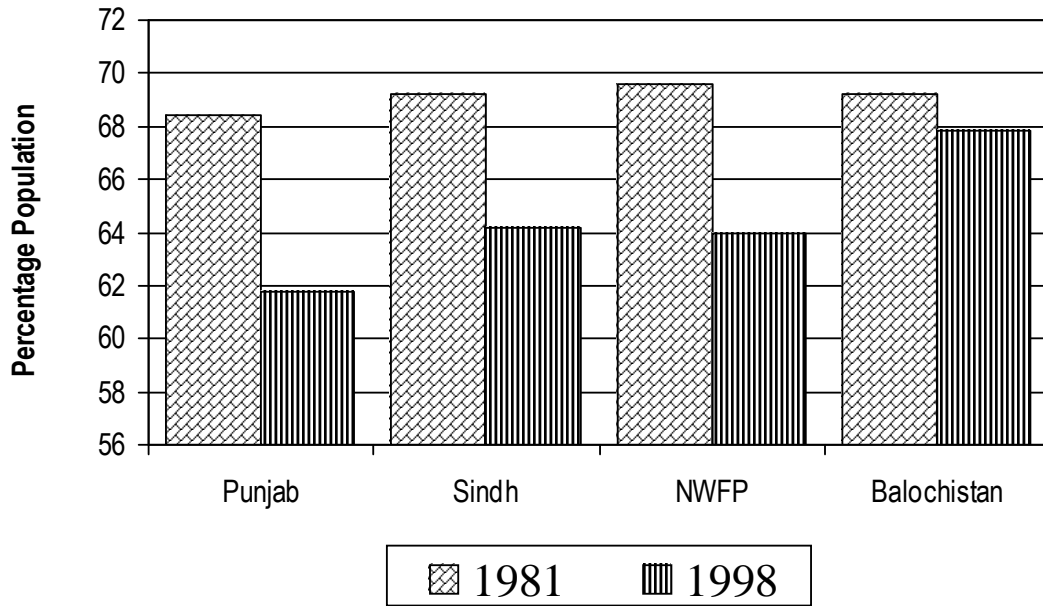
Country/ Province/ District	Total Population		Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced	
	1981	1998	1981	1998	1981	1998	1981	1998	1981	1998
Zhob	180225	229297	32.2	28.7	64.5	69.1	3.1	2.1	0.2	0.1
Male	100251	120484	42.9	34.5	56.3	64.5	0.7	0.9	0.1	0.1
Female	79974	105813	18.9	22.2	74.7	74.4	6.1	3.3	0.3	0.1
Chagai	57510	105049	25.7	31.4	70.3	64.7	3.8	3.8	0.2	0.1
Male	31743	57253	32.0	37.3	66.5	60.9	1.4	1.7	0.1	0.1
Female	25767	47796	18.0	24.3	74.8	69.2	7.0	6.3	0.2	0.2
Kalat	373475	499209	22.7	23.6	71.5	72.2	5.5	4.1	0.3	0.1
Male	198900	261144	31.3	29.6	66.7	68.4	1.8	1.9	0.2	0.1
Female	174575	238065	12.8	17.1	77.0	76.4	9.7	6.3	0.5	0.2
Kachhi	384112	593692	19.3	22.3	74.9	73.3	5.7	4.3	0.1	0.1
Male	200787	309145	27.6	28.9	70.1	68.8	2.2	2.2	0.1	0.1
Female	183325	284547	10.2	15.1	80.1	78.3	9.6	6.5	0.1	0.1
Kharan	63598	108391	25.8	26.1	68.6	68.3	5.2	5.1	0.4	0.5
Male	34412	55111	32.6	30.1	64.5	66.8	2.6	2.8	0.3	0.3
Female	29186	53280	17.8	22.3	73.5	69.8	8.2	7.3	0.5	0.6
Makran	295843	425981	29.5	25.6	63.6	70.9	5.8	3.2	0.1	0.3
Male	163877	218343	38.3	29.4	58.4	69.0	2.9	1.5	0.4	0.1
Female	131966	207638	19.2	21.6	70.5	72.9	9.1	5.0	0.2	0.5
Lasbela	104748	176328	23.7	29.4	68.9	64.7	7.0	5.6	0.4	0.7
Male	57837	95694	31.3	35.4	65.0	61.3	3.5	3.2	0.2	0.1
Female	46911	80634	14.4	22.2	73.9	68.8	11.3	8.5	0.4	0.5

Source: Calculated from 1981 and 1998 population census Reports of respective districts.

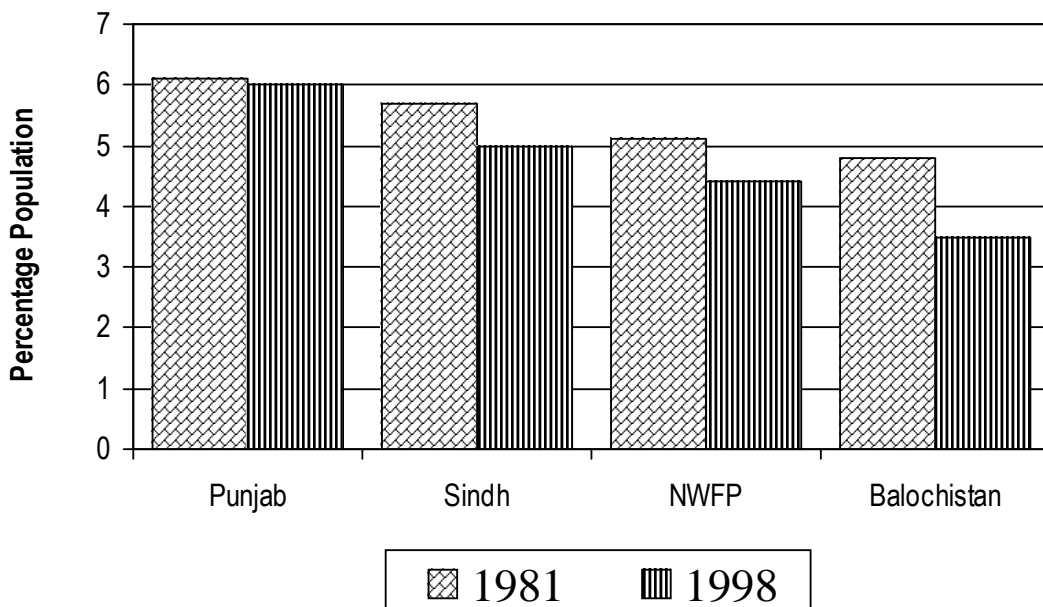
Figure 1
Per centage Population by Marital Status (15 years and above) in the
Provinces of Pakistan: 1981-1998

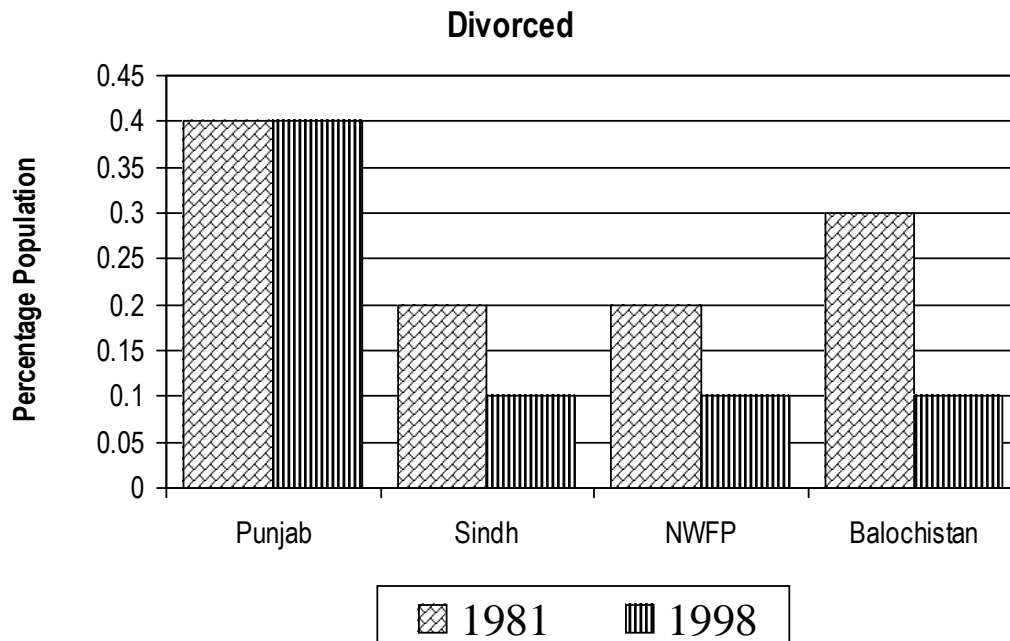


Married



Widowed





As far as the provinces are concerned, out of the total population 15 years and above in Punjab 25.1 per cent were never married, 68.4 married, 6.1 widowed and 0.4 per cent divorced. The percentage share of never married male was much higher than female, being 30.9 and 18.8 per cent respectively. Like wise the female married percentage is greater than the male. Most of the female are widowed as compared to male. The reason may be the life expectancy. The life expectancy of female is greater than male.

In Sindh 24.9 per cent were never married, 69.2 were married, 5.7 were widowed and 0.2 per cent were divorced. The percentage share of never married male was much higher than female, being 31.9 and 16.4 per cent respectively. The married percentage of female is high as compared to male. The widowed percentage of female is high as compared to male.

In NWFP 25.1 per cent were never married, 69.6 were married, 5.1 were widowed and 0.2 per cent were separated or divorced. Although divorce is allowed in Islam and is relatively easy to obtain its occurrence is probably restrained by the fact that Pakistani custom obliges the husband to pay the wife a substantial mehr (dowry) in case of divorce. Moreover, divorce is socially disapproved, and divorced women at times become social outcasts. The percentage share of never married male was much higher than the female, being 32.2 and 17.2 per cent respectively. The married percentage were of the same trend, i.e., female percentage were higher than male. The widowed percentage were also high as compared to male.

In Balochistan 25.7 per cent were never married, 69.2 per cent married, 4.8 per cent widowed and 0.3 per cent were divorced. The distribution patterns of male and female

shows the same pattern as in other provinces (except divorced). The divorced percentage of female is relatively high (0.4 per cent) as compared to other provinces.

In all the districts the percentage of married persons are highest, then comes never married, widowed and divorced. The percentage of never married is highest in Quetta (34.4) and lowest in Sahiwal (14.9). Similarly the male percentage of never married is highest in Quetta (45.7) and lowest in D.G. Khan district (24.2). The female percentage of never married is highest in Lahore (24.2) and lowest in Jacobabad (7.9). The percentage of married person is highest in Sibbi (75.7) and lowest in Sahiwal being 40.8 per cent. The percentage of male is highest in D.G. Khan (73.0) and lowest in Zhob (56.3). Similarly the female percentage is highest in Sibbi (83.6) and lowest in Karachi (28.9). The percentage of widowed is highest in Jhelum district (8.2) and lowest in Zhob (3.1). The male percentage is highest in Jhelum (4.3) and lowest in Quetta (1.1). Female percentage is highest in Attock (12.3) and lowest in Karachi (3.6). The overall divorced percentage is highest in Attock (0.7) and lowest (0.1) in 12 districts. The male divorced is highest (0.4) in Attock and Makran and lowest (0.1) in 20 districts. The female percentage of divorcee is highest (1.0) in Attock and lowest (0.1) in 7 districts.

1998 Census

From the total population 15 years and above 31.2 per cent were never married, 63.0 per cent were married, 5.4 per cent widowed and 0.4 per cent divorced. The percentage share of never married male was much higher than the female, being 36.9 and 25.3 percentage respectively. The female married percentage (66.5 per cent) is higher than male percentage (59.8 per cent). The female percentage of widowed and divorced is relatively high as compared to male.

In Punjab 31.8 per cent were never married, 61.8 per cent married, 6.0 per cent widowed and 0.4 per cent divorced. The percentage share of never married male was much higher than the female, being 37.2 and 26.0 per cent respectively. The married percentage of female is higher than male. The percentage of widowed and divorced were also high as compared to male.

In Sindh out of the total population of 15 years and above 30.7 per cent were never married, 64.2 per cent married, 5.0 per cent widowed and 0.1 per cent divorced. The male percentage (36.2) of never married was higher than female percentage (24.4). The married percentage of female was higher than male percentage. The percentage of widowed and divorced in female were relatively higher as compared to male.

The marital status of male and female in NWFP and Balochistan also follow the same percentage distribution (except divorced in NWFP) as in Punjab and Sindh. In NWFP the divorced percentage in male and female are very high (0.5 per cent each for both).

Majority of the districts also show the same pattern as their provinces have shown.

PAKISTAN COMPARISON

The percentage of never married and divorced increased while, that of married and widowed percentage decreased in 1998. The percentage of never married male and female both increased to 36.9 and 25.3 per cent respectively in 1998 as compared to 31.5 and 17.8 per cent respectively in 1981. The proportion of never married females has drastically increased to 25.3 per cent in 1998 as compared to 17.8 per cent in 1981, when it was 17.8 per cent. It means 7.5 per cent points gain in share of never married females and 5.4 per cent gain in male share have been registered since 1981. The increasing proportion is an indication of decline in fertility level which was sustaining at very high level for a long period. The percentage of married persons declined by 5.8 per cent, being 68.8 per cent in 1981 and 63.0 per cent in 1998. 6.8 per cent points decline in share of married females and 5.4 per cent points decline in male share have been registered. The percentage of female married is greater than male married in both the census. The married percentage of both male and female decreased in 1998 as compared to 1981.

The widowed percentage in male increased while that of female decreased in 1998 as compared to 1981. In female the percentage of widowed decreased more from 9.1 per cent in 1981 to 7.8 per cent in 1998. The relatively low percentage of female widowhood may be attributed partly due to decline in male mortality. Though the proportion of female widowed percentage is greater than male widowed percentage. The percentage of divorced in male has decreased from 0.2 per cent in 1981 to 0.1 per cent in 1998, while that of female divorced remain constant in both the census being 0.4 per cent. The female divorced is greater as compared to male divorced in both the census. There may be many reasons for this for example, lack of understanding between husband and wife, low literacy rate, unmatched marriages; and no child from first wife etc.

INTER-PROVINCE COMPARISON

In 1981 the percentage of never married was lower (24.9) in Sindh and higher in Balochistan (25.7) Table 9. In 1998 the proportion never married percentage increased in all the provinces. It was higher in Punjab (31.8) and lower in Balochistan (28.6). As far as the percentage distribution of male and female were concerned, the never married percentage of male and female in all the provinces (except male percentage in Balochistan which decreased) increased during 1981-98. The proportion of never married female increased by more point percentage as compared to male percentage in all the provinces, which is the indication of fertility decline. Other reasons may be due to higher and better education they did not get their equal partner, due to better job, due to their good ideal and due to their responsibility (If elder, and father has died) care tackling of their family. Since our 70 per cent of the population lives in rural areas, one of the most important reason of never married increase is *Thekri Ki Mang*. This means that when the boy and girl are born they are proposed to each other. If the boy married to another girl (not the one who is proposed) then the proposed girl did not marry the whole life. The decrease in male never married percentage in Balochistan may be due to financial improvement and high sex ratio (115 per 100 females).

The married percentage along with the distribution of male and female decreased in all the provinces (except Balochistan) in 1998 as compared to 1981. In Balochistan the results was just reverse. The married percentage for both male and female increased in 1998 as compared to 1981. The decrease in married percentage in male and female in all the provinces (except Balochistan) was mainly due to decrease in fertility in these provinces. The province of Balochistan clearly indicates high fertility rate and high sex ratio. Other reasons for decrease may be traditional restriction for example Thekri Ki Mang (discussed before), rare cases of medically unfit, not have a choice of their own and restriction with in the family which discriminates them etc.

The widowed percentage decreased in all the provinces during 1981-98. The widowed percentage is relatively higher in Punjab in both the census being 6.1 and 6.0 per cent respectively. The percentage of widowed is lowest in Balochistan in both the census. The male percentage of widowed in Punjab and NWFP increased from 3.5 per cent in 1981 to 3.8 per cent in 1998 and from 1.8 per cent in 1981 to 1.9 per cent in 1998 respectively. In Balochistan the male percentage decreased in 1998, while in Sindh the male widowed percentage remain constant in both the census. The percentage share of female widowed decreased in all the provinces in 1998. This decrease in percentage was lowest in Balochistan (5.6 per cent) and highest in Punjab (8.3 per cent). In 1981 the percentage share of widowed for female is high as compared to 1998. The female widowed decreased in all the provinces in 1998 as compared to 1981. In Punjab and NWFP the male widowed percentage increased while in Balochistan it declined. In Sindh it remain constant. The high percentage of female widowed in all the provinces may be due to increase in male mortality rate, decrease in health facilities, less life expectation of male, and due to accidental death (accident and family clashes). The reasons for the decrease of female widow percentage in all the provinces in 1998, clearly indicates the improvement in health facilities of the male. The increase in male widowed in NWFP may be due to increase in female mortality rate and decrease in health facilities.

The share of divorced percentage decreased in Sindh, NWFP and Balochistan while in Punjab it remains constant in both the census. The female percentage of divorced increased in Punjab, Sindh and NWFP in 1998 as compared to 1981, while in Balochistan it decreased. The male female divorced percentage is very high in NWFP in 1998 as compared to 1981. There is an increase of 0.3 and 0.2 per cent in 1998 as compared to 1981. The reasons for the increase in divorce for females in Punjab, Sindh and NWFP may be due to doubtful nature of husband, low literacy rate, unsuitable marriage (high age of husband and low age of wife, husband low educated and wife highly educated), wife medically unfit or there are financial problems in the house. The decrease in female divorce in Balochistan may be due to good understanding between husband and wife, family background (not to give divorce), and for any reason the husband marries second woman but he did not give divorce to his first wife because he needs sexual satisfaction from both of his wives. The increase in male marriages in 1998 conforms this reason. The increase in male divorced in NWFP may be due to increase in female literacy rate (18.8 per cent in 1998 as against 6.5 per cent in 1981) and her job satisfaction, bad habits of husband or his being medically unfit. The reason for the decrease in male divorced

percentage in Sindh and Balochistan is due to good relation and understanding between wife and husband.

INTER-DISTRICT COMPARISON

The inter-district comparison are shown in Table 9. The percentage share of never married increased in all the districts (except Jacobabad, Zhob, Kalat and Makran) in 1998 as compared to 1981. The male percentage share of never married in 38 districts of Pakistan increased (except Sargodha, Jacobabad, Quetta, Loralai, Zhob, Kalat, Kharan and Makran where it decreased) in 1998 as compared to 1981. The female percentage of never married increased in all the districts (except Peshawar) in 1998 as compared to 1981. This clearly shows that female never married percentage increased in more districts as compared to male never married percentage, which clearly indicates decline in fertility in most of the districts. The other reasons of male never married percentage increase or decrease, female never married, increase or decrease in the districts have been discussed earlier in inter-province comparison.

The percentage share of married person in all the districts decreased (except Sahiwal, Jacobabad, Zhob, Kalat and Makran, where it increased) in 1998 as compared to 1981. The percentage distribution of male percentage decreased in all the districts (except the districts of Rahim Yar Khan, Jacobabad, Zhob, Kalat, Kharan and Makran where it increased) in 1998 as compared to 1981. Similarly the female percentage of marriage also decreased in all the districts (except Mianwali, D.G. Khan, Karachi, Peshawar and Makran where it increased) in 1998 as compared to 1981 census. The decrease in female married percentage in most of the districts indicates that the fertility in those districts decreased. This may be mainly due to effective family planning program of the government. Other reasons have been discussed earlier. The increase in male married percentage in some of the districts may be due to family culture, or financially well-off condition. Similarly the increase in female married may be due to family culture or financially well-off family condition.

The percentage share of widowed person in all the districts decreased (except the districts of Gujrat, Sargodha, Faisalabad, Jhang, Multan Sahiwal and Rahim Yar Khan where it increased) in 1998 as compared to 1981 population census. All these districts belong to Punjab province. In Sahiwal it is too high. The percentage of male widowed increased in 23 districts and decreased in 16 districts in 1998 as compared to 1981. This is an alarming question. In the districts of Lahore, Gujranwala, Muzaffargarh, Sanghar, Karachi, Sibbi, Loralai and Kachhi it remain constant in the two census. The percentage share of female widowed decreased in all the districts (except Mianwali and Karachi where it increased) in 1998 as compared to 1981. In Karachi the increase is alarming because it is more than 100 per cent. It means that the male widowed increased in 23 districts while female widowed increased in only two districts during 1981 to 1998. The increase in male widowed in the 23 districts may be mainly due to increase in female mortality rate and decrease in health facilities of the female. Similarly the decrease in male widowed in the 16 districts may be due to decrease in female mortality rate and increase in health facilities of female. The decrease in female widowed in all the

districts in 1998 as compared to 1981 may be attributed partly to declining in male mortality and good health facilities available to males in those districts. The increase in female widowed in Mianwali may be due to decrease in health facilities of men and family clash between each other. In Karachi the female widowed increased (more than double) as compared to other districts. This was mainly due to bad law and order situation and sectoral killing between 1989 and 1998. Most of the male married were killed.

The percentage share of divorced decreased in 17 districts, increased in 12 districts and remained constant in 18 districts in 1998 as compared to 1981. The percentage share of female divorced increased in 20 districts, decreased in 14 districts and remained constant in 13 districts. The percentage share of male divorced remained constant in 30 districts, decreased in 14 districts and increased in Gujrat, Sahiwal and Rahim Yar Khan in 1998 as compared to 1981 population census. The reasons for the increase and decrease in male and female divorced in the respective districts has been discussed in inter province comparison.

The high female divorced rate as compared to male in most of the districts are due to lack of understanding between the couples, doubts in the mind of husband about his wife (due to low literacy rate of females) and family crises.

CONCLUSION

The data on marital status from the Pakistani census of 1981 and 1998 have been evaluated in this study, at the national, provincial and district levels.

For the nation the percentage of never married and divorced increased while, that of married and widowed percentage decreased in 1998. The percentage of never married male and female both increased in 1998. The proportion of never married females has drastically increased. The increasing proportion is an indication of decline in fertility level which was sustaining at very high level for a long period. The reasons for male never married increase may be due to traditional restrictions, due to love (not to have a choice of their own), due to financial problem (less income) and rare cases of medically unfit males. The reasons for female never married increase may be due to higher and better education (due to increase in age they do not have their choice), due to better job and due to the care taking of their family. The percentage of male and female married both declined in 1998 as compared to 1981. The reasons for decline are the same which are of increase in never married male and female. The male widowed percentage increased while that of female decreased in 1998 as compared to 1981. The reason for increase in male widowed may be due to increase in female mortality rate and decrease in health facilities of female. The relatively low percentage of female widowed may be attributed under to decline in male mortality. The proportion of female widowed percentage is greater than male widowed percentage. The percentage of male divorced decreased while that of female remained constant in 1998 as compared to 1981. The proportion of female divorced is greater as compared to male divorced in both the census. There may be many reasons for this, for example, lack of understanding between

husband and wife, low literacy rate unmatched marriages and if no child from first wife etc.

In 1998 the proportion never married percentage increased in all the provinces. The never married percentage of male and female increased in all the provinces (except male percentage in Balochistan which decreased) in 1998 as compared to 1981. In Balochistan result was just reverse. The married percentage for both male and female increased in 1998 as compared to 1981. The decrease in married percentage in other provinces was mainly due to decrease in fertility. The province of Balochistan clearly indicates high fertility rate and high sex ratio.

Other reasons for increase may be traditional restriction for example *Thekri Ki Mang* (discussed before), rare cases of medically unfit, not have a choice of their own and restriction with in the family which discriminates them etc. The male percentage of widowed in Punjab and NWFP increased in 1998. In Balochistan it decreased while in Sindh it remained constant. The percentage share of female widowed decreased in all the provinces in 1998. This decrease in percentage was lowest in Balochistan while highest in Punjab. In Punjab and NWFP the male widowed percentage increased while in Balochistan it declined. The female percentage of divorced increased in Punjab, Sindh and NWFP while in Balochistan it declined in 1998 as compared to 1981. The male female divorced percentage is very high in NWFP in 1998. The reasons for the increase in female divorced in Punjab, Sindh and NWFP may be due to doubtful nature of husband, low literacy rate, unmatched marriage (high age of husband and low age of wife, husband low educated and wife highly educated), wife medically unfit and financial problems in the house. The decrease in female divorce in Balochistan may be due to good understanding between husband and wife, family background (not to give divorce) and for any reason the husband marries second woman but he does not give divorce to his first wife.

The male percentage share of never married increased in 38 districts and decreased in 8 districts in 1998 as compared to 1981. The female percentage of never married increased (except Peshawar) in all the districts. This clearly indicates decline in fertility in most of the districts. The male and female percentage of married decreased in most of the districts while in some districts it increased (reasons discussed before).

The percentage of male widowed increased in 23 districts, decreased in 16 districts and remained constant in 8 districts. The percentage of female widowed decreased in all the districts except in Mianwali and Karachi where it increase (reasons discussed before).

The percentage share of female divorced increased in 20 districts, decreased in 14 districts and remained constant in 13 districts. The share of male divorced remained constant in 30 districts, decreased in 14 districts and increased in only 3 districts in 1998 as compared to 1981 (reasons discussed before).

POLICY SUGGESTIONS

The government should take necessary steps to decrease the sex ratio up to 96 males per 100 females. The marriage age of both the sexes shall have to be increased. The

increase in literacy rate should decrease the percentage of divorced especially in rural areas. In order to decrease the widowed percentage it is necessary that adjustments should be made in the national budget for the resource allocation towards health facilities mainly in rural areas. Good health facilities will increase the life of both the sexes.

Notes

1. The districts of each province are according to 1981 population census. After 1981 some more districts were created from the existing districts. Therefore in 1998, we saw from the map and with the Tehsil of the district that from which district these new districts are created. The details are as under:

Punjab Province

Attock	=	Attock + Chakwal
Gujrat	=	Gujrat + Mandi Bahauddin
Sargodha	=	Sargodha + Khushab
Mianwali	=	Mianwali + Bhakkar
Faisalabad	=	Faisalabad + Toba Tek Singh
Gujranwala	=	Gujranwala + Hafizabad
Sialkot	=	Sialkot + Narowal
D.G. Khan	=	D.G. Khan + Rajanpur
Muzaffargarh	=	Muzaffargarh + Leiah
Multan	=	Multan + Khanewal + Lodhran + Vehari
Sahiwal	=	Sahiwal + Okara + Pakpattan

Sindh Province

Sukkur	=	Sukkur + Shikarpur + Ghotki
Nawabshah	=	Nawabshah + N. Feroz
Tharparkar	=	Mirpurkhas + Umerkot + Tharparkar
Karachi	=	East + West + South + Central + Malir

NWFP Province

Hazara	=	Kohistan + Mansehra + Abbotabad + Batgram
Mardan	=	Mardan + Swabi + Haripur
Peshawar	=	Peshawar + Charsadda + Newshehra
Kohat	=	Kohat + Karak + Hangu
D.I. Khan	=	D.I. Khan + Tank
Bannu	=	Bannu + Laki Marwat

Balochistan Province

Quetta	=	Quetta + Pishin + Killa Abdullah
Sibi	=	Sibi + Ziarat + Kohlu + Dera Bugti

Loralai	=	Loralai + Musa Khel + Bar Khan
Zhob	=	Zhob + Killa Saifullah
Kalat	=	Kalat + Khuzdar + Mastung + Awaram
Kachhi	=	Kachhi + Nasirabad + Bolan + Jaffarabad
Makran	=	Gwadar + Turbat + Panjgur

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