WOMEN IN THE WORKFORCE IN PESHAWAR

Pakistan Gender and Social Inclusion Platform and the Pakistan Poverty and Equity Program

JUNE 2021

*Pakistan's female labor force participation (FLFP) remains low by regional and global standards, and major disparities are observed between rural and urban FLFP, with the latter being significantly lower. The World Bank's multimethod **Women in the Workforce** study investigates the patterns and challenges that govern urban FLFP. This Note analyzes women's labor market outcomes as reported by women in Peshawar city in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, using data collected as part of the World Bank's Peshawar Urban Household Survey (PUHS). This Note was developed as a collaborative effort between the World Bank's Pakistan Gender and Social Inclusion Platform and the Pakistan Poverty and Equity Program. Further efforts under the Women in the Workforce study will present FLFP findings from other urban cities in Pakistan.*

1 Introduction

Female labor force participation (FLFP) in urban Pakistan stands out in more ways than one. Not only is it among the lowest in the world (International Labour Organization [ILO] 2020), but it is also remarkably stagnant, having hovered around 10 percent for at least 20 years (Cho and Majoka 2020; World Bank 2018). The World Bank's Women in the Workforce study has deployed a multimethod approach to gain a nuanced understanding of the constraints to women's work in this context.

The qualitative component of the Women in the Workforce study has analyzed the labor market experiences of women in Quetta, Peshawar, Lahore, and Karachi (World Bank 2019). Those findings have helped design the Peshawar Urban Household Survey (PUHS), a multipurpose household survey that collected information regarding a range of themes, such as living conditions, labor market participation and economic empowerment, time use, experiences with harassment in public, individual aspirations and values, and many others (see Appendix 1 for more details). The aim of this report is to present the findings of the PUHS, addressing the following questions: Is FLFP in urban Pakistan truly as low as it appears (Section 2)? Why does FLFP remain low (Section 3)? What are the

barriers to women's work (Section 4)? What are the characteristics and quality of the jobs held by women, and to what extent do they differ from men's jobs (Section 5)? And, finally, what can be done to promote greater FLFP (Section 6)?

2 Measuring Women's Work

Among the many questions raised by the available estimates of FLFP in urban Pakistan is whether they should be taken at face value. The literature warns of potential downward biases affecting the measurement of FLFP, especially in low-income countries. One of the factors that may contribute to an underestimation of FLFP is the widespread use of proxy respondents in household survey labor modules.[1] The male household head, who usually reports for other household members, may not be adequately informed about women's economic activities, or he may fail to report them due to implicit bias regarding women's work. A typical example is a woman who is unpaid but is supporting a family business managed by a male household member. Empirical evidence on this type of measurement error is mixed and still limited in its coverage of different cultural contexts (Bardasi et al. 2011; Benes and Walsh 2018; Desiere and Costa 2019). In general, questionnaires that directly elicit, in

---

1   Most household and labor force surveys do not expressly require each household member to answer directly for him/herself. Given the time constraints and difficulties of having all members present at the moment of the interview, the questionnaire is generally administered to one (maximum two) respondent(s), which in most cases corresponds to the household head (spouse).

separate questions, all possible forms of labor market engagement that constitute employment are found to yield a more precise measurement of FLFP. But the discussion of measurement issues within the literature on women's work goes far beyond data collection and into the definition of work itself. Even when recorded without error, the standard concept of work, which focuses on the production of goods and services *primarily for the market* (International Conference of Labour Statisticians 2013), leaves out many productive activities that are typically carried out by women in the production of goods for family consumption, or playing a supportive role, often times unpaid, in family businesses. The PUHS attempts to improve the measurement of FLFP by directly asking each woman in the 15–64 age group about her labor market engagement, by increasing the number of questions that directly spell out all possible forms of employment and by allowing the accounting of production of goods for family consumption.

Compared to the Labor Force Survey, the PUHS allows for more accurate estimates of FLFP in urban Pakistan. While FLFP in urban Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) measured by the first source in 2017 is 9.4 percent, self-reported FLFP measured in 2019 Peshawar is 13.4 percent (Figure 1). The difference is statistically significant at any conventional level.[2] Granted, the latter estimate remains low by international standards, but it suggests that the way women's work is measured through survey data matters and should be improved.
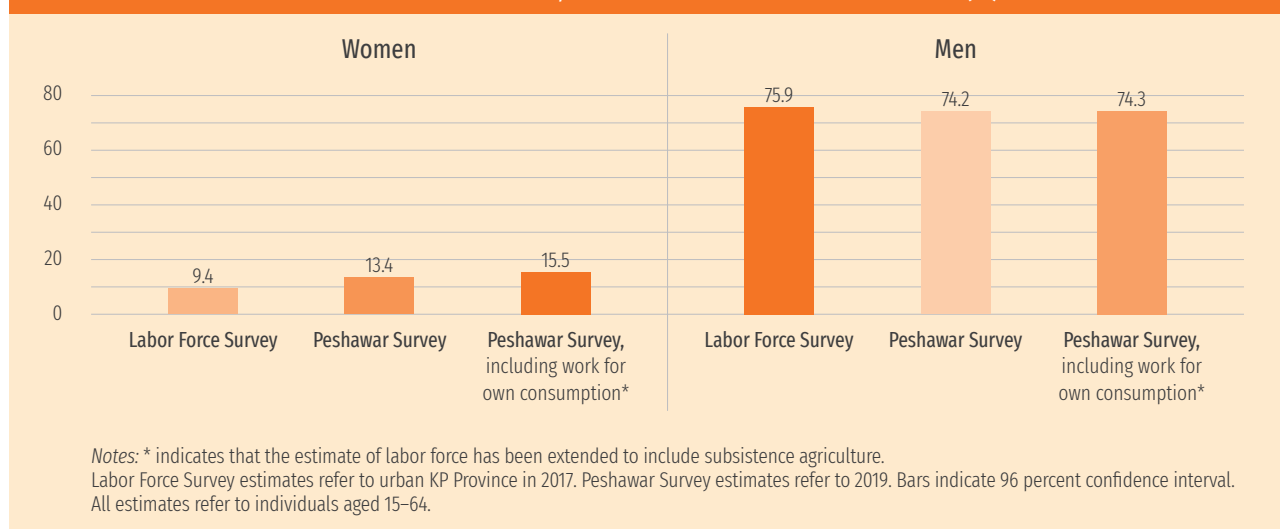
Adopting a more comprehensive definition of employment, which includes the production of *goods for family use, increases FLFP by a small margin.** Extending the concept of employment to include people engaged in the production of agricultural goods for their own consumption (subsistence agriculture) generates a more comprehensive estimate of labor force participation (LFP). The resulting differences with the standard concept are clearly gendered: Men's LFP does not change, while women's LFP increases to 15.5 percent (Figure 1). The small size of the difference is justified by the urban context—nonetheless, the difference is statistically significant.

3 Social Norms and FLFP

Research indicates that a myriad of interconnected factors, including social and cultural restrictions on women's mobility, rigid gender role ideologies, and the notion of honor associated with women, greatly limit FLFP in Pakistan. As determined by multiple studies, an honor culture is strongly linked with "social image" or reputation, that is, representation of self in the eyes of others. Anjum, Kessler, and Aziz (2019) have termed Pakistan as having an "honor culture." In patriarchal societies like Pakistan, in order to control the demeanor of women and hence protect their honor, men often limit women from leaving the home and mandate that women in their families (or clans) limit themselves in their connection to the outside world. When women do go out, they must be chaperoned and be appropriately garbed. Within an honor culture, women are typically expected to display shyness in their demeanor, avoid eye contact with men, refrain from loud speech or laughter (especially in the presence of men), and limit their interac-

FIGURE 1: URBAN LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES, DIFFERENT SOURCES AND DEFINITIONS (%)

Women: Labor Force Survey 9.4; Peshawar Survey 13.4; Peshawar Survey, including work for own consumption* 15.5

Men: Labor Force Survey 75.9; Peshawar Survey 74.2; Peshawar Survey, including work for own consumption* 74.3

Notes: * indicates that the estimate of labor force has been extended to include subsistence agriculture.
Labor Force Survey estimates refer to urban KP Province in 2017. Peshawar Survey estimates refer to 2019. Bars indicate 96 percent confidence interval.
All estimates refer to individuals aged 15–64.

2   The *p*-value of a two-sample *t*-test for the difference of the two estimates at zero is 0.0003. Note that the comparison may be muddled by confounding factors, and only experimental evidence can definitively pin down the size of respondent bias in this context.

tions and conversations with out-of-family males to necessary topics only. This results in restrained speech and movement for women (Sanauddin 2015), an effect that is significantly pronounced in Peshawar. See Box 1 for more details.

Women typically abide by the honor code, and are heavily influenced by it in terms of their decision making, mobility, and interaction with spaces outside the home. Any violation of the code leads to severe repercussions. By restricting women's mobility and access to the public sphere, the honor code has a profound impact on the extent and quality of women's LFP. Asadullah and Wahhaj (2016) found that community practices such as purdah have a negative impact on women's likelihood to participate in paid employment. Since women often can't leave home, they seek employment opportunities that can be managed at home. Earlier qualitative research pertaining to FLFP in urban areas indicates that the traditional honor culture also influences the sectors in which women seek employment and creates a barrier when it comes to them exploring jobs outside of fields that are considered socially acceptable. Hence, women are frequently engaged in home-based work or in the education sector, and very few choose to work in service industries. Women reported facing restrictions from male family members when they expressed interest in unconventional job roles, and men opined that workplaces where free mixing of the sexes was common were in defiance of local norms (World Bank 2019). For jobs outside the home, women may also have to restrict their job search to proximal employers or locations where it is convenient for male household members to accompany them. These trends are observed and confirmed in the data from the PUHS.

Women's employment remains mainly limited to the household setting due to mobility restrictions and the burden of having the sole responsibility for homemaking and childcare. In Pakistan, as in other parts of South Asia, social norms around the division of labor at home are relatively inflexible. Women tend to perform most household and care work. Exploring the Pakistan Time Use Survey 2007,[3] Field and Vyborny (2015; cited by Tanaka and Muzones 2016) found that women who are out of the labor force still spend a lot of hours per day working on household chores, and that employed women on average spend more time per day on household and care work compared to employed men. The latter could be, in part, because men typically work longer hours for a wage than women, but it is also possible that the reason women spend fewer hours earning a wage is because they have to balance market-work time with household

3   https://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files/other/tus2007/tus2007.pdf.

responsibilities. Indeed, when women are asked in labor force surveys why they are not available for work, the majority say they have home responsibilities that do not allow them to do so (Field and Vyborny 2015).

These mechanisms are hard to pin down quantitatively, but they certainly play an important role in determining women's agency. The instrument developed for the PUHS includes a battery of questions aimed at eliciting social norms. As expected, one's positive attitude toward women's work and one's perceived autonomy in the decision to work outside the home are positively associated with the probability of participating. However, the addition of controls for social norms to the baseline specification does not affect the stability of the coefficient of factors analyzed so far.[4] Going beyond the regression setting proves more useful to understanding the role of culture in influencing women's behavior.
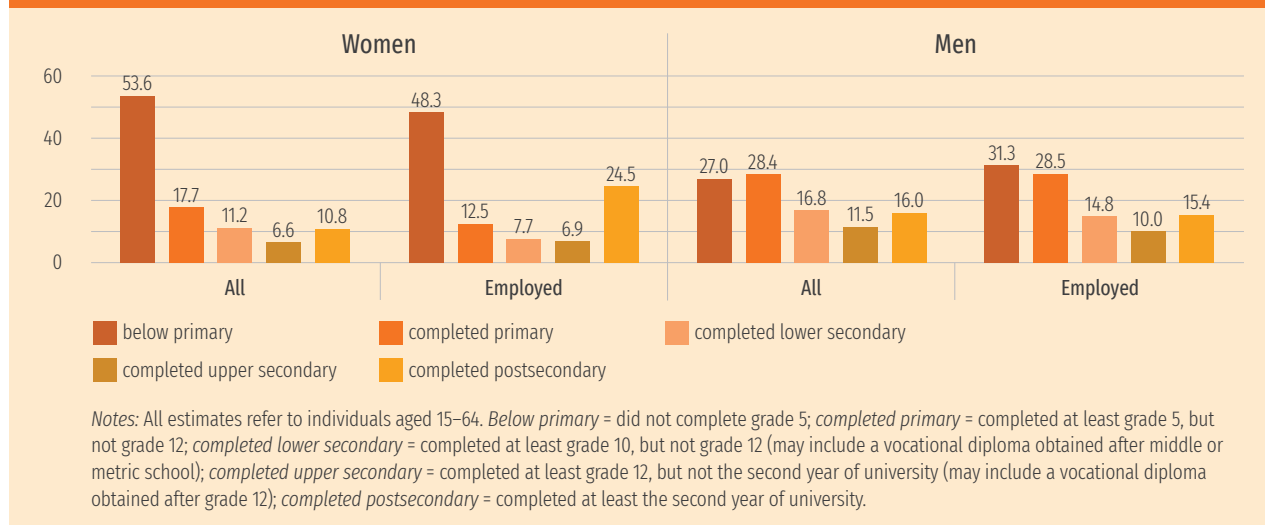
4   What Constrains Women's Work?

Education attainment is an important determinant of FLFP, and the limited education of women in Peshawar correlates with their low participation in the labor market. Working-age women in Peshawar have a strikingly low level of education, with 54 percent having less than primary education (vs. 27 percent of men) and only 29 percent of them having education beyond this level (vs. 45 percent of men). The low level of women's human capital endowment is reflected in the overall lower rate of LFP compared to men and in the highly skewed education profile of working women. As shown

in Figure 2, women with postsecondary education are over-represented among working women. In fact, while only 11 percent of working-age women have completed postsecondary education, the share increases to a whopping 25 percent among employed women.[5]

Women's lack of agency further contributes to reducing female labor force participation. Low levels of FLFP contrast with women's beliefs concerning work for pay. Overall, 85 percent of working-age women believe that women should work for pay, but only 7.6 percent of women are able to decide autonomously whether they can work for pay outside the house. Table 1 shows that most women indicate that their husband or father is the primary decision maker about whether or not they can work for pay, be it from home or not. Given the prominent role of the husband in making decisions regarding a spouse's labor market engagement, it is worth noting that one in every four men believes that women should never work for pay. Women's lack of agency encompasses all aspects of life. Even strictly individual matters—for instance, those regarding one's own political participation or medical issues—often see women excluded from decision making.

Traditional gender roles assign women a caregiving role in the home. As shown in Table 2, most women and men subscribe to the belief that women's rightful place is in the home, indicating that patriarchal gender norms are entrenched uniformly across society. Not surprisingly, the production of services for family use occupies much of women's time—and almost none of men's time. Time use

FIGURE 2: EMPLOYMENT BY GENDER AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT (COMPLETED GRADES)

Notes: All estimates refer to individuals aged 15–64. *Below primary* = did not complete grade 5; *completed primary* = completed at least grade 5, but not grade 12; *completed lower secondary* = completed at least grade 10, but not grade 12 (may include a vocational diploma obtained after middle or metric school); *completed upper secondary* = completed at least grade 12, but not the second year of university (may include a vocational diploma obtained after grade 12); *completed postsecondary* = completed at least the second year of university.

4   Table A2 in Appendix 2 includes a second specification of the participation model, one that includes proxies of gender norms.
5   The opposite pattern emerges among men, where those with lower levels of education are relatively more likely to participate in the labor market and to be employed.

TABLE 1: DECISION MAKING: WOMEN'S ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON "WHO MAINLY DECIDES..."

Who mainly decides...	You	Spouse	You and spouse	Mother/ mother-in-law	Father/ father-in-law	Other family member(s)
If you can work outside your house for pay?	7.6	46.2	5.3	8.3	25.8	6.8
If you can work inside your house for pay?	13.4	42.6	5.6	9.9	22.5	6.1
Whether you can participate in political activities?	10.3	43.8	5.1	9.6	24.8	6.5
About buying goods like clothes/shoes for yourself?	37.5	27.1	5.3	12.4	13.6	4.2
To start or continue your education?	15.6	43.5	5.3	7.1	23.0	5.5
To whom and when you should be married?	2.8	0.0	0.3	7.7	83.9	5.2
To seek professional medical treatment?	19.6	27.8	17.0	17.9	14.1	3.5
Whether to use birth control? (married women only)	8.9	38.1	52.2	0.4	0.3	0.0
Whether to buy or sell goods? (married women only)	3.9	59.7	13.5	2.1	14.6	6.2

TABLE 2: AGREEMENT WITH TRADITIONAL GENDER ROLES

Agreement with following statements:	Women (%)	Men (%)
If parents are in need, daughters/daughters-in-law should take more caring responsibilities than sons/son in-law.	71.7	59.5
Mothers should take more childcare responsibilities of children than fathers.	88.8	88.6
A woman should do most of household chores even if the husband is not working.	80.8	58.0
It is better if the man earns and the woman takes care of the home and children.	91.8	95.2
If a woman earns more than her husband, it is likely to cause problems.	59.2	71.4
Men are better at starting businesses than women.	85.8	92.5

TABLE 3: TIME USE IN AVERAGE DAY OF PREVIOUS WEEK (HOURS), MEN AND WOMEN AGED 15–64

	Men	Women	Employed men	Employed women
Physiological time	11.0	12.4	10.5	11.1
Prayers	1.9	3.3	1.7	2.8
Leisure	2.0	1.9	1.5	1.4
Market work	7.8	0.6	9.2	3.7
House and care work	0.6	5.3	0.6	4.1
Other	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.8

Note: Physiological time includes sleeping, eating, and personal care; leisure includes visiting relatives and friends, movies, games, sports, and reading; market work includes activities performed as part of one's job, that is, work for the production of goods and services intended for market exchange, as well as time spent searching for market work; house and care work includes cooking, cleaning, shopping, and child and elder care; other includes traveling, filling out the questionnaire, and unspecified activities.

data from the PUHS give further insight into forms of work that are overlooked by traditional labor force statistics (Table 3). The division of labor into market work and house/care work is starkly gendered: men spend virtually no time on house and care work, whether they are employed or not, while women spend an average of 5.3 hours per day on this kind of work, an amount that decreases only slightly when they are employed. In fact, employed women do as much house/care work as they do market work.

Women, including those who are employed, rarely leave the home and are accompanied when they do. Table 4 shows that women mostly leave their own home to go to another house (61 percent of respondents cite this reason for having left the house during the previous week); less often, they visit a clinic or health worker (25 percent), or shop for groceries or clothes (17 percent). The overwhelming majority of women (including those who are employed) observe purdah; 36 percent of them

TABLE 4: TIME SPENT OUTSIDE THE HOME, WOMEN AGED 15–64	Employed women	Nonemployed women	All working-age women
Average *n* days respondent went outside during previous week	3.1	1.5	1.8
Average time spent outside each time, in hours (h) and minutes (m)	3h, 50m	2h, 58m	3h, 6m
Reasons cited for leaving the home (% positive responses for each item)			
To visit family/friends/neighbors	48.9	62.9	61.2
To visit a clinic or health worker	17.8	26.5	24.8
To go to shops for groceries/clothes	20.4	16.6	16.9
To go to celebrations	12.1	9.1	9.5
For Quran classes/dars/other	6.0	10.3	9.5
To attend school/literacy classes	9.0	10.8	10.6
To go to work	48.3	0.5	8.0
Other	3.8	3.7	3.6

TABLE 5: PURDAH AND BEING ACCOMPANIED WHEN LEAVING THE HOME, WOMEN AGED 15–64	Employed women	Nonemployed women	All working-age women
Do you observe purdah?			
Yes	86.9	95.5	94.4
Sometimes	9.1	2.9	3.7
No	3.9	1.6	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Who usually accompanies you? (if any)			
Child	27.0	21.0	21.7
Husband	17.2	28.5	27.2
Male relative	10.8	8.7	9.0
Female relative or nonrelative	42.2	40.2	40.4
Other	2.8	1.6	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

are usually accompanied by a husband or male relative when they go out, though more than 60 percent are accompanied by another woman or a child (Table 5).

In this context, feeling safe when going out can be extremely important for female empowerment and female labor force participation. Women tend to feel safe within the bounds of their limited movements, but there is evidence that they would feel much less comfortable expanding their mobility. In Peshawar, as many as 30 percent of all women reported having experienced some form of sexual harassment when leaving the home (Table 6). Table 7 shows the vast majority of women consider walking alone in their own neighborhood to be safe, though 38.3 percent of women would not feel safe walk-

ing alone outside their neighborhood. The chosen mode of transport (which for 20 percent of women is walking) is overwhelmingly considered safe for one's habitual movements.

The lack of information about labor market opportunities significantly hampers female labor force participation. Similar to findings from the Labor Force Survey, female unemployment[6] is very low in Peshawar. Only 1 percent of women reported being willing to work and, at the same time, to be looking for employment opportunities. Interestingly, about 16 percent of women who are out of the labor force reported being willing to work even though they were currently not looking for a job. Among them, the reason reported for not searching for a job by

6   According to ILO: Unemployed refers to a person without a job during a given week; available to start a job within the next two weeks; actively having sought employment at some time during the last four weeks or having already found a job that starts within the next three months.

TABLE 6: WOMEN WHO HAVE EXPERIENCED SEXUAL HARASSMENT OUTSIDE THE HOME (%)	
Any type of harassment	30.8
Inappropriate staring/comments	28.1
Gestures/actions of sexual nature	11.0
Inappropriate use of phone/email	7.5
Other harassment	0.4

TABLE 7: FEELINGS OF SAFETY			
Percent of respondents who feel safe, at least during the day...	Employed women (%)	Nonemployed women (%)	All working-age women (%)
When walking alone in their own neighborhood	89.0	81.6	82.3
When walking alone outside their own neighborhood	71.1	60.6	61.7
When using their chosen mode of transport	95.2	91.2	90.4

the majority of women was lack of knowledge about labor market functioning (49 percent), followed by cultural and family prohibition (15 percent) and care responsibilities (12 percent). The lack of knowledge is mostly related to the job search process: 41.5 percent of women willing to work reported not to be looking for a job because they did not know how to, while 7.5 percent reported not knowing which type of job they could do for pay, possibly proxying for a lack of specific skills. Interestingly, analysis of PUHS data shows that addressing these knowledge constraints could increase FLFP in Peshawar from 13.4 to 20.4 percent.

5 Characteristics and Quality of Women's Jobs

The profile of jobs differs substantially by gender, with women more likely to work without pay. The labor market in Peshawar tends to be strongly segmented

by gender, with women engaging in different types of employment (Figure 3). In particular, although there are roughly equal numbers of working men and women in the labor market, more men are self-employed or operate their own business, and more women support family businesses, often without pay. On the one hand, in terms of employment status by educational attainment, the overwhelming majority of highly educated women work as employees (76 percent), while no such pattern emerges for men or low-educated women. On the other hand, women with low education attainment are more than three times as likely to be self-employed compared to highly educated women. This further reflects a lower representation of women in high-skilled professions and indicates that self-employment held by women tends to be low skilled (small scale and home based).

Occupational diversity among female workers is limited, reflecting the concentration of employment in

FIGURE 3: STATUS IN EMPLOYMENT, BY GENDER AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT LEVEL (%)

Notes: Contributing family workers are those who work in a business owned by a family member or help a family member who works for someone else. High-educated men and women have completed at least lower secondary education; low-educated men and women have not.
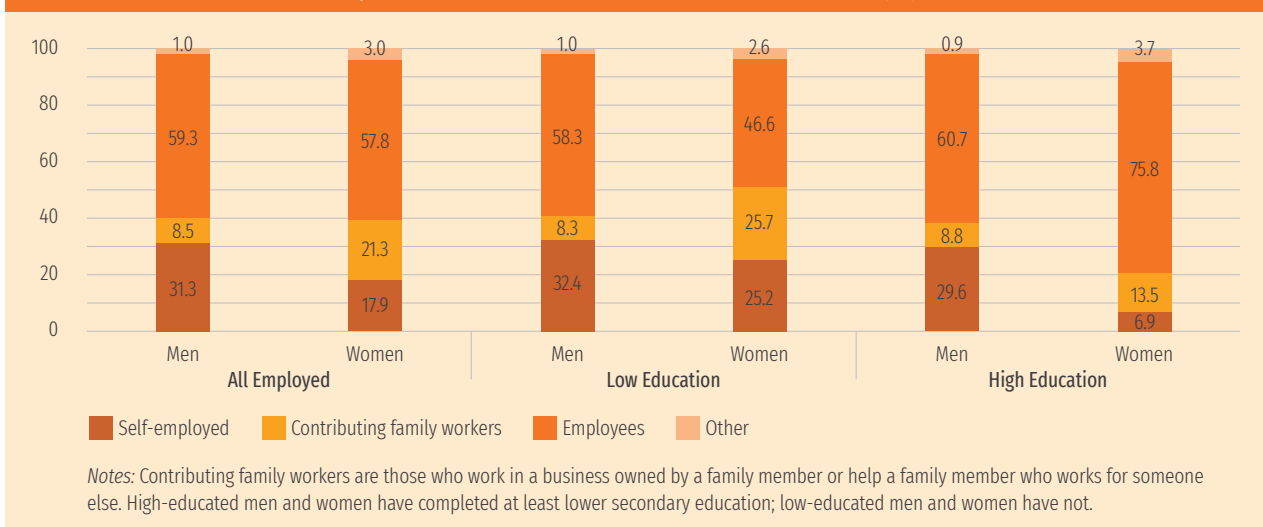
TABLE 8: THE 10 MOST FREQUENT OCCUPATIONS, BY GENDER AND EDUCATION LEVEL (ISCO-3 DIGITS)						
Among women		%	Cumul. %	Among men	%	Cumul. %
1	Garment and related trades workers	19.7	19.7	Shop salespersons	21.6	21.6
2	Primary school, early childhood teachers	15.8	35.5	Car, van, and motorcycle drivers	9.7	31.3
3	Domestic, hotel, and office cleaners	9.1	44.6	Garment and related trades workers	5.6	36.9
4	Food preparation assistants	6.8	51.4	Machinery mechanics and repairers	5.3	42.1
5	Shop salespersons	5.6	57.0	Mining and construction laborers	4.5	46.7
6	Handicraft workers	5.0	62.0	Street and market salespersons	3.4	50.0
7	Building and housekeeping supervisors	4.4	66.3	Building frame and related workers	2.4	52.5
8	Animal producers	4.2	70.5	Protective services workers	2.3	54.8
9	Medical doctors	3.8	74.3	Cooks	2.3	57.2
10	Secondary education teachers	3.6	77.9	Business services agents	2.3	59.4
Among low-educated women				*Among low-educated men*		
1	Garment and related trades workers	27.6	27.6	Shop salespersons	17.7	17.7
2	Domestic, hotel, and office cleaners	14.9	42.5	Car, van, and motorcycle drivers	13.5	31.2
3	Shop salespersons	8.7	51.2	Garment and related trades workers	7.4	38.6
4	Food preparation assistants	8.2	59.5	Machinery mechanics and repairers	6.4	45.0
5	Handicraft workers	7.4	66.9	Mining and construction laborers	6.2	51.1
6	Building and housekeeping supervisors	7.2	74.1	Street and market salespersons	5.2	56.3
7	Animal producers	5.1	79.2	Transport and storage laborers	3.2	59.5
8	Manufacturing laborers	2.9	82.1	Cooks	3.2	62.7
9	Street and market salespersons	2.3	84.5	Building frame and related workers	3.2	65.9
10	Other sales workers	2.1	86.5	Protective services workers	2.5	68.4
Among high-educated women				*Among high-educated men*		
1	Primary school, early child. Teachers	21.6	21.6	Shop salespersons	27.4	27.4
2	Medical doctors	9.7	31.3	Car, van, and motorcycle drivers	4.2	31.5
3	Secondary education teachers	5.6	36.9	Business services agents	3.9	35.5
4	Garment and related trades workers	5.3	42.1	Machinery mechanics and repairers	3.5	39.0
5	Food preparation assistants	4.5	46.7	Finance professionals	3.4	42.4
6	Other sales workers	3.4	50.0	Garment and related trades workers	2.9	45.2
7	Other health associate professionals	2.4	52.5	Primary school, early childhood teachers	2.7	47.9
8	Client information workers	2.3	54.8	General office clerks	2.6	50.5
9	Animal producers	2.3	57.2	Medical doctors	2.2	52.7
10	Manufacturing laborers	2.3	59.4	Sales, marketing, development managers	2.1	54.8

Note: High-educated men and women have completed at least lower secondary education; low-educated men and women have not.

socially accepted occupations. Almost 80 percent of all employed women are concentrated in the 10 most common occupations for women workers, as opposed to 60 percent of employed men concentrated in the 10 most common occupations for working men. Concentration increases further among low-educated workers. Women's most frequent occupations differ greatly by education level—more so than the most frequent occupations among men. Women with low education tend to be manufacturers, cleaners, and salespeople, whereas high-skilled women tend to be teachers and medical pro-

fessionals (Table 8). The occupational profile of working women reflects stereotypically female roles and aligns with preferences expressed by men regarding the conditions under which it can be acceptable for women to work for pay (Table 9).

The majority of women prefer home-based work, and the majority of employed women work at home. Home-based work is the most important condition that makes female employment acceptable to men and is considered an ideal condition for women. In fact, when asked

TABLE 9: CONDITIONS THAT MEN VIEW AS ACCEPTABLE FOR WOMEN TO WORK FOR PAY (%)	
Acceptable for women to work for pay if...	Men
Work is home based	57.9
Work as a teacher or nurse	10.2
No interaction with non-mahram men	7.4
Economic necessity	6.2
Can work while observing purdah	5.6
Other	3.7
If outside the home, sex-segregated workspace	3.6
Does not interfere with responsibilities at home	2.0
If outside the home, workplace should be close to home	1.5
A good salary	1.0
Access to safe transport	0.8
Medical and other benefits (e.g., childcare)	0.1

TABLE 10: LOCATION OF EMPLOYMENT, BY GENDER (%)			
	Low-educated	High-educated	All employed
Women			
At own/other's home	88.4	28.4	65.0
On the street/road/outside	2.1	0.8	1.6
In a shop/office/factory	5.6	62.0	27.6
Other	3.9	8.8	5.8
Men			
At own/other's home	6.0	3.6	5.0
On the street/road/outside	29.6	10.9	22.1
In a shop/office/factory	60.1	80.7	68.3
Other	4.4	4.8	4.6

about the characteristics of an ideal job, 57 percent of women reported a preference for it being "home-based"; while for 35 percent, it would be a "government job." Such preferences are clearly reflected in the actual profile of jobs held by women (Table 10). While only 5 percent of men work inside the home, 65 percent of women do. Among women with low education, the share of women in home-based work is almost 90 percent. Even among high-skilled women, close to 30 percent engage in home-based work, while many others are employed outside the home as teachers and medical professionals (possibly in the public sector).[7]

Women tend to work in low-quality jobs compared to men. Table 11 details the average hours worked and

remuneration of employed men and women. A sizable proportion of the already small female workforce (21 percent) is unpaid and tends to work as contributing family workers. Unpaid work also remains relatively common among skilled women (15 percent), while it is exceedingly rare (below 4 percent) among men, regardless of skill level. The time that the average employed woman spends performing market work is consistently about half that of men. This explains that women wage earners tend to earn around half as much as men per month.

The results presented in this section indicate that the polarization of men's and women's working lives extends far beyond the decision to join the labor force.

---

7   High-educated women who work at home tend to be on the lower end of "high" education (having not completed upper secondary education), and tend to work in manufacturing (garments, handicrafts, food preparation). They are more likely to be contributing family workers than own-account workers or employees.

TABLE 11: EARNINGS AND HOURS WORKED, BY GENDER

Education level	Paid/unpaid workers	Observations	% of workers	Average hours worked per day	Average reported earnings per month (PKR)
Women					
Low-educated	unpaid	210	24.3	4.9	0
	paid	409	75.7	3.8	7,255
High-educated	unpaid	16	15.8	6.5	0
	paid	153	84.2	4.5	22,399
All employed	unpaid	226	21.3	5.6	0
	paid	562	78.7	4.0	13,464
Men					
Low-educated	unpaid	71	2.5	9.9	0
	paid	2,578	97.5	9.3	18,170
High-educated	unpaid	44	3.9	9.2	0
	paid	1,050	96.1	8.1	36,662
All employed	unpaid	115	3.1	9.7	0
	paid	3,629	96.9	8.7	25,040

Note: High-educated men and women have completed at least lower secondary education; low-educated men and women have not.

They also highlight that education makes a difference in working women's experiences. Most women of working age do not work, making employed women a minority. Those who work are largely segregated in terms of their occupations and restricted in terms of job location, working hours, and pay. Women's predominantly domestic role and responsibility for their families appear to be a strong influence even when women are employed, and the need for reconciliation of house care and work for pay is reflected by the characteristics of their jobs. Although this is true across the board, educated women are far more likely to work outside the home and have careers that are more similar to their male counterparts; women with low education are mostly engaged in informal home-based work, often in manufacturing, and they are more likely than men to be contributing to someone else's business rather than their own.

6 Conclusion and Next Steps

While the vast majority of women face constraints in accessing work, solutions at the policy level must not be developed using a one-size-fits-all approach. Analysis of the PUHS and earlier qualitative studies indicates the need to be responsive toward the specific challenges that women from different socioeconomic backgrounds face, as well as the need to enact measures that facilitate working women universally. Given the strong link between FLFP and economic development, there is a pressing need to facilitate women's economic empowerment. Based on analysis of the survey data from Peshawar, recommendations for alleviating the low rate of FLFP are presented in this section.

Social norms seem to be the most powerful factor in determining women's interactions with the public sphere and the workforce by restricting women to the home or only allowing access to certain occupations deemed suitable. Given the extent of stigma and discouragement women face from families and society when pursuing jobs outside the home, **i**t is clear that a definitive change in widely held views regarding traditional gender roles at the household and community level is required to accelerate women's LFP. Research indicates that possible interventions to influence norms include strategic use of positive messaging about strong female role models. Furthermore, global evidence suggests that engaging men is crucial in changing norms surrounding women's economic activities. For example, men can act as "gatekeepers" for women by providing access to capital, information, and networks. Engaging men in these interventions also reduces the likelihood of domestic violence and tensions within the home (ILO 2014). Similarly, employing women in public leadership positions can support an acceptance of ambitions and career aspirations among women (Asian Development Bank [ADB] 2016). An experiment from India demonstrated that reserved seats for women in village councils led to a 20 percent decrease among parents and a 32 percent decrease among adolescents in gender gap regarding educational and career aspirations. While evidence did not point to improved labor market opportu-

nities, a shift in established gender norms was observed (Beaman et al. 2012).

The high prevalence and acceptance of gender-based violence (GBV) in KP is a factor in limiting women's voice and agency and acts as a barrier for women's interaction and participation in the labor force (Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey [PDHS] 2017–18). Hence, it is important to invest in preventing GBV, particularly through population-based norm and behavior change efforts with women, men, girls, and boys (Arango et al. 2014; Heise 2011). Such interventions may be particularly important and effective in the context of programs that improve women's status in the household and society, such as by encouraging women to work, especially in male-dominated sectors and fields that are not considered socially acceptable for women (Fulu and Kerr-Wilson 2015). A focus on behavioral change programs at the community level can be effective in tackling gender roles and attitudes toward GBV, with special attention to the inclusion of boys and men as change agents. The SASA! model developed in Kampala, Uganda, is a comprehensive example of an intervention with demonstrated results for combating mind-sets that propagate GBV by changing behaviors relating to power imbalances between men and women. In tandem with behavioral change interventions, implementation of legal reforms to promote women's safety and rights is critical to create a conducive employment ecosystem where women can explore opportunities for economic gain. Progressive laws criminalizing domestic violence and sexual harassment exist in KP, and their effective implementation can support this outcome.

Currently working women are mainly distributed among a limited number of sectors while representation in other nontraditional sectors is very low. Most low-educated employed women contribute to the garment industry and are employed as cleaners in homes and establishments; among high-educated women, the education and medical professions are the most popular. These career fields are considered more suited to women because they are perceived to align better with traditional gender roles. Employment in other fields, especially nontraditional sectors, can be especially challenging for women. However, there is growing evidence to suggest that informational nudges—particularly those that emphasize the differential earnings between female- and male-dominated occupations—can encourage women to enroll in training programs to enter male-dominated trades (Hicks et al. 2011). Similarly, early exposure to male role models has also been shown to improve the likelihood of women crossing over into male-dominated sectors and occupations (Campos et al. 2015). Evidence from the business-processing out-

sourcing industry in India has demonstrated that FLFP increased by 2.4 percentage points due to recruitment strategies aimed at women (Jensen 2012). Further, quotas in India mandating representation of women at the local electoral level have improved outcomes on FLFP, entrepreneurship, enrolment of girls in school, and decision making (Fletcher, Pande, and Moore 2017). Despite a general preference among women to opt for government jobs, data indicate that as of 2018–19, 17.7 percent of women were employed as grade 17 and above government employees, but only 1.4 percent of women as grade 16 and below (more concentration of jobs in grades 1–16; Pakistan Public Administration Research Centre 2018–19). KP's Women's Empowerment Policy 2017 proposes 20 percent of jobs for women in government services, and the Azm-e-Nau, KP Economic Recovery plan 2020–2023, in light of the COVID crisis, also proposes provision of jobs, training, and grants to women at 15–50 percent in different programs. While implementation of these proposals remains a challenge, active efforts from the private and public sectors can boost women's inclusion.

Women in Peshawar strongly lack awareness on how to find job opportunities or build on their skillset, a gap that can be remedied by greater access to information. The lack of knowledge of available job opportunities and how to find them, as well as not knowing what skills are employable, are the major reasons why both high-educated and low-educated women are not currently working for pay even though they wish to. Investment in the creation of platforms and institutions that serve to match women job seekers with firms that are hiring can be a beneficial step. These centers or portals should focus on job requirements for women from varied education and experience backgrounds, and they should provide career counseling and opportunities for women to connect with mentors and networks. For example, the Job Talash program has been a promising effort in this direction and should be scaled up to other areas if evaluations of the intervention indicate positive impact. See Box 2 for more information on this program.

Investing in girls' education and training is an important precondition to increasing FLFP. As demonstrated by a large body of evidence and the PUHS, women are more likely to be involved in the labor force if they are more educated. Addressing both demand and supply constraints that limit girls' education remains a key priority. Similarly, a lack of marketable skills can discourage women from seeking jobs. Qualitative research conducted among low-educated women reveals an untapped demand for affordable government-run skills centers where women can take courses on subjects such as beautician training, cooking, and dress designing, to foster mi-

BOX 2 JOB TALASH: HELPING WOMEN ACCESS EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

The gap in women's knowledge regarding employment opportunities led to the creation of the Job Asaan Employment Facilitation Center for Women under a partnership of the Punjab Commission on the Status of Women (PCSW) and the Center for Economic Research in Pakistan (CERP). The center was inaugurated in Lahore in May 2018 with the goals of providing career counseling, connecting potential employees with companies looking to hire, providing web-based assistance to those who cannot visit the center, and supporting professional development of women who do not work currently but do wish to. Services provided include developing CVs, referrals, co-working spaces, and workshops on interview skills. The platform is now known as Job Talash and is being supported by CERP and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO). It is active in creating linkages between female job seekers and firms through a helpline and online presence.

Source: Job Talash website, https://jobtalash.com.pk/.

croenterprises (World Bank 2019). Emphasis on focusing on these gaps at a policy level is critical to produce a workforce where women are adequately equipped and represented. Higher education and higher skills will also support an increase in the quality of women's employment, potentially supporting a positive feedback mechanism leading to progressively higher human capital and socioeconomic inclusion.

Professional networking opportunities, women's groups, and strong female role models are powerful ways to develop ambitions among women. Due to safety concerns, limited mobility, and lack of exposure to public activities, women are more likely to miss out on peer and mentor learning opportunities (Gulati, Afridi, and Bandiera 2019). Educated women face difficulty in accessing information about opportunities through formal networks and instead have to rely on informal family networks, which may not operate in their favor given the kind of opposition women face from families when pursuing employment; whereas men are likely to benefit from such networks (World Bank 2019). At the enterprise level, women's networks can help women navigate career development and leadership given that women face challenges in reaching senior management roles. Among low-educated women, networks can boost confidence and create a more conducive support system for work and entrepreneurship. Networks can facilitate the availability of material, moral, and financial support; they can also alleviate families' concerns for the safety of female family members when women work together as groups (Zeb and Kakakhel 2018).

A stark disparity between entrepreneurship outcomes for men and women indicates the need for providing women with more convenient access to finance, internet, and business development trainings. The small- and medium-enterprise sector can contribute greatly to Pakistan's economy and be a critical catalyst for boosting FLFP. Increased household income as a result of

women's entrepreneurship is linked to greater well-being, improved decision making, and alleviation of poverty. However, women are disproportionately disadvantaged when accessing institutional finance, a problem that is exacerbated because of women's lack of control over assets and their concomitant inability to provide collateral. Financial institutions generally continue to view female borrowers as risky clients and have fewer product offerings designed to suit women's entrepreneurial needs. As a result, they resort to mobilizing capital through informal borrowing channels, personal savings, or family support. A large body of evidence, however, has deemed women to be trustworthy borrowers of microfinance loans and various state-run social protection and loan programs that are targeted toward women. To further boost women's access to finance, regulatory frameworks need to be applied to the financial sector that will facilitate women's economic empowerment. Specially designed banking products with incentives for banks to cater to female clientele can also be beneficial for banks since women are a largely unbanked potential customer base (Niethammer et al. 2007).

Access to internet is a key facilitator in providing women with the opportunity to expand their skills, engage in entrepreneurial outreach, and bridge knowledge gaps regarding employment options, especially for women's ability to work from home. A large majority of women reported working from home as the most ideal work, a preference that has become more pronounced and unavoidable due to the COVID-19 pandemic. At such a time, access to internet can support greater awareness for women and provide an opportunity to interact with platforms for growing e-commerce and home-based jobs. For entrepreneurs and women business owners, the internet offers a host of opportunities for expansion and growth of businesses by connecting sellers to markets, facilitating access to investment, and providing access to learning materials.

Infrastructural reform to facilitate transportation and safety of public spaces remains a key area for action to support FLFP. The security concerns and gender norms that inhibit mobility of women directly result in stunted LFP of women. While 30.8 percent of women reported being harassed in public spaces in the PUHS, other estimates indicate harassment of up to 85 percent of women who travel in public transport (ADB 2014). These challenges prevent urban women from traveling within the city and inhibit the movement of women from peri-urban and rural areas, too. Similarly, younger women face issues when traveling for schooling or skills trainings. Further, public transport options are not affordable or as widely available as needed. The consequences of these mobility restrictions can be quite significant. Comparing wages at each education level, our survey shows that at all education levels, average earnings for women are higher if they are employed outside of their home compared to working from home. To bridge this gap, affordable, safe public transport systems responding to the specific needs of women and supporting their participation in the workforce are critical (ADB 2016). Additionally, pedestrian walkways should be adequately lit, and women should have easy access to reporting incidents of harassment and swift resolution of issues with support from law enforcement.

Workplace environments where access to facilities such as childcare, flexible work hours, dedicated transport, and separate rest areas for women are more conducive to women's work. Research has consistently indicated that the burden of household responsibilities, childcare, and elder care takes up a large amount of time from women's daily lives, resulting in challenges in entering the labor market, retaining jobs, and re-entering the workforce. Global evidence suggests that early access to subsidized childcare increases women's likelihood to work for a wage and run a business, particularly if this is outside the home (Clark et al. 2017; Martinez, Naudeau, and Pereira 2012). Availability of high-quality childcare in Peshawar remains a challenge for women who already bear a large burden of the strong social norms emphasizing their role as mothers and primary caregivers. To remedy that, state-subsidized childcare programs and public-private partnerships for daycare facilities can support working women. The government of Punjab serves as a working example of this initiative and has established a fund for providing grants to public- and private-sector organizations to provide daycare facilities

to their employees. Such an approach can be adopted across other provinces of Pakistan as well and should be supported by regular data collection to tabulate availability of gender-friendly facilities at the institutional level to propose solutions to fill in the gaps. At the community level, communal childcare facilities can also ease the burden. Flexible work hours and work-from-home options can alleviate some of the stress of dual responsibilities and also help women gain approval from family (World Bank 2019). Provisions for separate toilets and rest/prayer areas for women are also important to establish comfortable workplaces for women. Additionally, mechanisms to deal with sexual harassment in line with the Protection Against Harassment of Women at the Workplace Act of 2010 should be mandated and implemented to adequately address incidents of harassment, which remain a significant barrier to women entering and continuing in work outside the home.

Data collection, transparency, and legal reform to protect the rights of women workers can support the development of responsive policies to boost FLFP and recognize the contribution of informal workers. As demonstrated by the PUHS, survey techniques to measure FLFP should be modified to capture more robust data on productive activities by including estimates of economic contributions that are not incorporated in traditional labor force surveys. Data collection and reporting at regular intervals is also critical to the monitoring of gaps and challenges that limit women's employment outcomes. Further, since this report does not provide a detailed exploration of the dynamics of female home-based workers,[8] the need remains to capture the extent of contributions made by this group of workers and to better understand the constraints they face. The economic contributions of the largely invisible home-based women workers also need attention at the policy level: 70.7 percent (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics 2019) of all women in the workforce are represented in the informal sector and face a myriad of consequences due to their "informal" status, including little or no access to organized markets, credit institutions, formal education and training institutions, or most other public services and amenities. Further, legal reform to protect the rights of women workers in the private sector can mandate conducive working conditions with provisions for childcare, separate toilets, flexible work schedules, and dedicated transportation options for women.

---

8   According to the Sindh Home Based Workers Act 2018, "Home Based Worker" means any person indulging in production and manufacturing of goods and rendering of services in relation ancillary thereto in the home premises or nearby premises, garage, or any other place near the home while working in connection with the work of any Industry, establishment, undertaking or commercial establishment or any place of his choice for hire or reward or remuneration either directly or through a contractor or subcontractor or intermediary whether the terms of employment be express or implied. Sindh is currently the only province to have passed this law.

Appendix 1: Technical Details on the Peshawar Urban Household Survey

Data collection	
Fieldwork period	July – Dec 2019
Mode of data capture	Paper-assisted personal interviewing (PAPI), separate questionnaires by gender
Sampling	
Sampling frame	2017 Census
Primary Sampling Units (PSU)	239
Planned sample size (households)	2,400
Actual sample size (households)	2,357
Sample composition	
Individuals	21,506
Males	11,063
Females	10,443
Working-age men (15–64)	5,870
Working-age women (15–64)	5,629
Afghan population	11,761

Appendix 2: Regression Results

TABLE A1: SAMPLE MEANS OF REGRESSORS				
	Full regression sample ($N = 5{,}367$)		FLFP = 1 ($N = 828$)	
	Mean	Coeff of variation	Mean	Coeff of variation
Age	33.3	2.51	33.8	2.97
Afghan dummy	5.5	0.24	6.9	0.27
Married dummy	65.4	1.37	56.7	1.14
Own education (completed grades)				
less than primary	48.9	1.17	44.1	1.04
primary	29.8	0.31	21.1	0.25
secondary	7.2	0.53	6.5	0.48
tertiary or more	14.2	0.37	28.3	0.56
Relationship with head				
spouse of HH head	47.6	0.95	47.4	0.95
daughter of HH head	22.6	0.54	28.3	0.63
daughter-in-law of HH head	12.2	0.37	6.5	0.26
other relationship	17.5	0.46	17.9	0.47
Household size	7.2	1.79	6.3	2.04
Household composition				
n 0–5	0.9	0.73	0.7	0.65
n 6–14	1.5	0.88	1.4	0.89
n 15–24	1.7	1.08	1.5	1.05
n females 25–44	0.9	1.04	0.9	1.24
n males 25–44	0.8	0.88	0.6	0.76
n 45–64	1.1	1.31	1.0	1.21
n 65+	0.3	0.48	0.2	0.45

(Table A1 continued)	Full regression sample (N = 5,367)		FLFP = 1 (N = 828)	
	Mean	Coeff of variation	Mean	Coeff of variation
Nuclear family dummy	46.3	0.93	59.8	1.22
Household head education (completed grades)				
less than primary	38.1	0.96	47.5	1.12
primary	36.7	0.33	26.3	0.24
secondary	6.4	0.57	7.3	0.51
tertiary or more	18.8	0.46	18.9	0.47
Food adequacy dummy	82.8	2.2	73.4	1.66
Asset score	0.6	0.31	0.5	0.26
Feels safe outside own neigh. dummy	40.3	0.82	53.4	1.07
Feels transport is safe dummy	52.7	1.06	73.5	1.66
Purdah dummy	92.5	3.5	81.2	2.07
Involvement in decision making				
work inside home	21.7	0.53	41.5	0.84
work outside home	16.7	0.45	35.8	0.75
community activity	19.3	0.49	34.7	0.73
political activity	19.3	0.49	34.8	0.73
shopping	46.3	0.93	61.1	1.25
education	25.3	0.58	40.5	0.82
marriage	4.1	0.21	11	0.35
health	40.8	0.83	52.2	1.04
Own belief: pro female work	86.5	2.53	95.2	4.43

Note: HH = household

TABLE A2: AVERAGE MARGINAL EFFECTS FROM PROBIT PARTICIPATION EQUATIONS

	(1) FLFP		(2) FLFP	
Age	0.0200***	(0.0038)	0.0187***	(0.0037)
Age squared	−0.0003***	(0.0001)	−0.0003***	(0.0001)
Afghan==1	0.0554***	(0.0163)	0.0521**	(0.0162)
Married==1	−0.0944***	(0.0161)	−0.0877***	(0.0170)
n 0–5	−0.0036	(0.0058)	−0.0051	(0.0057)
n 6–14	0.0009	(0.0046)	0.0008	(0.0048)
n 15–24	−0.0021	(0.0045)	0.0003	(0.0045)
n females 25–44	−0.0124	(0.0102)	−0.0091	(0.0097)
n males 25–44	−0.0295**	(0.0091)	−0.0268**	(0.0089)
n females 45–64	−0.0181	(0.0196)	−0.0117	(0.0187)
n males 45–64	−0.0021	(0.0150)	−0.0010	(0.0146)
n 65+	−0.0085	(0.0150)	−0.0054	(0.0146)
Own education (completed grades)				
Reference = less than primary	−0.0047	(0.0253)	−0.0133	(0.0242)
primary	0.0437	(0.0230)	0.0345	(0.0222)
secondary	0.1981***	(0.0257)	0.1761***	(0.0256)
tertiary or more	−0.0282	(0.0236)	−0.0326	(0.0229)

(Table A2 continued)	(1) FLFP		(2) FLFP	
Education of HH head (completed grades)				
Reference = less than primary	−0.0625*	(0.0257)	−0.0654*	(0.0265)
primary	−0.0835**	(0.0297)	−0.0971**	(0.0305)
secondary	−0.0725**	(0.0227)	−0.0625**	(0.0224)
tertiary or more	−0.0167**	(0.0050)	−0.0172***	(0.0049)
Food adequacy==1	0.0426**	(0.0161)	0.0236	(0.0163)
Asset score	0.0803***	(0.0157)	0.0753***	(0.0152)
Feels safe outside own neighborhood	−0.1024***	(0.0263)	−0.0744**	(0.0277)
Feels transport is safe			0.0992***	(0.0214)
Purdah==1			0.0334	(0.0237)
Own belief: in favor of female work			0.0776*	(0.0333)
Own decision: work inside			0.0010	(0.0354)
Own decision: work outside			−0.0205	(0.0374)
Own decision: community activity			0.0272	(0.0201)
Own decision: political activity			−0.0029	(0.0248)
Own decision: shopping			0.0210	(0.0305)
Own decision: education			−0.0148	(0.0191)
Own decision: marriage	0.0200***	(0.0038)	0.0187***	(0.0037)
Own decision: health	−0.0003***	(0.0001)	−0.0003***	(0.0001)
Observations	5,367		5,245	
Pseudo *R*-squared	0.168		0.2021	

Notes: HH = household. All working-age (15–64) women are able to work (i.e., not in school or ill/disabled). Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Bibliography

Abramsky, T., et al. 2014. "Findings from the SASA! Study: A Cluster Randomized Controlled Trial to Assess the Impact of a Community Mobilization Intervention to Prevent Violence Against Women and Reduce HIV Risk in Kampala, Uganda." *BMC Medicine* 12: 122–39.

Anjum, Gulnaz, Thomas Kessler, and Mudassar Aziz. 2019. "Cross-Cultural Exploration of Honor: Perception of Honor in Germany, Pakistan, and South Korea." *Psychological Studies* 64: 147–60. doi:10.1007/s12646-019-00484-4.

Arango, D., et al. 2014. *Interventions to Prevent or Reduce Violence Against Women and Girls: A Systematic Review of Reviews.* Washington, DC: World Bank.

Asadullah, M. Niaz, and Zaki Wahhaj. 2016. "Missing from the Market: Purdah Norm and Women's Paid Work Participation in Bangladesh." IZA Discussion Papers 10463, Institute of Labor Economics (IZA). https://ideas.repec.org/p/iza/izadps/dp10463.html.

Asian Development Bank (ADB). 2014. "Rapid Assessment of Sexual Harassment in Public Transport and Connected Spaces in Karachi." Report, Asian Development Bank, Manila.

Bardasi, E., K. Beegle, A. Dillon, and P. Serneels. 2011. "Do Labor Statistics Depend on How and to Whom the Questions Are Asked? Results from a Survey Experiment in Tanzania." *The World Bank Economic Review* 25(3): 418–47.

Beaman, Lori, Esther Duflo, Rohini Pande, and Petia Topalova. 2012. "Female Leadership Raises Aspirations and Educational Attainment for Girls: A Policy Experiment in India." *Science* 335(6068): 582–86. https://science.sciencemag.org/content/335/6068/582.

Benes, E., and K. Walsh. 2018. "Measuring Employment in Labour Force Surveys: Main Findings from the ILO LFS Pilot Studies." Department of Statistics, International Labour Organization, Geneva.

Boserup, E. 1970. *Woman's Role in Economic Development*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Campos, Francisco, Markus Goldstein, and David McKenzie. 2015. "Short-Term Impacts of Formalization Assistance and a Bank Information Session on Business Registration and Access to Finance in Malawi." Policy Research Working Paper (7183), World Bank, Washington, DC.

Cho, Y., and Z. Majoka. 2020. "Pakistan Jobs Diagnostic: Promoting Access to Quality Jobs for All." Report, World Bank, Washington, DC.

Clark, Shelley, Caroline Kabiru, Soni Laszlo, and Stella Muthuri. 2017. "Can Subsidized Early Child Care Promote Women's Employment? Evidence from a Slum Settlement in Africa." GrOW Research Working Paper Series. #5, Institute for the Study of International Development, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

Desiere, S., and V. Costa. 2019. "Employment Data in Household Surveys: Taking Stock, Looking Ahead." Policy Research Working Paper, World Bank, Washington, DC.

Dildar, Y. 2015. "Patriarchal Norms, Religion, and Female Labor Supply: Evidence from Turkey." *World Development* 76: 40–61.

Field, E., and K. Vyborny. 2015. "Female Labor Force Participation in Asia: Pakistan Country Study." Unpublished Report, Research and Development Technical Assistance 8620 on Economic Analysis for Gender and Development, Asian Development Bank.

Finance Division, Government of Pakistan 2018. "Pakistan Economic Survey. 2017-2018: Population, Labor Force and Employment." Chapter 12, Government of Pakistan. https://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters_18/12-Population.pdf

Filmer, D., and L. H. Pritchett. 2001. "Estimating Wealth Effect without Expenditure Data—or Tears: An Application to Educational Enrollments in States of India." *Demography* 38(1): 115–32.

Fletcher, Erin K., Rohini Pande, and Charity Troyer Moore. 2017. "Women and Work in India: Descriptive Evidence and a Review of Potential Policies." CID Faculty Working Paper No. 339, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

Fulu, E., and A. Kerr-Wilson. 2015. "What Works to Prevent Violence Against Women and Girls Evidence Reviews. Paper 2: Interventions to Prevent Violence against Women and Girls." https://www.whatworks.co.za/documents/publications/35-global-evidence-reviews-paper-2-interventions-to-prevent-violence-against-women-and-girls-sep-2015/file.

Goldin, C. 1995. "The U-Shaped Female Labor Force Function in Economic Development and Economic History." In *Investment in Women's Human Capital and Economic Development*, edited by T. P. Schultz, 61–90. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gulati, Nalini, Farzana Afridi, and Oriana Bandiera. 2019. "Making the Workplace Work for Women." Growth Brief, International Growth Centre, London. https://www.theigc.org/reader/making-the-workplace-work-for-women/.

Heise, L. 2011. "What Works to Prevent Partner Violence? An Evidence Overview." London: Department for International Development.

Hicks, Joan Hamory, Michael Kremer, Isaac Mbiti, and Edward Miguel. 2011. "Vocational Education Voucher Delivery and Labor Market Returns: A Randomized Evaluation among Kenyan Youth." Report for Spanish Impact Evaluation Phase II, World Bank.

Hlasny, V., and S. AlAzzawi. 2019. "Asset Inequality in the MENA: The Missing Dimension?" *The Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance* 73: 44–55.

Inter Agency Standing Committee. 2015. "Guidelines for Integrating Gender-Based Violence Interventions in Humanitarian Actions: Reducing Risk, Promoting Resilience and Aiding Recovery." Global Protection Cluster: Geneva. https://gbvguidelines.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/2015-IASC-Gender-based-Violence-Guidelines_lo-res.pdf.

International Conference of Labour Statisticians. 2013. "Resolution Concerning Statistics of Work, Employment, and Labor Underutilization." Resolution by the 19th International Conference of Labour Statisticians. Geneva: International Labour Organization.

International Labour Organization (ILO). 2014. "Engaging Men in Women's Economic Empowerment and Entrepreneurship Development Intervention." Issue Brief. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/---emp_ent/---ifp_seed/documents/briefingnote/wcms_430936.pdf.

International Labour Organization (ILO). 2020. *ILOSTAT Database, Prime-Age Labour Force Participation Rate by Sex, Household Type and Rural / Urban Areas.* Website database. https://ilostat.ilo.org/data/.

Jensen, R. 2012. "Do Labor Market Opportunities Affect Young Women's Work and Family Decisions? Experimental Evidence from India." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 127(2): 753–92.

Klasen, S., & J. Pieters. 2015. "What Explains the Stagnation of Female Labor Force Participation in Urban India?" *The World Bank Economic Review*. (Originally published in 2013, IZA DP No. 7597, Institute for the Study of Labor, http://ftp.iza.org/dp7597.pdf.)

Loko, Boileau, and Mame Astou Diouf. 2009. "Revisiting the Determinants of Productivity Growth: What's New?" Working Paper Vols. 9–225, International Monetary Fund, Middle East and Central Asia Department.

Martinez, Sebastian, Sophie Naudeau, and Vitor Pereira. 2012. "The Promise of Preschool in Africa: A Randomized Impact Evaluation of Early Childhood Development in Rural Mozambique." World Bank Group & Save the Children. https://www.savethechildren.org/content/dam/global/reports/education-and-child-protection/ecd-report-2012-moz.pdf.

Mujahid, Noreen, and Naeem Uz Zafar. 2012. "Economic Growth-Female Labour Force Participation Nexus: An Empirical Evidence for Pakistan." *Pakistan Development Review* 4(51): 565–85.

Niethammer, C., T. Saeed, S. Mohamed, and Y. Charaf. 2007. "Women Entrepreneurs and Access to Finance in Pakistan." *Women's Policy Journal of Harvard, John F. Kennedy School of Government* 4: 1–12.

Olivetti, C., and B. Petrongolo. 2016. "The Evolution of Gender Gaps in Industrialized Countries." *Annual Review of Economics* 8: 405–34.

Pakistan Bureau of Statistics (PBS) 2017. "Population and Housing Census, KP District 2017". Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Statistics. https://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files//population_census/KP%20District%20Wise.pdf

Pakistan Bureau of Statistics 2019. *Employment Trends 2018.* Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Statistics. https://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files//Pakistan%20Employment%20Trend%20%20Reprt%202018%20Final.pdf

Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey (PDHS), 2017–18. https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR354/FR354.pdf.

Pakistan Public Administration Research Centre. 2018–19. *Annual Statistical Bulletin of Federal Government Employees for 2018–19.* https://establishment.gov.pk/SiteImage/Downloads/Annual%20Bulletin%202018-19.pdf.

Sanauddin, Noor. 2015. "Proverbs and Patriarchy: Analysis of Linguistic Sexism and Gender Relations Among the Pashtuns of Pakistan." PhD thesis, University of Glasgow. http://theses.gla.ac.uk/6243/.

Seneviratne, P. 2019. "Married Women's Labor Supply and Economic Development: Evidence from Sri Lankan Household Data." *Review of Development Economics* 23(2): 975–99.

Tanaka, S. , and M. Muzones. 2016. "Policy Brief on Female Labor Force Participation" in Pakistan. ADB Brief No. 70, Asian Development Bank. https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/209661/female-labor-force-participation-pakistan.pdf.

World Bank. 2018. "Female Labor Force Participation in Pakistan: What Do We Know?" Policy Note. Pakistan Gender and Social Inclusion Platform & Social Protection and Jobs teams, World Bank Group, Washington, DC.

World Bank. 2019. "Labor Force Aspirations, Experiences and Challenges for Urban, Educated Pakistani Women: Discussions in Four Metro Cities." Pakistan Gender and Social Inclusion Platform and Center of Gender and Policy Studies (CGaPS), World Bank, Washington, DC.

Zaidi, Y., S. Farooq, et al. 2016. "Women's Economic Participation and Empowerment in Pakistan—Status Report 2016." UN Women Pakistan, Islamabad.

Zeb, Arooj, and Shahid Jan Kakakhel. 2018. "Impact of Formal Networks on Women Entrepreneurship in Pakistan Islamia College University, Peshawar." *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization* 8: 105–28. doi:10.32350/jitc.81.08.