CHANGING PATTERNS OF SON PREFERENCE IN PASHTUN SOCIETY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD

2020

CHANGING PATTERNS OF SON PREFERENCE IN PASHTUN SOCIETY

"Thesis Submitted to the Department of the Sociology, Quaid -I-Azam University, Islamabad for the partial fulfilment of the Degree of MPhil in Sociology"

BY

MARIA AMIN

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD

2020

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

All praise and glory belong to Allah Almighty, who is the Creator of all worlds, the most merciful and beneficent.

I feel highly privileged to take this opportunity to express my heartiest gratitude and deep sense of indebt to my worthy supervisor Dr. Sadia Saeed for her skillful guidance, fully moral support and generous transfer of knowledge, masterly advice, valuable suggestions, and sympathetic behavior for the completion of this thesis. It was certainly a matter of pride to work under her guidance. I am also grateful to my respectable teachers who guided me in every step and helped me achieve my target. I am thankful for their kind attention which enriched me with outstanding Knowledge of Sociology, enabled me to complete my thesis.

I pay my cordial thanks to my parents who prayed for me and my sweet brothers (specially Yawar Amin) as they motivated, supported, and encouraged me at every step of my life. May Allah bless them all. Finally, all those friends (particularly Ammara Mumtaz, Maria Chaudhry) who have helped me in my thesis.

Maria Amin

ABSTRACT

With the passage of time, social norms change leading to a shift in prejudice towards a particular aspect of life. Sociopolitical events shape daily life requirements and needs which in turn take its toll over the obligations of both genders bound by a marriage contract. These pivotal shifts reshape the lens of analysis through which one perceives reality. One such norm that requires an analytical study is the preference of son and how various paradigm shifts have produced reconceptualization of son preference, if any, within a society. This research analyzes son preference for a decade long period from 2007 - 2017 within Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, a province of Pakistan. Quantitative method has been used for conducting the research. The data has been taken from the website Pakistan Demographic Health Survey. SPSS software has been used for extracting the results. The objectives of this study are that whether parental education, family structure and urbanization have any effect on the perspective of the people regarding son preference in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. According to the results, it can be concluded that although the overall trend of children preference has decreased, son preference over daughters still prevails. Not only men but women also want to give birth to sons because being a mother of a boy makes their position strong in the family and in their social circle too. It is also obvious by looking at the results that people have started giving importance to acquiring education with the passage of time which has had its impact over children preference. Due to educational careers, people are getting married late leading to a smaller sized family. Urbanization has increased and with urbanization came the paradigm shifts resulting in decreased son preference. Joint family system has deteriorated causing number of children idealized by parents along with son preference to decease.

TABLE OF CONTENT

LIST OF THE TABLES

LIST OF THE FIGURES

CHAPTER. NO: 1

INTRODUCTION

Son preference is the ideological attitude of individuals within a society which prefer birth of son over a daughter usually due to social burdens and cultural norms within that society (Gilles and Feldman-Jacobs 2012). It can be frequently witnessed in South Asian countries like China, India, North Korea, and Pakistan (Rajan et al. 2018). This Biased attitude against daughters is due to son preference. Giving birth to a son insure women with an immediate rise in the position in family and well-being. Socially, boys are favored due to the religious and social purposes (Gilles and Feldman-Jacobs 2012).

Gender preference of child has also been noticed in developed countries like United States of America (U.S.A) and Western Europe where predilection of at least one child from both genders is apparent. In United States parents whose first child is a girl are prone to divorce and after separation, fathers prefer to be custodians of male children rather than daughters (Dahl and Moretti 2008). Macro-level factors include socio-economic environment of any community, cultural settings, population policy, modernization. Micro-level factors deal with the individual attributes of parents, particularly their level of formal qualification (Lundberg 2005).

Although it a global issue, it still exists in South Asia, East Asia and in some portions of Middle East and North Africa. Pakistan, being a South Asian country has high rate of patriarchal social system. The longing for male children is therefore a rampant sociopsychological variable which is further fueled by the feudal kinship system prevailing in major portions of the state (UNFPA 2012). While male childbirth is highly desirable in the agricultural sectors of the state, owing to inheritance aspect, male children are desirable in every area to carry on paternal name and look after parents when they get aged. Daughters, however, are perceived as somewhat of economic burden in urban and rural regions due to the dowry (Royan and Zaidi 2011).

Distinction regarding the gender preferences within nations and regions have been associated to multiple factors which are of micro and macro level. Son preference might differ from area to area and community to community reliant upon the cultural arrangements, values, education, and financial circumstances. Educational attainment makes a woman's position strong in her family as well as in the society too because by getting education, they can become independent easily. Educated women have more value and it also increases the understood value of the women. After getting education, they can also support their families in the same manner as the men do (Saeed 2012). Education makes a woman wiser. It makes them to think about how they can change their

existing situation. They can explore different ideas by which they can make a better use of the things which are already available to them. Previous research verifies that there is a significant association between education and preference for son. When the mother is educated, it affects her daughters in a positive way as she can help them in their schooling (Kingdon 2002). Working women have a strong position in their family because she earns so, everyone in the family gives importance to her opinion.

Culturally, a son is accountable for ancestry and a source of increased family honor in the society. Malik (2005) addressed in his study that in Pakistan, sons are more cherished than daughters; they get more precautionary care and more courteousness when they fall ill. Boys have more access to schooling and lesser dropout rates as compared to girls. Girls do not get the same nutritious food like the boys which leads to malnutrition in them and makes them physically weak. They receive low attainment of education and experience poor health. This means boys are favored over girls in Pakistani society and girls are given less worth biologically, economically, and socially.

Birth of the female child in Bangladesh, India and Pakistan is taken as financial responsibility due to the dowry system and economically burdensome wedding cost. Son preference is higher in areas where more money is spent on the marriage of daughters in the shape of dowry (Lundberg 2005).

Male child preference is apparent in Hindu culture, as in Hindu community only the male members of the family can perform birth, death, and marriage rituals (Safdar et al. 2007). Common reasons for male child preference are the ascribed abilities of son, to play enough role in the financial contribution, to support parents when they get aged, to carry on paternal name. Increase in infant mortality of girls is due to the distinction in the supply of food and health care within the family (Hussain et al. 2000). Apart from the attitude of male towards son preference, women also prefer son over daughter in South Asian countries because being a mother of male child uplift their position in their in-laws and being a mother of a son is an assurance of respect for them in the family as well as in their social circle (Rajan et al. 2018).

Many studies conducted on the gender preference has concentrated on South Asia. Significantly the strong son preference in this region caused negative social and demographic consequences. Global report of the 1970s and 1980s shows that, in South Asia the child mortality ratio was very less in number in all its regions which illustrates a considerable female disadvantage in mortality (United Nations Secretariat 1998). Additionally, a large number of the worldwide estimation of

‘missing’ women in the 1990s indicates that it was the result of gender biased mortality rates in South Asia, namely India, Pakistan, Bangladesh. 102.2 million women were anticipated to be ‘missing’ worldwide in which 47.7 million of the women belonged to this region (Klasen and Wink 2002). In the regions where women are financially dependent on men and are not allowed to do jobs makes their position week which in result opens the door for son preference (Wang et al. 2020). Women’s access to material and physical comforts are often dependent on their sons. They provide an important source of insurance against the risk of losing economic support of husbands through widowhood, illness, or divorce. A son gives a woman a permanent link to her husband’s kin since succession and inheritance passes through males.

Bangladesh is among the countries in South Asia where male child is preferred over daughter. It has been described in the study by examining the gender composition of survived children and the increase in fertility behavior of parents so that they can produce a greater number of male children (Rajan et al 2018).

Moreover, India is also known to have strong son preference. India is a country with a prevalent preference for sons and one of the highest levels of excess child mortality for girls in the world (child mortality for girls surpasses child mortality for boys by 43 per cent). In Hindu's traditions, only sons could pray for and release the souls of their dead parents and only males could perform birth, death, and marriage rituals (Safdar et al. 2007). Scholars have observed son preference in India through sex-selective abortions that lead to abnormally high sex ratios at birth (Arnold et al. 2002).

Besides India and Bangladesh, Pakistan is also among the countries which prefer male child over female. The possible reason behind this approach is traditional patriarchal setup. Other reasons include cultural beliefs, low literacy rate, social limitations on women, male supremacy, and their legitimacy as financial supporter of the family. Among the Pakistan communities, male child is accountable to look after parents when they get aged. (Safdar et al.2007).

Pakistan Demographic Health Survey (PDHS) assembles data from more than 75 countries about health matters, PDHS merges questions concerning child preference of the people in various surveys. PDHS of 1990-1991 demonstrates one-third of females which have not produced even one child wants to have a son, whereas the desire for daughter is not noticeable. People with two daughters and no son, nearly all wants to have a baby boy as their next offspring (Safdar et al.

2007). There is distinct gender discrimination in terms of distribution of food and healthcare in support of sons (Rajan et al.2018). Among South Asian countries many studies designate that people of this area wish to have more sons than daughters (Saeed 2012).

In international comparison to other countries of the world, Bongaarts (2013) classified Pakistan as having the second highest Desired Sex Ratio for Boys out of a total of 61 countries, and this son preference is authorized by results of consecutive Pakistan Demographic and Health Surveys (PDHSs). Muhammad (2009) finds out in his research that when a couple has only or mostly daughters, their desire for son is stronger whereas couples having only or mostly sons have no such desire for having a daughter.

According to Pakistan Demographic Health Survey (PDHS) reports of 2006-2007, the sex ratio at birth in urban areas of Pakistan is 118.9 and in rural areas of Pakistan, the sex ratio at birth is 110.7. As well as the reports of 2012-2013 shows that the sex ratio at birth in urban areas of Pakistan is 103.9 and in rural areas it is 101.9. When compared to the results of PDHS 2006, the results of PDHS 2013 shows that sex ratios at birth have deteriorated meaningfully. However, this corresponding can be accredited to better reporting of female births and children, rather than an actual increase in female births or survival.

1.1 Problem Statement

Son preference modeling is a belief that parents prefer son over daughter. It reflects the notion of traditional patriarchal mindset of a society where son is considered as bread earner of the family. However, due to higher expansion of education and technology, females are also playing their part in earning money and in the progress of the society (Lundberg 2005). In previous studies it has been evident that in South Asian countries son preference is significant due to cultural and economic factors. It is known that Pakistan is a traditional patriarchal society and boys are expected to support their parents in old age (Saeed 2012). However, the perception of the people in the society is changing with time.

The researcher's aim is to analyze the patterns of change in the mindset and behavior of parents towards son preference with respect to each variable in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In this regard, the researcher analyzed the data available on the website PDHS (Pakistan Demographic Health Survey) from year 2007-2017.

1.2 Research Question

Is there any behavioral change in Pashtun society towards son preference from 2007 to 2017?

1.2.1 Sub Questions

What is the role of family structure in son preference?

What is the role of parental education in son preference behavior?

Is there any difference in son preference behavior between the people of rural and urban areas?

1.3 Objectives

To find out the role of parental education with relation to son preference in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

To find out the difference in rural and urban areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa regarding son preference.

To find out the role of family structure regarding son preference behavior in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

1.4 Significance of the study

This study focuses on the changing patterns regarding son preference in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. With the passage of time everything is evolving and thus people everywhere are accepting the change regarding a mindset about a specific resolution. From Historical times, son has always been considered as a symbol of power while daughter as a weakness. The Pashtun community have been no different in this regard. It is therefore a necessity to study the change in the mindset of this community under the post modernized settings. In this research the researcher has analyzed whether any change has appeared in the mindset of parents over the passage of time. The researcher obtained secondary data to analyze changing patterns regarding son preference in Pashtun society. The data was obtained from the website PDHS (Pakistan Demographic Health Survey) from year 2007 to 2017. With the help of quantitative secondary data analysis, the researcher was able to analyze any change in pattern of thought of Pashtun society with regards to this social subject. This research will contribute to academic scholarship in terms of identifying the changing patterns regarding son preference in Pashtun community about which very few longitudinal studies have been conducted in Pakistan, particularly in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

CHAPTER. NO: 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is about reviewing previous research that has already been conducted on son preference. In literature review the researcher defines systematic and explicit notion of previous research which have been conducted on the same topic just as in this the researcher will mention below previous studies which have been conducted on son preference. By studying the previous research, the researcher gets to know the gap between the previous studies. In this chapter the researcher will elucidate different themes on the topic of son preference with the help of the studies conducted previously on son preference.

The reasons behind the son preference vary from society to society. The preference for a son's desire has deep rooted socio-cultural and economic impacts in South Asian countries like China, India, and Pakistan (Caroll 2000). The most common factor behind the attitude regarding son preference is the mental and social perception of the parents that sons are the bread earner and will support their parents in old age whereas daughters will move to their in-laws after marriage, so there is no need to invest on them equivalent to sons. In their point of view educating daughter is like planting seeds in a neighbor's garden (Levine and Kevane 2002). As this concept is described in Pakistan that "Daughters are 'other people's property'" (Pakistan 1996).

Navtej, K.P. (2012) points out that the preference for male child can be observed in many societies and cultures, creating a local and global issue. It is found in many parts of Asia and is found to have its roots in the history. The eventual product of this phenomenon are social power relations connecting with culture and economy.

2.1 Son Preference

Son preference is the ideological attitude of individuals within a society which prefer birth of son over a daughter usually due to social burdens and cultural norms within that society (Gilles and Feldman-Jacobs 2012). Son preference is imbedded in most of the Asian countries, for both cultural and economic reasons. Daughters are mostly considered as burden, especially where parents must pay dowry, parents when get old they mostly rely on sons and in India sons are the ones who perform last rites of their parents which is why son preference is common there. Historically, son preference has resulted in unusually high death rates for female infants and girls. Over the past 30 years, the introduction of prenatal screening technologies combined with widespread access to abortion has made possible the selective abortion of female fetuses. Resulting

gender imbalances have led to concerns that a shortage of women will make it difficult for men to find wives.

2.2 Parental Education and Son Preference

Parental education has great influence on gender preference of children and infant mortality rate. It has a direct link with the nutritional position of the child as when the mother is educated, she pays more attention to her health as well as her children's health. Susan. H et al. (1982) documented a study about the effect of parental education on children's healthiness in which results came out as maternal education holds great possession on the nutritional status of children and it also has relation with child mortality. The outcome of paternal education on baby and infant death rate appears as one half of maternal education. However, positive influence has been shown on the nutritional position of the children who had more educated parents. Another study has been conducted in Taiwan by Shin-Yi Chou et al (2007) on the same topic in which the results came out that couples who were more educated had babies with great health. The upsurge in education of parents protected nearly one infant life in thousand live childbirths, which resulted deterioration in child death, around 11 percent. This indicates importance of the education of parents in children mortality rate.

Grossman (2006) reviewed great amount of literature, which showed that person's own education has important role in his or her health as well as parent's schooling particularly education of mother has great impact on child's health. Nearly more than one million female infants die every year due to unapproached healthcare and improper feedings (Kapoor 2000). The optimistic association between mother's education and child's healthiness remained a major incentive in plenty of research behind the World Bank's campaign in 1990s, which became the reason of rise in mother's education in emerging states (World Bank 1993).

Son preference can be noticed in Pakistan by means of uneven distribution of resources between children which include education, nutritional healthcare, and psychological desires. Usually, girls are being neglected when it comes to distributing these resources (Guilmoto 2009). Increase in the education of parents weakens the need of a son. Pande and Astone (2007) stated that as the female members of the family get higher education, it deteriorates the preference for son regardless of wanted family size. Women who are further educated may have more liberty and self-sufficiency

consequently which results in them considering the value of male child and female child in manner that is dissimilar to traditional norms. In their eyes the value of daughters consequently increases. Moreover, Education likewise expands socio-economic position that directs women to challenge the authority of men in every societal facets of existence (Lin 2009). Therefore, highly educated females perceive sons as a choice rather than a need.

Besides that, Education is the most imperative social institution in the society. It shapes the attitude and behavior of individuals. It plays vital role in grooming the personality of individuals as well as it shapes our point of view about patterns of life. All humans learn from their past experiences and educate themselves accordingly. However, the researcher analyzes the notion of education in domain of son preference that whether education plays role in son preference or not, whether education plays effective role in molding the thinking patterns of individuals social context of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

2.3 Family Structure and Son Preference

Women who marry in extended families sometimes face pressure from in-laws mainly from mother-in-law regarding fertility decisions and in usage of contraceptives. (Cater 1984; Kadir et al. 2003). Women in some families are bound to the permission of head of a family for attaining any health facility especially consensus of mother in-law is needed (Shaikah 2010). Women in some extended families has a little or no portion in the decision-making autonomy of the house. Even the presence of her in-laws in the household clearly constrains her in all the aspects of lives (Sathar and Kazi 2000). In Pakistani society mothers who have sons have strong position in their in-laws and they have the decision-making power in the family.

Kadir et al. (2003) stated that mother in-law may sustain on not to use protective measures for household planning, whether it goes against the desire of daughter in-law. Every couple wants to have a baby boy as their first child. If they have a son, then the desire gets stronger to have another son. This is also one of the causes of population growth in Pakistan as people do not use contraceptives so that they can produce a male child. Birth of son is the reason for countless happiness of a family. Socially, it raises the status of mother and of fathers in their respective circles. Culturally, a son is responsible for lineage and a reason of increased family honor in the

society. Being a mother of a son is a ray of hope for every Pakistani woman which will be a high-status symbol for her at familial level.

Women's position gets strengthen when she becomes a mother of male child. So, she seeks strong liking for son. In Pakistan as Hussain (2000) conducted a small-scale study on reproductive behavior of people in urban slums of Karachi. He conferred that gender of alive children especially the number of sons has correlation with pregnancies reported as unwanted and it also influences succeeding reproductive behavior.

In some of the extended families, mother-in-law plays vital role in the decision-making regarding family planning and most of the time daughter in laws are pressurized to give birth to another child only to fulfill the need of son in the family. While doing so, the health of the daughter in law is also neglected. The researcher analyzes this aspect to know that whether this also takes place in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This aspect is also important for analyzing the family structure in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

2.4 Urbanization and Son Preference

Urbanization plays substantial part in altering thoughts and behavior of the people about son preference. In cities people easily get daily life facilities which include infirmaries, health care hubs, marketplaces, informative institutions, and access to contraceptives. Along with these facilities, in urban areas expenses are also high and population is congested so, couples in urban areas give importance to protective measures. The usage of contraceptives is greater in urban areas rather than rural areas. Ezeh et al. (1996) linked lower fertility of urban residence to higher usage of contraceptives in West and East Africa, Egypt, Morocco, Bangladesh, and Pakistan.

Women living in cities are usually more literate than the women of rural areas because they have easy access to educational institution. So, most of the women in urban sectors succeed in securing a job even after getting married they continue their job. Women in cities have almost equal power in domestic matters, whereas women in rural areas are reportedly vulnerable when it comes to making decisions regarding getting facility to health care of child or buying some household items, and in contraceptive use also. Women who have more liberty in going outside of house are expected to contribute more to household decisions and the connection is commonly strong for urban women than rural ones (Naushin Mahmood 2002).

Women in Pakistan enhanced their participation in household decisions which shows that they have achieved equal right in decision regarding reproduction. This became the reason for reduction in fertility (Naushin Mahmood 2002). Even though women who live in cities are financially more stable and they have the facility of health care, the lack in making decision regarding reproduction is still the main reason for lower contraception rates in Southern India (Ravindran 1993).

In rural areas, negative association of contraception is found to be predominant (Rogers 1990; Sathar and Kazi 1990). However, to make reproductive health choices and contraception more adoptable, efforts should be made to universalize it and to develop social packages for rural populations. Extending health and family planning services to remote areas will remove the misconception of the rural people regarding the use of contraceptives. It will also create awareness about the safe use of contraceptives. Low participation of females in agriculture is also the reason due to which girl child is neglected. Couples with mostly daughters have strong desire for son, whereas couples with mostly sons do not have this kind of desire regarding daughter (Muhammad 2009).

In urban areas, most of the women have access to education so they get married in mature age because of which the time-period in which they can get pregnant decreases. This is one of the reason due to which women in urban areas highly prefer their first child to be a son. This is also an important aspect to analyze as son preference not only prevail in rural areas, but it also prevails in urban areas.

2.5 Modernization and Son Preference

There are plentiful possible reasons for observing son preference in the developing world. Typically, these conditions are found in many traditional rural societies such as inheritance systems which pass possessions to sons, inter-generational insurance systems in which sons care for parents in old-age, or production systems with low financial revenues to women's work (and to investments in women's human capital).

With the passage of time in urban areas and even in rural areas people are now heading towards higher education, not only men but women are also getting education because it is the need of time. So, while getting education, the age factor is also getting higher of female and marriages and getting delayed. This is also affecting son preference as the mindset of people regarding this

concept is getting change now. As our societies are getting modernized, women are becoming equal to men in every field of life. So, women of this era are not now as vulnerable as before (Das Gupta 2007). General development processes and modernization, including urbanization, the closure of traditional rural communities, and increasing female education and labor force participation are expected to work against pressures for son preference in settings where it exists (Chung and Das Gupta 2007).

Modernization plays pivotal role in changing the thinking patterns of the people. It is necessary to shed light on this aspect because through this it can be assured that with the passage of time whether people are giving importance to the daughters or they are thinking the same as before.

2.6 Economic Dependency of Women and Son Preference

Son preference is more prevalent in South Asian countries, as these countries have traditional patriarchal societies so the choice of woman regarding her control over birth is little as explored by (Arthur 2005). Usually most of the women in South Asian countries do not get into the job market after getting married and some do not even get higher education (Bairagi and Langsten 1986; Kabir et al. 1994). This is the cause of the economic dependency of women on men.

Economic dependency and inferior position continue to frustrate most women. Due to industrial revolution; some women emerged as a working entity and got economic security. This economic security contains the availability of health facilities and women literacy scaled down the population growth (Golden Essay 2005; Blaney 1992) because these women are more active in the decision-making processes of the family. Women who are independent have more positive attitude towards family planning. Economic independence of the women influences the way a woman thinks. Women who have a sound financial stability and an equal share in family income are more independent and more able to control their reproductive decisions than those women who are totally dependent on their husbands or in-laws (Manzoor 1991; Zafar 1993).

Son preference is also one of the factors responsible for the higher fertility rate in Punjab, Pakistan. On the other hand, the exclusion of gender preference would be the key to reducing family size as contraception would be adopted at an early stage and in more effective ways (Morrison 1995; Tavakoli 1993). Economic dependency of women is one of the very common reason of son preference in Pakistani society. In Pakistani society most of the women in rural areas do not get

access to education specifically to higher education. Due to which they are economically dependent on the male members of the family. Which leads people to give importance to the male child rather than to make their daughters able to get access to education and make them independent. So, the researcher considered this aspect for analyzing the change in son preference in Pashtun tribe.

2.7 Male Dominance in Family Planning and Son Preference

As Pakistan is a male dominant country, women feel distressed over the preferential treatment of males when it comes to son preference. Usually, women feel ignored and undervalued compared to privileged males in a male dominated society (Hussain et al. 2000; Gupta 1987).

One of the reasons for son preference could be that male are usually the earning head of the family and parents have shared relations with son's family as compared to the daughter's (Ali 1989). In Pakistani society boys are regarded as a necessity for the continuation of the family name, as an asset and security of the family, for old age security of the parents, and for protecting the honor of the family and mainly its female component (Shah 1989). In this regard the dominance of the male can be observed in Pakistani society.

Encyclopedia of birth control defines that, in many cultures, son preference led parents to have more children than family resources might comfortably support, in hope of producing at least one son (Rangel 2000). Another study conducted by Sharif (2007) in district Faisalabad was conducted relating to family size and sex preference. It disclosed that preference for son is beneficial both at social and economic level. The desire for sons is related with low contraceptive prevalence. This study also shed light on the preference for son in Pakistani society. If the value of sons is lowered than it will help in making the family planning successful.

Malik (2005) stated that, "In Pakistani society, boys are more highly valued than girls, they receive more preventive care and more timely attention when they fall ill. Boys have more access to schooling and lesser dropout rates as compared with girls. Girls receive less nutritious food than boys, leading to malnutrition and impaired physical development. They receive low attainment of education and experience poor health". This means boys are preferred over girls in Pakistani society and girls are given less value biologically, economically, and socially. It increases the importance of sons in the family setup and supports the notion that the son is an asset in the

Pakistani society. The desire for sons can lead to families having children until a desired number of sons have been born (Leone et al. 2003).

2.8 The Inter-play of Son Preference in Agricultural Societies

In the rural settings of Pakistan sons are highly preferable to daughters because they are much more able to find employment and they can help more in the fields as well (Sathar et al. 1988). The requirement on sons is stronger in rural areas because of agricultural work and the securing of land possession with male inheritance, even in other areas, boys are seen to be important in carrying on the family name and taking care of parents in old age.

Most of the Pakistani families view male children as the stable form of social and economic security (Sathar and Kazi 1997). Because men are physically stronger than women and women are more vulnerable. So, men are more able to do the hard work in the fields (Gupta et al. 2003). In most of the rural areas of Pakistan, the literacy level is low and higher education is neglected because of no resources and agricultural work. The demand for male child is more. Pakistan consumes a feudal and agricultural societies with strong ties of caste and family (Sathar 2001).

Female child is neglected due to the low participation of females in agriculture and other income generating activities. The desire for a son when a couple has only or mostly daughters is stronger than the desire to have a daughter when a couple has only or mostly sons (Muhammad 2009).

2.9 Delayed Marriages and Son Preference

Delayed marriages have been taken as reason of fertility change in the society. Delayed marriages are also strongly associated with the role and status of women, family living agreements and power structure (Sathar and Kiani 1998). In people with higher age at marriage, fertility is generally observed to be low which opens a pathway for increase in son preference.

The delay in marriage for women has direct influence on delaying the age of sexual initiation and the age at first birth (since almost all childbearing occurs within marriage) (Sathar and kiani 1998).

A higher age at marriage is likely to be linked with a rise in the status of women as they enter their reproductive lives with greater maturity and capabilities. However, it is quite possible that changes in nuptiality by expanding the gap between generations has been a major causal factor towards the

slowing of the population growth rate in Pakistan. Such influential factors have found to weigh in heavily on fertility transitions in other South Asian countries (Bongaarts and Amin 1996).

Changes in age at marriage have been associated closely with rises in educational attainment in South Asia (Caldwell et al. 1982). In fact, a large part of the effects of education on reproductive behavior is through delays in marriage. Thus, education acts as a cause and a consequence of nuptiality change.

Young people in urban areas are more likely to be unmarried and consequently are in search of the opportunities such as leisure, schooling, and profitable employment. At the same time, they also have the advantage of greater access to both education and employment opportunities (Sathar and Kiani 1998). In many societies, as Coale (1992) observed, the relationship between late marriage and low fertility is the result of higher control levels of marital fertility among the populations that marry late.

2.10 The Role of Religious Teachings in Realm of Son Preference

Along with family structure, agricultural societies, economic dependency of women, religious beliefs, and cultural obligation are additional factors to son preference. Due to the cultural bias attitude against women in north India, most of the girls have been mistreated and neglected (Sekher and Hatti 2010). Rajan (2020) stated that in India, sons are the ones who can perform the funeral, birth, and marriage rituals.

Social conditions and cultural values of South Asian society play a major role in son preference. In south Asian societies, sons are considered a symbol of prestige (Sekher and Hatti 2010). Patel (2003) points out the higher social and cultural cost of raising daughters.

To some extent women of both communities (Muslims, Hindus) have accomplished to acquire choice in reproductive matters in their families, but the way in which they have exercised their choices regenerates the fact that reproduction is an issue of personal and social concern (Sabiha 2001). In communities that suppress women, in those communities' women are in the inferior position. They are not provided with equal distribution of resources as well as they cannot take a stand for themselves and for their children (Hellesten 2000). Therefore, in these societies women also prefer to give birth to a male child to make their position strong (Sathar and Casterline, 1998; Feeney and Alam 2003).

2.11 Inheritance and Son Preference

Women rights have been recognized after such a long time. It has been a prolonged process to assure women with inheritance rights. Two centuries ago, in Europe and America, women were considered the property of men as they had no essential rights of their own (Doepke et al. 2012). Therefore, the legislation of women rights in property was a significant landmark. In the Middle East and North African countries women's share in inheritance have been discarded in law. As well as in 50 % of South Asian countries, 34% of sub-Saharan African countries, and 25% of East Asian and Pacific countries, laws related to inheritance are somehow not in the favor of women or altogether discount women (World Bank 2011).

In Twenty-one out of sixty-three countries, property inheritance rights for men and women are unequal (WDR 2012; Htun and Weldon 2011). This is perhaps the leading aspect which shows that women have a weaker position in property rights. Property rights are allied with amplified investment, production, and labor market opportunities (Besley and Ghatak 2009; Ghatak and Roy 2007). Land marketplaces in developing countries are infrequent and land is naturally attained through inheritance. Therefore, even among the landowning classes, women are relatively in weaker position in the property rights. Consequently, it inclines women to be dependent upon men as they have limited earning options due to the social obligations (Field 2007; Goldstein and Udry 2008; Chung and Dasgupta 2007).

Numerous studies have proved that economic independence of women directly benefits the wellbeing of children as women tends to invest more in children (e.g., Lundberg et al., 1997; Duflo and Udry 2004; Bobonis 2009; Baranov et al. 2017). There is also some evidence that women relatively invest more in girls reassuring gender inequality in the lineage (Thomas 1990, 1994; Dahl and Moretti 2008; Baranov et al. 2017). In India, inheritance rights of both genders were paralleled in five states in the legislative reforms between 1976 and 1994, with federal legislation enforcing equal rights for all states in 2005.

Research has therefore been conducted on the impact of these reforms to examine the status of women in India. One such research highlighted the upsurge in the intra-household conflict rate leading to a higher rate of domestic violence (Anderson and Genicot 2015). The reforms had led to an amplified educational investment in girls compared to the prior expenditure, (Roy 2015; Deininger et al. 2013). While things were looking bitter at one end of the rope, a much fervent

development was being observed at the other. In other words, the economic reforms were a doorway to marital conflicts for some, while expansion of marital horizon for others.

Although a social setback, this ancient preference of son over daughter had much to do with the socio-political position of male heir and bearer of burden for parents at old age (Bhalotra et al. 2018). The thought therefore comes to mind regarding the impact of a change in heritage status. Would application of equal inheritance rights for daughters modulate the preference for wanting sons? Plausible inference of old-age security being provided by daughters which, since the antient times, have been provided by sons can be made (Chung and Dasgupta 2007). Other implications might be the dwindling of dowry, which although provided happily by the parents to a daughter, yet nevertheless is mostly considered a burden for bearing a female child (Anderson 2003, Bhalotra et al. 2016). Three available sets of individual level data with national representation from the National Family and Health Survey (NFHS) concerning births between 1972 and 2004 was used. A shocking 3.8-4.3 percentage points decrease in the probability that a girl is born post-reform and post-ultrasound in households where the firstborn child is a girl rather than a boy. Female feticide increased in response to inheritance reform is robust to the inclusion of state-year of birth fixed effects (Bhalotra et al. 2018).

The researcher considered this aspect for analyzing the change in son preference because inheritance is one of the reasons due to which people do not want give birth to daughters especially in rich families. It is because after the marriage of a girl the share of property which is on the name of girl goes in benefit of the in laws. This is also one of the reason due to which consanguineous marriages take place in Pakistani society.

2.12 Low use of Contraceptives and Son Preference

Population growth in Pakistan is higher due to the higher family size. Pakistan is a patriarchal country in which cultural and social norms support the dominant role of a man over women. This dominance also prevails in the decision regarding family size. Therefore, husband's consent performs an essential role in the decisions to practice contraception (Zeba 2001). The desire for giving birth to a son is related to the low use of contraceptives in Pakistan (Safdar, Sharif, Hussain, & Rasheed 2007). Although certain change has appeared in the attitude of people but still the desire for son plays a major role in family planning (Safdar et al., 2007). Firstly, the reasons are that sons

can fulfill the needs of their parents such as financial support, social and emotional support in old age. Secondly, parents do not have to take the tension of the dowry system which a lot of poor families stressed about when a girl is born (Hussain et al., 2000).

Fertility is a social behavior which is controlled by the cultural practices of a society. Fertility and culture are related to each other in different ways. There are various factors behind the slow progress in decreasing the fertility ratios i.e., illiteracy, disorganized and uneven allocation of family planning facilities, tendency towards son's preference and anxiety of protection in old age, etc. High fertility, low mortality and immense rural- urban movement are the main reasons of over population in Pakistan. Understanding about contraception is higher (about 95 percent) but usage of contraception is low (less than 30 percent) (khattak 2018).

Cultural and social pressures define the reproductive behavior of the people. In Pakistan women have less decision-making power regarding the family size. Husband of the woman and the in-laws, especially mother in-law plays an important part in the decision regarding the childbearing of the partners. Fertility rate of poor people are usually high but high fertility rate of women also increases risk of poor health and further put her in poor social and economic status. Contraceptive use is low in South Asian Countries due to which the family size is high, and it is also to give birth to more boys, so this is also an important aspect to highlight while analyzing the pattern of change in son preference.

2.13 Consanguineous Marriages and Son Preference

Societies where interaction between young women and men outside close kin is restricted, the level of consanguineous marriage tends to be high, usually with first cousins. This type of marriage is very common in Islamic societies. According to Gavin (2010) Pakistan does have one of the highest rates of consanguineous marriages in the world. These marriages are more common among the rural and less educated population (Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey [PDHS], 2006-2007), but even among those with secondary education, 44% are married to first cousins, and among territory educated, 37% (National Institute of Population Studies et al, 2008). Among currently married women ages 15-49, only one-third are married to non-relative or out of family (PDHS, 2006-2007). When parents want their children to marry within the family, it is probably

because of their increased desire for a son so they can keep their assets within the family (PDHS, 2006-2007).

This aspect is important to highlight because in Pakistani society consanguineous marriages take place very frequently in families. It is because parents of the girl a more comfortable and satisfied to give their daughter to the relatives and its easy for them to believe that their daughter will not face as much problems as she will if she got married outside the family.

2.14 Sex Selective Abortion and Son Preference

Son preferences increase with the decline in fertility (Das Gupta and Bhat 1997). Son preference not only prevail in rural areas, but it also prevails in urban areas where women are educated. It is due to the pressure which mostly women face in South Asian countries. Moreover, being a mother of a son assures them respect and importance in the family and in their social group too. It is an honor for the women in rural as well as in urban areas to give birth to a son. It is the cultural bias against females in north India, which brings into play neglect and mistreatment of unknown number of girl children (Miller; 1981,2014). In developing societies, it is believed that a major barrier for decline in fertility was the prevalence of strong son preference, irrespective of socio-economic development. The existence of strong son preference has resulted in the desire to prevent the birth of daughters by carefully balancing the desired family size and desired sex composition of the children.

Miller has stated that the problem is that son preference is so strong in some areas of India and amongst some classes that daughters must logically suffer in order that family's personal and culturally mandated needs are fulfilled (Miller 1981: 25). Logically, this would mean that stronger the son preference, more marked the daughter discrimination. In South Asian countries the birth of a son is thus a time for celebration while a birth of a girl especially second or subsequent one, is often viewed as time of crises (Bumiller 1991). Birth histories collected during the National Family Health Surveys (first in 1992-93 and later in 1998-99) show an unusually large proportion of male births in some population groups, which suggest that female fetuses are being aborted. In India, girls are aborted on a massive scale simply because they are girls. The evidence of substantial sex-selective abortion in states such as Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, and Maharashtra are consistent with the high rates of use of ultrasound and amniocentesis (Retherford and Roy 2003).

An indirect estimate using the data from two rounds of National Family Health Survey (NFHS) indicates more than 1,00,000 sex selective abortions take place in India every year (Arnold, Kishor and Roy 2002). So, this is a very important aspect to highlight while conducting this study.

2.15 Cultural Obligations on Daughters and Son Preference

Most women have limited or no possibility to contribute towards their parents' welfare. This creates an apparent dichotomy between the value of a girl to her parents and that of a woman to her in laws. It has also become more costly to raise children as education has become more important and a necessity irrespective of the sex of the child. The increasing cost of education and marriage of girls is a major drain on the household resources, which acts as a strong disincentive to have daughters. The patterns of inheritance are typically patrilineal in India, Pakistan and other South Asia countries with property passing from father to son (Sekher and Hatti 2007). The immensely higher social and cultural outlays of raising a daughter in comparison with a son is also one of the reasons that people want sons rather than daughters. Expensive weddings and prohibitively large dowries make daughters avoidable choice. Increasing expenditure on marriage of a daughter and dowry are socially approved channels due to which people do not want daughters. No matter even if dowry is illegal in India, the in laws of a girl demands dowry and this also benefits them in one form to be the parents of a boy (Patel 2003).

Moreover, economic dependency of women is one of the very common reason of son preference in Pakistani society. In Pakistani society most of the women in rural areas do not get access to education specifically to higher education. Due to which they are economically dependent on the male members of the family. Which leads people to give importance to the male child rather than to make their daughters able to get access to education and make them independent (Lundberg 2005). Besides India and Bangladesh, Pakistan is also among the countries which prefer male child over female. The possible reason behind this approach is traditional patriarchal setup. Other reasons include cultural beliefs, low literacy rate, social limitations on women, male supremacy, and their legitimacy as financial supporter of the family. Among the Pakistan communities, male child is accountable to look after parents when they get aged (Ali 1989). Male child preference is apparent in Hindu culture, as in Hindu community only the male members of the family can perform birth, death, and marriage rituals (Safdar et al. 2007).

2.16 Analysis of the Reviewed literature

After reviewing the literature regarding son preference, it can be concluded that overall, in South Asia, women who have decision-making power regarding their reproductivity are low in number. Along with this financially they are more dependent on their husbands. This causes son preference in South Asian countries particularly in Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh. Women in South Asia are deprived of contribution into the reproductive, contraceptive, and economic decision-making processes. Son is always preferred due to the compound traditional system based on economic return and old age security.

Usually, women are economically dependent on the male members of the family because mostly they are not allowed to get jobs outside. But their activities are restricted to the household responsibilities. In areas where women have no decision-making power, they lack self-confidence compared to those who have more financial autonomy. On the other side, male members of the family are apparently or partially omitted from family and reproductive health plans.

Woman who are uneducated are more vulnerable because they are dependent on the male members of the family so, they must obey their husband's decision as well as the decision of in-laws, especially the mother-in-law. Because the mother-in-law has a major role in the fertility decisions. Men's participation in family planning is essential to address the need of birth spacing. And last, but not the least, in most societies, sons are considered as a symbol of prestige. India is also known to have strong son preference. India is a country with a prevalent preference for sons and one of the highest levels of excess child mortality for girls in the world (child mortality for girls surpasses child mortality for boys by 43 percent). In Hindu's traditions, only sons could pray for and release the souls of their dead parents and only males could perform birth, death, and marriage rituals.

Most of the Pakistani families view male children as the stable form of social and economic security. Because men are physically stronger than women and women are more vulnerable. So, men are more able to do the hard work in the fields. After reviewing the literature, it is evident that female child is neglected due to the low participation of females in agriculture and other income generating activities. The desire for a son when a couple has only or mostly daughters is stronger than the desire to have a daughter when a couple has only or mostly sons. Social conditions and cultural values of South Asian countries play a major role in son preference. In south Asian countries, sons are considered as a symbol of prestige. The patterns of inheritance are typically

patrilineal in India, Pakistan and other South Asia countries with property passing from father to son. In Pakistani society mothers who have sons have strong position in their in-laws and they have the decision-making power in the family.

Mother in-law may sustain on not to use protective measures for household planning, whether it goes against the desire of daughter in-law. Every couple wants to have a baby boy as their first child. If they have a son, then the desire gets stronger to have another son. Son preference not only prevail in rural areas, but it also prevails in urban areas where women are educated. It is due to the pressure which mostly women face in South Asian countries. Moreover, being a mother of a son assures them respect and importance in the family and in their social group too. It is an honor for the women in rural as well as in urban areas to give birth to a son. The increasing cost of education and marriage of girls is a major drain on the household resources, which acts as a strong disincentive to have daughters.

CHAPTER. NO: 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theories are devised to illuminate, envisage, and comprehend phenomena and, in many conditions, to challenge and extend existing knowledge within the limits of crucial bounding assumptions. The theoretical framework introduces and describes the theory that explains why the research problem under study exists.

3.1 Hegemonic Masculinity Theory

Hegemonic masculinity belongs to the R.W. Connell's gender theory (1987) in the field of gender studies. This theory distinguishes masculinity into multiple classes that potentially time, culture and the respective individual. The theory legitimizes the domination of man in a society while makes the subordination of women justifiable.

The hegemonic masculinity describes the essence of men's domination over the social roles compared with women and proposes the reason behind this domination. The derivation of this theory is tied with the cultural hegemony theory given by a theorist called Antonio Gramsci, who philosophically is known as a Marxist. The theory takes up the adjective hegemonic in a justifiable attempt to portray the hierarchal pattern of dominating roles, one upon another within a society, thus acknowledging an embodiment of an organized society while critically analyzing the challenges sociology has placed in front of it.

Description of conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity

A set of norms postulated by men with authority which functions to add and remove, to organize society in gender biased ways. It is a combination of hierarchy of masculinities, provision of power to certain men over other men and women and a composition of a man's personality, morals, relations, authority, and patriarchy (Jewkes and Morrell (2012).

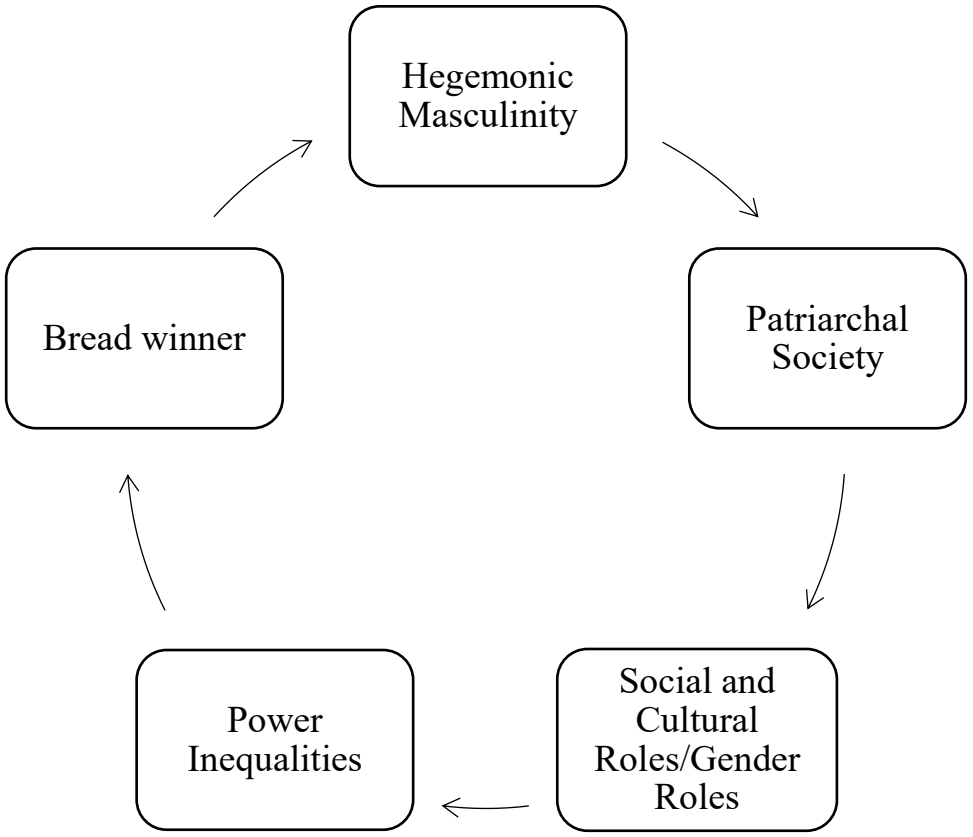

Figure: 3.1

Hegemonic masculinity's conceptualization portrayed the idealized form of manhood which had special social and hierarchical status and social biasedness based upon bread earning.

3.2 Application of the Theory

The hegemonic masculinity as a concept has vastly been used in the subject of gender studies beginning from the early 1980s to inform about men's power over women. It has even been used to analyze health behaviors of men and usage of violence. Raewyn Connell's conceptualized it as an instrument used to investigate the mentality and methodologies among men to sustain the gender biasedness which draws a periphery around the inequality among certain men and women as well as authority over other men.

As Pakistani Society is patriarchal in nature, people prefer to have sons over daughters due to ascribed characteristics of the sons. Males are dominant in Pakistani society due to the social roles which they play Malik (2005). Sons are the bread winners of the family. It is expected from the

sons that they will take care of their parents while they get aged as daughters are meant to leave their house after getting married. It is believed in Pakistani society that sons are the ones who carry on the parental name. People prefer male child in countries like India because only male child can perform the wedding or death rituals. The economic dependency of women on men and the dowry system is also one of the reason due to which people prefer male child over female child. Women in Pakistani society are more vulnerable to inequalities which prevail in the society due to the dominancy of the male in every profession. Men have dominancy over women due to their social and gender roles. They have more power, they are the decision makers, bread winners of the family. Due to patriarchal family structure in Pakistani society sons are more cherished than daughters and facilitated with good education and health care than daughters Malik (2005).

Hegemonic masculinity has been criticized by numerous sociologists aiming at its rather fixed nature and analytical limitations as it is unable to describe the complexity of varying and competing forms of masculinity. It therefore was reestablished to inculcate the gender hierarchy, the masculine configurations based on geographical constraints, social embodiment procedures, and the subtleties of many types of masculinity in terms of psycho-sociology. The advocates of the concept however argue about the conceptual usefulness of the model to understand gender relations and its practicality in life-span development, criminology, education, mass media-based promotion of masculinity, health of men and women as well as the structural functionality of any organization.

3.3 Modernization Theory

Modernization theory was originated since the Era of Enlightenment when many sociologists and philosophers tried to explain the social changes and progress in the society. They also tried to know the reasons connected to the advancement of the society. Modernization theory originated with the ideas of German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920) regarding the role of rationality and irrationality in the conversion of traditional societies to modern societies. It is an extensive theory, which provides wide perspective for understanding the changes in the society.

Modernization is defined as a social process that takes economical component as its developmental tool (Lerner 1967). Modernization involves cultural revolution as a whole and personality revolution of individual level as long as it is induced through culture rather than through human

ecology (Stephenson 1968). Modernization induces social convergence among varying societies. It can be penned down as a desirable progressive process rather than an inevitable one.

Modernization tends to be a transformative procedure. A society is only capable of moving into modernity if its traditional structures and values turn are superseded by modern values. Industrialization is one of the outcomes of modernization, and through modernization developing countries have tried to compete with developed countries by using advanced technologies. Traditional societies have a propensity to be male-dominated and authoritarian, and modern societies are democratic in nature and populist, at least as far as the long run is concerned. Women of the traditional societies have been at the advantageous position due to modernization. Because the administrative policies and programs of development are perceived as sex neutral (Jaquette 1982).

Modernization includes the process of variation within a society that enables the adjustment of that society plausible culturally, economically as well as politically with respect to its contemporaries.

Modernization from this perspective triggers variation within a society and shapes the developmental indicators with a society.

3.4 Application of the Theory

Modernization theory suggests that contemporary communities are more productive, children in contemporary societies have opportunity of better education as well as poor people also get more help from people. In modern societies, social structural differences exist. a discernible definition of functions and political responsibilities from national organizations (Smelser 1990).

The application of modern technology brought about changes in the social organization of production and consumption. The modernization processes in general have brought about changes in all aspects of life whether it is economic, social, spatial, or political. With the convenience of modern transportation systems, and concentration of services, markets and service delivery systems in urban areas, and migration to urban areas have increased worldwide (Peng 2009). At the individual level, through modernization theory new values have been created and have become important for engaging public life and for dealing with secondary institutions.

Ronald (2000) stated that modernization occur due to an immense cultural alteration and the perseverance of different cultural traditions. Therefore, social reforms are formed in the society due to these changes with the help of various social associations and a new social system. As, when people get modernized with the passage of time, their perspective and values also change. Now adays women are progressing in every field of life. People's perception regarding the education of women is also changing as it is now considered that the education of women is as important as male because they are the ones who are supposed to brought up their children.

Now adays women are more productive than the women of previous time. They are now in every profession and playing equal role in developing their country. Woman in this contemporary era is now aware of her rights. Most of the educated women are now economically independent. Education also improves socio-economic status that leads to women challenging the domination of men in all social aspects of life (Lin 2009).

People living in urban areas have constant excess to modern information and facilities, which enables them to make decisions based on cost benefit considerations (Jiafeng 2009). Because children are expensive to bear and rear, urban families are less likely to have large families than rural families. The most important influence of modernization on the family structure is the transition from non-nuclear family types to nuclear. Nuclear family is among the preferences when it comes to marriage, which is preceded by courtship activities that encourage homogeneity in terms of socio-economic status, egalitarian relationships, and age (Jiafeng 2009).

As people are getting modernized, they are giving more importance to education. Susan. H, Cochrane et al. (1982) conducted a study on the education of parents and its association with children's health in which the results came out as mother's education has effect on the children's health determined either by nutritious condition of the children or by child mortality. Another study has been conducted in Taiwan by Shin-Yi Chou et al. (2007) on the parental education and child's health in which the results came out that parents' educational attainment has a positive impact on the infant health.

Son preference has large impact on the upbringing of children and as well as on the gender ratio of children in Pakistan (Guilmoto 2009). This can be explained by the uneven distribution of the resources, food, education, and psychological needs. Girls are usually not adored, and they get ignored. Education makes women strong, and it improves the socio-economic status of the women

in the societies with the help of which sometimes women challenge the domination of men in every social aspects of life (Lin, 2009). Therefore, educated women feel that there is no need of son preference as they have a point of view that sons are an option rather than a necessity.

Hypothesis

Alternative Hypothesis (H1)

Parents with higher level of education have lower son preference.

Null Hypothesis (H2)

Parents educational attainment has no effect on son preference.

Alternative Hypothesis (H1)

People living in rural areas prefer more sons as compared to the people who live in urban areas.

Null Hypothesis (H2)

There is no difference in people living in rural and urban areas in term of son preference.

Alternative Hypothesis (H1)

Joint families are more likely to have son preference than the nuclear families.

Null Hypothesis (H2)

Joint or nuclear families have no particular difference in terms of son preference.

CHAPTER. NO: 4

CONCEPTUALIZATION AND OPERATIONALIZATION

4.1 Conceptualization

Conceptualization is the process in which important concepts are defined in the light of existing literature. In the present study there are four major concepts. Son Preference, Parental Education, Urbanization and Family structure.

4.1.1 Son Preference

Son preference can be explained as gender preference issue. It is an attitude or a believe that boys have more value than girls based on their gender roles. It can be a biased attitude of people towards the gender of a child as it goes in the favor of boys mostly. It can be explained as a social, cultural, political, and economic injustice against women (Seager, Joni 2009).

Son preference can be defined as giving importance to boys over girls. Because of son preference several practices are performed which are not in the favor of girls like not giving share in the property to women, no access to education, no health care facilities. Due to different reasons son preference prevail in the society like son are preferred because parents think that their son will be the one who will look after them in their old age (li et al. 2004).

Son preference is the ideological attitude of individuals within a society which prefer birth of son over a daughter usually due to social burdens and cultural norms within that society. Discrimination against daughters is often considered to be an influence of son preference. For women, sons are a source of getting an immediate rise in the position in family and well-being (Gilles and Feldman-Jacobs 2012).

4.1.2 Parental Education

Parental education can be defined as any purposeful endeavor to help parents to become more efficient in caring their children. Parenting education can be conducted in many locations: school, health, and religious associations, and in the community. It can be conducted by people with different qualifications including human development, nursing, psychology, social work, and education (Jody Pawel 2013).

Parental education can bring about change in the mindset of the parents regarding the gender of the child. As, women with higher education tend to show less interest in son preference than those

who are not educated. The reason behind this is that educated women are financially stable (John Cleland & German Rodriguez 2010).

Increase in the education of parents weakens the need of a son that as the female members of the family get higher education, it deteriorates the preference for son irrespective of wanted family size (Pande and Astone 2007). The social and human capital that educational attainment provides women enables them to better navigate their children's passages through school (Augustine et al., 2009).

4.1.3 Urbanization

The quality or state of being urbanized or the process of becoming urbanized. Urbanization is often seen as a negative trend, with bad effects on quality of life and the environment (Merriam webster). Studies have shown that migrants generally have lower fertility rates than rural residents and higher fertility rates than urban residents (liao et al., 2012).

Urbanization refers to the population shift from rural to urban areas, the decrease in the proportion of people living in rural areas, and the ways in which societies adapt to this change. Urbanization plays substantial part in altering thoughts and behavior of the people about son preference. Women who have more liberty in going outside of house are expected to contribute more to household decisions and the connection is commonly strong for urban women than rural ones (Naushin Mahmood 2002).

Urbanization means an increase in the proportion of people living in urban areas compared to rural areas. An urban area is a buildup area such as city. As the country industrializes, the number of people living in urban areas tends to increase. Urbanization is referred to as the migration of people in large number from rural to urban areas. Women who live in cities are financially more stable and they have the facility of health care. Some studies suggest that a strong preference for sons will lead to the increase in fertility level desired by the state (Wang et al., 2020).

4.1.4 Family structure

Family consists of two parents in a dedicated relationship, living together with their children. In sociological terms family is defined as socially established unit (usually joined by blood, marriage, cohabitation, or adoption) that shapes a passionate relationship and operates as an financial component of society (Lumen 2017)

Family can be defined as a group of people providing for one another's physical, emotional, and social well-being. Family basically consists of parents and their children which is deemed as a group. Family means a group of people related to each other by blood or lineage (Lumen 2017).

Family is a key social institute in all the societies, which makes it a culturally universal. Similarly, values and norms surrounding marriage are found all over the world in every culture, so marriage and family are both cultural universals. Statuses (i.e., wife, husband, partner, mom, dad, brother, sister, etc.) are created and sanctioned by societies (Lumen 2017).

4.2 Operationalization

Operationalization is the process in which researcher explains the concepts according to their own understanding.

4.2.1 Son Preference

Sons are preferred over daughters because of the social, cultural, and financial reasons. Sons are preferred because they have higher earning capacity. Male child is preferred more especially in the agrarian society as they can contribute more than the daughters. Previous research shows that the preference of son over daughter is not only a prejudice found within the male parents who believe their sons to be a symbol of strength and coagulates their social standing but can also be found within the female parents who believe to have a better social status in society and particularly in her in-laws through giving birth to male children. In the patrilineal family system having one son is essential for the persistence of the family. Sons can support their parents in their old age and can provide them emotional and financial care.

4.2.2 Urbanization

Urbanization has increased over the passage of years because people have left rural life and migrated towards urban areas of the country mainly due to the poor economic opportunities in the rural areas. With the passage of time people have started giving importance to education. Which is why they have migrated from the rural areas to the urban areas. It is obvious that if people will not acquire higher education then they will not be able to get high salary jobs. Due to this not only men but women are also acquiring education to live a prosperous life without taking stress of financial problems. The overall gap between the urban and rural population is still large with most

of the people living in the rural areas. Many people work in urban areas but are settled in rural areas. Other than the economic struggles of rural life, urbanization has also increased due to the necessity of good education for the children unavailable in rural areas. Increase in the educational qualification of parents is due to this factor as well.

4.2.3 Parental Education

With evolution of societies, the educational activity has gone from a privilege to a necessity. This has also had its effect on the people's mindset overall the country. As urbanization increased throughout the years, the requirement of an educational degree became priority for hiring parties for modern day jobs. The focus on attaining education therefore increased and more people became literate over the passage of time. Another factor is a more luxurious lifestyle which can only be attained with larger income. This facilitated and became a striving force for females to get education in order to not only help their husbands in terms of income to meet both ends for some while to fulfil their ever advancing and modern extravagances for others. In can be noticed now adays that when parents are educated more, they do not get into the gender biasness between the children. They give equal importance to their children regardless of their gender.

4.2.4 Family Structure

The family structure plays pivotal role in the son preference. As it can be noticed in our society that the mother-in-law plays significant role in the decision making regarding the birth of the children. Women who marry in extended families sometimes face pressure from in-laws mainly from mother-in-law regarding fertility decisions and in usage of contraceptives. Due to that pressure they also want to give birth to a male child as being a mother of a son gives them social edge and strong position in the family. This can also be the reason behind the bigger family size which is usually noticed in the joint families. Whereas it can be easily observed now adays in nuclear families that they do not have as much pressure from the in laws mainly because in nuclear families the couples take decision regarding the bearing of children with the consensus of their partner. In nuclear families giving birth to a son is not as much important as it is important in the joint families. Which can be the reason behind the smaller family size of the nuclear families.

CHAPTER. NO: 5

RESEARCH METHODOLGY

5.1 Research Methodology

Research methodology is an organized, academic investigation of the procedures applied to a field of study. It includes the theoretical analysis of the body of methods and principles associated with a branch of knowledge. It is the process used to collect adequate information and data regarding any study.

5.2 Research Design

Quantitative secondary data analysis method has been used in this research study, which helped to cover the fundamentals of this research study. In quantitative approach, the focus is on analyzing the numerical data. Data for this study is taken from Pakistan Demographic Health survey (PDHS) of one decade which include 2007-2017. SPSS software has been be used for analyzing the data.

5.3 Universe of the study

This research study has been conducted to examine the changing patterns in the Pashtun society regarding son preference. For examining the data, the researcher used secondary data from 2007-2017 from the website Pakistan Demographic Health Survey (PDHS).

5.4 Unit of Analysis

For analyzing the data, the researcher only used the data of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in Pakistan Demographic Health Survey (PDHS) that focuses on Son preferences as well as on the variables like parental education, urban, rural settings, and family structure.

5.5 Sampling Size

The researcher analyzed the data from year 2007-2017 of province Khyber Pakhtunkhwa regarding son preference.

5.6 Sampling Strategy

The sampling strategy which has been used for this research is purposive sampling because the researcher extracted the data from the data sets regarding son preference of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa of year 2007-2017.

5.7 Tool for data analysis

The tool which has been used for data analysis is Statistical package for social sciences (SPSS).

5.8 Technique for data collection

The researcher got registered herself on the website Pakistan Demographic Health Survey (PDHS) for obtaining the data regarding son preference of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa from year 2007-2017.

5.9 Technique for data analysis

Data has been analyzed according to the nature of the research. Quantitative method has been used in this research. Statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) software has been used to analyze the data and obtaining the results. The researcher used this scientific approach for obtaining the results because this is the most adequate method for finding the results of quantitative research.

5.10 Opportunities and Limitations of the study

This research study provided information about the changing patterns in Pashtun community regarding son preference. This research study is limited to the data of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province.

5.11 Ethical Concerns

The researcher needs to get all the data with respective manner. After getting the data from Pakistan Demographic Health Survey, the researcher was restricted to the rules of PDHS program that the data will be kept confidential by the researcher, as well as it will only be used for the registered research project. The researcher was also restricted to do not reveal the identity of any of the household or individual respondent interviewed in the survey.

CHAPTER. NO: 6

FINDINGS

6.1 Type of Residence of the Respondents

	Frequency (2006-2007)	Percentage (2006-2007)	Frequency (2012-2013)	Percentage (2012-2013)	Frequency (2017-2018)	Percentage (2017-2018)
Urban	3653	32.4	4398	36.0	8186	42.8
Rural	7612	67.6	7829	64.0	10959	57.2
Total	11265	100.0	12227	100.0	19145	100.0

This table demonstrates the type of residence of the respondents. The percentage of the respondents in the data of 2006-2007 who lived in the urban areas is 32.4 % while who lived in rural areas is 67.6 %. In the data of 2012-2013, 36% of the respondents resided in urban areas while 64% were living in rural areas whereas in 2017-2018, 42.8 % of the respondents resided in urban areas while 57.2 % were living in rural areas. The results show that with the passage of time people started migrating from rural areas to urban areas. Although the process of change was slow from the data set of 2012-2018 but eventually people were moving from rural to urban regions.

6.2 Family type of the Respondents

		Frequency (2006-2007)	Percentage (2006-2007)	Frequency (2012-2013)	Percentage (2012-2013)	Frequency (2017-2018)	Percentage (2017-2018)
Valid	Nuclear	3517	31.2	5257	43.0	6188	32.3
	Joint	4099	36.4	4700	38.4	5814	30.4
	Total	7616	67.6	9957	81.4	12002	62.7
Missing	System	3649	32.4	2270	18.6	7143	37.3
Total		11265	100.0	12227	100.0	19145	100.0

This table depicts the family type of the respondents. The results of 2006-2007 data set shows that 31.2% of the respondents had a nuclear family. 36.4% of the respondents were living in a joint family and 32.4% of the data was missing. While in 2012-2013 data set, the results illustrate that 43.0% respondents had a nuclear family type while 38.4% respondents were living in a joint

family. 18.6% of the data was missing. The results of the dataset 2017-2018 shows that 32.3% respondents had nuclear family type whereas 30.4% were living in a joint family and 37.3% of the data was missing. The results of all the data sets show that in 2012-2013 drastic change has occurred in the family structure of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as more percentage of the respondents have started living in nuclear family but with the passage of time it has decreased. The reason behind this could be that more amount of data was missing in the data set of 2017-2018 and in the data set of 2012-2013, the data was collected from more people as compared to the data sets of 2006-2007 and 2017-2018. The overall results show that joint family system has decreased, and a greater number of people started living separately from their in-laws.

6.3 Respondent's Educational Attainment

	Frequency (2006-2007)	Percentage (2006-2007)	Frequency (2012-2013)	Percentage (2012-2013)	Frequency (2017-2018)	Percentage (2017-2018)
No education	8840	78.5	8993	73.6	13826	72.2
Primary	1090	9.7	1250	10.2	1816	9.5
Secondary	972	8.6	1323	10.8	2201	11.5
Higher	363	3.2	661	5.4	1302	6.8
Total	11265	100.0	12227	100.0	19145	100.0

This table quantifies the respondent's educational attainment. The percentage of the respondents who were illiterate was 78.5% in the data set of 2006-2007. Respondents with educational qualification till primary turned out to be 9.7 %. 8.6% of the respondents have graduated up till secondary school. Higher education had been acquired by a very low percent of 3.2 %. This shows that most of the respondents were illiterate in the data set of 2006-2007. The education acquired by the respondents in 2012-2013 was 73.6% with no educational qualification, 10.2% with primary education, 10.8% with secondary education and 5.4% of the respondents had acquired higher education. In the data set of 2017-2018 education acquired by the respondents was depicted 72.2 % with no educational qualification, 9.5% with primary education, 11.5% with secondary education and 6.8 % of the respondents had acquired higher education. The overall results show

that as the years passed, people started giving importance to education and acquiring education as higher number of people had started acquiring education up till 2017-2018.

6.4 Respondent's Occupation

	Frequency (2006-2007)	Percentage (2006-2007)	Frequency (2012-2013)	Percentage (2012-2013)	Frequency (2017-2018)	Percentage (2017-2018)
Not Working and did not work in last 12 months			11198	91.6	17997	94.0
Professional medical/dental/veterinary/pharmacy workers and their assistants	25	.2	13	.1	24	.1
Nurses/other medical technicians/ unregistered practitioners	53	.5	27	.2	41	.2
Accountants	5	.0				
Teachers (all levels)	134	1.2	154	1.3	249	1.3
Authors/journalists/related writers	3	.0				
Local government clerical officers	8	.1				
Clerical and related workers NEC	5	.0				
Sales supervisors/buyers	35	.3				
Financial/business services salesmen/agents	10	.1			6	.0
Sales and related workers including street vendors	44	.4	18	.1		
Sales workers NEC	8	.1			97	.5
Maids/housekeepers/related workers	97	.9	98	.8	27	.1
Caretakers/cleaners	21	.2			59	.3
Service workers NEC	7	.1				
Farmers	125	1.1	19	.2		
Agricultural/animal workers	196	1.7	58	.5	4	.0

Other occupation unidentifiable	39	.3	132	1.1		
Unemployed	9929	88.1	9	.1		
Spinners/Basket weavers/dyers/related workers	47	.4	11	.1		
Tailors/sewers/related workers	388	3.4	352	2.9		
Shoe/leather goods makers	15	.1			6	.0
Production workers NEC	25	.2				
laborer's NEC	46	.4	76	.6	71	.4
Transport and Communications Supervisors/Drivers			9	.1		
Technical and Commercial Salesmen, Advisors and Representatives			4	.0		
Hairdressers, Beauticians, and related workers			6	.0		
Farm Managers and Supervisors			8	.1		
Fishermen, Hunters, and related workers			4	.0	54	.3
Wood Preparation and Paper Makers			8	.1	254	1.3
Personal service workers					81	.4
Protective services workers					9	.0
Building and related trades workers, excluding electricians					9	.0
Handicraft and printing workers					119	.6
Total					19138	100.0
Missing 99999					7	.0

Total	11265	100.0	12227	100.0	19145	100.0

The table depicts the frequencies for the occupation of the respondents. In the results of the data set 2006-2007, a high value of 88.1% of the respondents were unemployed. The highest job occupation was in tailor related work with a percentage of 3.4%. 1.7% of the female respondents were working in the agriculture while 1.2% were teachers. The results show that small percentages of the respondents had other occupations. The results of the 2012-2013 data set depict that a high value of 91.6 % of the respondents were unemployed. The highest job occupation was in tailor related work with a percentage of 2.9% and 1.3% women were working as a teacher. The results show that small percentages of the respondents had other occupations. Whereas the results of the data set 2017-2018 depicts that a high value of 94.0 % of the respondents were unemployed. The highest job occupation was in food processing and teaching profession with a percentage of 1.3 %. The results show that small percentages of the respondents had other occupations. The results of all the data sets indicate that most of the women were unemployed and the women who were working were mostly tailors or teachers.

6.5 Husband's Educational Attainment

		Frequency (2006-2007)	Percentage (2006-2007)	Frequency (2012-2013)	Percentage (2012-2013)	Frequency (2017-2018)	Percentage (2017-2018)
Valid	No education	4442	39.4	4534	37.1	6340	33.1
	Incomplete primary	676	6.0	561	4.6	1069	5.6
	Complete primary	718	6.4	645	5.3	1359	7.1
	Incomplete secondary	1954	17.3	1804	14.8	3151	16.5
	Complete secondary	1862	16.5	2151	17.6	3000	15.7
	Higher	1593	14.1	2496	20.4	3759	19.6
	Do not know	9	.1	18	.1	25	.1
	Total	11254	99.9	12209	99.9	18703	97.7
Missing	9	11	.1	18	.1	442	2.3
Total		11265	100.0	12227	100.0	19145	100.0

The table specifies the qualification and drop out ratio of the respondents' respective partner. In the data of 2006-2007, 39.4 % of the partners of the respondents had no educational qualification. 6% were primary dropouts while 6.4% completed their primary education. 17.3% dropped out during secondary education while 16.5% were able to complete their education up to secondary school. 14.1% had acquired higher education. While the results of 2012-2013 data set shows that 37.1% had no educational qualification. 4.6 % were primary dropouts while 5.3 % completed their primary education. 14.8 % dropped out during secondary education while 17.6 % were able to complete their education up to secondary school. 20.4 % had acquired higher education. Whereas the results of 2017-2018 data set specifies that 33.1 % had no educational qualification. 5.6 % were primary dropouts while 7.1 % completed their primary education. 16.5 % dropped out during secondary education while 15.7 % were able to complete their education up to secondary school. 19.6 % had acquired higher education. These results show that people in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa had started giving importance to education as the results clearly indicates the decrease in the number of people who were uneducated.

6.6 Age of the Respondents at the Time of Marriage

(2006-2007)					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Age at first marriage	7616	10	34	17.23	3.485
(2012-2013)					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Age at first marriage	9957	10	41	17.71	3.536
(2017-2018)					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation

Age at first marriage	12002	11	37	17.59	3.358

The table shows that the mean age of the respondents at their marriage was 17.23 years in the results of the data set of 2006-2007. The youngest of the respondents at their marriage was 10 years while the oldest was at the age of 34 when getting married. The results of 2012-2013 data set shows that the mean age of the respondents at their marriage was 17.71 years. The youngest of the respondents at their marriage was only 10 years old while the oldest was at the age of 41 when getting married and in the data set of 2017-2018, the mean age of the respondents at marriage was 17.59 years. The youngest of the respondents at their marriage was 11 years old while the oldest was at the age of 37. These results show that the mean age and the minimum age is same in the data sets of 2006-2007 and 2012-2013 which is 17 years and 10 years while the maximum age of the respondents has increased in 2012-2013 data set but again it has decreased to some extent in 2017-2018. The reason behind this could be that now a day more women are acquiring higher education due to which they marry late. As the minimum age of the respondents at their marriage is same in 2006-2007 and 2012-2013 which is 10 years and in 2017-218 data set it has increased little bit to 11 years, it can be concluded that the trend of child marriage is still there in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

6.7 Type of Blood Relationship with Husband

		Frequency (2006-2007)	Percentage (2006-2007)	Frequency (2012-2013)	Percentage (2012-2013)	Frequency (2017-2018)	Percentage (2017-2018)
Valid	No relationship	5179	46.0				
	First cousin on father's side	2939	26.1	3220	26.3	4924	25.7
	First cousin on mother's side	1480	13.1	2062	16.9	2693	14.1
	Second cousin	990	8.8	1110	9.1	2462	12.9

	Other relationship	660	5.9	757	6.2	1350	7.1
	Total	11248	99.8	7149	58.5	11429	59.7
Missing	9	17	.2	10	.1		
	System			5068	41.4	7716	40.3
	Total			5078	41.5		
Total		11265	100.0	12227	100.0	19145	100.0

The type of family relationship between the respondent and their respective spouse is described in this table. In the data set of 2006-2007, 46% of the respondent had married outside family. 26.1% were first cousin of their husband on father's side while 13.1% on mother's side. 8.8% were second cousin of their spouse and 5.9% had other family relationship with their respective husband. In the data set of 2012-2013, 26.3 % of the respondents had gotten married to their first cousin on father's side of the family. 16.9 % were first cousin of their husband on mother's side of the family. 9.1 % were second cousin of their spouse and 6.2 % had other family relationship with their respective husband. While the results of 2017-2018 data set shows that 25.7 % of the respondent had gotten married to their first cousin on their father's side of the family. 14.1 % were their first cousin on mother's side of the family. 12.9 % were second cousin of their spouse and 7.1 % had other family relationship with their respective husband. 40.3% of the data was missing who were not married yet. The overall results show that with the passage of time the number of those people who married to their second cousin and to other relatives had increased whereas little amount of change had occurred in the marriages which took place between the first cousins on the father's side of the family as it had decreased to some extent. However, if compared to the mother's side of the family, more marriages had taken place on the father's side of the family.

6.8 Age of Respondent at 1ST Birth

(2006-2007)					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Age of respondent at 1st birth	11043	12	36	19.52	3.725
(2012-2013)					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation

Age of respondent at 1st birth	12227	12	40	19.97	3.907
(2017-2018)					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Age of respondent at 1st birth	18662	12	41	19.82	3.699

The table shows that the mean age of the respondents at their first birth was 19.52 years in the results of the data set of 2006-2007. The youngest of the respondents at first birth was 12 while the oldest was at the age of 36 when giving birth to her first child. The results of 2012-2013 data set shows that the mean age of the respondent at their first birth was 19.97 years. The youngest of the respondents at first birth was 12 while the oldest was at the age of 40 when giving birth to her first child and in the data set of 2017-2018, the mean age of the respondents at their first birth was 19.82 years. The youngest of the respondents at first birth was 12 while the oldest was at the age of 41 when giving birth to her first child. These results show that the mean age and the minimum age is same in all the data sets which is 19 years and 12 years while the maximum age of the respondents has increased with the passage of time. The reason behind this could be that now a day more women are acquiring higher education due to which they marry late. As the minimum age of the respondents at giving birth to their first child is the same which is 12 years, it can be concluded that the trend of child marriage is still there in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

6.9 Wife's Desire for More Children

		Frequency (2006-2007)	Percentage (2006-2007)	Frequency (2012-2013)	Percentage (2012-2013)	Frequency (2017-2018)	Percentage (2017-2018)
Valid	Wants within 2 years	1225	10.9	670	5.5	3275	17.1

	Wants after 2+ years	1782	15.8	942	7.7	2883	15.1
	Wants, unsure timing	182	1.6	155	1.3	455	2.4
	Undecided	122	1.1	384	3.1	2243	11.7
	Wants no more	7163	63.6	7024	57.4	8556	44.7
	Sterilized	603	5.4	395	3.2	711	3.7
	Declared infecund	177	1.6	32	.3	579	3.0
	Total	11254	99.9	9602	78.5	18702	97.7
Missing	9	11	.1	31	.3	1	.0
	System			2594	21.2	442	2.3
	Total			2625	21.5	443	2.3
Total		11265	100.0	12227	100.0	19145	100.0

The table represents the time-period in which the respondent (wife) wanted to have children. The highest percentage of 63.6 % of the total respondents in the data set of 2006-2007 wanted no more children. A percentage of 15.8% of respondents wanted a child after a gap of more than two years. 10.9% of the respondents wanted to have children within two years. A very low value of 1.1 % of the respondents had not decided yet to have any children. In the data set of 2012-2013, 57.4% of the respondents wanted no more children as shown in the table. 7.7% wanted a child after more than two years of gap while 5.5% wanted a child within the coming two years. 3.1% had not decided while 1.3% were unsure regarding when they want another child. As far as the data set of 2017-2018 is concerned, the results indicated that 44.7 % of the respondents wanted no more children as shown in the table. 15.1 % wanted a child after more than two years of gap while 17.1 % wanted a child within the coming two years. 11.7 % had not decided while 2.4 % were unsure regarding whether they want another child or not. The results of all the data sets show that in the

data set of 2012-2013 respondents wanting children within two years and after two years were becoming lesser in number while in the data set of 2017-2018 that number be gained to exceed again. Whereas respondents who were unsure and had not decided yet about giving birth to a child had gone greater in number with the passage of time, it can be concluded from these results that the percentage for respondents wanting no more children was becoming lesser and women who were not sure about giving birth to a child were higher in number.

6.10 Husband's Desire for Children

		Frequency (2006-2007)	Percentage (2006-2007)	Frequency (2012-2013)	Percentage (2012-2013)	Frequency (2017-2018)	Percentage (2017-2018)
Valid	Both want same	3715	33.0	3945	32.3	5325	27.8
	Husband wants more	4389	39.0	5939	48.6	9943	51.9
	Husband wants fewer	586	5.2	380	3.1	970	5.1
	Do not Know	1578	14.0	1180	9.7	1754	9.2
	Total	10268	91.1	11444	93.6	17992	94.0
Missing	9	12	.1	7	.1		
	System	985	8.7	776	6.3	1153	6.0
	Total	997	8.9	783	6.4		
Total		11265	100.0	12227	100.0	19145	100.0

The table depicts the desire of husband of the respondent regarding the number of children they want to have. The results of the data set of 2006-2007 shows that 39% of the respondents claimed their husband wanted more children than them. 33% of the total respondents said both partners

wanted the same number of children. Husband wanting less children than the respondent had a low percentage of 5.2%. 14.0% of the respondents were not sure about the desire of their husband regarding children. In the data set of 2012-2013, the results depict that 48.6% of the respondents claimed their husband wanted more children than them. 32.3% said both spouses want the same number of children while only 3.1% believed their interest in having more children was more than their respective husband. While the results of the data set of 2017-2018 demonstrate that 51.9 % of the respondents claimed their husband wanted more children than them. 27.8 % said both spouses want the same number of children while only 5.1% believed their interest in having more children was more than their respective husband. The results of all the data sets illustrate that husband's desire for more children has increased with the passing years.

6.11 Ideal number of children (Wife)

		Frequency (2006-2007)	Percentage (2006-2007)	Frequency (2012-2013)	Percentage (2012-2013)	Frequency (2017-2018)	Percentage (2017-2018)
Valid	0	158	1.4	69	.6	698	3.6
	1 to 2	1202	10.7	1124	9.2	1118	5.8
	3 to 4	4953	44.0	5713	46.7	6461	33.7
	5 to 6	2413	21.4	3543	29.0	5283	27.6
	7 to 8	760	6.7	425	3.5	1593	8.3
	9 to 10	354	3.1	127	1.0	591	3.1
	11 to 15	160	1.4	54	.4	150	.8
	16 to 20	14	.1			11	.1
	Not yet decided	155	1.4				
	Up to God	875	7.8	634	5.2	878	4.6
	Non-numeric response	14	.1	536	4.4	2362	12.3
	DK	192	1.7				

	Total	11250	99.9	12225	100.0	19145	100.0
Missing	99	15	.1	2	.0		
Total		11265	100.0	12227	100.0	19145	100.0

An ideal number of children according to the respondents is highlighted in this table. In the data set of 2006-2007, 1.4% of the respondents do not had any children so they do not have any ideal number in their mind regarding the children. 44.0 % of the respondents idealized three to four children followed by 21.4% as the second highest value for respondents idealizing five to six children. 10.7 % of the wife's wanted to have one to two children while 6.7 % wanted seven to eight number of children. 3.1% couples wanted nine to ten number of children and a value of 7.8% left the decision to the will of God. While the data set of 2012-2013 depicts that 46.7% of the respondents idealized three to four children while 29.0% believed five to six would be ideal number of children. A value of one to two ideal children came out to be the third highest with a percentage of 9.2%. The respondents idealizing no children at all were a small amount of .6% while 5.2% left it upon the will of God. 3.5 % of the wife's considered seven to eight to be the ideal number of children. And the results of the data set of 2017-2018 shows that 33.7% of the respondents idealized three to four children while 27.6 % believed five to six to be ideal number of children. A value of seven to eight ideal children came out to be the third highest with a percentage of 8.3%. The respondents idealizing no children at all were a small amount of 3.6 % while 4.6 % left it upon the will of God. The results of all the data sets show that a lot of the wife's consider three to four number of children to be the ideal number of children in all the data sets, in which in the data set of 2012-2013 the percentage was the highest.

6.12 Ideal Number of Boys (Wife)

		Frequency (2006-2007)	Percentage (2006-2007)	Frequency (2012-2013)	Percentage (2012-2013)	Frequency (2017-2018)	Percentage (2017-2018)
Valid	0	635	5.6	2490	20.4	3657	19.1
	1	1190	10.6	908	7.4	965	5.0
	2	4019	35.7	3836	31.4	4167	21.8

	3	1799	16.0	2094	17.1	2576	13.5
	4	1215	10.8	1108	9.1	2195	11.5
	5	485	4.3	300	2.5	1108	5.8
	6	337	3.0	181	1.5	601	3.1
	7	37	.3	59	.5	238	1.2
	8	173	1.5	20	.2	244	1.3
	9			24	.2	28	.1
	10	68	.6	11	.1	110	.6
	11			11	.1	3	.0
	12	13	.1	3	.0	13	.1
	13			10	.1		
	14	13	.1				
	15	20	.2				
	Not yet decided	155	1.4				
	Up to God	875	7.8	634	5.2	878	4.6
	Other	24	.2	536	4.4	2362	12.3
	Do not Know	192	1.7				
	Total	11250	99.9	12225	100.0	19145	100.0
Missing	99	15	.1	2	.0		
Total		11265	100.0	12227	100.0	19145	100.0

The ideal number of boys wanted by the respondents is described in this table. The results of the data set of 2006-2007 shows that the largest value of 35.7% of the total respondents wanted two boys followed by 16% wanting three boys. 5.6% of the respondents did not want any boys while 10.8% wanted four number of boys. 10.6 % wanted only one boy and 7.8% had left it to the decision of God. The results of 2012-2013 depicts that 31.4% of the respondents believed two boys to be ideal. A high value of 20.4% did not idealized any boys and a 17.1% of the respondents thought three boys to be ideal number. Whereas the results of the data set 2017-2018 demonstrate

that 21.8 % believed two boys to be ideal. A high value of 19.1 % did not idealized any boys and a 13.5% of the respondents thought three boys to be ideal number. 11.5 % believed four boys to be the ideal number of boys. The overall results show that in the data set of 2006-2007 more of the respondents preferred two number of boys while in the data set of 2012-2013 more number of respondents preferred three boys to be the ideal number of boys. Whereas in the data set of 2017-2018 more number of the respondents considered four and five to be the ideal number of boys. So, the results clearly indicate that with the passage of time women wanted to give birth to a greater number of boys.

6. 13 Ideal Number of Girls (Wife)

		Frequency (2006-2007)	Percentage (2006-2007)	Frequency (2012-2013)	Percentage (2012-2013)	Frequency (2017-2018)	Percentage (22017-2018)
Valid	0	1222	10.8	2998	24.5	4927	25.7
	1	3458	30.7	3378	27.6	4239	22.1
	2	4170	37.0	4177	34.2	5370	28.0
	3	694	6.2	413	3.4	928	4.8
	4	284	2.5	57	.5	245	1.3
	5	128	1.1	4	.0	169	.9
	6	27	.2	26	.2	16	.1
	7	12	.1				
	8					4	.0
	9			2	.0		
	10					7	.0
	13	9	.1				
	Not yet decided	155	1.4				
	Up to God	875	7.8	634	5.2	878	4.6
	Other	24	.2	536	4.4	2362	12.3

	Do not Know	192	1.7				
	Total	11250	99.9	12225	100.0	19145	100.0
Missing	99	15	.1	2	.0		
Total		11265	100.0	12227	100.0	19145	100.0

The table depicts the ideal number of girls that the respondents wanted. In the results of the data set of 2006-2007, 37% came out as the highest figure which shows a desire for two girls by the respondents. This figure was followed by 30.7% percent with a desire to have one female child. A comparatively high value of 10.8% wanted to have no female children. 7.8% had left it to the will of God. While the results of 2012-2013 data set demonstrate that 34.2% of the respondents idealized two girls while 27.6% idealized one girl. The third highest value of the respondents was 24.5% which had no place for a girl in the number of children they wanted. This number could also include the respondents that did not want any children to begin with rather than a biased liking for male children. 5.2 % of the respondents left it to the will of God. Whereas the results of 2017-2018 signifies that 28.0 % of the respondents idealized two girls while 22.1 % idealized one girl. The second highest value of the respondents was 25.7 % which did not want any girl child. The number could also involve the respondents who did not want any children in the first place. 4.6 % of the respondents had left it to God's will. The results of all the data sets illustrate that women who did not want a girl child had increased in number as the years passed.

6.14 Ideal Number of Either Sex (Wife)

		Frequency (2006-2007)	Percentage (2006-2007)	Frequency (2012-2013)	Percentage (2012-2013)	Frequency (2017-2018)	Percentage (2017-2018)
Valid	0	9385	83.3	8522	69.7	12604	65.8
	1	157	1.4	106	.9	247	1.3
	2	79	.7	221	1.8	259	1.4
	3	81	.7	302	2.5	385	2.0

	4	106	.9	723	5.9	900	4.7
	5	92	.8	567	4.6	500	2.6
	6	46	.4	391	3.2	585	3.1
	7	16	.1	129	1.1	114	.6
	8	15	.1	48	.4	155	.8
	9			9	.1	11	.1
	10	13	.1	37	.3	107	.6
	12	8	.1			32	.2
	14					3	.0
	15	6	.1			3	.0
	Not yet decided	155	1.4				
	Up to God	875	7.8	634	5.2	878	4.6
	Other	24	.2	536	4.4	2362	12.3
	Do not Know	192	1.7				
	Total	11250	99.9	12225	100.0	19145	100.0
Missing	99	15	.1	2	.0		
Total		11265	100.0	12227	100.0	19145	100.0

The table shows the desire of the respondents for number of either gender. The data set of 2006-2007 depicts that 83.3% wanted no children, 1.4% with a desire for one child and 7.8% left it to the will of God. The results of the data set 2012-2013 illustrate that 69.7% wanted no children, .9 % with a desire for one child with a frequency of 106 and 5.2 % left it to the will of God. While the results of 2017-2018 shows that 65.8 % wanted no children, 3.1 % with a desire for one child and 4.6 % left it to the will of God. 4.7 % of the respondents idealized four children of either gender. The results show that women wanting no children had decreased with the passage of time.

6.15 Duration between Marriage to first birth

		Frequency (2006 - 2007)	Percentage (2006 - 2007)	Frequency (2012-2013)	Percentage (2012-2013)	Frequency (2017-2018)	Percentage (2017-2018)
Valid	1 to 2	4706	41.8	5480	44.8	7718	40.3
	3 to 4	1409	12.5	1712	14.0	1916	10.0
	5 to 6	430	3.8	613	5.0	633	3.3
	7 to 8	155	1.4	263	2.2	291	1.5
	9 to 10	64	.6	137	1.1	74	.4
	11 to 12	43	.4	92	.8	37	.2
	More than 12	4458	39.6	3930	32.1	8476	44.3
	Total	11265	100.0	12227	100.0	19145	100.0

This table depicts the time-period in which people had children from the time of their marriage to their first born. The results of the data set of 2006-2007 shows that 41.8% of the couples had their first child within one to two years of their marriage, 12.5 % of the people had their first born after three to four years, 3.8% of the couple had their first child after five to six years, 1.4% of the respondents gave birth to their first child after seven to eight years of their marriage. .6% had their first child after nine to ten years and .4% had their first child after eleven to twelve years of their marriage. The results show a higher percentage of the respondents who had their first born after twelve years of their marriage. While the results of the data set 2012-2013 demonstrate that 44.8% of the couples had their first child after one to two years of their marriage.14.0% of the respondents had their first child after three to four years, 5.0% gave birth to their first child after five to six years of their marriage. 2.2% of the couples had their first born after seven to eight years. 1.1% had their first baby after nine to ten years. .8% had their first child after eleven to twelve years and 32.1% of the respondents gave birth to their first child after twelve years. Whereas 40.3% of the respondents in the data set of 2017-2018 had their first child after one to two years. 10.0% of the

couples had their first child after three to four years, 3.3% people gave birth to their first child after five to six years. The results show that small percentages of people had their first child after six years. 44.3% of the people had their first child after twelve years of their marriage. The results of all the data sets show that higher number of people had given birth to their first child after one to two years of their marriage which has higher percentage in the data set of 2012-2013 comparatively to the data sets of 2006-2007 and 2017-2018. The second highest percentage of the birth of first child is after three to four years of marriage.

6.16 Decision Maker for Using Contraception

		Frequency (2006-2007)	Percentage (2006-2007)	Frequency (2012-2013)	Percentage (2012-2013)	Frequency (2017-2018)	Percentage (2017-2018)
Valid	Wife			343	2.8	542	2.8
	Husband			250	2.0	633	3.3
	Joint decision			3787	31.0	5672	29.6
	Mother In-law/ Family decision			42	.3	10	.1
	Total			4422	36.2	6857	35.8
Missing	9	11265	100.0	52	.4		
	System			7753	63.4	12288	64.2
	Total			7805	63.8	19145	100.0
Total		11265	100.0	12227	100.0	19145	100.0

This table demonstrates about the decision maker for using contraception. In the data set of 2006-2007,100% data is missing for the use of contraceptives. The data set of 2012-2013 shows that 31% of the respondents claimed to have a joint decision about using contraceptives. 2.8% said the emphasis is from the husband while 2.8% of the respondents themselves suggest the use of

contraceptive. 63.4% of the data was missing in the data set of 2012-2013 which indicates that they never used contraceptives. While the results of the data set 2017-2018 illustrate that 29.6% of the respondents claimed to have a joint decision about using contraceptives. 3.3% said the emphasis is from the husband while 2.8% of the respondents themselves suggest the use of contraceptives. The missing data was 64.2% in the data set 2017-2018 which means that they never used contraceptives. The results show that higher number of both spouses took the decision for the use of contraception.

6.17 Association between Son Preference and Independent Variables Using Chi-Square and Cross Tabulation.

Data is analyzed by subsequent procedures. To analyze the association between the dependent variable and each of hypothesized independent variables, chi square and cross tabulation are used here to test the root level relationship between these two variables. To determine the association between son preference and independent variables namely place of residence, women's education, age of the respondents at first birth, type of family and partner's education.

6.17.1 Association between the Age of the respondents at first birth and Ideal number of boys (2006-2007)

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4046.288	368	.000
Likelihood Ratio	2338.015	368	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	71.876	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	11029		

The relationship between son preference and age of the respondents at first birth is significant as (Pearson chi-square = 4046.288, df (368), $P < 0.05$), which indicates that age of the respondents at first birth has effect on son preference.

6.17.2 Association between Age of the respondents at first birth and Ideal number of boys (2012-2013)

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2916.886	390	.000
Likelihood Ratio	1694.273	390	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.746	1	.186
N of Valid Cases	12225		

The association between son preference and age of the respondents at first birth is significant as (Pearson chi-square = 2916.886, df (390), $P < 0.05$), which indicates that age of the respondents at first birth has impact on son preference.

6.17.3 Association between Age of the respondent at first birth and Ideal number of boys (2017-2018)

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3019.445	378	.000
Likelihood Ratio	2422.132	378	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	8.949	1	.003
N of Valid Cases	18662		

The relationship between son preference and age of the respondents at first birth is substantial as (Pearson chi-square = 3019.445, df (378), P < 0.05), which suggests that age of the respondents at first birth has influence on son preference.

6.17.4 Association between Type of residence of the respondents and Ideal number of boys (2006-2007)

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	431.933	16	.000
Likelihood Ratio	513.832	16	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	42.361	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	11250		

The association between son preference and type of residence of the respondents is significant as (Pearson chi-square = 431.933, df (16), P < 0.05), which indicates that type of residence of the respondents has impact on son preference hence hypothesis is approved.

6.17.5 Association between Type of residence of the respondents and Ideal number of boys (2006-2007)

Cross Tab

		0	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	11-12	13-15	Not yet decided	Up to God	Other	DK	Total
Type of residence	Urban	190	2097	827	201	5	0	0	14	24	241	10	40	3649
	Rural	445	3112	2187	621	205	68	13	19	131	634	14	152	7601

Total		635	5209	3014	822	210	68	13	33	155	875	24	192	11250

In urban areas 190 respondents do not have any children so they do not have any preference for son. 2097 people prefer to have at least one to two sons in urban areas which is the highest number in the overall results. 827 people prefer three to four sons holding the second highest place in the results moreover 201 people want to give birth to five to six male children in urban areas. 5 people prefer seven to eight sons whereas fourteen number of people want thirteen to fifteen sons. 24 people have not decided yet to give birth to any child, so they have no preference for son. 241 number of people have left it to the will of God. 40 people do not know that whether they want son or not which means that they have no such preference for son. Comparatively to urban localities, the overall situation is different in rural areas as here the number has increased in terms of son preference. 445 people do not have given birth to any child yet, so they do not have any preference for son. 3112 number of people want one to two sons. 2187 respondents prefer three to four male children whereas 621 of the respondents want five to six sons. 205 respondents want seven to eight sons. 68 people prefer to have nine to ten male children. Moreover, 13 of the respondents want eleven to twelve sons. 19 number of people in rural areas want thirteen to fifteen male children. 131 number of respondents have not decided yet which means that they do not have any preference for son. 634 have left it to God's will. 152 number of people do not prefer sons as they do not have any opinion on son preference. The overall comparison of the results shows that comparatively to urban localities, people living in rural regions give more preference to sons. The reasons could be the poor economic conditions and agrarian culture in rural areas as sons can cooperate more with their parents in agriculture. Moreover, people in urban areas are more economically stable as well as they are more educated, so they do not discriminate between girls and boys.

6.17.6 Association between Family type of the respondents and Ideal number of boys (2006-2007)

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	268.970	16	.000
Likelihood Ratio	307.378	16	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	15.468	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	7609		

The relationship between son preference and family type of the respondents is significant as (Pearson chi-square = 268.970, df (16), $P < 0.05$), which indicates that family type of the respondents has effect on son preference. Therefore, hypothesis is approved.

6.17.7 Association between Family type of the respondents and Ideal number of boys (2006-2007)

Cross Tab

		0	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	11-12	13-15	Not yet decided	Up to God	Other	DK	Total
Family type	Nuclear	220	1760	867	219	57	1	0	16	63	276	0	38	3517
	Joint	212	1531	1246	396	99	50	10	9	59	366	17	97	4092
Total		432	3291	2113	615	156	51	10	25	122	642	17	135	7609

220 number of people living in nuclear family do not have any child so this shows that they do not prefer sons over daughters. A higher number of 1760 people idealize one to two boys. 867 number of the respondents prefer to give birth to three to four male children. 219 people want to give birth to five to six boys. 276 of the respondents have left it to the will of God. Whereas in joint family system 212 people do not have any children so this indicates that they have no preference for son. A higher number of 1760 of the respondents consider one to two as the ideal number of boys. Followed by 1246 number of people wanting to have three to four male children 396 number of people idealize five to six boys. Majority of people are those who prefer one to two number of boys in both family types. Whereas, in comparison to nuclear families, a greater number of people living in joint families prefer three to four male children which shows that in joint families, son preference prevail more. Mainly due to the pressure women face during living in joint families from their in-laws specially from the mother in-law. Women in joint families also give importance to give birth to son because being a mother of son makes their position strong in the family as well as in their social circle. And giving birth to a son is also considered as a matter of pride.

6.17.8 Association between Respondent's educational attainment and Ideal number of boys (2006-2007)

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	822.055	33	.000
Likelihood Ratio	997.827	33	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	169.280	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	11250		

The relationship between son preference and respondent's educational attainment is substantial as (Pearson chi-square = 822.055, df (33), $P < 0.05$), which indicates that respondent's educational attainment has influence on son preference. Hence, hypothesis is approved.

6.17.9 Association between Respondents' educational attainment and Ideal number of boys (2006-2007)

Cross Tab

		0	1 - 2	3 - 4	5 - 6	7 – 8	9 - 10	11 - 12	13 - 15	Not yet decided	Up to God	Other	Do not know	Total
Respondents' educational attainment	No education	482	3549	2552	778	210	65	13	33	155	806	14	172	8829
	Primary	66	726	223	8	0	3	0	0	0	34	10	20	1090
	Secondary	69	675	159	31	0	0	0	0	0	34	0	0	968
	Higher	18	259	80	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	363
Total		635	5209	3014	822	210	68	13	33	155	875	24	192	11250

482 of the respondents having no educational qualification do not have any children which indicates that they do not have any preference for sons over daughters. Majority of the respondents who were illiterate are 3549, prefer one to two male children. The second highest number is of 2552 of the respondents who were not educated prefer three to four boys. 778 number of the respondents with no education give preference to five to six number of boys. This shows that many of the women who are illiterate prefer a greater number of sons. The main reason behind this could be that they want to have financial support in their future from their sons as well as they want to hold a strong position in their family. 66 number of people with a qualification till primary have no children which confirms that they do not have any preference for son. The highest number of 726 of the respondents want one to two male children whereas, 223 are the respondents who want to have three to four boys. A greater number of 675 people with an educational attainment till secondary prefer one to two boys. 159 of the respondents want three to four male children. Whereas the third highest value containing 69 number of people have no children. 259 are the highest number of respondents with a higher education want to have one to two male children and 80 of

them prefer three to four boys. The results show that as the educational attainment of the respondents is getting higher, their preference for son is becoming lower. Hence, the hypothesis is approved that education has a significant association with son preference. The values of the illiterate people are greater in number in comparison to the ones who are to some extent educated or have a degree of higher education. The reason could be that education makes people economically stable, so they have comparatively low or no preference for son. They do not discriminate between sons and daughters.

6.17.10 Association between Husband's educational attainment and Ideal number of boys (2006-2007)

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	736.996	66	.000
Likelihood Ratio	737.583	66	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	116.994	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	11250		

The relationship between son preference and husband's educational attainment is significant as (Pearson chi-square = 736.996, df (66), $P < 0.05$), which indicates that husband's educational attainment has impact on son preference. Thus, Hypothesis is approved.

6.17.11 Association between Husband's educational attainment and Ideal number of boys (2006-2007)

Cross Tab

		0	1 - 2	3 - 4	5 – 6	7 - 8	9 - 10	11 - 12	13 - 15	Not yet decided	Up to God	Other	DK	Total
Husband's educational attainment	No education	215	1713	1293	448	80	40	13	6	96	460	14	64	4442
	Incomplete primary	55	277	174	47	32	0	0	0	17	56	0	18	676
	Complete primary	19	337	190	53	15	0	0	13	13	35	10	33	718
	Incomplete secondary	85	1027	496	87	37	13	0	14	15	150	0	26	1950
	Complete secondary	149	976	497	86	7	15	0	0	1	102	0	29	1862
	Higher	112	879	358	101	39	0	0	0	13	69	0	22	1593
	Do not know	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	9
Total		635	5209	3014	822	210	68	13	33	155	875	24	192	11250

In this table, 215 number of people with no education have not given birth to any children which means that they do not prefer sons over daughters. A higher number of the illiterate respondents having a number of 1713 of people prefer one to two sons. The second highest number is of 1293 people prefer three to four male children. In the section of the people with an educational attainment of incomplete primary, 277 number of the respondents prefer one to two male children whereas, 174 number of people want to give birth to three to four number of boys. Among the people having an incomplete secondary, 1027 number of people prefer one to two number of boys. 496 are those who prefer three to four male children. Among the people with a degree till secondary, 976 of the respondents prefer one to two boys. 497 people prefer three to four boys whereas, among the degree holders of higher education, 879 number of people prefer one to two number of boys and 358 are those who want three to four boys. These results indicate that as the level of education increases, the preference for son decreases hence, the hypothesis is accepted. The reason behind the preference for son could be the agrarian culture, economic conditions of the illiterate people.

6.17.12 Association between Type of residence of the respondents and Ideal number of boys (2012-2013)

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	439.415	15	.000
Likelihood Ratio	455.232	15	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	26.913	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	12225		

The relationship between son preference and type of residence of the respondents is substantial as (Pearson chi-square = 439.415, df (15), $P < 0.05$), which shows that type of residence of the respondents has influence on son preference. Hence, hypothesis is approved.

6.17.13 Association between Type of residence of the respondents and Ideal number of boys (2012-2013)

Cross Tab

		0	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	11-12	13-15	Up to God	Other	Total
Type of residence	Urban	562	1972	1137	176	23	19	11	0	219	277	4396
	Rural	1928	2772	2065	305	56	16	3	10	415	259	7829
Total		2490	4744	3202	481	79	35	14	10	634	536	12225

In urban areas 562 respondents do not have any children so they do not have any preference for son. 1972 people prefer to have at least one to two sons in urban areas which is the highest number in the overall results. 1137 people prefer three to four sons holding the second highest place in the results moreover 176 people want to give birth to five to six male children in urban areas. 23 people prefer seven to eight sons whereas fourteen number of people want thirteen to fifteen sons. 19 number of people prefer nine to ten sons. 219 number of people have left it to the will of God. Comparatively to urban localities, the overall situation is different in rural areas as here the number has increased in terms of son preference. 1928 people do not have given birth to any child yet, so they do not have any preference for son. 2772 number of people want one to two sons. 2065 respondents prefer three to four male children whereas 305 of the respondents want five to six sons. 56 respondents want seven to eight sons. 16 people prefer to have nine to ten male children. Moreover, 3 of the respondents want eleven to twelve sons. 10 number of people in rural areas want thirteen to fifteen male children. 415 have left it to God's will. The overall comparison of the results shows that comparatively to urban localities, people living in rural regions give more preference to sons. The reasons could be the poor economic conditions and agrarian culture in rural areas as sons can cooperate more with their parents in agriculture. Moreover, people in urban areas are more economically stable as well as they are more educated, so they do not discriminate between girls and boys.

6.17.14 Association between Family type of the respondents and Ideal number of boys (2012-2013)

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	213.103	15	.000
Likelihood Ratio	241.439	15	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	22.186	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	9956		

The relationship between son preference and family type of the respondents is significant as (Pearson chi-square = 213.103, df (15), P < 0.05), which shows that family type of the respondents has effect on son preference. Hence, hypothesis is approved.

6.17.15 Association between Family type of the respondents and Ideal number of boys (2012-2013)

Cross Tab

		0	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	11-12	13-15	Up to God	Other	Total
Family type	Nuclear	1043	2202	1295	200	33	9	0	10	231	234	5257
	Joint	993	1505	1369	222	32	20	14	0	330	214	4699
Total		2036	3707	2664	422	65	29	14	10	561	448	9956

1043 number of people living in nuclear family do not have any child, so this shows that they do not prefer sons over daughters. A higher number of 2202 people idealize one to two boys. 1295

number of the respondents prefer to give birth to three to four male children. 200 people want to give birth to five to six boys. 231 of the respondents have left it to the will of God. Whereas in joint family system 993 people do not have any children so this indicates that they have no preference for son. A higher number of 1505 of the respondents consider one to two as the ideal number of boys. Followed by 1369 number of people wanting to have three to four male children 222 number of people idealize five to six boys. Majority of people are those who prefer one to two number of boys in both family types. In which particularly nuclear families give more preference to one to two children. Whereas, in comparison to nuclear families, a greater number of people living in joint families prefer three to four male children which shows that in joint families, son preference prevail more. Mainly due to the pressure women face during living in joint families from their in-laws specially from the mother in-law. Women in joint families also give importance to give birth to son because being a mother of son makes their position strong in the family as well as in their social circle. And giving birth to a son is also considered as a matter of pride.

6.17.16 Association between Respondents' educational attainment and Ideal number of boys (2012-2013)

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	843.988	27	.000
Likelihood Ratio	903.108	27	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	116.767	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	12225		

The relationship between respondent's educational attainment is significant as (Pearson chi-square = 843.988, df (27), $P < 0.05$), which proves that respondent's educational attainment has effect on son preference. This also indicates that hypothesis is accepted.

6.17.17 Association between Respondents' educational attainment and Ideal number of boys (2012-2013)

Cross Tab

		0	1 – 2	3 - 4	5 - 6	7 - 8	9 - 10	11 - 12	13 - 15	Up to God	Other	Total
Respondent's educational attainment	No education	1924	2844	2637	438	68	35	14	10	571	450	8991
	Primary	216	707	235	29	5	0	0	0	31	27	1250
	Secondary	235	767	230	14	6	0	0	0	21	50	1323
	Higher	115	426	100	0	0	0	0	0	11	9	661
Total		2490	4744	3202	481	79	35	14	10	634	536	12225

1924 of the respondents having no educational qualification do not have any children which indicates that they do not have any preference for sons over daughters. Majority of the respondents who were illiterate are 2844, prefer one to two male children. The second highest number which is 2637, of the respondents who were not educated prefer three to four boys. 438 number of the respondents with no education give preference to five to six number of boys. This shows that many of the women who are illiterate prefer a greater number of sons. The main reason behind this could be that they want to have financial support in their future from their sons. 216 number of people with a qualification till primary have no children which confirms that they do not have any preference for sons. The highest number of 707 of the respondents want one to two male children whereas, 29 are the respondents wanting to have three to four boys. A greater number of 767 people with an educational attainment till secondary prefer one to two boys. 230 of the respondents want three to four sons. Whereas the second highest value contain 235 number of people have no

children. 426 are the highest number of respondents with a higher education want to have one to two male children and 100 of them prefer three to four boys. The results show that as the educational attainment of the respondents is getting higher, their preference for son is becoming lower. Hence, the hypothesis is approved that education has a significant association with son preference. The values of the illiterate people are greater in number in comparison to the ones who are to some extent educated or have a degree of higher education. The reason could be that education makes people economically stable, so they have comparatively low or no preference for son. They do not discriminate between sons and daughters.

6.17.18 Association between Husband's educational attainment and Ideal number of boys (2012-2013)

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1020.524	54	.000
Likelihood Ratio	908.664	54	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	101.906	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	12207		

The relationship between son preference and husband's educational attainment is substantial as (Pearson chi-square = 1020.524, df (54), $P < 0.05$), which confirms that husband's educational attainment has effect on son preference. This also confirms that hypothesis is approved.

6.17.19 Association between Husband's educational attainment and Ideal number of boys (2012-2013)

Cross Tab

		0	1 – 2	3 - 4	5 - 6	7 - 8	9 - 10	11 - 12	13 - 15	Up to God	Other	Total
Husband's educational attainment	No education	935	1280	1392	284	57	35	0	10	273	268	4534
	Incomplete primary	113	210	139	3	0	0	0	0	46	48	559
	Complete primary	160	267	138	15	5	0	3	0	44	13	645
	Incomplete secondary	393	765	418	69	2	0	0	0	88	69	1804
	Complete secondary	405	887	581	68	9	0	0	0	117	84	2151
	Higher	465	1333	532	29	6	0	11	0	66	54	2496
	Do not know	3	0	2	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	18
Total		2474	4742	3202	481	79	35	14	10	634	536	12207

In this table, 935 number of people with no education have not given birth to any children which means that they do not prefer sons over daughters. A higher number of the illiterate respondents prefer one to two sons. The second highest number which is 1392 are those people who prefer three to four male children. In the section of the people with an educational attainment of incomplete primary, 210 number of the respondents prefer one to two male children whereas, 139 number of people want to give birth to three to four number of boys. Among the people having an incomplete secondary, 765 number of people prefer one to two number of boys. 418 are those who prefer three to four male children. Among the people with a degree till secondary, 887 of the

respondents prefer one to two boys. 581 people prefer three to four boys whereas, among the degree holders of higher education, 1333 number of people prefer one to two number of boys and 532 are those who want three to four boys. These results indicate that as the level of education increases, the preference for son decreases hence, the hypothesis is accepted. Among the degree holders of higher education, the preference for one to two boys is more as compared to the people having less education. Furthermore, among the illiterate people, the preference for at least three to four boys exists. These results again confirm that the illiterate people prefer sons more than the literate ones. The reason behind the preference for son could be the agrarian culture, economic conditions of the illiterate people.

6.17.20 Association between Type of residence of the respondents and Ideal number of boys (2017-2018)

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1431.557	14	.000
Likelihood Ratio	1509.187	14	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	786.254	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	19145		

The relationship between son preference and type of residence of the respondents is momentous as (Pearson chi-square = 1431.557, df (14), P value is less than 0.05), which shows that type of residence of the respondents has effect on son preference. This result also confirms that hypothesis is approved.

6.17.21 Association between Type of residence of the respondents and Ideal number of boys (2017-2018)

Cross Tab

		0	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	11-12	Up to God	Other	Total
Type of residence	Urban	1765	2932	2176	433	162	27	0	223	468	8186
	Rural	1892	2200	2595	1276	320	111	16	655	1894	10959
Total		3657	5132	4771	1709	482	138	16	878	2362	19145

In the urban localities, 1765 respondents do not have any children, so they do not have any preference for son. 2932 people prefer to have at least one to two sons in urban areas which is the highest number in the overall results. 2176 people prefer three to four sons holding the second highest place in the results moreover 433 people want to give birth to five to six male children in urban areas. 162 people prefer seven to eight sons whereas 27 are those who want nine to ten male children. 223 number of people have left it to the will of God. Comparatively to urban localities, the overall situation is different in rural regions as here the number has increased in terms of son preference. 1892 people do not have any children, so they do not have any preference for son. 2200 number of people want one to two sons. 2595 respondents prefer three to four male children whereas 1276 of the respondents want five to six sons. 320 respondents want seven to eight sons. 111 people prefer to have nine to ten male children. Moreover, 16 of the respondents want eleven to twelve sons. 655 number of people have left it to the will of God. The overall comparison of the results shows that comparatively to urban localities, people living in rural regions give more preference to sons. The reasons could be the poor economic conditions and agrarian culture in rural areas as sons can cooperate more with their parents in agriculture. Moreover, people in urban areas are more economically stable as well as they are more educated, so they do not discriminate between girls and boys.

6.17.22 Association between Family type of the respondents and Ideal number of boys (2017-2018)

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	264.711	14	.000
Likelihood Ratio	271.492	14	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	45.087	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	12002		

The association between family type of the respondents and son preference is significant as (Pearson chi-square = 264.711, df (14), $P < 0.05$), which demonstrates that family type of the respondents encourages them towards son preference. Hence, hypothesis is approved.

6.17.23 Association between Family type of the respondents and Ideal number of boys (2017-2018)

Cross Tab

		0	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9 -10	11-12	Up to God	Other	Total
Family type	Nuclear	1100	1737	1690	512	174	37	2	230	706	6188
	Joint	1198	1150	1437	647	166	65	9	346	796	5814
Total		2298	2887	3127	1159	340	102	11	576	1502	12002

1100 number of people living in nuclear family do not have any child so this illustration that they do not prefer sons. A higher number of 1737 people idealize one to two boys. 1690 number of the

respondents prefer to give birth to three to four male children. 512 people want to give birth to five to six boys. 174 number of people want seven to eight sons. 230 of the respondents have left it to the will of God. Whereas in joint family system 1198 people do not have any children so this indicates that they have no preference for son. A higher number of 1150 of the respondents consider one to two as the ideal number of boys. Followed by 1437 number of people want to have three to four male children. 647 number of people idealize five to six boys. Majority of people are those who prefer one to two number of boys in both family types. In which particularly nuclear families give more preference to one to two children. Whereas, in comparison to nuclear families, a greater number of people living in joint families prefer three to four male children which shows that in joint families, son preference prevail more. Mainly due to the pressure women face during living in joint families from their in-laws specially from the mother in-law. Women in joint families also give importance to give birth to son because being a mother of son makes their position strong in the family as well as in their social circle. And giving birth to a son is also considered as a matter of pride.

6.17.24 Association between Respondent's educational attainment and Ideal number of boys (2017-2018)

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2541.180	24	.000
Likelihood Ratio	2736.687	24	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	573.169	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	19145		

The association between son preference and respondent's educational attainment is significant as (Pearson chi-square = 2541.180, df (24), $P < 0.05$), which validates that respondent's educational attainment has influence on son preference. Therefore, hypothesis is approved.

6.17.25 Association between Respondent's educational attainment and Ideal number of boys (2017-2018)

Cross Tab

		0	1 - 2	3 - 4	5 - 6	7 - 8	9 - 10	11 - 12	Up to God	Other	Total
Respondent's educational attainment	No education	2577	2556	3608	1576	464	122	16	799	2108	13826
	Primary	335	747	467	90	4	11	0	35	127	1816
	Secondary	471	1041	540	35	14	5	0	14	81	2201
	Higher	274	788	156	8	0	0	0	30	46	1302
Total		3657	5132	4771	1709	482	138	16	878	2362	19145

2577 of the respondents having no educational qualification do not have any children which illustrates that they do not have any preference for sons over daughters. Majority of the respondents who were illiterate are 2556 prefer one to two male children. The third highest number which is 3608 of the respondents who were not educated prefer three to four boys. 1576 number of the respondents with no education give preference to five to six number of boys. This shows that many of the women who are illiterate prefer a greater number of sons. The main reason behind this could be that they want to have financial support in their future from their sons and as well as women living in joint families face a lot of pressure from their in-laws specially from the mother in-law. 335 number of people with a qualification till primary have no children which indicates that they do not have any preference for son. The highest number of 747 of the respondents want one to two male children whereas, 467 are the respondents who prefer to have three to four boys. A greater number of 1041 people with an educational attainment till secondary prefer one to two boys. 540 of the respondents want three to four sons. Whereas the third highest value containing 471 number of people have no children. 788 of the respondents with a higher education, want to have one to two male children and 156 of them prefer three to four boys. The results demonstration that as the

educational attainment of the respondent is getting higher, their preference for son is becoming lower. Hence, the hypothesis is accepted that education has a significant relationship with son preference. The values of the illiterate people are greater in number in comparison to the ones who are less educated and to those who are highly educated. The reason could be that education makes people economically stable as by getting higher education, people get more opportunities to get a job with a good salary. Therefore, they have comparatively low or no preference for son. They do not discriminate between sons and daughters.

6.17.26 Association between Husband's educational attainment and Ideal number of boys (2017-2018)

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1128.754	48	.000
Likelihood Ratio	1151.281	48	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	208.391	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	18703		

The relationship between son preference and husband's educational attainment is significant as (Pearson chi-square = 1128.754, df (48), $P < 0.05$), which indicates that husband's educational attainment has impact on son preference. Therefore, hypothesis is approved.

6.17.27 Association between Husband's educational attainment and Ideal number of boys (2017-2018)

Cross Tab

		0	1 -2	3 -4	5 - 6	7 - 8	9 - 10	11 - 12	Up to God	Other	Total

Husband educational attainment	No education	1149	1093	1670	771	192	56	15	332	1062	6340
	Incomplete primary	190	278	273	134	42	15	0	35	102	1069
	Complete primary	292	322	346	112	52	34	0	77	124	1359
	Incomplete secondary	646	875	755	283	50	0	1	148	393	3151
	Complete secondary	534	1033	687	175	72	28	0	138	333	3000
	Higher	723	1422	940	211	68	5	0	133	257	3759
	Do not know	20	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25
Total		3554	5028	4671	1686	476	138	16	863	2271	18703

In this table, 1149 number of people with no education have not given birth to any children which means that they do not prefer sons over daughters. A higher number of 1093 of the illiterate respondents prefer one to two sons. The second highest number of 1670 number of respondents are those who prefer three to four male children. In the section of the people with an educational attainment of incomplete primary, 278 number of the respondents prefer one to two male children whereas, 273 number of people want to give birth to three to four number of boys. Among the people having an incomplete secondary education, 875 number of people prefer one to two number of boys. 755 are those who prefer three to four male children. Among the people with a degree till secondary, 1033 of the respondents prefer one to two boys. 687 people prefer three to four boys whereas, among the degree holders of higher education, 1422 number of people prefer one to two number of boys and 940 are those who want three to four boys. These results indicate that as the level of education increases, the preference for son decreases hence, the hypothesis is accepted that education has effect on son preference. The reason behind the preference for son could be the agrarian culture, economic conditions of the illiterate people.

CHAPTER. NO: 7

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.1. Discussion

Like many countries in Asia, Pakistan has a strong patriarchal household structure (Sathar et al., 2015). Families in many parts of the country need to pay large dowries at the time of wedding of their daughters. Due to which people want to have sons rather than daughters. Son preference is imbedded in most of the Asian countries, for both cultural and economic reasons. Daughters are mostly considered as burden, especially where parents must pay dowry, parents when get old they mostly rely on sons and in India sons are the ones who perform last rites of their parents which is why son preference is common there.

Along with family structure, agricultural societies, economic dependency of women, religious beliefs, and cultural obligation are additional factors to son preference. Due to the cultural bias attitude against women in north India, most of the girls have been mistreated and neglected (Sekher and Hatti 2010). Rajan (2020) stated that in India, sons are the ones who can perform the funeral, birth, and marriage rituals.

Social circumstances and cultural beliefs of South Asian communities performs main role in son preference. In south Asian societies, giving birth to a son is a moment of pride for the women because being a mother of son makes their position strong in the family and in their social circle too (Sekher and Hatti 2010). To some extent women of both communities (Muslims, Hindus) have accomplished to acquire choice in reproductive matters in their families, but the way in which they have exercised their choices regenerates the fact that reproduction is an issue of personal and social concern (Sabiha 2001). In communities that suppress women, in those communities' women are in the inferior position. They are not provided with equal distribution of resources as well as they cannot take a stand for themselves and for their children (Hellesten 2000). Therefore, in these societies women also prefer to give birth to a male child to make their position strong (Sathar and Casterline, 1998; Feeney and Alam 2003).

In Pakistan mostly women are dependent on their husbands. Financial dependence and substandard status infuriate most women. Due to which a lot of women have now started working to get financial security as well as to support their husbands too. Working women can make their own decisions and their position also becomes strong when they start earning. Women education have also decreased the population growth in the country. since they marry late. The family size has decreased due to this. (Golden Essay 2005).

Malik (2005) stated that, “In Pakistani society, male children are more adored and valued than female children, they are treated with good care when they fall ill whereas girls are not treated in the same way. Boys have more access to schooling and lesser dropout rates as compared with girls. Girls are provided with less healthy food than boys which leads to malnutrition and physical weakness in them. They receive low attainment of education and experience poor health”. This means boys are preferred over girls in Pakistani society and girls are given less value biologically, economically, and socially. It increases the importance of sons in the family setup and supports the notion that the son is an asset in the Pakistani society. Desire for giving birth to a son can lead to a large family size (Leone et al., 2003).

Son preferences rely on several factors which include dowry system, agrarian culture, economic conditions, social and religious grounds. Parental education, type of residence and family structure can play a major role in diminishing son preference in our society. With the passage of time people are getting modernized and they have started giving importance to education. Due to educational attainment their perspective has changed regarding the gender of their children.

Ronald (2000) stated that modernization take place due to enormous cultural changes and the perseverance of different cultural values which in the result brings social reforms in the society with the help of various social organizations. As, when people get modernized with the passage of time, their perspective and values also change. Now adays women are progressing in every field of life. People’s perception regarding the education of women is also changing as it is now considered that the education of women is as important as male because they are the ones who are supposed to brought up their children.

7.2. Conclusion

The findings of this study reveal that son preference still prevail in Pakistan. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, it is common too as the results demonstrations that people in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa also prefer male child over female. It influences fertility decisions too. It can be concluded with the help of results that with the passage of time people are giving importance to education and acquiring education regardless of the gender difference. The results show a larger number of female parents wanting no female child compared to not wanting any male child. The statistical values can however be compared only in terms of relativity rather than absoluteness as many people who preferred zero female children could not want any children to begin with. This analysis

cannot be far from the truth as can be seen from the statistically larger percentage of people idealizing no children.

Urbanization has increased over the passage of years in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. While people have left rural life due to poor economic opportunities, the results of other variables show that a large amount of people have less educational qualification and therefore have economically low-grade jobs even within the urban areas. The overall gap between the urban and rural population is still large with most of the people living in the rural areas. Many people work in urban areas but are settled in rural areas.

Other than the economic struggles of rural life, urbanization has also increased due to the necessity of good education for the children unavailable in rural areas. Increase in the educational qualification of parents is due to this factor as well. The results also show that people living in urban areas are relatively giving less importance to son preference as compared to the people of rural areas.

As urbanization increased throughout the years, the requirement of an educational degree became priority for hiring parties for modern day jobs. The focus on attaining education therefore increased and more people became literate over the passage of time. Another factor is a more luxurious lifestyle which can only be attained with larger income. This facilitated and became a striving force for females to get education in order to not only help their husbands in terms of income to meet both ends for some while to fulfil their ever advancing and modern extravagances for others. The family structure in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa shows that with the passage of time the number of those people who married to their second cousin and to other relatives had increased whereas little amount of change had occurred in the marriages which took place between the first cousins on the father's side of the family as it had decreased to some extent. However, if compared to the mother's side of the family, more marriages had taken place on the father's side of the family. The results also show that in nuclear family's people give less importance to giving birth to more children as compared to the people living in joint family system because in the people of nuclear family, son preference is relatively less than those living in joint family system. The reason behind this could be the pressure of the in laws on the women to give birth to male child as well as women themselves also want to give birth to male child mainly because it makes their position strong in the family and in their social circle too. The results also demonstrate that the trend of child marriage is still

there in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa because the minimum age of the respondents at the birth of their first child is twelve in every data set.

References

Ali, S. M. 1989. "Does son preference matter?" *Journal of Biosocial Sciences,* 21(4).

Bairagi, R. 1988. "Food crisis, nutrition, and female children in rural Bangladesh". *Population and Development Review,* 12(2), 307-315.

Basu, M, A. 2002. "Why does Education Lead to Lower Fertility? A Critical Review of Some of The Possibilities". *Elsevier Science Ltd. Printed in Great Britain*, Vol. 30, No. 10, pp. 1779–1790.

Butt, I. B and Asad, Z. A. 2017." Factors Affecting Son Preference Phenomenon and Women Familial Status in Pakistan". *Orient Research Journal of Social Sciences* Vol. 2, No. 2 208-226.

Chou, S. Liu, J. Grossman, M. and Joyce, T 2007. "Parental Education and Child Health: Evidence from a Natural Experiment in Taiwan". *NBER Working Paper* No. 13466 JEL No. I10, I20.

Dahl, G. and Moretti, E. 2008, "The Demand for Sons". *Review of Economic Studies* 75, 1085–1120.

Doyle, O. Harmon, P, C. Walker, I. 2007. "The Impact of Parental Income and Education on Child Health: Further Evidence for England". *UCD Geary Institute Discussion Paper Series*.

Gilles, K., Jacobs, C. F. 2012. "When Technology and Tradition Collide: From Gender Bias to Sex Selection". *Population Reference Bureau.*

Grossman, M. and Kaestner, R. 2006. "Effects of Education on Health". *In the Social Benefits of Education, University of Michigan Press*, 69-123, 1997.

Guilmoto, C. Z. 2009. "The sex ratio transition in Asia". *Population and Development Review* , 35(3), 519-549.

Gupta, D. Zhenghua, J. Bohua, l. Zhenming, X. Chung, W and Hwa-ok, B 2003. "Why is Son Preference so Persistent in East and South Asia? A Cross-Country Study of China, India and the Republic of Korea"*The Journal of Development Studies,* Vol.40, No.2, December 2003, pp.153–187.

Gupta, M.D. 1987. "Selective discrimination against female children and rural Punjab, India". *Population and Development Review*, 13(1), 77-100.

Hussain, R. 2000. "The Role of Son Preference in Reproductive Behavior in Pakistan". *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 78 (3), pp. 379388.

Hussain, R., Fikree, F. F., & Berendes, H. W. 2000. "The role of son preference in reproductive behavior in Pakistan" *Bull World Health Organ*, 78(3), 379-388.

Jaquette, S. 1982. "Women and modernization theory: A decade of feminist criticism" *World Politics*, 34(2), 267-284.

Jewkes, R., Morrell, R., Hearn, J., Lundqvist, E., Blackbeard, D., Lindegger, G., Quayle, M., Sikweyiya, Y., Gottzen, L. 2015. "Hegemonic masculinity: combining theory and practice in gender interventions." *Culture, Health and Sexuality* (sup2): 96–111.

Jiafeng, W. (2009). "Some reflections on modernization theory and globalization theory". *Chinese Studies in History*, 43(1), 72-98.

Kadir, M. M., Fikree, F. F., Khan, A., & Sajan, F. 2003. "Do mothers-in-law matter? Family dynamics and fertility decision-making in urban squatter settlements of Karachi, Pakistan". *J Bio soc Sci*, 35(4), 545-558.

Khattak, W, S. 2018. "Factors associated with high fertility in Bhakkar Gabool Goth: case study". Vol.5, No.2.

Klasen, Stephan and Wink, C. 2002. "A turning point in gender bias in mortality? An update on

the number of missing women". *Population and Development Review* 28: 285-312.

Leone, T., Matthews, Z., & Zuanna, G. D. 2003. "Impact and determinants of sex preference in Nepal". *International Family Planning Perspectives*, 29(2), 69-75.

Li, Shuzhuo, Feldman, Marcus W, Jin, Xiaoyi 2004. "Children, Marriage Form, and Family Support for the Elderly in Contemporary Rural China". *Research on Aging*. 26 (3): 352–384.

Lin, T. 2009. "The decline of son preference and rise of gender indifference in Taiwan since 1990" *Demographic Research*, 20(16), 377-402.

Mahmood, N. 1998. "Women's role in domestic decision making in Pakistan: Implication for Reproductive behavior". *Pakistan Development Review*, 41(2), 121- 418.

Mahmood, N. 2002. "Women's role in domestic decision making in Pakistan: Implication for Reproductive behavior". *Pakistan Development Review*, 41(2), 121- 418.

Manzoor, K. 1991. "Focus on family welfare centers marketing research". *National Institute of Population Studies, Islamabad, Pakistan.*

Mason, K. 1987. "The impact of women social position on fertility in developing countries". *Sociological Forum*, 2(4), 817-745.

Muhammad, A. 2009. "Does sex of children matter? Implications for Fertility in Pakistan". *Journal of biosocial science*, 41(01), 39-50.

Nie, L. 2009. "Essays on Son Preference in China during Modernization", *Eisenhower Parkway: ProQuest Publisher.*

Pande, R. P., & Astone, N. M. 2007. "Explaining son preference in rural India: The independent role of structural versus individual factors". *Population Research and Policy Review*, 26(1), 1-29.

Peng. Y. 2009. "Modernization theory". *Chinese Studies in Hisyory*,43(1), 37-45.

Pillai, V.K., & Teboh, C. 2010. “A decade of contraceptive use in Camroon: Influences of Structural Change”. *Open Journal of Contraception*, 2011: 2, 5-11.

Rahman, Mizanur, Akbar. J, Phillips, J, and Becker. S. 1992. “Contraceptive Use in Matab, Bangladesh: The Role of Gender Preference”. *Studies in Family Planning* 23: 229-242.

Rangel, M. 2000. “Encyclopedia of Birth Control”. *Phoenix: Orxy Press.*

Ryder, B 1965. “The cohort as a concept in study of social change”. *American Sociological Review*, 30(6), 843-861.

Saeed, S. 2012. “Modeling son preference in Pakistan” *Social Development Issues.*

Safdar, S., Sharif, M., Hussain, S., Rasheed, S. 2007. “Perceptions and realities about family size And son preference in urban area of district Faisalabad,Pakistan”. *Journal of Agriculture and Social sciences*, 3(3) 83-86.

Sathar, Z. A., Kazi, S. 1990. “Women, work, and reproduction in Karachi”. *International Family Planning Perspectives,* 16(2), 66-69.

Seager, Joni 2009. “The Penguin Atlas of Women in the World”. *New York: New York: Penguin* Group. p. 42.

Sharif, M., Safdar, S., Mubeen, C., Hussain, S., & Rasheed, S. 2007. “Factors affecting family size and sex preference: A study of urban tehsil Fasialabad (Pakistan)”. *Education,* 150(34.00), 20-67.

Schady, N. Friedman, J. Filmer, D. 2008. “Development, Modernization, and Son Preference in Fertility Decisions”. *Human Development and Public Services Team & Poverty Team, Development Research Group* 4716.

Shah, N. M. 1989. “Pakistani Women: A socioeconomic & Demographic Profile”. *Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics.*

World Bank. “World Development Report 1993: Investing in Health”. *New York: Oxford University Press,* 1993.

Zafar, M. I., Asif, F., & Nawaz Anwer, H. 2002. “Perceptions of the Male Children: Satisfaction and Expectations”. *Journal of Applied Sciences*, 2, 1044-1049.