



RESEARCH PAPER

Professional Journey of Pakistani Women through Print Media (1950- 1970)

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the professional journey of Pakistani women through print media from 1950 to 1970, and tried to explore its social and political effect on Pakistani society. It was not easy for Pakistani women to overcome male dominance and lifted themselves in a socio and economic sphere of their lives. In initial years of Pakistan's creation, women got representation in print media. Women magazines played stepping stones role in visual representation of women. Magazines, newspapers, periodicals are used to highlight the voices of women during these two decades. This paper is explanatory in nature with analysis method is used. This investigation concludes that progress was slow in that era of journalism but it laid the foundation for future progress in women's illustration of professional lives in Pakistan.

Keywords: Pakistani Women, Print Media, Professional Journey, Social Change

Introduction

In these two decades, 1950 to 1970 in Pakistan rapid transformation has been seen both politically and socially. The newly independent state was struggling with different challenges such as nation building, economic crises and proving nation's identity. In this situation Print media act as the primary medium of communication. It played an important role in shaping the society. (Ahmar, 2004). In print media, male dominance is seen. Columns and ladies' pages were also dominated by the male Lense. women were largely confined to the household issues or to "Ladies' Pages", their theme were merely related to beauty, fashion and domestic. The Economic shift of 60s pushes state to give more representation to women in print media. The state, was interested in projecting softer image of Pakistani society which showed progress and development in Pakistan. This shift in government policy, laid the foundation of diverse content in print media. This opened the doors for professional journey of Pakistani women. (Afzal, 1999)



Figure 1 Picture depicts shifts in government policy, showed women stood side by side with their husbands. (Pakistan Times)

Professional journey of Pakistani women through print media from 1950 to 1970, examines how women coped in male-dominated society. How women of Pakistan employed themselves to gain acceptance through in patriarchal society. It is investigated how their presence impacted on broader societal attitudes towards half of the population.

Women's representation in print media, provides understanding of the complex role of our society, which is inter-connected and has strong impact on society.

Pakistani society is always webbed in to cultural constraints and in economics barriers which made difficult for women journalist to come forward and grasped the opportunities, However, with the shift in regime , and introduction of latest journalism concepts, with the boom in economy in 60s laid ground for future advancement of women representation in print media. (Fairclough, 2003).

This article examines how the early steps which were taken by media houses, changing in their policies and wave of commercialism had affected the representation of women in print media. This analysis, shed light on role of society, how society impacted and formalize the representation of women in printed media, and illustration of their professional role in society during formative period of Pakistan.

The print media of 1950-1970, gave valuable insights into how Pakistani women represented themselves into the public sphere. Their column, editorial, even one-line inch news, photograph, was a tiny negotiation. Print houses decided how they portrayed, how they spoke, what issues to be addressed. Women tried to be Infront line, tried to be represented in economic sphere as well, with the changing policy of the government, these efforts produced a new female professionalism.

The professional journey of Pakistani women was reflected in the print media of 1950-1970, the struggle was on the printed pages and became the first workplace for women in Pakistan.

Literature Review

Less work has done, on the professional journey of Pakistani women, specially focus on this initial era 1950 to 1970. Scholars from all fields, sociology, media studies or history did not pay much attention to this.

Media industry, saw shift in number of working women in post-independence era. Renowned scholar, Farida Shaheed with Khawar Mumtaz "Women of Pakistan: Two Steps Forward, One Step Backward", (Khawar Mumtaz and Fareeda Shaheed, 1987). They wrote the struggle of journalist women and their success, achievements, and hurdles. In their writings, we have found struggle stories of individual women's such as Zaib-un-Nisa Hamidullah and Zohra Karim.

Nighat Said Khan (2005), "Women in Pakistan, A New Era? Highlighted the efforts of women in contemporary world, their role in different sects of Pakistan.

Women role of professional life is an important part of Pakistani society. Scholars such as Kamran Asdar Ali (2001) Pakistan: Status of Women and the Women's Movement have analysed the visual and linguistic portrayal of women in newspapers and magazines. It highlights the shift from stereotype society to diverse professional atmosphere for women.

Available material is although not sufficient on women's professional journey in Pakistan through print media from 1950 to 1970, but existing material provided insight, ground and understanding to the attitude of Pakistani society towards representation to women.

This literature review explores the role of professional women through the Lense of print media and laid the stress on the importance of continued research to further explore the complex relation of media, gender, and social change in Pakistan. This article aims to contribute to a better understanding of the efforts of women in the print media and their lasting impact on Pakistani society.

Material and Methods

This study uses a combination of historical analysis and qualitative methods to analyse the complex role of print media in society. This study employs analysis approach to examining primary sources from major Pakistani print media such as *Dawn*, *The Pakistan Times*, *Nawa-i-waqt* and magazines like *Ismat*, *Akhbar-e-khwateen* and *Tehzeeb-e-Niswan*. The methodology consists of archival data to identify key themes, trends, and societal attitudes reflected in media coverage given to women and used descriptive method. This approach aims to offer a comprehensive view of how media influenced and documented the evolving role of women in Pakistan's professional landscape.

This research article proved that, the period from 1950 to 1970 was under the framework of progressive theory, specially under the Ayub Khan regime (1958 to 1969) but the policies and ideology which was projected in Ayub Khan era was more focused on elite class and under the domain of culture and religion of Pakistani society. (Berns, 2001) In short, the portrayal was progressive, women were given more representation in newspaper and magazines but this portrayal was under the state control.

Ayub's modernisation project explicitly linked national development to bringing women into "professional" roles, but only as long as they retained their primary identity as respectable wives and mothers.

Muslim Family Laws Ordinance 1961 was repeatedly cited in the press as proof that Pakistan was "modernising" women's rights (inheritance, divorce, registration of marriage). Newspapers presented this as a government reward for women. (Advertisement, 1966)



Figure 2

This image, was taken from Pakistan Times, where PIA, air Hostess were showing status of Independence as well as economically independent.

This article examines the economic struggle of Pakistani women, representing themselves publicly through the lens of print media. It highlights and gave insight that how male dominating society treated women who tried to played their professional role in those crucial years. It explained the struggle in different fields of their lives, made by women. Education, nursing, medical, in politics and in various professions, how women fought against the cultural norms of the society. Their struggle gradually contributed in to the main stream of Pakistan's economy marked by political consolidation and cultural transformation. By analysing the role of media, the investigation reveals that, how print media both changed the societal mind set related to women. It normalizes the role of women in every sphere of life. Print media paved the foundational ground for working women and made their role as an integral part of the society. (Dickey, 2006). The period from 1947 to 1950 was post-independent era for Pakistan which had initial challenges of nation-building. This period was pivotal for Pakistani women as they began to navigate their roles in a newly independent country. (Saheeba, 1955) Women played crucial roles during the independence movement and the immediate post-independence period. Newspapers and magazines of the time projected women in various capacities, from political figures to social workers. For instance, *Dawn* featured stories on women like Fatima Jinnah, who played a significant role in the independence movement, and other women who were actively involved in social welfare and political activities (Advertisement, Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan, 1955). The print media of the time played a crucial role in shaping public opinion and disseminating information. Newspapers like *Dawn* and *The Pakistan Times* covered a wide range of topics, including women's issues. The period from 1947 to 1950 saw a gradual shift in societal attitudes towards women's roles. While traditional gender norms remained strong, there was a growing recognition of the need for women's participation in various sectors. (Goffman, 1978) Whether news, politics, entertainment, or fashion, women are rarely spared controversy everywhere specially in developed countries. In Pakistan, powerful cultural and political lobbies shape the media, yet there are no clear policies to advance women's rights or curb gender insensitivity. In newspapers, most of the writings were written by male writers and the male supremacy can clearly see specially, in the initial days of Pakistan, columns about home making, fashion and beauty were allocated to women. (Hussain, 1947)

After the Partition of India in 1947, the Urdu women's magazine *Ismat* which had moved from Delhi to Karachi, became an important platform for Muslim women's voices in the newly formed Pakistan. During this transitional period, the magazine reflected both the constraints and emerging opportunities for women in the professional sphere. While *Ismat* had traditionally focused on domesticity, education, and morality, the post-Partition issues (especially 1948–1950) began to highlight women's economic participation as a necessity and a form of national service. handicrafts, sewing, and embroidery not just as domestic skills, but as income-generating activities (Azhar, 1963)

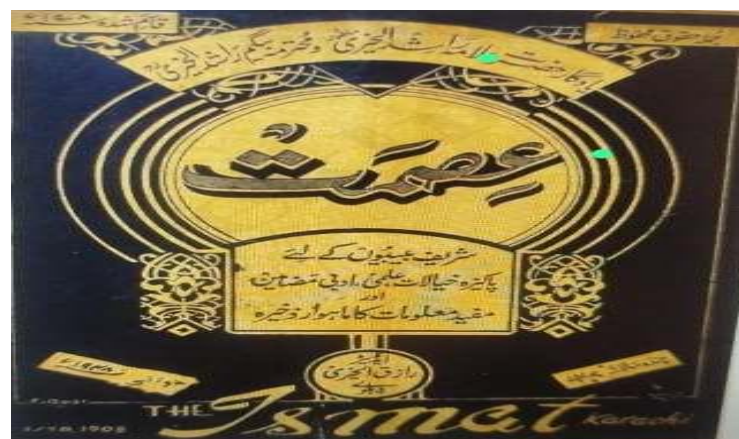


Figure 3

Support refugee women by buying their handmade goods, thereby creating a female-driven economy. *Ismat* continued to champion education, especially for girls, as the gateway to professional life. While it did not openly advocate for women in offices or factories, it normalized the idea of educated women working as Teachers, Radio artists, Writers, poets and social workers. The trauma and displacement of Partition also opened doors for some women to enter the workforce. Autobiographical accounts from women refugees were also part. (Nawai-Waqt, 1950)

Despite the positive coverage, the media also highlighted the challenges faced by women. Issues such as gender pay gaps, sexual harassment, and limited access to higher education, reflecting the broader societal attitudes and the need for further reforms but mostly this period marked less coverage to women, there were only some lines under few headings which mostly stress on the role of women as a home maker.

The post-partition era 1950 to 1958

Between 1950 and 1955 the new state of Pakistan was still stitching itself together in refugee camps, ration cards, and the files of a federal government. Yet in those five years a small, determined vanguard of women turned crisis into curriculum: every relief camp became a classroom, every voluntary society a recruitment bureau, and every newspaper column a job advertisement. First half-decade after independence only three English dailies, Dawn Pakistan Times and Civil & Military Gazette, circulated nationally, plus a handful of Urdu papers printed in Lahore and Karachi. Their topics were entirely male; women appeared only in death, marriage and beauty-contest notices. (Ali, 2015) Yet the state needed symbols of modernity to counter India's charge that Pakistan was "In medieval". The result was a paradox: papers editorialised on "the need to educate our daughters" but refused to hire them. The only female presence was the anonymous columns in Dawn's weekly "Women's Pages. Domestic perfection: recipes, new kitchen appliances, cleaning shortcuts, child-care tips, decorating on a budget Beauty and fashion: seasonal wardrobes, make-up lessons, "how to keep you attractive, how to keep kids and family good were the main topics during this era.



Figure 4

For instance, this image of English newspaper, Pakistan Times, 1966, shows that in order to be a good woman, u should be a good mother by feeding your children and family with healthy Dalda oil.

The vacuum was filled not by newspapers but by illustrated monthly, Hurmat, Tehzeeb-e-Niswan, Begum and the English-language Mirror. Financed by cigarette and textile advertising aimed at middle-class housewives, these magazines opened the first paid spaces for women writers. Salma Hassan's 1957 profile of Fatima Jinnah in Mirror carried the by-line "Our Woman Correspondent", a linguistic shield that both concealed and legitimised female authorship.

Fatima Jinnah was more portrayed in English-language dailies, *Dawn*, *Pakistan Times*, *Civil & Military Gazette*, routinely in the front row of every Independence-Day group photograph, captioning her simply as "Mādar-i-Millat" (Mother of the Nation), a title first used in a *Dawn* editorial of 1 September 1948 and repeated so reflexively that by 1950 it had become her only honorific, erasing her professional identity as a dental surgeon and political activist.

During the 1950s she was news only when she could be framed as the keeper of Jinnah's flame, her 1949 fund-appeal for the Quaid-i-Azam Memorial in Karachi was carried on page 1 of *Dawn* with the headline "Miss Fatima Jinnah Appeals to Nation to Build Noble Monument". the story beneath never mentioned her 1936 Bombay Municipal Council electioneering or her wartime relief work, details that survived only in the *Urdu* women's magazine *Ismat* under the line "A Sister's Sacrifice."

The press grew sharper and more partisan, when she broke her self-imposed political silence in 1952 *Pakistan Times* (then government-controlled) ran a three-part profile that praised her "quiet efficiency" in organising APWA relief camps but warned against "the temptation to convert moral prestige into political currency." The warning proved prescient. Through the mid-1950s she was photographed at every by-election platform beside Muslim-League candidates, yet reporters sanitised her speeches into maternal homilies; the *Civil & Military Gazette* of 12 March 1954 reduced a 40-minute attack on the cabinet's Kashmir policy to a single sentence "Miss Jinnah exhorted women to keep the lamp of faith burning."



Figure 5

Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan, wife of Pakistan's first Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan was a central female in the 1950s print media. She was portrayed as a modern Muslim woman, representing Pakistan abroad (e.g., U.S. visit in 1950, Netherlands 1954–61) and at home as a feminist organizer. Her image wearing a *gharara* was used to counter Western stereotypes of Pakistani women as oppressed or backward. Newspapers like *Dawn* and

Pakistan Times likely covered her speeches, welfare work, and UN delegations, framing her as a symbol of progressive womanhood. (Advertisement, Begam Rana Liaquat Ali khan, 1955)

The All-Pakistan Women's Association (APWA), founded in 1949, was frequently covered in the press. Print media highlighted APWA's role in Refugee rehabilitation, setting up schools and clinics and advocating for marriage and inheritance rights were emphasised.



Figure 6

In the first constituent assembly only two women were present, Begum Shaista Suhrawardy Ikramullah and Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz served from 1947 to 1954 in Pakistan's political main stream. Begum Shaista Suhrawardy Ikramullah and Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz both were portrayed in print media, yet the newspapers of the day turned their presence into a national conversation.

Dawn, Pakistan Times and the Civil & Military Gazette ran front-page photographs of Begum Shaista in a crisp white gharara, captioning her as "Pakistan's woman delegate to the UN," and printed her three-column speech on Muslim Personal Law in full while her BBC broadcast was proudly headlined in Jang's Urdu pages. Front page editorial space in *Dawn*, *Pakistan Times*, *Civil & Military Gazette*; frequent photo-features of her.

Begum Jahanara, older and more seasoned, was shown chairing the All-Pakistan Women's Conference or distributing sewing-machines in Lahore's refugee camps; the press called her "the veteran Muslim Leaguer" and praised her "motherly guidance" to the new legislature. Editorials were careful to keep both women within the circle of Islamic respectability praising their "gentle but firm logic" and quoting their insistence on rights "within Sharia limits" (Wife, 1955)

Between 1947 and 1954 the English-language press turned Begum Shaista into Pakistan's global female face, celebrating her UN work and literary output, while the Urdu press used Begum Jahanara's elder-stateswoman persona to normalise women's presence in politics yet both were carefully framed within Islamic respectability to avoid backlash from conservative quarters. But the volume of ink and newsprint devoted to them nevertheless normalised the sight of women in the highest political forum, making their faces the first female signatures on Pakistan's founding.

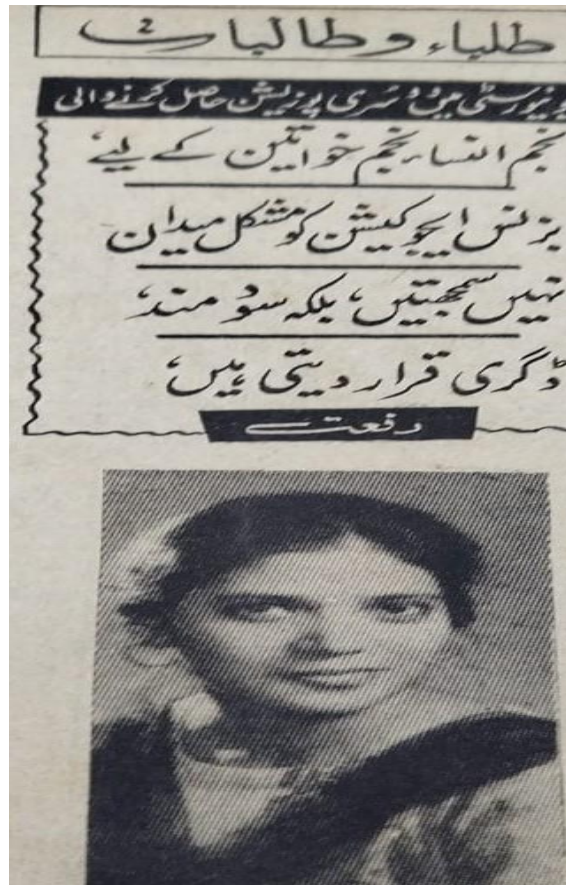


Figure 7

Circulation figures were modest (15 000–25 000), yet because each copy passed through an average of six readers, the print reach was closer to 150 000—enough to make editors notice that “women’s topics” sold copies. Women were active in political parties in this era in the process of constitutional debates, and national culture-building, though their voices were often marginalized in mainstream media. Magazines and newspapers likely emphasized women as homemakers, educators, and mothers, aligning with state-building narratives.

From Barrack to Brief-case: How the 1958-65 Military Take-over Reshaped Pakistani Women’s Professional Journey through the Lense of print media

When General Mohammad Ayub Khan buttoned up his uniform on the night of 7 October 1958, he did more than suspend the Constitution; he reset the entire grammar of public life for women. (Khan, 2014) The print record of the next seven years shows that martial law did not lock women indoors. it quietly relocated them, from the margins of voluntarism to the centre of a state-directed labour market. The same newspapers that had once praised Begum Raana’s relief work now carried regular labour-ministry advertisements calling for “educated ladies willing to serve the national economy,” a phrase that first appeared in *Dawn* on 3 January 1959 and became the decade’s most repeated gendered slogan.

A new code “Discipline, Duty, Development”

Ayub’s first Martial Law Regulation made the Civil Service of Pakistan gender blind at the entry level, within weeks *Pakistan Times* (12 Nov 1958) reported that “twenty-six lady candidates have sat for the Central Superior Services examination which is the largest number since 1947.” The paper listed their subjects such as economics, statistics and

international relations beneath a posed photograph of uniformed female invigilators, signalling that the military's obsession with order had reached the examination hall. By 1961 the press was announcing "lady section officers" in the Secretariat, their salaries pegged to the new National Pay Scale introduced by the military regime's Pay Commission. Editorials lauded the move as "administrative rationalisation," not feminism; nevertheless, the by-lines of women like Aftab Khatoon (first female deputy secretary, Cabinet Division) began to appear on official communiqués reproduced verbatim in the dailies.

Participation at Industrial horizon

Martial-law ordinances of 1959-60 granted tax holidays to any factory that employed more than 10 % women. *Civil & Military Gazette* covered the opening of Karachi's Valika Textile Mills in March 1960 with a half-page photograph of girls in laboratory coats testing yarn strength, the caption read, "Women technicians help save precious foreign exchange." "The State Bank's first female banking officers (1963), and the telephone exchange at Rawalpindi GPO where "lady operators work round the clock under military-style shift charts" (*Dawn*, 4 Aug 1964) were also depicted. The press never used the word "feminist"; instead, it borrowed the regime's favourite idiom efficiency, modernisation, nation-building.

White coats and women projection in print media

The military's expansion of the Army Medical Corps created the largest single avenue for professional women. Between 1959-64 the number of female doctors on temporary commissions tripled; *Pakistan Times* (8 March 1962) announced the graduation of the "first batch of lady medical officers trained under the Ayub Health Scheme," their commissioning ceremony reviewed by a brigadier. Nurses, previously classified as "ward ayahs," were re-designated "military nursing officers" with equivalent rank, and the press printed their passing-out parades alongside artillery demonstration. (Bartky, 1990)

Education as conscription

Ayub khans Commission (1959) made co-education the default policy beyond class eight, newspapers reported the decision under martial-law order "*To utilise the full manpower and womanpower of the country*" Within five years professional colleges were advertising "separate but equal" quotas. Lahore's King Edward Medical College proudly announced in *Civil & Military Gazette* (28 Oct 1961) that its incoming class included "thirty-five future lady doctors an all-time record," while Engineering University Dhaka published a photograph of the first three women in civil engineering, hard-hats perched over their dupattas. The press presented these numbers not as social revolution but as strategic mobilisation, echoing the regime's Second Five-Year Plan which spoke of "human resources" the way earlier plans had spoken of irrigation. (Waqt, 1967)

Print tropes: from "honour" to "human capital"

A content sweep of *Dawn*, *Pakistan Times* and *Civil & Military Gazette* for 1959-65 shows a measurable shift in vocabulary. Pre-1958 stories invoked "purdah," "modesty," and "sacrifice"; post-1958 stories favoured "training," "productivity," and "export earnings." Even fashion pages participated: a 1963 *Dawn* spread on "working-girl wardrobes" showcased the "utility sari" and the "brief-case handbag," items marketed as tools of efficiency rather than allure.

Yet the same pages that celebrated entry never failed to police exit. Marriage bars were quietly retained in teaching and nursing; editorials reminded readers that "a woman's primary duty remains the home."

The 1961 passage of the **Muslim Family Laws Ordinance** celebrated by progressives was reported in the press chiefly as a measure to “protect the morale of servicemen” by regulating polygamy, and given women rights of family planning.



Figure 8

This picture, is taken from Pakistan times, under the rule of Ayub khan in 1966, in Pakistan times, family planning awareness was first illustrated, it gives choice to women of Pakistan about the size of their family, about their health.

Women projection in 1965 war

During the war 1965, the Pakistani print media framed women's paid work as an extension of the front line. English and Urdu dailies carried three recurring visual/textual tropes, editorials of October 1965 announced vocational schemes later formalised in 1966 to teach embroidery and small-trade skills to women who had lost husbands in the shelling, portraying their future wages as *“the nation's repayment of a debt”* these widows of Shaheeds portrayed in magazines in white saris with blood spots on their clothes.

During the 1965 conflict the Pakistani press projected female employment not as a right but as wartime logistics, normalising women's salaries while keeping them inside the moral perimeter of national defence. The year the printed page finally let the Pakistani working woman speak in her own voice headlines no longer ask *“Should women work?”* but *“How well are they doing it?”*



Figure 9

“Career Women” at PIA, *Pakistan Times* and *Dawn* carried the news in 1966. (Advertisement, PIA air hostess, 1966)

“Women in the 1965 Budget workforce”, 38,000 female school teachers, 1,200 women doctors on government payroll, 147 lady revenue inspectors, 31 assistant commissioners. Each figure was boxed beside a miniature silhouette of the relevant profession, turning statistics into visual empowerment. Even conservative Urdu dailies joined the refrain: *Jang* (Lahore, 18 May 1965) devoted its women’s page to (Beauty and Brain).

A June 1965 *Evening Star* magazine spread for **“Bonus sewing-machines”** showed a fashion designer measuring a client while a typed caption boasted: “She earns 800 rupees a month more than a sub-inspector” The sub-text was clear: paid skill was now a badge of middle-class respectability, not a fallback for widows.

Yet the press still applied a soft filter. Success stories ended with reassurance: “She reaches home by six to supervise her children’s homework.” When the Ministry of Labour announced a hostel for 300 working girls in Karachi (*Dawn*, 9 Sept 1965), the lead paragraph thanked “the foresightedness of our soldier-statesman President Ayub” reminding readers that every professional step was framed as a gift from the military hierarchy.

1966 to 1970, working woman as a routine feature of national life

Between 1965 and the early 1970s, Pakistani print media discovered the “working woman” as a routine feature of national life, yet wrapped her in a double narrative, she was simultaneously celebrated as proof of Ayub Khan era modernity (*dawn*, 1970).



Figure 10

After Ayub Khan regime, women pages were added in English news papers

War-time momentum, peace-time caution

After the 1965 war the press had linked women’s wages to patriotic necessity; once the guns fell silent the same papers redirected the argument to



Figure 11

This image, showed efforts of legendary melody queen , Noor Jahan of Pakistan, who stood firm by singing patriotic songs for soldiers of Pakistan in war,1965

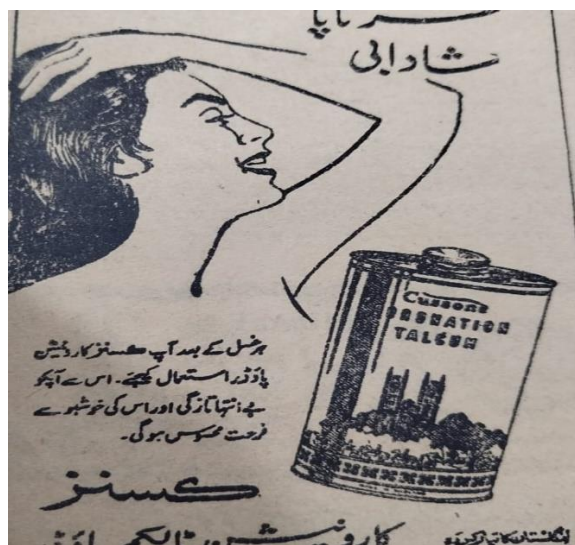


Figure 12

Women , were portrayed as a piece of attraction, in advertisements, they considered as symbol of beauty and market tactics to attract more customers. (Advertisement, Nawa-i-Waqt, 1958)

Yahya Khan period (1969-71) professional visibility without political voice

Newspapers enthusiastically reported the opening of women only hostel blocks for PIA air-hostesses, Karachi Port Trust clerks and PCS officers, presenting the hostel as

“a protective barracks for our economic soldiers”. Yet coverage of the 1970 elections almost never quoted women candidates on policy; their photographs were captioned “lady contestants” while male rivals received party labels and manifesto summaries.

As Pakistan entered the global textile race (1969), papers headed **“girl-machine operator”** in Lahore’s new Export Processing Zone. *Morning News* (12 Aug 1970) called her

“Dollar-earning daughter of the nation”, the first time a woman’s wage was linked to foreign-exchange reserves rather than family need, a framing that would dominate the 1970s.



Figure 13 Women were at different polling stations, during elections 1970s.

print media normalised the salaried woman, yet persistently rerouted her professional identity back to national duty, domestic virtue, or aesthetic appeal. The decade ended with women’s jobs visible but their agency still voiceless an ambiguity that set the stage for the overtly political feminism of the Bhutto years that followed.

Discussion

Between 1950 and 1970 the printed page was the only national mirror Pakistan possessed. While headlines tracked wars, constitutions and five-year plans, a quieter story was being inked in the margins: the first appearance of women’s names under banner by-lines, the slow shift from “Ladies’ Corner” to city-desk reporter, and the moment when a woman’s photograph was printed not as a socialite but as a professional. This article reconstructs that twenty-year arc, showing how the country’s earliest female professionals used newspapers and magazines to negotiate public space, re-script respectability and enlarge the idea of “work” itself.



Figure 14

Conclusion

The newspapers and magazines of 1950-70, were ephemeral; surviving copies are yellowed, brittle, sometimes censored with black ink. Yet they are the only archive that records how Pakistani women argued themselves into the public sphere. One column inch at a time. Each by-line, photograph and double signature was a tiny negotiation over who could speak, and how, between 1950 and 1970, Pakistan's print media ceased to be an exclusively male civic space. Zaib-un-Nissa Hamidullah's 1958 Supreme Court victory turned press freedom into a gender-neutral shield, while Musarrat Jabeen's *Akhbar-i-Khawateen* proved advertisers that women were a market too. Emergency night-shift exemptions during the 1965 wars pulled the first cohort of female sub-editors on to regular payrolls, and by-lines from refugee camps and election rallies normalised the sight of a woman's name under a political lead story. Quantitatively the shift was modest: some seventy women on editorial desks by 1970 but qualitatively it was tectonic: the women's page became a semi-autonomous section, the glossy magazine became an investigative platform, and the female reporter moved from "special correspondent (features)" to head itself. The era re-sets the clock of Pakistani feminism: the first legal strike against censorship, the first woman-controlled business plan, the first collective-bargaining clause on maternity leave were all set in type before 1970. The ink never dried; every by-line filed today extends a line first cast in metal by Hamidullah on a December night in 1951, reminding us that the professional journey which began as a lonely column in a man's newspaper ended by transforming the newspaper in progress for women as a main pillar of economic wellbeing of country.

Recommendations for deepening research, preservation and policy on Pakistan's women's press, 1950-1970

- Digitise complete runs of newspaper and magazines of 1950 to 1970, currently they are scattered.
- All universities accredited by the Pakistan Media Regulatory Authority must dedicate at least one core course to the 1950-70 cohort, using primary copies lodged in the proposed Women's Print Archive.
- private media and public encourage to reward the best Urdu-language of that era, investigative feature on women's issues, their struggle on grounds of professional recognition, ensuring that the tradition of progressive Urdu journalism pioneered in survives the current economy.

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