

GENDER STUDIES (CSS)

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO GENDER STUDIES

- Gender Studies focus is on the question how to foster change, make space for diversity and for new kinds of social, cultural and ecological *sustainability and equality*. Gender Studies educates agents for change.
- Children *learn gender roles* at an early age from their families and friends; early learning at home, cultural images, the division of productive work and leisure by gender, and the operation of social institutions (schools, the church, and the courts) contribute to adult gender role beliefs and practices.
- By contrast, *gender role encompasses* the non-biological or social and cultural elements that give meaning to the terms "male" and "female," the expectations and cultural rules that govern male and female behavior.
- With the exception of some Indian tribes, *Americans have always divided gender roles* into two categories, male and female. *Many Indian groups* recognize a third gender, a "half-man, half woman" a male who dresses, acts as a female, and takes the passive role in sexual intercourse with another male. *The Mojave* have four gender groups: males; females; boys who adopt female roles; and girls who adopt adult male roles. In *Western culture*, it has often been assumed that the assignment of certain tasks and responsibilities to males and females inevitably results from biological differences. Given this assumption, departures from traditional roles are often viewed as unnatural and threatening, not just to individuals but to the social order.
- Gender studies ... Gender Roles... Gender Differences... Inter/Intra Differences
INTER DIFFERENCES based on biological differences & social identities
Biological Differences: Men and women were thought to inhabit bodies with different physical make-ups and to possess fundamentally different qualities and virtues. Certain biological facts are constant. Not all women menstruate, become pregnant, or breast-feed, but only women do so. Only a man can impregnate a woman, although not all men do. Chromosomal makeup, hormonal composition, and internal or external sex organs determine sex in a biological sense, and an infant is assigned that gender label at birth.
Indicators of Biological Sex/Status
(Chromosomes, genitals, gonads, hormones, secondary sex characteristics)
Social Identities: There have been *four major ideals about gender roles in the American* family over the course of four centuries: patriarchy in the colonial era; separate spheres in the nineteenth century; companionate marriage from the 1920s to the 1950s; and quasi-egalitarian roles beginning in the 1960s.

- i. **Patriarchy:** The father controlled all the economic resources and held the primary authority over all members of the family and household.
- ii. **Separate Spheres:** The home functioned as a place of repose for the husband at the end of his workday. The home and the world were seen as two separate spheres of activity. The husband moved from one to the other; the woman's sphere remained the home. She was expected to devote herself to home and children. This new view of family and gender roles, promoted especially by women authors and magazine editors, has been referred to variously as the cult of domesticity or the doctrine of separate spheres. The doctrine of separate spheres was also one of several reasons why fertility declined in the nineteenth century. The average birthrate of white women fell from 7.04 children in 1800 to 3.56 in 1900. Lacking methods of reliable birth control, such as the diaphragm or birth control pill, American couples chose to limit conception for a variety of reasons, one of which was the change in the mother's role. The doctrine of separate spheres promised women greater respect in family matters, though it restricted the scope of their activity to the home.
- iii. **Companionate Marriage:** It was still assumed that the husband remained the breadwinner and the wife a full-time homemaker. But the companionate husband was expected to help out by doing the dishes and some of the housework and by allowing his wife access to money without having to ask for it. The new ideal of the companionate marriage, like the older doctrine of separate spheres, had little to say about the actual division of labor in the household. It is often believed that World War II marked a revolution in gender roles, since many American women took on men's jobs, becoming welders, riveters, and full-time workers in the war industry.
- iv. **The Quasi-Egalitarian Ideal:** In the new quasi-egalitarian marital ideal, both husband and wife held paying jobs and assumed important responsibilities as parents. In 1963 Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique* announced that the family home, complete with stove, kitchen, blender, and two-car garage, was actually a velvet concentration camp. She considered women's investment in home and children, at the expense of education, employment, and involvement in public life, a bad bargain. Friedan's book was one of the several sparks that lit the fire of the women's liberation movement in the 1960s. Friedan wanted to reshape marriage and child rearing and send women into the work force, at least part-time.

INTRA DIFFERENCES are based on class, race, sexuality, ethnicity, religion, age, (dis) ability to power, citizenship, nationality etc.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SEX AND GENDER

| No. | Sex | Gender |
|-----|--|---|
| 1 | Biological | Gender as the social and cultural manifestations of sex |
| 2 | Natural | Social constructed |
| 3 | Universal | Changes |
| 4 | Policies may be made with reference to physical body | Policies are with reference to stereotype and traditional role |
| 5 | Generally fixed | May not be fixed. Gender roles are flexible and ever-changing. They vary across time and place and from one social group to another. |
| 6 | Divided into Male, female and she-male | May be divided into ascribed and achieved roles |
| 7 | Identity | Role <i>Male:</i> activeness, intelligence, courage, aggression, determination, violence, obstinacy, and selfishness <i>Female:</i> passiveness, emotions, notably lust, excessive passion, shrewishness, and laziness. |
| 8 | Independent | Dependent |
| 9 | Unchallengeable | Challengeable |
| 10 | Narrow Scope | Wider Scope |
| 11 | Sex refers to the biological features of one physiology. | Gender refers to one's sexuality based on masculinity and femininity (In 1972 Ann Oakley, was able to distinguish the difference between sex and gender). |

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GENDER AND WOMEN STUDIES

Women Studies

- i. Women studies as area of academic studies came into being in 1960s-2nd wave of feminism. Women's Studies is not simply about academic discourse or struggles for rights and justice. It is about both, each contributing to an understanding of the other. It is a dynamic discipline, which has relied fairly heavily on women's experiences and their everyday lived realities. Ever since the realization that women experience the world in ways that are sometimes radically different from men's ways of seeing, knowing, understanding and acting, women's oral histories, oral testimonies and personal stories have played a central role in the development of the methods that are employed in Women's Studies.
- ii. First course developed in late 1960s, USA. San Diego State University, California 1969
(Based on 54 pages work "A Changing Political Economy as it affects women" created by Mary Ritter Beard in 1934).
- iii. First MA in University of Kent, UK 1980.
- iv. PHD in Emory University, Georgia, USA 1990

Purpose

i. Raising conscious

- Women were idealized as mothers (“the angel in the house”), while those who failed to meet expectations were censured as prostitutes with uncontrollable sexual desires. It is true that the concept of the respectable male “breadwinner”, who had the responsibility for providing financially for his entire family, was increasingly influential in this period. Consequently, women were frequently expected to give up their jobs when they got married.
- In marriage, men were expected to rule over their wives, and all property (except in some cases property acquired by the woman before marriage) belonged to the husband. Men were the primary wage earners, while women were expected to be primarily responsible for housework and childcare, though both sexes participated in all these activities. Women's paid employment was typically low status, low paid, and involved fewer skills and responsibilities than men's. The types of work available to women were confined to a few sectors of the economy where the work could be seen as an extension of women's domestic responsibilities, such as domestic service, the clothing trades, teaching, and nursing. In politics, women possessed virtually no formal rights. Beyond employment, women's public roles were generally confined to the exercise of their moral and domestic virtues.

o Patriarchy

ii. Feminism

iii. Promotion of their contribution (past and present)

Men Studies 1970s

Gender Studies 1980s

- i. Feminism remains central perspective
- ii. To make better relationship b/w men and women
- iii. Wider term includes LGBT
- xiv. Gender studies have grown out of the need to address some of the big issues in everyday life as well as on the global arena of international politics in which cultural, economic, political and social inequalities are played out.

Criticism Last 40 years struggle of women

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WOMEN STUDIES AND GENDER STUDIES

| No. | WOMEN STUDIES | GENDER STUDIES |
|-----|---|---|
| 1 | Started as academic discipline in 1960s | Started as academic discipline in 1980s/1990s |

| | | |
|----|---|--|
| 2 | Off shot of 2 nd wave of feminism | Off shot of 3 rd wave of feminism |
| 3 | Specific to women's studies | Studies of women, men and she-male. |
| 4 | Criteria and method of assessing women issues a. Liberal theory b. Radical theory c. Marxist theory d. Psychoanalytical theory e. Post modern theory | Gender studies like women's studies are marked by diverse, and sometimes overlapping intellectual traditions and movements, which also manifest changing times, not least in the shift from the liberal, Marxist, socialist and radical strands of the women's movement to the wider inclusion of black feminism, ethnicization, racialization, and issues of bodies and corporeality, disability, sexuality, class defined and geographically located inequalities. |
| 5 | Teaching and research on women's issues to break down hierarchies | Cross cultural studies of gender |
| 6 | Women's participation in men's trade | Overcome social differences and sex differences |
| 7 | Conscious-raising of women only a) Women empowerment b) Social justice c) Relationship between gender and society (historically and culturally) d) Equality | Conscious-raising of all identities |
| 8 | Narrow Scope | Wide Scope |
| 9 | Single entity | Multi-entities |
| 10 | Lack of freedom in sexual orientation | Freedom in sexual orientation |
| 11 | Conservative | Liberal |
| 12 | Highlighted stereotypes pertinent to women a) Personality traits b) Appearance c) Occupation d) domestic behavior | Highlighted stereotypes pertinent to all entities |
| 13 | Pinpointed language biasness for women a) Weaker b) sex oriented c) abusive language) e.g. Bachelor/Spinster | Pinpointed language biasness for all entities |
| 14 | Women studies didn't talk of gay and bisexuality etc. | The shift towards gender studies also reflects a widening intellectual base, including psychosocial as well as psychoanalytical theories, poststructuralist, postcolonial studies, |

| | | |
|----|---------------------------------|---|
| | | critical studies of masculinity, queer studies and LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer) critical race, critiques of whiteness, ecological feminism and materialist feminism and techno-science studies. |
| 15 | Masculinity was not part of it. | Men's studies and masculinity were more important areas of research in it. |

MULTIDISCIPLINARY NATURE OF GENDER STUDIES

- i. Gender Studies offers new ways of understanding gender as a social, cultural and political process and structure through which societies are organized. Although many earlier accounts suggested a division between sex as anatomical and biological and gender as the social and cultural manifestations of sex, there are strong arguments for sex as shaped by cultural forces and made through social practices. One of Butler's major contributions to gender studies and to the study of social relations and the operation of power across disciplines is her critique of sex and sexuality as well as gender as performative. Sex, as much as gender, is produced by the processes and practices through which it is defined and classified. Butler's (1990,1993) work has generated questions and debates about the materiality of sex, the fluidity and the transgressive properties of sex, gender and sexuality. Debates within gender studies about the nature of sex and gender invoke the need for interdisciplinary approaches as well as drawing upon a range of disciplines and theoretical frameworks.
- ii. Gender Studies includes all sexual entities male, female, she male etc.
- iii. Gender Studies provides analyses the creation and maintenance of norms relating to sex and sexuality. Crossing the boundaries and thinking creatively about disciplinary intersections has been expanded to generate different ways of explaining and of acting upon the social relations, differences and inequalities, which include sex, gender and sexuality.
- iv. Gender studies have incorporated studies of masculinity and interdisciplinary approaches have stressed the possibilities of transformation of traditional stereotypical masculinities. Gender is not just about women, as has so often been the case in the promotion of policies of equal opportunities in neo-liberal democracies in recent times. Men are gendered too and the interrogation of hegemonic masculinity raises challenges to power structures in a vast range of social, economic, cultural and political systems where traditional, seemingly gender neutral norms are called into question.
- v. Although gender studies (feminist studies, especially feminist theories, remain central to the field), like women's studies are marked by diverse, and sometimes overlapping intellectual traditions and movements, which also manifest changing

times, not least in the shift from the liberal, Marxist, socialist and radical strands of the women's movement to the wider inclusion of black feminism, ethnicization, racialization, and issues of bodies and corporeality, disability, sexuality, class defined and geographically located inequalities.

- vi. Gender awareness has become integral to disciplinary fields as diverse as history, literature, science, sociology and economics, as well as emerging as a field of studies, which goes much further than the mainstreaming of gender. Sexual politics and gender studies have more recently engaged with some of the dilemmas, which have been presented by diversity policies, for example, European Union equality policies, which might be seen to have gone beyond gender or in which gender has been marginalized. Wide range of disciplines (Anthropology, Sociology, Economics, Pol. Science, Economics, Religion, Psychology, Literature, History, Biology) are studies in Gender Studies.
- vii. Gender Studies examines gendered inequalities operate in the apparently private arena of the home but it is only through an interdisciplinary approach, which brings different critiques and diverse analyses that the interrelationship between the personal and the political can be understood and, most importantly addressed.
- viii. Gender Studies is a trans-disciplinary area of study which engages critically with gender realities, gender norms, gender relations and gender identities from intersectional perspectives. To study gender intersectionally means to focus on the ways in which gender interrelates with other social categorizations such as ethnicity, class, sexuality identity, nationality, age, dis/ability etc.
- ix. Gender studies offer scope for innovation in methods as well as having established a tradition of mixed methods in response to social change.
- x. It includes all behaviors of sexual orientation e.g. LGBT
- xi. Every aspect of life (fields). Gender/sex plays a role in almost all spheres of life. We read the world through gendered glasses, and *media, institutions, families, social networks and many other arenas construct gendered distinctions and norms for "proper" gendered behaviours and appearances.*

AUTONOMY VS INTEGRATION DEBATE IN GENDER STUDIES

AUTONOMY APPROACH:

- i. Independent Subject
- ii. Women lead movement (Self representation).
- iii. Women are true representatives of their issues.
- iv. Women's autonomy has been defined as women possessing "control over their own lives/self directive norms", being able to make decisions and act upon them (How autonomy should be constructed and measured – namely, as an individual or cluster-level variable – has been less examined)
- v. Independent struggle for every factor/initiative e.g. education
- vi. Independent struggle for every field.

- vii. Independent struggle for each status of women
 - viii. Independent struggle for every color of women
 - ix. Independence in leadership and
 - x. “to manipulate (their) personal environment”. If social relationships cause autonomy to develop, a lack of appropriate social relationships can also stunt its development (Friedman 1997). Similarly, social and historical conditions (such as oppressive gender socialization) may promote or impede the capacity for autonomy.
- Implicit theory of maternal autonomy states that more autonomous women are better equipped to act upon their preferences related to reproductive health care - even when confronted with contradictory or competing preferences among others in their household (such as husbands, co-wives or mothers-in-law), or their broader community. Marital, Political, Economic, Social/Cultural, Legal etc.

INTEGRATION APPROACH:

- i. Collaborating efforts. Participation of other entities esp. men to empower women.
- ii. Representatives (reflection) of all entities/sexes..
- iii. Representatives (reflection) of all classes.
- iv. Representatives (reflection) of all colors.
- v. Combine in other disciplines as a course because it's new subject. Feminists opposed the idea of integrating the subject into mainstream higher studies curriculum citing the reason that the subject is still young and if integrated, it will not develop.--
- vi. Integrate strategies of women's development in all fields simultaneously.
- vii. Education reforms and social movement for both male and female.

STATUS OF GENDER STUDIES IN PAKISTAN

1. STATUS OF GENDER STUDIES AS DISCIPLINE

BACKGROUND

Rubina Segial called Seikh Abdullah of Aligargh was the adovcate of womens right. ('State of the Discipline of Women's studies in Pakistan' by Rubina Saigol)

NEED FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GENDER STUDIES AS A DISTINCT DISCIPLINE

- A.** In Pakistan, universities were largely mainstays of ideologies that legitimized thirty years of military rule and a number of feminist academics established an institute of women's studies independent of the formal structures of universities, as in the case of the Institute of Women's Studies Lahore (IWSL), established in 1986. Nighat Said Khan helped establish the Institute of Women's Studies Lahore (IWSL), aiming to close the gap between theory and practice in political and social movements.

- a. Social empowerment of all identities
- b. Political empowerment
- c. Economic empowerment
- d. Cultural richness
- e. Diversification of roles
- f. Supporting efficiency -the right person for right job
- g. Meeting new challenges of globalization
- h. Balancing roles
- i. Promoting good governance
- j. Developing harmony and peace

B. Five (5) departments were established in five universities under Ministry of Women Empowerment (MoWD) in 1989 as under;

- a) Quaid-i-Azam, University (QAU) – Women Studies Centre (It brought out the first issue of the Journal of Gender/Women’s Studies based on the theme ‘Women and the Family’ in 1994). Later on, Centre of Excellence in Gender Studies has been established under the Centre of Excellence Act on 31st August, 2004 to promote Gender Studies as a learning discipline in Pakistan.
- b) Fatima Jinnah Women University (FJWU) Rawalpindi –Women’s Research and Resource Centre
- c) Allama Iqbal Open University (AIOU) – Women Studies Department
- d) Karachi University – The Centre of Excellence for Women's Studies (CEWS) (The Centre conducted two certificate courses in 1992 and 1994 in order to introduce the discipline of Women studies in Pakistan. The first 2-year M.A in Women’s Studies in Pakistan began in 1996 when students were enrolled. In 2002 Centre initiated M.Phil / Ph.D program. From 2004 the discipline of Women’s Studies was introduced as a subsidiary course at First Year (Hons.) level. From January 2007 BS (Hons.) 4 years program was launched and from January 2010 M.A (Evening) program has also started.
- e) University of Sindh, Jamshoro – The faculty of Institute of Women Development Studies

i. Universities and Colleges which are offering BS Gender Studies in Pakistan:

| Institute | City | Degree, Duration |
|--|-------------|-------------------------|
| 1. University Of Sindh | Jamshoro | BS , 4 Years |
| 2. Shah Abdul Latif University | Khair Pur | CERT , 4 Years |
| 3. University Of The Punjab | Lahore | BS , 4 Years |
| 4. Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan | Multan | BS , 4 Years |

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| Institute | City | Degree, Duration |
|---|-------------|-------------------------|
| 5. University Of Peshawar | Peshawar | BS , 4 Years |
| 6. Sardar Bahadur Khan Women University | Quetta | BS , 4 Years |
| 7. Fatima Jinnah Women University | Rawalpindi | B.Sc. , 4 Years |
| 8. University Of Management And Technology | Lahore | BS , 4 Years |
| 9. Government Fatima Jinnah College For Women | Lahore | BS (HONS) , 4 Years |

ii. Universities and Colleges which are offering MA Gender Studies in Pakistan:

| Institute | City | Degree, Duration |
|---|---------------|-------------------------|
| 1. The Islamia University Of Bahawalpur[sub Campus] | Bahawal Nagar | M.Sc. , 2 Years |
| 2. The Islamia University Of Bahawalpur | Bahawal Pur | MA , 2 Years |
| 3. Bacha Khan University | Charsadda | MA , 2 Years |
| 4. Quaid-e-azam University | Islamabad | MA , 2 Years |
| 5. Shah Abdul Latif University | Khair Pur | MA , 2 Years |
| 6. University Of The Punjab | Lahore | MA , 2 Years |
| 7. Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan | Multan | MA , 2 Years |
| 8. University Of Peshawar | Peshawar | MA , 2 Years |
| 9. University Of Balochistan | Quetta | M.Sc. , 2 Years |
| 10. Fatima Jinnah Women University | Rawalpindi | MA , 2 Years |
| 11. Women University Swabi | Swabi | M.Sc. , 2 Years |

iii. Universities are offering MPhil Gender Studies in Pakistan

| Institute | City | Degree, Duration |
|--|-------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Government College Women University | Faisalabad | M.Phil. , 2 Years |
| 2. University Of Sindh | Jamshoro | MS , 2 Years |
| 3. University Of The Punjab | Lahore | M.Phil. , 3 Years |

| Institute | City | Degree, Duration |
|--|----------|-------------------|
| 4. University Of Peshawar | Peshawar | M.Phil. , 2 Years |
| 5. University Of Management And Technology | Lahore | MS , 2 Years |

iv. Universities are offering PhD Gender Studies in Pakistan:

| Institute | City | Degree, Duration |
|--|-------------|------------------|
| 1. Abbottabad University Of Science And Technology | Abbottabad | Ph.D. , 3 Years |
| 2. The Islamia University Of Bahawalpur | Bahawal Pur | Ph.D. , 3 Years |
| 3. International Islamic University | Islamabad | Ph.D. , 2 Years |
| 4. Quaid-e-azam University | Islamabad | Ph.D. , 3 Years |
| 5. University Of Sindh | Jamshoro | Ph.D. , 3 Years |
| 6. University Of The Punjab | Lahore | Ph.D. , 3 Years |
| 7. Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan | Multan | Ph.D. , 3 Years |
| 8. Islamia College University | Peshawar | Ph.D. , 3 Years |
| 9. University Of Peshawar | Peshawar | Ph.D. , 3 Years |
| 10. University Of Balochistan | Quetta | Ph.D. , 3 Years |

- v. Women's studies as discipline (Achievement, pinpoint hinders, development of introductory courses)
- vi. National Plan of Action (Public and private sector, coordination, women studies centers)

SCOPE OF GENDER STUDIES

- i. Taking genders as human being
- ii. Granting identities to all genders
- iii. Acknowledging their potentials
- iv. Accepting their roles
- v. Providing level playing opportunities

SIGNIFANCE OF GENDER STUDIES

- i. Making all genders as active participants of society

- ii. Increasing efficiency
- iii. Ensuring effectiveness
- iv. Establishing rule of law
- v. Promoting healthy competition
- vi. Maintaining peace of society
- vii. Making better life

2. POLITICAL INITIATIVES FOR GENDER ROLES

- i. In 1948 Begum Jehan Ara Shahnawaz led a protest of thousands of women in the streets of Lahore, protesting against the fact that a bill encouraging better economic opportunities for women had been removed from the agenda. Prime minister Liaquat Ali Khan intervened, and the Muslim Personal Law of Shariat of 1948 was passed; it legally recognized a woman's right to inherit property, including agricultural land, which had not been recognized during British rule of Pakistan.
- ii. Pakistan Association for Women's Studies
 - a. The idea for the Pakistan Association for Women's Studies was first conceived in 1991 at the National Workshop on Women's Studies. A Pakistani Perspective by the Centre of Excellence in Women's Studies at the University of Karachi. PAWS was formed in March 1991 in Karachi by activists and academics with feminist consciousness to acts as a catalyst to bring about the empowerment of women, transforming a gender biased society into one inclusive of gender equity and social justice.
 - b. PAWS has the following objectives:
 - To provide a forum for interaction and coordination for those engaged in teaching, research or action for women's studies and for women's development.
 - To build solidarity among women's studies practitioners globally.
 - To identify, re-examine and develop feminist research and training methodologies which are relevant to the Pakistani situation.
 - To undertake participatory/action oriented research that is sensitive to issues of gender and development in Pakistan and in the region of South Asia.
 - To strengthen the capabilities of Pakistani women researchers through training, education and research activities.
 - To assist women in developing their own resources for self-employment.
 - To network with individuals and groups working for elimination of discrimination against women.
 - To report and translate research findings in a manner usable by policy makers and relevant groups.

- To organize conferences, seminars, workshops and short courses on women's studies and feminist issues with the purpose of promoting and defending the interest of women's studies.
- To network with Pakistani women within Pakistan and Pakistani women living in other countries and with women from other parts of the rest of the world who are concerned with gender-sensitive research and training.

3. LEGAL INITIATIVES FOR GENDER RIGHTS

- i. WAF's (Women Action Forum) media storm paved the way for the formation of other women's initiatives such as the Pakistani Commission on the Status of Women in 1983.
- ii. Women's legal activism achieved other successes in subsequent decades, among them a law declaring a mandatory death penalty for perpetrators of gang rape in 1997 and harsher punishments for 'honor' killings in the year 2005.
- iii. The National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW) that was established by a presidential ordinance in July 2000 is a statutory and autonomous body mandated to examine the policies and programmes for women development and gender equality.
- iv. Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Bill 2017 that seek to protect the rights of the transgender community include:
 - Transgender persons will be able to register to obtain a driver's licence and passport. They will have the option to get their gender changed in National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA) records.
 - Harassment of trans-genders will be prohibited in and outside their homes.
 - Trans persons will not be discriminated against by educational institutions, employers, in trade and health services, and when using public transport and buying or selling or renting property They will also not be dismissed because of their gender identity.
 - The government will establish a safe house for trans-genders and provide them medical and educational facilities and psychological counselling.
 - Separate rooms will be established at jails where transgenders could be detained.
 - Law enforcement agencies personnel will be sensitised to the rights of transgender people.
 - Trans persons will be provided loans to start businesses on easy conditions.
 - In addition to all basic rights, they will be entitled to inherit property.
 - The government will take steps to ensure employment opportunities for trans-genders.
 - Trans-genders will have the right to vote in all national, provincial and local government elections and they will not be discriminated against in their pursuit of a public office.

- They will have the right to assemble and access to public and entertainment sports.
- Anyone found guilty of forcing a transgender person to beg will be sentenced to six months in prison and served a fine of Rs50,000.

4. RECOGNITION/ACCEPTABILITY OF GENDER IDENTITIES AND ROLES

- i. In 2017, Pakistan also counted trans-genders as a separate category in the census.
- ii. Pakistan's Supreme Court ruled in 2009 that transgender people - sometimes known as "hijras" in South Asia - could get national identity cards as a "third sex".
- iii. In Nov. 2011, the Supreme Court issued a ruling ordering the Election Commission of Pakistan to collect data from the transgender community and register them as voters so the group received the right to vote in 2011.
- iv. Minister for Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs Maula Bux Chandio informed the National Assembly in march 2012 that a total number of 782 transgenders have been enrolled with the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) for the upcoming general elections 2013 so transgenders, for the first time, would not only be able to exercise the rights to cast their votes but also be able to contest elections to represent the parliament.
- v. In 2012, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan issued a landmark judgment in Dr. Muhammad Aslam Khaki v S.S.P. (Operations) Rawalpindi which gives legal recognition to the trans-genders.
- vi. Around 25 transgender persons from Pakistan were appointed in July 2018 by the Free and Fair Election Network (Fafen) as election observers for the first time for general elections 2018.
- vii. In June 2018, Chief Justice of Pakistan Justice Saqib Nisar ordered for the provision of free computerised national identity cards to the transgender community.

5. ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY FOR CREATING AWARENESS ON GENDER ROLES AND OPPORTUNITIES

- i. Post 1947, the surge in the women organizations in Pakistan can be divided in three phases. The first phase started in 1960s due to the demand of family laws by women NGOs and the second phase began in 1970s, against the women related prejudiced laws which particularly affected their social position in the society. The third phase can be traced in 1990 with intensification of women's organizations in Pakistan, due to the wide spread effects of globalization.
- ii. Pakistani women are also playing instrumental roles as Civil Society leaders, promoting common values based on peace, tolerance, and women's rights. Many women-led organizations work inside communities throughout Pakistan, where they are gradually promoting economic and political empowerment, providing social services for those affected by displacement, and facilitating rehabilitation

for both victims and former militants. For example, PAIMAN Alumni Trust is comprised of a network of women leaders throughout Pakistan. PAIMAN conducts research, awareness-raising, and media campaigns, as well as capacity-building for parliamentarians, government officials, members of the judiciary, the media, and other NGOs throughout the country. CSOs working for the upliftment of women do face a lot of social opposition and religious dictates. But, Pakistan in recent past has witnessed an upsurge in consciousness among the womenfolk for their rightful position in family and society. Therefore, at rural areas, the women have been working on a community level development program for self-reliance and in urban slum areas, there has been a steady growth in women's activism. For instance, the Sughar Empowerment Society operating in rural and tribal areas of Pakistan provides training, resources and opportunities for women to grow as leaders within their communities. Likewise, Color My World is working for women living in slums of Islamabad by developing capacity building for women.

- iii. Human Rights abuse is one of the most complex and challenging issues in contemporary Pakistan, as the vast social landscape of the country is blotched with incidents of murders based on blasphemy charges, child abuse, target killing, physical abuses meted out by the landowners, disappearances and abduction etc. Ironically, under such context, Pakistan has, however, ratified the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Treatment, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and on the sale of children for child prostitution and child pornography, and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.

6. ROLE OF PAKISTANI MEDIA FOR STRENGTHENING GENDER OPPORTUNITIES

- i. As Sherry Rehman aptly put it: "Gender based violence, like politics and charity, begins at home." And if Pakistan's social shaping does indeed begin from the television sets in our homes, then the media needs to quickly realise the national cost of desensitised content.
- ii. By focusing on development narratives with regard to women's empowerment and, their social and political positioning, and by looking at the visual and linguistic representations, images and portrayals of women, this society aims to capture the competing discourses of femininities offered on the cable television channels in Pakistan. For instance, while a drama like Uraan (Flight), shown on the most popular channel, GEO, may depict an independent career woman exercising her autonomy and freedom in decision-making, thus illustrating a clear departure from patriarchal structures, it simultaneously, offers ambivalent or competing discourses on femininities. How these images are received and interpreted is

captured through focus group data of women discussing media representations. This data provides useful insights into the ongoing constructions of their selfhood and identity in relation to these media representations.

- iii. Media are increasingly covering issues important to the transgender community. Crimes against transgender people are reported, peaceful protests are photographed and opinions are shared.

7. FUTURE OF GENDER STUDIES IN PAKISTAN

The influences of globalization and global imagery are redefining Pakistani men's and women's social roles and identities. Awareness initiatives have been taken and opportunities are being offered to individuals on the basis of capabilities and potentials rather than sex factor.

QUESTIONS:

- i. **CSS 2016:** Write a note on the status of women's studies in Pakistan and give your views on the autonomy/integration debate in Women Studies.
- ii. **CSS 2017:** Define and discuss the discipline of gender studies and also differentiate between women studies and gender studies?
- iii. **CSS 2017:** Write a comprehensive note on autonomy versus integration debate in gender studies.
- iv. **CSS 2018:** What are the fundamental differences between gender studies and women studies? Substantiate your arguments with examples. Highlight the current status of women studies in Pakistan.
- v. **CSS 2018:** Write short notes on the following;
 - a. Gender strategic needs and Gender Practical Needs
 - b. APWA AND WAF
- vi. **CSS 2019:** How do you differentiate the discipline of Gender Studies from that of Women Studies? Historically trace the need for the establishment of Gender Studies as a distinct discipline and its scope and significance with especial reference to Pakistan.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER

HISTORICIZING CONSTRUCTIONISM (THEORY)

This theory states that roles are defined/assigned to individuals against the identity given to them after birth. So, these factors played very substantial role for framing individual's role in history as under;

- i. Culture
- ii. Religion
- iii. Media
- iv. Language

1. **Society/Culture constructed gender roles** (set of norm-behavior-acceptable-on their actuality sexuality) through family, education, media, occupation, religious beliefs, heterosexuality (imitation) and expectations towards them
 - Social norms (Beliefs, Values, Norms-Folkways, Mores, Taboos, Laws-Customs)
 - Biological factor

➤ EVALUATION OF GENDER ROLES

Gender Roles and Gender Identity

- **Gender**– *Gender includes people's self image and expectations for behavior among other things.* It refers to the social, psychological and cultural attributes of masculinity and femininity, many of which are based on biological distinctions
- Gender describes societal attitudes and behaviors expected of and associated with the two sexes.
- Many people act like boys and girls are opposite to each other – completely separate and different.
 - Some people say that boys are supposed to like sports.
 - Girls can be expected to like pink and have long hair.
 - Girls and boys can be encouraged to go into certain types of jobs and not others.
- **Gender identity** - *Gender Identity: a person's internal feelings, and the labels they use, such as male, female, or transgender.* It refers to the degree to which an individual sees herself or himself as feminine or masculine based on society's definitions of appropriate gender roles.
- There are many other words for gender other than "male" and "female."
 - ***Other Identities can also be described as
 - i. Transgender

- a. Transgender people challenge the characteristics that are labeled for men or for women
 - b. They are often ridiculed for acting and dressing like the opposite sex.
 - c. Example: A man may take estrogen, wear make-up, get breast implants, and dress like a women.
- ii. Transsexual
- a. A transsexual refers to any person who lives as the opposite sex.
 - b. This can consist of taking hormones, or undergoing a sex reassignment surgery. Some transsexual people feel as if they were born into the wrong “gendered” body. Some also call this a “gender identity disorder,” most transsexual people find this offensive because it suggests something is wrong with them.
 - Female to Male Transsexual (FTM)
 - Male to Female Transsexual (MTF)
 - ❖ Female to Male Transsexual (FTM) vs. Male to Female Transsexual (MTF)
 - 1. A person who was biologically born a female and identifies themselves as a man- TRANSMEN
 - 2. A person who was biologically born a male and identifies themselves as a women- TRANSWOMEN

OTHER CONCEPTS

☐ Gender-queer

A broad term referring to people whose gender identity or appearance do not fit the traditional norm.

☐ Gender identity disorder

Having a strong belief that you were meant to be a male or meant to be a female does not conclude something is wrong with you. This should not be considered a disorder. Desiring to be the opposite gender is not wrong, it is an aspiration. You have the right to your own body!

QUOTE: we were born in a body that doesn't match who we are inside. EVEN if it is different from the sexual organs that they possess.

2. Religion

- In Islam, men are considered as bread winner and financial responsibility is associated with men while women are given half share in inheritance as compared to men etc.

3. Media

- Furthermore the media also affects and influences gender identity. e.g. role of the male "hero" who saves the weak female.

- After the Second World War, media broadcast a new propaganda of a housewife's lifestyle as the only proper way for women to reach happiness.
- These magazines addressed women as housewives who aimed to impress their authoritative, working husband, and gave them advice that focused on bringing happiness to their families.

4. Language

- It is essential tool to construct reality. Ultimately, language has a huge influence on how humans perceive reality and, as a result, is the creator of this reality. Construction of perceived social reality is made through language.
- Product of human choices rather than laws
- Possibility of change from one generation to other. E.g.
 - “what is justice”?
 - Idea of “pink” and “blue”
- Gender like social class and race can be used to socially CATEGORIZE PEOPLE and even lead to prejudice and discrimination.
- **Reasons for constructing gender in society and categorizes.**
 - Stability, division of labor, identity, define person and role, socialization, express attitude with same gender etc

QUEER THEORY

Introduction

- i. Meaning of the term “queer”: odd or abnormal, strange, peculiar, out of ordinary until 1980s.
- ii. It answers a series of questions about what is normal, how normal comes to exist, and who is excluded or oppressed by those notions of norms.
- iii. Queer theorists contention is that there is no set normal, only changing norms that people may or may not fit into, making queer theorists’ main challenge to disrupt binaries (good versus bad sexualities) in hopes that this will destroy difference as well as inequality.
- iv. Heteronormativity is a worldview that promotes heterosexuality as the normal and/or preferred sexual orientation, and is reinforced in society through the institutions of marriage etc.

Background:

- i. Queer theory, in part, is a reaction to a school of 1970s feminism that believed *each sex comes with its own essential characteristics*. You know, girls are calm and thoughtful, while boys are spontaneous and passionate, that sort of thing. Not happy about all of the male-female categorical thinking that undergirded 1970s feminism. Like: why must men and women have “essential traits”?

Central argument

- i. Sexuality is socially constructed or biological driven? Gender and sexuality are not just personal identities; they are social identities.
- ii. Women think too much about what the boys do. And while our brains are on men, men, men, we're busy ignoring female characteristics.

Reason

Sigmund Freud said that since men have a penis, they have inherent social and societal power—what he called the phallus. Women want the phallus, obviously, but they have no penis. So receiving the penis (during sex, yes, teehee) bestows upon them some of that magical penis power. Then that famous Frenchman, Michel Foucault, comes along in the 1970s. And he shakes things up a bit.

History

The term “queer theory” itself came from Teresa de Lauretis’ 1991 work in the feminist cultural studies journal differences titled “Queer Theory: Lesbian and Gay Sexualities.” She explains her term to signify as under;

- i. refusing heterosexuality
- ii. challenge to the belief that lesbian and gay studies is one single entity
- iii. strong focus on the multiple ways that race shapes sexual bias

CORE THEORISTS:

- i. **Michael Foucault**
 - a. She showed rejection of biological explanations of sexuality by thinking about the way that sexual identities as well as behaviors are hierarchically organized through systems of sexual classifications.
 - b. Sexuality is socially constructed. From the ruling class of Ancient Greece to the working class of 1940s London, it appears that “homosexuals” and “heterosexuals” simply do not exist in much of history. This does not mean that pre-colonial Africans were all heterosexual: Likewise, an understanding of the social construction of sexuality is crucial to an analysis of sex between men and between women in Middle Eastern societies.
- ii. **Judith Butler** in her book Gender Trouble that gender, like sexuality, is not an essential truth obtained from one’s body but something that is acted out and portrayed as “reality”.
- iii. **Gayle Rubin**’s essay “Thinking Sex” stated that certain sexual expressions are made more valuable than others, and by doing that, allowing those who are outside of these parameters to be oppressed.

CONTRIBUTIONS:

- i. Challenged heterosexuality. First, Foucault rejects the idea that sex is simply the expression of human biology. Rather, ideas about sex, and the way that sex is actually lived, change over time and from one society to another. For example, if we look before a certain point in history, we find that humanity is not divided up into “homosexuals” and “heterosexuals”. Instead certain people were condemned for “sodomy”, a category including various sexual acts—but sodomy was a sin which anyone could be tempted to commit, so that committing it did

- not make you a certain kind of person. Foucault describes the distinction in a passage that has become famous.
- ii. Challenged traditional form of sexuality. E.g. When there is differential treatment of people based on their sex the term sexism defines this behavior.
- Forms of Sexism (gender discrimination) hostile sexism, benevolent sexism and ambivalent sexism
 - iii. All concepts from sexual behaviors to sexual identities are socially constructed. Sexuality: It is about sexual attraction, sexual practices and identity. Just as sex and gender don't always align, neither does gender and sexuality. Sexual Orientation—Beauty—each sex, Sexual relations in Greek, Roman, Christianity, 12-14th Century, 19th century ((Asexuality)
 - iv. Promoted independence in sexual orientation. LGBT. Sexual Orientation (Refers to whom we find attractive)
Gender Identity is not the same as Sexual Orientation! - A lot of people confuse the two. Sexual Orientation is whom we find attractive.
 - Straight/Heterosexual - Women who are sexually attracted to men and men sexually attracted to women.
 - Homosexual
 - a. Gay - men who are sexually attracted to men.
 - b. Lesbian - women who are sexually attracted to women.
 - Bisexual – People who are sexually attracted to men and women.
 - Queer - Describes an open, fluid sexual orientation.
 - Asexual - Someone who is not experiencing or is not acting on sexual attraction at a given time.
 - Pansexual - Someone who is attracted to people across the range of genders.
 - v. Nothing within your identity is fixed.
 - vi. Always ask Qs who am I really? There is not really an 'inner self'.
Gender, like other aspects of identity, is a performance (though not necessarily a consciously chosen one). Again, this is reinforced through repetition. People can therefore change.
 - vii. The binary divide between masculinity and femininity is a social construct built on the binary divide between men and women – which is also a social construction.
 - viii. Penis is no longer centre of attraction.
 - ix. We should challenge the traditional views of masculinity, femininity and sexuality by causing gender trouble.
 - x. Focuses on mismatch among sex, gender and desire.

SEX THEORY:

IS SEX SOCIALLY DETERMINED TOO?

- Gender is social and sex is biological
- Categories: Male (XX) and Female (XY)
- Example Cater Semenya (Los Angeles Times)

- 5 alpha reductase deficiency causes male infant to appear female; some in puberty perform full functions as male
 - It cannot restricted to genetics or gentiles
 - Trans women have both breast and genitals
- Sociologists disagree with sex division; intersex born infants range 500- 1000
- Texas marriage laws” females with XY chromosomes marry to XX females
- 5 specific measures of Biological Sex
 - Chromosomes, Genitals, Gonads, Hormones, Secondary Sex Characteristics e.g. body hair, breast size, voice, emotions all have blur differences

GENDER EXPRESSION THEORIES:

MASCULINITIES AND FEMININITIES:

- Manhood or manliness: behavior, roles and set of attributes traditionally associated with men e.g. strength and boldness, courage, assertiveness, independent etc
 - Gender identity e.g recognition of ways being a man.
 - Includes qualities and actions that are seen as masculine.
- **Shaped by socio-cultural factors**
 - Historical location, age and physique, sexual orientation, education, culture, status and life style, geographical factors, ethnicity, religion & belief, class and occupation.
- **Not essentialism** (born with certain qualities that can not be changed)
 - E.g. men are not born with masculinity.accultured
- Both men and women **exhibit masculine traits**
 - E.g. Julia (female boxer) displays masculinities
- **Definitions**
 - **Natural Sciences.** Biological basis/result of physiological factors e.g hormones and chromosomes
 - **Social Sciences.** Form of power relation
 - Among men themselves
 - B/w men and women
- **Connell gave socio-economic analysis**
 - Masculinities can be understood as the effects of interpretation and definition of human body and culture
 - In Gender Hierarchy, there are masculinities and femininities
 - **Masculinities can be divided** into **hegemonic masculinities** (Authority, physical toughness, religious and mass media doctrine/heterosexuality) and **subordinated masculinities** (homosexuality)
 - **Forms of femininities** are emphasized femininity, resistance femininity and complex femininity)

- Essentials of Complex Femininity is not based on force/violence, subordination not elimination, contains mix of strategies (heterosexuality, misogyny, domesticity, violence)
- Masculinity can be displayed at different places and time (male & female version)
Femininity (male & female version)
 - Household responsibility to men, females running org, women drinking at public places, strong men crying etc
- **Stereotype attitude towards masculinity in society** and institutions
 - Always superior to feminism
 - Male dominance and female subordination
 - 1970 female movement “feminism”
- **Reasons of masculine traits in women**
 - Rise of women (suffrage movement), conflict in the 20th century (warriors’ role) changes in world’s work, the rise of guy movement, changes views on masculinity (call for liberation in North America), advent of consumer society (car, cloth, home etc)

NATURE VERSUS NURTURE: A DEBATE IN GENDER DEVELOPMENT

The degree to which human behaviour is determined by genetics/biology (nature) or learned through interacting with the environment (nurture).

Nature - heredity, refers to traits that are inherited or genetic. It's a fact that most of the aspects of human development are initially driven (directly or indirectly) by that person's genetic makeup. Eye color, hair color, skin type and other physical characteristics are derived directly from our genetic makeup. Our predispositions to respond in particular ways are driven by genetics.

Nurture - the environment, refers to all environmental influences after conception. In other words, how a person is raised drives development. Level of attachment, beliefs, values and how much attention one is given are all examples of environmental influences.

- **Manifestation of gender in society, biology and science**
- **Heredity** determines physiological differences in males and females (typical male and female characteristics—sexual organs, weight, muscular, larger, deeper voices, navigation methods, math, spatial abilities —sensitivity to touch and sounds, willingness to communicate, eye contact for longer periods, recognizing people and places in photograph, reach puberty earlier, higher verbal abilities)
- **Genetic Factor and Gender**
 - Appearance, features that may appear abnormal , differences in visual spatial and verbal abilities
- **Nurture determines** one is boy or girls, they are taught to behave like girls or boy

- **Environmental factors and culture** define one's role and practices as male or female
- **Evolutionary psychology** labels these differences as a product of evolution
- **Cognitive social learning theory** purposes these differences are the outcome of socially acceptable individual's roles
- **Cultural:** Occupation, appearances, opportunities, roles etc.
- **Homosexuality and Gender**
 - Play significant role in nature and nurture theory
 - It is biological or socially learned.

QUESTIONS

- i. **CSS 2016:** What are Theories of Social Construction of Gender?
- ii. **CSS 2018:** Write A Comprehensive Essay on Sex Vs Gender Debate in Feminist Philosophy and Social Sciences reflecting Nature Vs Nurture Argument.

CHAPTER 3

WHAT IS FEMINISM

"Feminism is the doctrine of the social, legal, and political equality of the sexes."

The word 'feminism' itself originated from the **French word 'feministe'** means *féminisme* in the nineteenth century 1871, either as a **medical term** to describe the feminisation of a male body, or to describe women with masculine traits.

Alexander D.F. 1872 women behaving in a supposedly masculine way

It soon became understood to denote a **political stance** of someone committed to changing the social position of women (*virilization of women*). Since then the term has taken on the sense of one who believes that women are subjugated because of their sex and that women deserve at least formal equality in the eyes of the law.

First France & Netherland 1872, Great Britain 1890s, US 1910

The term 'feminism' has many **different uses and its meanings** are often contested. For example, some writers use the term 'feminism' to refer to a historically specific *political movement in the US and Europe*; other writers use it to refer to the belief that there are injustices against women, though there is no consensus on the exact list of these injustices. Although the term *'feminism' has a history in English* linked with women's activism from the late 19th century to the present, it is useful to distinguish feminist ideas or beliefs from feminist political movements, for even in periods where there has been no significant political activism around women's subordination, individuals have been concerned with and theorized about justice for women. So, for example, it makes sense to ask whether *Plato was a feminist*, given his view that women should be trained to rule (Republic, Book V), even though he was an exception in his historical context.

In the mid-1800s the term 'feminism' was used to refer to *"the qualities of females"*, and it was not until after the First International Women's Conference in Paris in 1892 that the term, following the French term *féministe*, was used regularly in English for a belief in and advocacy of equal rights for women based on the idea of the equality of the sexes. Important topics for feminist theory and politics include: the body, class and work, disability, the family, globalization, human rights, popular culture, race and racism, reproduction, science, the self, sex work, human trafficking, and sexuality.

Approaches: In many of its forms, feminism seems to involve at least two groups of claims, one *normative and the other descriptive*. The normative claims concern how women ought (or ought not) to be viewed and treated and draw on a background conception of justice or broad moral position; the descriptive claims concern how women are, as a matter of fact, viewed and treated, alleging that they are not being

treated in accordance with the standards of justice or morality invoked in the normative claims.

Marie Shear 1986...women are people.

Basic Feminist Ideas

Both females and males who identify themselves as feminists disagree on many things. That being said, most feminists agree on five basic principles:

- **Working to increase equality:** Feminist thought links ideas to action, insisting we should push for change toward gender equality and not just talk about it.
- **Expanding human choice:** Feminists believe that both men and women should have the freedom to develop their human interests and talents, even if those interests and talents conflict with the status quo. For example, if a woman wants to be a mechanic, she should have the right and opportunity to do so.
- **Eliminating gender stratification:** Feminists oppose laws and cultural norms that limit income, educational and job opportunities for women.
- **Ending sexual violence & promoting sexual freedom:** Feminists feel that women should have control over their sexuality and reproduction.
- Relationship of nature of **gender and inequality**
- Includes **rejection** discrimination, stereotyping, objectification, oppression and patriarchy
- Neither it excludes men, nor focuses only women
- Feminist theory is the extension of feminism into theoretical or philosophical fields. It encompasses work in a variety of disciplines:
 - ☐ Anthropology.
 - ☐ Sociology.
 - ☐ Economics and women's studies
 - ☐ Literary criticism, art history and philosophy.
- Feminist theory aims to understand gender inequality and focuses on gender politics, power relations. While providing a critique of these social and political relations, much of feminist theory also focuses on women interest and rights.

Defining Feminism

- i. Speaking, writing, acting and advocating on behalf of women and identifying injustice in fields...
- ii. Includes ideas, beliefs and systematic efforts in organized activity for making changes in behavior to achieve equality of sexes.

THEORIES OF FEMINISM

1→ Liberal Feminism

- Some of the **proponents** of this category of feminism include Mary Wollstonecraft, John Stuart Mill, Betty Friedan and Rebecca Walker.

Liberal feminism was most **popular** in the 1950's and 1960's when many civil rights movements were taking place. The main view of liberal feminists are that all people are created equal by God and deserve **equal rights** and it focused on elimination of female subordination.

- Liberal feminists believe that women have the **same mental capacity** as their male counterparts and should be given the same opportunities in political, economic, educational and social spheres.
- The **issues** important to liberal feminists include reproductive rights and abortion access, sexual harassment, voting, education, fair compensation for work, affordable childcare, affordable health care, and bringing to light the frequency of sexual and domestic violence against women.

Liberal feminists believe

- i. It seeks individualistic equality of men and women through political and **legal reform** without altering the structure of society.
- ii. Feminism is an individualistic form of feminism. Liberal Feminism focuses on the **individual's right** to fight for their own rights rather than fight as a collective of women. According to Liberal Feminism, each woman is an individual and each has the right and ability to fight for her own equal rights via her own actions and choices.
- iii. Liberal Feminists argue against the fact that society tends to have the **false belief** that women, by nature, less intellectually and physically capable than men.
- iv. Liberal feminism is a form of feminist theory or a strand within the feminism movement that emphasizes working for **women's liberation and gender equality** through removing explicit legal constraints. Liberal Feminism wants women to fight for their social rights by demanding change thorough legal and political channels. They should fight for bills to be passed and laws to be made that would provide equal rights to women.
- v. Primary focus: **individual autonomy, rights**, liberty, and independence.
- vi. **Favored Heterosexuality**
- vii. **Rejected penis envy theory**
- viii. **Consciousness raising**
- ix. **Discrimination as gendered job market** & women's entry in male dominated professions.

CRITICISM

- i. Not breaking down the deeper ideologies of society and patriarchy.
- ii. Also, it has been criticized for ignoring race and class issues.
- iii. Focused on white, middle class and heterosexual women. Liberal feminism's demand for equal rights has historically attracted white middle-class women, i.e.

those able to benefit from education and access to public life. This has not been because liberal feminism was aimed directly at certain women and purposefully excluded others, but nevertheless radicals argue that by focusing solely upon equal rights for women, there is a failure to address other social issues regarding, for example, class and race.

2→ Radical Feminism

☐ **Mary Daly** was the advocate of this theory. First feminist philosopher who challenged gender roles. Launched war against patriarchy. **'Gyn/Ecology'** 1978 sexual and cultural violence

'People who believe that society must be changed at its core in order to dissolve patriarchy, not just through acts of legislation'

Issues

- i. War against sex and individualism
- ii. Expanding reproductive rights
- iii. Breaking down traditional roles.

Focus:

- There are however some differing views on this with the pro-woman position being that women are superior to men in certain ways, such as that they are caring, creative and sensitive.
- One that cuts across boundaries of race, culture, and economic class. Radical feminists also aim to help all females, such as working class and non-white women, and especially women of the developing world.
- Social progressive movement in 1960

Radical feminists believe

- i. **Sex/gender** is the fundamental cause of women oppression (model for other oppressions)
- ii. Elimination of **male supremacy**. Radical Feminism believes that society is ruled by patriarchy, one that has built it by oppressing women.
- iii. **Root** of women oppression in patriarchal gender (1960s-2nd wave) instead of legal system or class conflict. They further assert profoundly that **'sexism is at the heart of patriarchy'** especially in the family. If women wanted to deal with the shackles of patriarchy, then they must deal with the issue of reproduction.
- iv. They also believe that patriarchy is not only oppressing women, but men as well, as they are restricted in traditional **masculine roles** and deviating from those roles leads to social stigma.
- v. Some radical feminists may also believe that it would be better if women ruled the world, not literally, but rather that there were more women as leaders, as heads of state, as CEOs and upper management, etc. They feel that women may do a **better job** than men traditionally have, which is also one of the reasons why men have oppressed women, because they are scared of them. Radicals allude to

examples that our society is one of male dominance. Typically the family is heralded by a father figure, the amount of women in government, in the House of Lords and Commons is minute. In a recent article in 'The Independent' statistics show that even now only 20% of women are MP's, that only 33% of women are managers, that there are only 6 women in the cabinet; radicals claim that this is reason to criticise the patriarchal nature of society.

- vi. Radical feminists were opposed to patriarchy but **not necessarily capitalism**. Elaborate system of patriarchy & how male exercised them
- vii. **Sex class** rather than economic class was the central concept
- viii. Black feminists and women of other color supported it.
- ix. Why women must adopt certain **roles based on their biology and gender?**
- x. **CR Group** session were allowed by experience women faced with male supremacy. Radicals are consciousness raising to achieve women's liberation, spurring the political system.
- xi. Views On **Prostitution**
 - a. Coerced/Forced... Pimp/Human Trafficking
 - b. Independent Decision—Drug Addicted/Past Trauma
- xii. Views on **Pornography**
 - a. Psychological, physical and economical
 - b. Pornography and rape
- xiii. Views on **heterosexuality** (Radical lesbian)
- xiv. Radical feminists have **divided into two groups with very different views.**
 - a. Radical-Libertarian Feminism (reproduction, androgynous, hermaphroditic)
 - b. Radical-Cultural Feminism (reproduction, production)

CRITICISM

- i. Sex based discrimination
- ii. Apolitical
- iii. Focused white and middle class

3→ **Marxist/Socialist/Materialist/ Feminism**

☐ **Alison Jaggar and Clara Fraser** was the advocate of this theory.

- I. A form of feminism, based on the ideas of Marx. Combines the concept of patriarchy with the key concepts of Marxism. Believe that women's oppression is a symptom of a more fundamental form of oppression. Women are **not oppressed by men or by sexism, but by capitalism** itself. The position of women in the family serves the interests of the economy and the ruling class.
- II. Marxist feminism is a sub-type of feminist ideology which focuses on the **dismantling of capitalism** as a way to liberate women. For Marxists, the system we live in, which he called capitalism, divides everyone up into two basic classes: bosses and workers. Marx called the bosses the bourgeoisie or ruling class, because they controlled society and he called the workers the proletariat or

working class. The ruling class benefit in every way from how society operates, while the workers get far less than they deserve. Feminism focuses on the dominance of women by men-it's a conflict between gender, not class. Marxist feminism points out the role of capitalism in the oppression of women.

- III. Marxist feminism states that **economic inequality**, dependence, political confusion and ultimately unhealthy social relations between men and women are the root of women's oppression in the current social context.
- IV. Marxism claims that individuals are under the oppression of a **dominant power structure**.
- V. Primarily concern with **division of labor** – lack of due reward.
- VI. Furthermore, the Marxist approach to socialization is informed by its notion of ideology and the assertion that the ruling ideas are the ideas of the ruling class. Marxists believe that we are **socialized according to our external influences**. They argue that socialization is an ideological process, in which its main aim is to transmit the ruling-class idea.
- VII. **Subordination is not result of biological factors but social positions**— relationship b/w men and women & relationship b/w proletariat and bourgeoisie. Women's subordination was a consequence of the introduction of private property, women became the property of men and the first oppressed class. Women's oppression was caused by their economic dependence in the family but also in the work force, this keeps an exploitable reserve labour force. Women have always had unpaid work (housewife) and most low paying and boring jobs. Women are oppressed through system of capitalism and private property (exclusion from productive labor)
 - a. Women's oppression; family
 - b. No right to own property
 - c. Wages belong to husband
 - d. No place for house wives
 - e. Focused on liberating by improving
 - f. Their material condition.
 - g. Revolved around taking the "burden" off women in regards to housework, cooking, and other traditional female domestic jobs

SOCIALIST FEMINISM, is slightly less extreme but still calls for major social change.

☐ Socialist feminism is a movement that calls for an end to capitalism through a socialist reformation of our economy. Basically, socialist feminism argues that capitalism strengthens and supports the sexist status quo because men are the ones who currently have power and money. Those men are more willing to share their power and money with other men, which means that women are continually given fewer opportunities and resources. This keeps women under the control of men. Socialist feminism calls for an end to capitalism and patriarchy.

CRITICISM Only economic

4→ Psychoanalytical Feminism

- i. Psychoanalytic feminists explain women's oppression as rooted within psychic structures and reinforced by the continual repetition or reiteration of relational dynamics formed in infancy and childhood. Because of these deeply engrained patterns, psychoanalytic feminists wanted to alter the experiences of early childhood and family relations, as well as linguistic patterns that produce and reinforce masculinity and femininity. Critical of Freudian and Neo-Freudian notions of women as biologically, psychically, and morally inferior to men, psychoanalytic feminists addressed political and social factors affecting the development of male and female subjects. Like radical feminists, they saw as key issues sexual difference and women's otherness in relation to men.
- ii. The two major schools of psychoanalytic feminism are Freudian and Lacanian. **Freudian feminists**, mostly Anglo-American, are more concerned with the production of male dominance and the development of gendered subjects in societies where women are responsible for mothering, whereas **Lacanian feminists**, mostly French, analyze links between gendered identity and language. Psychoanalytic feminists in the Lacanian mode privileged the analysis of self-construction through discourse over the biological and psychosocial implications of parenting, arguing that, in order to alter gender relations, we need to change language. In Lacanian psychoanalysis, the phallus is symbolic of the child's entry into language and culture under The Law of the Father and Lacanian feminists wanted to interrogate and resist oppressive constructions of gender and sexuality encoded in language.
- iii. Helps in examining life roles and to act accordingly
 - i. Sigmund Freud: men have Phallus (dual relationship b/w child and mother. 1970-Freud's theory of "Penis envy").
 - ii. How masculinity develops and sexual inequality is responded.
 - iii. How social and cultural institutions build psyche of child.
 - iv. Family structure promotes heterosexuality, male domination, masculinity superiority and devaluation of women.
 - v. Male functions are subjective while female functions are objective.
 - vi. Chodorow agrees with Freud that female oedipal stage develops later than boys (child desire with opposite sex), more romantic in nature because they love to do marriage (rationally and sensibly) Oedipus & Electra complex
 - vii. Feminists argue, it's not penis envy but patriarchal society.

Black Feminism: (inequality on the basis of ethnicity and racism)

- Essentially argues that sexism and racism are linked.
- It argues that the liberation of Black women.
- It would require the end of class oppression.
- Black women in this category often refer to themselves as womanist e.g TONI MORISONS 'THE BLUEST EYE'

5. → Men's Feminism

- i. In a sense they all seemed to be a reaction to feminism, but that could be either a positive or a negative one. Men's movements/ Men's Feminism emerged at the time of the Women's Liberation Movement, and the groupings gathered together under this umbrella title were as heterogeneous as early radical feminist groups.
- ii. Both men and women are essential for their survival so role of one individual is nothing without existence of other's role.
- iii. Men's consciousness raising (CR) groups, emerging during the early 1970s, generally had a benign relationship with feminism and women in general.
- iv. There was an acknowledgement that all men had at least the potential to be the oppressor and had greater opportunities for power, and therefore it was important that men got together in their own separatist groups to discuss the effects this knowledge had upon them as individuals.
- v. Just as women in CR learnt a great deal about the processes of their own socialization, so men came to understand the ways in which they were educated to be 'men' and what that meant.
- vi. Women in relationship to men
- vii. Brings men into gender research
- viii. Study of masculine characteristics & Men's behavior towards other genders.
- ix. Men can be made free of their sexual roles. Whether men can perform feminine role? Simone de Beauvoir rejected this.
- x. Western idea of homosexuality; homosexual are men but lower in scale
- xi. Amalgamation of theories of feminism.

Lesbian/Gay feminism:

- In '80s, the male and female writers attacked.
- Widespread 'belief in the inherent inferiority of the dominant-male/passive-female role pattern' satire on heterosexual romance.
- Besides capitalism and patriarchy, racism must also be addressed.

6→ Postmodern Feminism

- **Helene Cixous, Luce Irigaray, Julia Kristeva** were the advocate of this theory.
 - i. Issues in structure of society (Male and female division). Social order built on the concept of two genders, sexes. E.g. female doctor, lady cleaner, actress, mailman etc.
 - ii. Power is associated with men e.g. Machiavelli 'The Prince'
 - iii. Issues in education: literature so these words/concepts should be used irrespective of sex e.g. chairperson, actor, doctor etc.
 - iv. Men writing full of binary opposition e.g. good/bad and propaganda is made through language e.g. mankind, chairman.

- v. Women are used for sex. Cultural change or deconstruction is required e.g bitch/sexy
- vi. Women are defined as other. Equality comes when there is no differences among sexes
- vii. Accept diversity. Queer theory & post-modern feminism in other discourses (Multiple roles, truths and entities)
- viii. Female & male bodies, sexual desires are exhibited through these discourses; media
- ix. Glorify homosexuality without questioning gender description
- x. Institution & structures

CRITICISM

- i. Men and women are two separate entities
- ii. Romantizes women interaction

Feminism in different areas of the world.

- ☐ Iranian feminism: Islamic Revolution of 1978 & women organizations.
- ☐ Official attitudes to women have hardened.
- ☐ Wearing the veil, dismissed women judges, repealed a family protection law, in effect denying women the right to divorce

QUESTIONS:

- i. **CSS 2016:** What is feminism? In what way Radical Feminism is different from Socialist Feminism?
- ii. **CSS 2018:** What type(s) of feminism can elevate the socio-cultural, economic and political status of women in Pakistan?
- iii. **CSS 2019:** Write short note on Postmodern Feminism

CHAPTER 4

WAVES OF FEMINISM

THE FIRST WAVE (1850'S – EARLY 1910'S):

1. Introduction

This concept of wave originated with the Irish activist **Frances Power Cobbe** in **1884**. **Marie Shear** 1986 'women are people'.

Although individual feminists such as Mary Wollstonecraft had already argued against the injustices suffered by women. Women realized that they must first gain political power (including the right to vote) to bring about change.

Period: The first wave of feminism took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, emerging out of an environment of urban industrialism and liberal, socialist politics. USA and Britain

Scope: They were not primarily concerned with the problems of working-class women, nor did they necessarily see themselves as feminists in the modern sense (*the term was not coined until 1895*). First Wave Feminists, largely upper middle class white women responded to specific injustices they had themselves experienced. First-wavers fought not only for white women's suffrage but also for equal opportunities to education and employment, and for the right to own property.

Slogan: Many British feminists during this time were fighting against a specific ideal--the angel in the house.

H.Q.'s Langham Place, London

Strategy: Bloomer strategy was opted to get people attracted for their demands.

2. Origin:

- i. The wave formally began at the Seneca Falls Convention in N.Y, 1848 when three hundred men and women (almost 200 women) met in a church rallied to discuss "the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of women." The goal of this wave was to open up opportunities for women, with a focus on suffrage. Not just for women's suffrage but for universal suffrage.
- ii. Passage of 12 resolutions relating to women's rights. Advent of bloomers and dress reforms.
- iii. The whole thing was organized by **Lucretia Mott** and **Elizabeth Cady Stanton**, who were both active abolitionists. (They met when they were both barred from the floor of the 1840 World Anti-Slavery Convention in London; no women were allowed.)
- iv. The 15th Amendment's passage in 1870, granting black men the right to vote, became a spur that politicized white women and turned them into suffragettes.

3. Key project or argument/Purpose:

- i. Discriminatory laws and exclusionary social norms

- ii. Rights and Representation of women as human beings not to be treated as the property of men

The key concerns of First Wave Feminists were education, employment, the marriage laws, and the plight of intelligent middle-class single women.

Their **political agenda** expanded to issues concerning sexual, reproductive and economic matters, education and legal (marriage laws).

4. Demands: At that convention a Declaration of Sentiments was issued, objecting to the following:**

- Women were not allowed to vote.
- Women had to submit to laws when they had no voice in their formation.
- Married women had no property rights (and 90% of women over 25 were married at that time.)
- Husbands had legal power over and responsibility for their wives to the extent that they could imprison or beat them with impunity.
- Divorce and child custody laws favored men, giving no rights to women.
- Women had to pay property taxes although they had no representation in the levying of these taxes.
- Most occupations were closed to women and when women did work they were paid only a fraction of what men earned.
- Women were not allowed to enter professions such as medicine or law.
- Women had no means to gain an education since no college or university would accept women students.
- With only a few exceptions, women were not allowed to participate in the affairs of the church.
- Women were robbed of their self-confidence and self-respect, and were made totally dependent on men.

5. Notable Feminists

- i. **Abigail Adam**- the wife of President John Adams (second President), education
- ii. **Mary Wollstonecraft** 'A vindication of the rights of women' (Gen. Disc., Aims-citizenship, participation in public, liberties, divine rights of husband. **Criticism**-Psyche, sexual equality, revolution.)
- iii. **Frances Right** 'views of society and manners in America'
- iv. **The Grimke Sister** (Angelina Grimke-anti slavery & Sarah Grimke-equal liberties)
- v. **Mathew Carey** 'Rules of Husbands and Wives'
- vi. **Caroline Norton** (Covertures, Infant Custody Act 1839, Matrimonial Causes Act 1857 **+ve** divorce, maintenance, Identity, recover property. **-ve** adultery, desertion, cruelty, incest)

6. Major achievements:

- i. The opening of higher education for women

- ii. Reform of the girls' secondary-school system, including participation in formal national examinations:
- iii. the widening of access to the professions, especially medicine
- iv. Married women's property rights recognized in the Married Women's Property Act of 1870 - to keep earnings or property acquired after marriage,
- v. And some improvement in divorced and separated women's child custody rights.
- vi. Bicycle was used as a tool which motivated women to gain strength and take on increased roles in society. **Feminism and cycling 1890s** - was the peak of the American bicycle craze symbol of mobility.
 - a. Elizabeth Cady Stanton wrote that the bicycle was a tool which motivated women to gain strength and take on increased roles in society.
 - b. Susan B. Anthony stated in 1896: "Let me tell you what I think of bicycling. I think it has done more to emancipate women than anything else in the world. I stand and rejoice every time I see a woman ride by on a wheel."
 - c. Beatrice Grimshaw bought a bicycle, with difficulty. I rode it unchaperoned, mile and miles beyond the limits possible to the soberly trotting horses. The world opened before me. And as soon as my twenty-first birthday dawned, I went away from home, to see what the world might to give to daughters who revolted."
- vii. Secured the women's right to vote.
NZ-1892, Aus-1902, Finland-1906, Britain 1918 & 1928, USA-1920, France-1944, Japan-1946saa

SUFFRAGE MOVEMENTS

I. USA

- a. Elizabeth Miller, **Lil** (1st women rights paper)
 - b. 'National women suffrage association' & 'Revolution' paper by Stanton (1872)
- On January 9, 1918, President Woodrow Wilson announced his support of the amendment. The next day, the House of Representatives narrowly passed the amendment, but the Senate refused to debate it until October. When the Senate voted on the Amendment in October, it failed by three votes.
- In response, the National Woman's Party urged citizens to vote against anti-suffrage Senators up for reelection in the 1918 midterm elections. Following those elections, most members of Congress were pro-suffrage. On May 21, 1919, the House of Representatives passed the amendment by a vote of 304 to 89 and the Senate followed suit on June 4, by a vote of 56 to 25.

- On August 18, 1920, the Tennessee General Assembly, by a one-vote margin became the thirty-sixth state legislature to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment, making it a part of the U.S. Constitution. On August 26, 1920, Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby certified the amendment's adoption. The right to vote in America was finally granted to women in 1920. This was 144 years after the Revolutionary War.

II. UK

- c. Women Suffrage Society 1865 and WS committee 1866
- d. Society for the promotion of the employment of the women
- e. 'The English Women's Review' paper
- f. Women's Social and Political Union by Emmeline Pankhurst (whose members—known as suffragettes used militant tactics to agitate for women's suffrage. Pankhurst was imprisoned many times, but supported the war effort after World War I broke out)
- g. International council of women

III. AUSTRALIA

- a. Catherine Helene Spence (educ. divorce, right to vote) Spence became a vice-president of the Women's Suffrage League of South Australia.
- b. Vida Goldstein (5 times 1910-1917, peace alliance, women peace army)

7. Major Weaknesses:

- i. Black women were barred from some demonstrations or forced to walk behind white women in others. Racism was existing.
- ii. Although First-wavers fought for equal opportunities to education and employment, and for the right to own property yet fought for white women's suffrage only.
- iii. Although individual groups continued to work — for reproductive freedom, for equality in education and employment, for voting rights for black women — the movement as a whole began to splinter. It no longer had a unified goal with strong cultural momentum behind it, and it would not find another until the second wave began to take off in the 1960s.
- iv. In 1920, Congress passed the 19th Amendment granting women the right to vote. (In theory, it granted the right to women of all races, but in practice, it remained difficult for black women to vote, especially in the South.)

Further reading: first-wave feminism

- i. Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions, Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1848)

- ii. [Ain't I a Woman?](#) Sojourner Truth (1851)
- iii. [Criminals, Idiots, Women, and Minors: Is the Classification Sound? A Discussion on the Laws Concerning the Property of Married Women](#), Frances Power Cobbe (1868)
- iv. [Remarks by Susan B. Anthony at her trial for illegal voting](#) (1873)
- v. [A Room of One's Own](#), Virginia Woolf (1929)
- vi. [Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings](#), edited by Miriam Schneir (1994)

THE SECOND WAVE (1960'S-1980'S):

- 1) **Introduction:** Term coined by **Marsha Lear**—USA, Britain, Europe, occurred during the 1960's to 1980's. The second wave of feminism begins with Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, which came out in 1963. There were prominent feminist thinkers before Friedan who would come to be associated with the second wave — most importantly Simone de Beauvoir, whose *Second Sex* came out in France in 1949 and in the US in 1953 — but *The Feminine Mystique* was a phenomenon.
 - Launched movement for ending discrimination
 - a. WLM-Women Liberation Movement (theoretical)
 - i. Seven Demands of WLM
 - b. WRM-Women's Right Movement (practical)

Reasons: Civil Right Activism & Anti-Vietnam Campaign (This wave unfolded in the context of the anti-Vietnam War and civil rights movements and the growing self-consciousness of a variety of minority groups around the world).

Difference/Scope: The Second Wave differed from the FW in that it “drew in women of color and developing nations.
- 2) **Strategy:** This phase made protests against the Miss America pageant in Atlantic City in 1968 and 1969. Feminists parodied what they held to be a degrading "cattle parade" that reduced women to objects of beauty dominated by a patriarchy that sought to keep them in the home or in dull, low-paying jobs. The radical New York group called the Redstockings staged a counter pageant in which they crowned a sheep as Miss America and threw "oppressive" feminine artifacts such as bras, girdles, high-heels, makeup and false eyelashes into the trashcan.
- 3) **Origin:** The second wave of feminism begins with Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, which came out in 1963. There were prominent feminist thinkers before Friedan who would come to be associated with the second wave — most importantly Simone de Beauvoir, whose *Second Sex* came out in France in 1949 and in the US in 1953 — but *The Feminine Mystique* was a phenomenon. It sold 3 million copies in three years.
- 4) **Slogan:** it coined phrases such as "the personal is political" and "identity politics"

They would go on to argue that problems that seemed to be individual and petty — about sex, and relationships, and access to abortions, and domestic labor — were in fact systemic and political, and fundamental to the fight for women's equality.

'The personal is political' sums up the way in which Second Wave Feminism did not just strive to extend the range of social opportunities open to women, but also, through intervention within the spheres of reproduction, sexuality and cultural representation, to change their domestic and private lives.

5) Purpose:

- i. It began to associate the subjugation of women with broader *critiques of patriarchy, capitalism, normative heterosexuality, and the woman's role as wife and mother.*
- ii. It was seeking sisterhood and solidarity, claiming "*Women's struggle is class struggle.*" Feminists spoke of women as a social class.
- iii. *Sex and gender were differentiated*—the former being biological, and the later a social construct that varies culture-to-culture and over time.

6) Demands:

- Equal treatment towards women in the workplace
- Right to hold credit cards under their own names and to apply for mortgages
- Same career perspectives with men
- Paid work & Equal pay,
- Reproductive rights
- Right to birth control and no children
- Right to abortion,
- Right to divorce
- Right to singlehood,
- Consciousness raising" groups about sexism and patriarchy,
- Ending workplace sexuality, Gender violence, rape and sexual abuse
- Outlaw marital rape
- Raising awareness about domestic violence and build shelters for women fleeing rape and domestic violence.

7) Notable Feminists

- i. Betty Friedan "Feminine Mystique" (Points & Criticism) – gender roles
It sold 3 million copies in three years. It had a unifying goal, too: not just political equality, which the first-wavers had fought for, but social equality. The Feminine Mystique rails against "the problem that has no name": the systemic sexism that taught women that their place was in the home and that if they were unhappy as housewives, it was only because they were broken and perverse.
- ii. Germaine Greer 'The Female Eunuch' – heterosexuality

- iii. Shulamith Firestone 'The Dialectic of Sex' – reproduction
- iv. Kate Millet 'Sexual Politics' – patriarchal, sex is political, gender is cultural
- v. Oakley 'Subject Women' – motherhood
- vi. Simone de Beauvoir and The Second Sex
- vii. The French author and philosopher Simone de Beauvoir wrote novels; The Second Sex, a detailed analysis of women's oppression and a foundational tract of contemporary feminism. Written in 1949, its English translation was published in 1953. It sets out a feminist existentialism which prescribes a moral revolution. As an existentialist, she accepted Jean-Paul Sartre's precept existence precedes essence; hence "one is not born a woman, but becomes one." Her analysis focuses on the social construction of Woman as the Other. De Beauvoir argues that for feminism to move forward, this attitude must be set aside.
- viii. Simone de Beauvoir (Author of The Second Sex) - in which the author discusses the treatment of women throughout history.

8) Successes:

- i. The Commission on the Status of Women was created by the Kennedy administration, with Eleanor Roosevelt as its chair. The report issued by that commission in 1963 that documented discrimination against women in virtually every area of American life.
- ii. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 theoretically outlawed the gender pay gap.
- iii. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is a federal law that prohibits employers from discriminating against employees on the basis of sex, race, color, national origin, and religion,
- iv. It was not until 1965 that married couples in all states could obtain contraceptives legally. Do not confuse the right to birth control with the right to abortion. Until 1936 distributing birth control information/material was a crime under the same classification as we now rank the distribution of child pornography.
- v. Education Amendments of 1972, Title IX is a comprehensive federal law that prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in any federally funded education program or activity.
- vi. Supreme Court cases through the '60s and '70s gave married and unmarried women the right to use birth control;
- vii. Right to abortion: The famous abortion case, Roe v. Wade was in 1973 guaranteed women reproductive freedom.

9) Major Weaknesses Second Wave Feminists varied from highly-published a activism, such as the protest against the Miss America beauty contest in 1968 (Protest and Revolt), to the establishment of small consciousness-raising groups. However, it was obvious early on that the movement was not a unified one, with

differences emerging between black feminism, lesbian feminism, liberal feminism, and social feminism.

A. Varieties of Feminism

- i. Lesbian Feminists
- ii. Political feminists
- iii. Cultural Feminists
- iv. Socialist Feminists
- v. Traditional Marxist Feminists
- vi. Radical Feminists
- vii. Female supremacists
- viii. Humanist Feminists
- ix. Eco Feminists
- x. Psychoanalytical Feminists

B. Black feminism

- i. Faced with the sexism of black men and the racism of white, black women in their respective movements had two choices: they could remain in the movements and try to educate non-black or non-female comrades about their needs, or they could form a movement of their own.
- ii. Many women felt that second wave feminism did not meet the needs of a large body of women. Despite the popular story, there was no mass burning of bras among second-wave feminists. They resented the tendency to essentialize all women as having the same needs and desires of white upper middle class women who largely led second wave feminism.
- iii. In feminist movement, not only did some white feminists refuse to acknowledge their ability to oppress women of color, some claimed that white women had always been anti-racist.
 - a) While black women and white women both advocated for reproductive freedom, black women wanted to fight not just for the right to contraception and abortions but also to stop the forced sterilization of people of color and people with disabilities, which was not a priority for the mainstream women's movement. In response, some black feminists decamped from feminism to create womanism.
 - b) It exists because the racism that black women experience is not adequately addressed by the mainstream feminist movement, which is led by white middle-class women. In 1973 the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO) was started in New York. Black feminism aims to empower Black women with new and on critical ways of thinking that

centered how racism and sexism worked together to create Black women's social issues and inequalities. One can see both sexism and racism at work in this citation: not only is he committing violence against women, but he considers the violence against black "girls" to be less serious than that against their white counterparts. While it is true that a crime against a white woman bore more weight in the judicial system, the gravity of the crime-i.e., the damage it causes and terror it invokes both individually and within the community-is not diminished when committed against a black woman.

11. Third Wave versus Post Feminists.

Please note that both believe EXACTLY THE OPPOSITE THINGS. Third wave feminism doesn't argue, as post feminists do, that the time has come to be done with post feminism. Indeed, third wave feminism isn't a retraction but rather an expansion of second wave work, with a focus in new directions.

Further reading: second-wave feminism

- i. *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape*, Susan Brownmiller (1975)
- ii. *Sexual Harassment of Working Women: A Case of Sex Discrimination*, Catharine A. MacKinnon (1979)
- iii. *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*, Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar (1979)
- iv. *Ain't I a Woman? Black Women and Feminism*, bell hooks (1981)
- v. *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens: Womanist Prose*, Alice Walker (1983)
- vi. *Sister Outsider*, Audre Lorde (1984)

THE THIRD WAVE (1980'S/1990s – PRESENT):

1. Introduction: Coined term: **Yuval Davis** in 'Gender & Nation' 1997 & **Rebecca Walker's article** 'Becoming Third Wave'. The third wave of feminism began in 1980s and 1990s and was informed by *post-colonial and post-modern thinking*. **Diff names:** Grrl feminism (USA), New Feminism (Europe), Lipstick feminism, Girlie feminism, Riot grrl feminism, Cybergrrl feminism, Transfeminism.

Associated with emergence with girly/lipstick feminism & rise of Raunch culture (American culture in which women objectifying themselves to the male gaze). For example, they wear make up and acknowledge their participation in beauty culture even as they criticize it.

Origin: But generally, the beginning of the third wave is pegged to two things: the Anita Hill case in 1991, and the emergence of the riot grrrl groups in the music scene of the early 1990s.

In 1991, Anita Hill testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee that Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas had sexually harassed her at work. Thomas made his way to the Supreme Court anyway, but Hill's testimony sparked an avalanche of sexual harassment complaints, in much the same way that last fall's Harvey Weinstein accusations were followed by a litany of sexual misconduct accusations against other powerful men.

And Congress's decision to send Thomas to the Supreme Court despite Hill's testimony led to a national conversation about the overrepresentation of men in national leadership roles. The following year, 1992, would be dubbed "the Year of the Woman" after 24 women won seats in the House of Representatives and three more won seats in the Senate.

And for the young women watching the Anita Hill case in real time, it would become an awakening. After watching Thomas get sworn into the Supreme Court, Rebecca Walker (Alice Walker's daughter) declared "I am the Third Wave."

Scope Third wave feminism was powered by middle-class women in their twenties and thirties concerns expressed concerns with retaining second-wave feminist agendas and tried to create new projects focusing on issues of race and sexuality and fighting the new backlash against feminism.

Third-wave feminism is tied up with the effects of globalization and the complex redistribution of power, which challenge feminist theory and politics. It also mirrors the diversification of women's interests and perspectives and the breakdown of master stories of oppression and liberation. For example, postcolonial, third-wave feminism is concerned with establishing a new critical global perspective and creating alliances between Black, diasporic, and subaltern feminisms, whereas queer theory and politics create a platform for what has now split into the lesbian, gay, bi-, and transsexual and transgender movements.

2. Slogan: In essence, where second wavers argued personal is political while third wavers are now arguing that 'the pleasurable is political as well'.

3. Background:

- i. However, the "**Angry Women In Rock**" in 1995 phenomenon appears to be only a commercial version of an earlier group of female musicians associated with '**Riot Grrrl**', looking back to 1991. Differed in musical style, this group of musicians embodied what it meant to be a woman expressing anger through rock music, according to the music press. "BECAUSE we are angry at a society that tells us Girl = Dumb, Girl = Bad, Girl = Weak."

(Riot Grrrl began in 1991, when a group of women from Washington, D.C., and Olympia, Washington, held a meeting to discuss how to address sexism in the punk scene. Inspired by recent antiracist riots in D.C., the women decided they

wanted to start a "girl riot" against a society they felt offered no validation of women's experiences).

- a. The name "Riot Grrrl" emerged. The word girl here points to one of the major differences between second- and third-wave feminism. Second-wavers fought to be called women rather than girls: They weren't children, they were fully grown adults, and they demanded to be treated with according dignity.
 - b. The rewriting of the word as "grrrl" represented the anger behind the movement; it sounded like a growl. But third-wavers liked being girls. The founding women of third wave had ties to punk, a genre known for using performance and shock value as tools of protest.
 - c. Reclaimed the term "girl" in a bid to attract another generation while engaging in a new, more self-assertive—even aggressive—but also more playful and less pompous kind of feminism.
 - d. Riot Grrrl had a more radical orientation than other feminist organizations such as the National Organization for Women-NOW, an American feminist organization founded on June 30, 1966, Washington, D.C., United States).
- ii. In part, the third-wave embrace of girliness was a response to the anti-feminist backlash of the 1980s, the one that said the second-wavers were shrill, hairy, and unfeminine and that no man would ever want them. And in part, it was born out of a belief that the rejection of girliness was in itself misogynistic: girliness, third-wavers argued, was not inherently less valuable than masculinity or androgyny. The third wave would go on to embrace all kinds of ideas and language and aesthetics that the second wave had worked to reject: makeup and high heels and high-femme girliness.
 - iii. And it was rooted in a growing belief that effective feminism had to recognize both the dangers and the pleasures of the patriarchal structures that create the beauty standard and that it was pointless to punish and censure individual women for doing things that brought them pleasure.

4. Purpose: The third wave stepped onto the stage as strong and empowered, eschewing victimization and defining feminine *beauty for themselves as subjects, not as objects* of a sexist patriarchy.

An aspect of third wave feminism that mystified the mothers of the earlier feminist movement was the *re-adoption* by young feminists of the very lip-stick, high-heels, and cleavage proudly exposed by low cut necklines that the first two phases of the movement identified with male oppression. Pink floor expressed this new position when she said that it's possible to have a push-up bra and a brain at the same time. For example, they wear make up and acknowledge their participation in beauty culture even as they criticize it.

5. Demands/Objects:

- Freedom of expression
- Sexual liberation
- Fighting against workplace sexual harassment and working to increase the number of women in positions of power.
- Resistance to objectification
- Ending discriminatory words
- Abolishing gender construction
- Changing connotation of words
- Challenging def. of femininity & things of male oppression
- Promoted transversal politics

6. Notable Feminists

- i. **Rebecca Walker** 'To be Real: Telling the Truth and Changing the Face of Feminism' (Race and class exploitation, violence against women, reproductive freedom, sexual freedom, labor issues, death penalty, welfare rights)
- ii. **Judith Butler**, Gender theorist, who argued that gender and sex are separate and that gender is performative. She signaled this paradigmatic feminist shift in her books *Gender Trouble (1990)* and *Bodies That Matter (1993)*. She fueled new emergent movements such as queer and transgender politics which take an interest in the intersections of gender and sexuality and helped articulate "performance third-wave feminism" as a theoretical framework of the politics of transgression. Central to this perspective is the understanding of gender as a discursive practice that is both a hegemonic, social matrix and a "performative gesture" with the power to disturb the chain of social repetition and open up new realities.
- iii. **Crenshaw** and Butler's combined influence would become foundational to the third wave's embrace of the fight for trans rights as a fundamental part of intersectional feminism.
- iv. **Ariel Levy**, an American feminist who wrote the novel '*Female Chauvinist Pigs: Women and the Rise of Raunch Culture*' talks of this shift in society as she realized in college that her friends were beginning to wear revealing clothes and act provocatively. The shift has come mainly from the influence of television, music and the way girls are portrayed in the media. Girls are encouraged to act sleazy and wear revealing clothes.

7. Major Weaknesses:

- i. This is not to say that third wavers are *apolitical*, but that the political struggles that interest them are not always directly tied to traditional concern within the American feminist movement. The split is even further complicated by a division between "academic" and "mainstream". Third wavers 'do nothing' to change things politically.

- ii. The fact that many third wavers are well aware of the important criticisms launched at the second wave for being too closely allied with white women's politics complicates matters further.
- iii. In addition, many third wavers describe themselves as pro pornography and/or in favor of women's rights as sex workers, concerns that weren't addressed by second wave feminism in anything but a pejorative way.
- iv. They also mistakenly assume that feminism is un-feminine or borderline lesbian or somehow irreconcilable with a desire for marriage, family and traditional values. It should be noted that Ms. Magazine founder Gloria Steinem, along with many other leaders of the feminist movement then and now, is happily married.
- v. Finally, many third wavers see women's issues more as global issues, applauding the Beijing Conference on Women but concerned about China's human rights violations. Perhaps even more important they understand that their own participation in culture industries often puts others in the world at risk.
- vi. The third wave was a diffuse movement without a central goal, and as such, there's no single piece of legislation or major social change that belongs to the third wave the way the 19th Amendment belongs to the first wave or Roe v. Wade belongs to the second.
- vii. THE PRESENT DAY: A FOURTH WAVE?
 - a) And now the fourth wave has begun to hold our culture's most powerful men accountable for their behavior. It has begun a radical critique of the systems of power that allow predators to target women with impunity.
 - b) Belonging to fourth-wave feminism in 2015 do tend to hold true for a lot of fourth-wavers; namely, that fourth-wave feminism is queer, sex-positive, trans-inclusive, body-positive, and digitally driven. (Bustle also claims that fourth-wave feminism is anti-misandry, but given the glee with which fourth-wavers across the internet riff on ironic misandry, that may be more prescriptivist than descriptivist on their part.)
 - c) Over the past few years, as #MeToo and Time's Up pick up momentum, the Women's March floods Washington with pussy hats every year, and a record number of women prepare to run for office, it's beginning to seem that the long-heralded fourth wave might actually be here.
 - d) By 2013, the idea that we had entered a fourth wave was widespread enough that it was getting written up in the Guardian. "What's happening now feels like something new again," wrote **Kira Cochrane**.
 - e) As such, the fourth wave's beginnings are often loosely pegged to around 2008, when Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube were firmly entrenched in the cultural fabric and feminist blogs like Jezebel and Feministing were spreading across the web.

Further reading: third-wave feminism

- i. ***Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity***, Judith Butler (1990)
- ii. ***The Beauty Myth***, Naomi Woolf (1991)
- iii. ***“Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color,”*** Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991)
- iv. ***“The Riot GRRRL Manifesto,”*** Kathleen Hanna (1991)
- v. ***Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women***, Susan Faludi (1991)
- vi. ***The Bust Guide to the New Girl Order***, edited by Marcelle Karp and Debbie Stoller (1999)
- vii. ***Feminism Is for Everybody: Passionate Politics***, bell hooks (2000)
- viii. ***Female Chauvinist Pigs: Women and the Rise of Raunch Culture***, Ariel Levy (2005)
- ix. ***The Purity Myth***, Jessica Valenti (2009)
- x. ***How to Be a Woman***, Caitlin Moran (2012)
- xi. ***Men Explain Things to Me***, Rebecca Solnit (2014)
- xii. ***We Should All Be Feminists***, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (2014)
- xiii. ***Bad Feminist***, Roxane Gay (2014)

UN CONFERENCES ON WOMEN

- **Mexico City - 1975** - Helvi Sipilä, Secretary General - World Plan of Action
- **Copenhagen - 1980** - Programme of Action
- **Nairobi - 1985** - Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women
- **Beijing - 1995** - Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action
- **New York - 2000** - 23rd Special Session of the General Assembly -
- Five-year review process: 2005, 2010, 2015

1975: Mexico City - the first world conference on the status of women was convened in Mexico City to coincide with the 1975 International Women's Year, observed to remind the international community that discrimination against women continued to be a persistent problem in much of the world. The Conference, along with the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985) proclaimed by the General Assembly five months later at the urging of the Conference, launched a new era in global efforts to promote the advancement of women by opening a worldwide dialogue on gender equality. A process was set in motion—a process of learning—that would involve deliberation, negotiation, setting objectives, identifying obstacles and reviewing the progress made.

The Mexico City Conference was called for by the United Nations General Assembly to focus international attention on the need to develop future oriented goals, effective strategies and plans of action for the advancement of women. To this end, the General Assembly identified three key objectives that would become the basis for the work of the United Nations on behalf of women:

- Full gender equality and the elimination of gender discrimination;
- The integration and full participation of women in development;
- An increased contribution by women in the strengthening of world peace

The Conference responded by adopting a World Plan of Action, a document that offered guidelines for governments and the international community to follow for the next ten years in pursuit of the three key objectives set by the General Assembly. The Plan of Action set minimum targets, to be met by 1980, that focused on securing equal access for women to resources such as education, employment opportunities, political participation, health services, housing, nutrition and family planning.

This approach marked a change, which had started to take shape in the early 1970s, in the way that women were perceived. Whereas previously women had been seen as passive recipients of support and assistance, they were now viewed as full and equal partners with men, with equal rights to resources and opportunities. A similar transformation was taking place in the approach to development, with a shift from an earlier belief that development served to advance women, to a new consensus that development was not possible without the full participation of women.

The Conference called upon governments to formulate national strategies and identify targets and priorities in their effort to promote the equal participation of women. By the end of the United Nations Decade for Women, 127 Member States had responded by establishing some form of national machinery, institutions dealing with the promotion of policy, research and programmes aimed at women's advancement and participation in development.

Within the United Nations system, in addition to the already existing Branch (now Division) for the Advancement of Women, the Mexico City Conference led to the establishment of the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) to provide the institutional framework for research, training and operational activities in the area of women and development.

An important facet of the meeting in Mexico City was that women themselves played an instrumental role in shaping the discussion. Of the 133 Member State delegations gathered there, 113 were headed by women. Women also organised a parallel NGO Forum, the International Women's Year Tribune, which attracted approximately 4,000 participants.

Sharp differences emerged among the women gathered at the Forum, reflecting the political and economic realities of the times. Women from the countries of the Eastern Block, for instance, were most interested in issues of peace, while women from the West emphasized equality and those from the developing world placed priority on development. Nevertheless, the Forum played an important role in bringing together women and men from different cultures and backgrounds to share information and opinions and to set in motion a process that would help unite the women's movement, which by the end of the Decade for Women would become truly international. The Forum was also instrumental in opening up the United Nations to NGOs, who provided access for the voices of women to the Organization's policy-making process.

Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and Their Contribution to Development and Peace, 1975

The World Conference of the International Women's Year, Recognizing that women of the entire world, whatever differences exist between them, share the painful experience of receiving or having received unequal treatment, and that as their awareness of this phenomenon increases they will become natural allies in the struggle against any form of oppression, such as is practiced under colonialism, neo-colonialism, zionism, racial discrimination and apartheid, thereby constituting an enormous revolutionary potential for economic and social change in the world today,

Recognizing also the urgency of improving the status of women and finding more effective methods and strategies which will enable them to have the same opportunities as men to participate actively in the development of their countries and to contribute to the attainment of world peace,

Convinced that women must play an important role in the promotion, achievement and maintenance of international peace, and that it is necessary to encourage their efforts towards peace, through their full participation in the national and international organizations that exist for this purpose,

Women have a vital role to play in the promotion of peace in all spheres of life: in the family, the community, the nations and the world. As such, women must participate equally with men in the decision-making processes which help to promote peace at all levels.

Women as well as men should promote real, general and complete disarmament under effective international control, starting with nuclear disarmament. Until genuine disarmament is achieved, women and men throughout the world must maintain their vigilance and do their utmost to achieve and maintain international peace.

PLANS OF ACTION

The primary objective of development being to bring about sustained improvement in the well-being of the individual and of society and to bestow benefits on all, development should be seen not only as a desirable goal in itself but also as the most important means for furthering equality of the sexes and the maintenance of peace.

An essential condition for the maintenance and strengthening of international co-operation and peace is the promotion and protection of human rights for all in conditions of equity among and within nations. In order to involve more women in the promotion of international co-operation, the development of friendly relations among nations, the strengthening of international peace and disarmament—the peace efforts of women as individuals and in groups, and in national and international organizations should be recognized and encouraged.

Women should have equal opportunity with men to represent their countries in all international forums where the above questions are discussed, and in particular at

meetings of the organization of the United Nations system, including the Security Council and all conferences on disarmament and international peace, and other regional bodies.

KEY OUTCOMES:

At this meeting, the process was launched and three objectives were identified in relation to equality, peace and development for the Decade:

- Full gender equality and the elimination of gender discrimination;
- The integration and full participation of women in development;
- An increased contribution by women towards strengthening world peace.

The Conference urged Governments to formulate national strategies, targets and priorities. It led to the establishment of the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), which serve as an institutional framework for research, training and operational activities in the area of women and development. At this Conference, held in Mexico City, women played a highly visible role. Of the 133 delegations from Member States, 113 were headed by women. Women also organized the International Women's Year Tribune, which attracted some 4,000 participants, and a parallel forum of non-governmental organizations that signalled the opening up of the United Nations to non-governmental organizations, which enable women's voices to be heard in the organization's policy-making process.

1980: 145 Member States gathered for the mid-decade World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women in Copenhagen. It aimed to review progress in implementing the goals of the first world conference, focusing on employment, health and education. A Programme of Action called for stronger national measures to ensure women's ownership and control of property, as well as improvements in protecting women's rights to inheritance, child custody and nationality.

1985: The World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the UN Decade for Women took place in Nairobi. The conference's mandate was to establish concrete measures to overcome obstacles to achieving the Decade's goals. Participants included 1,900 delegates from 157 Member States; a parallel NGO Forum attracted around 12,000 participants. Governments adopted the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, which outlined measures for achieving gender equality at the national level and for promoting women's participation in peace and development efforts.

The 1995: Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing marked a significant turning point for the global agenda for gender equality. The Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action, adopted unanimously by 189 countries, is an agenda for women's empowerment and considered the key global policy document on gender equality. It sets strategic objectives and actions for the advancement of women and the achievement of gender equality in 12 critical areas of concern:

- Women and poverty
- Education and training of women

- Women and health
- Violence against women
- Women and armed conflict
- Women and the economy
- Women in power and decision-making
- Institutional mechanism for the advancement of women
- Human rights of women
- Women and the media
- Women and the environment
- The girl-child

Follow-up to Beijing

2000: The General Assembly decided to hold a 23rd special session to conduct a five-year review and appraisal of the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action, and to consider future actions and initiatives. “Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development, and Peace for the Twenty-First Century” took place in New York, and resulted in a political declaration and further actions and initiatives to implement the Beijing commitments.

2005: A 10-year review and appraisal of the Beijing Platform for Action was conducted as part of the 49th session of the Commission on the Status of Women. Delegates adopted a declaration emphasizing that the full and effective implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action is essential to achieving the internationally agreed development goals, including those contained in the Millennium Declaration.

2010: The 15-year review of the Beijing Platform for Action took place during the Commission’s 54th session in 2010. Member States adopted a declaration that welcomed the progress made towards achieving gender equality, and pledged to undertake further action to ensure the full and accelerated implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action.

2015: In mid-2013, the UN Economic and Social Council requested the Commission on the Status of Women to review and appraise implementation of the Platform for Action in 2015, in a session known as Beijing+20. To inform deliberations, the Council also called on UN Member States to perform comprehensive national reviews, and encouraged regional commissions to undertake regional reviews.

FEMINIST MOVEMENTS IN PAKISTAN:

(INFLUENCE OF THREE MAJOR WAVES OF THE WEST ON FEMINIST MOVEMENTS IN PAKISTAN)

The message of feminism does not signify that women should in any way be superior, nor does it call for immoral and anti-religious practices. It simply strives to make the lives of women across the world a lot easier than they are used to.

During 1940s

Pakistani women were granted the suffrage in 1947.

Begum Fatima Jinnah 1947 made Women's Relief Committee (WRC)

In 1948, Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan established the Women's Volunteer Service for Refugee Rehabilitation and the All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) in 1949 which was formed to handle the refugee crisis in the newly independent Pakistan after the 1947 partition of British India and to work for the moral, social and economic welfare of Pakistani women. Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan also founded the Pakistan Women's National Guides and the Pakistan Women's Naval Reserves in 1949.

During 1950s

Begum Jehan Ara Shahnawaz established the United Front for Women's Rights and the Pakistan Family Planning Association in 1953. Rahnuma (formerly the Family Planning Association of Pakistan or FPAP) started serving poor and marginalized people in Pakistan as the Family Planning Association of Pakistan (FPAP) in 1953.

The provision of reservation of seats for women in the Parliament existed throughout the constitutional history of Pakistan from 1956 to 1973.

In Pakistan, however, a relook at triple talaq was initiated because of a controversy in 1950s. In 1955, then Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra married his secretary Aliya Saadi, without the permission/divorce of his first wife, Hamida. It triggered protests by the All Pakistan Women's Association, prompting the government to establish a seven-member Commission on Marriage and Family Laws. The Commission recommended in 1956 that pronouncement of three talaqs in one session should be counted as one.

First woman Lambardar or Numberdar (Village Head Person) was Begum Sarwat Imtiaz in West Pakistan who took oath in Village 43/12-L in Chichawatni, District Montgomery (now Sahiwal) in 1959.

During 1960s

The Maternity and Child Welfare Association of Pakistan was created in 1961 to focus the nation's attention on the fundamental importance of the health.

The 1961 Muslim Family Law Ordinance which regulated marriage, divorce, and polygamy continues to have a significant legal impact on the women of Pakistan. Ms. Fatima Jinnah contested presidential election against General Ayub Khan in 1965. However, despite that setback, during 1950–60, several pro-women initiatives were taken.

During 1970s

The regime of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1970–1977) was a period of liberal attitudes towards women. All government services were opened to women including the district management group and the foreign service (in the civil service), which had been denied to them earlier. About 10% of the seats in the National Assembly and 5% in the provincial assemblies were reserved for women, with no restriction on contesting general seats as well. However, the implementation of these policies was poor as the Government faced a financial crisis due to the war with India and consequent split of the country.

In 1975, an official delegation from Pakistan participated in the First World Conference on Women in Mexico, which led to the constitution of the first Pakistan Women's Rights Committee.

Comedian and director, Rangeela, was the first Pakistani to publically express his concerns regarding the treatment of women in Pakistan and support the liberation movement of the 1970s. He did so via a film called Aurat Raaj which he directed, produced and even acted in. Released in 1979, the film depicted the story of a housewife who stands up against her chauvinist husband and goes on to form a political party for women across the country, eventually becoming the national leader. Unfortunately, it didn't fare well at the box office although it is still considered to have been well ahead its time and a commendable effort on Rangeela's part.

During 1980s

Gen. Zia-ul-Haq initiated a process of Islamization by introducing discriminatory legislation against women such as the set of Hudood Ordinances and the Qanun-e-Shahadat Order (Law of Evidence Order). He banned women from participating and from being spectators of sports and promoted purdah. He suspended all fundamental rights guaranteed in the Constitution that had been adopted in 1973, including the right to be free of discrimination on the basis of sex. He also proposed laws regarding Qisas and Diyat, Islamic penal laws governing retribution (qisas) and compensation (diyat) in crimes involving bodily injury. When the victim was a woman, the amount of diyat was halved.

The Offence of Zina (Enforcement of Hudood) Ordinance, 1979 was a subcategory of the Hudood Ordinance. Zina is the crime of non-marital sexual relations and adultery. The Zina Ordinance included zina-bil-jabr, the category of forced intercourse. If the woman who accuses a man of zina-bil-jabr (rape) cannot prove to the judicial system that she was raped, she faces adultery charges. In order for a rapist to receive "hadd," the maximum punishment provided for under the Quran, either the rapist must confess to the rape, or four pious adult Muslim men must witness the "act of penetration" itself and testify against the rapist.

Under Qanun-e-Shahadat, a woman's testimony was not weighed equally to that of a man. Thus, if a woman does not have male witnesses but does have female witnesses, their testimony would not satisfy the evidence requirement. The perpetrator may be acquitted and the victim may face adultery charges. The threat of being prosecuted discourages victims from filing complaints.

In addition, the legal possibility of marital rape was eliminated; by definition, rape became an extramarital offence according to the Zina ordinance. The ordinance prompted international criticism.

Women's Action Forum (WAF) was established in September 1981, lobbying and advocating on behalf of women without the resources to do it themselves. However, the real wave of feminist struggle arose in 1980 as a reaction to General Zia-ul-Haq's controversial implementation of the Hudood Ordinance which asked rape victims to present four eye-witnesses for their claim to be accepted. The WAF publically opposed the unjust rulings passed under the bill, raising awareness. The forum included women from all spheres who spoke against the government in the media, protested on the streets, conducted educational campaigns in schools and devised the famous 'Men, money, mullahs and military' slogan.

In 1983, 200 women activists took a stand for all the women of Pakistan. These women defied the military dictatorship of the day by taking out a public demonstration in Lahore, despite martial law regulations that outlawed political activities, processions and public protests. These iconic women of the Women's Action Forum (WAF) in collaboration with Pakistan Women Lawyers' Association (PWLA) carried out a rally from Hall Road Lahore to the Lahore High Court to file a petition against the law of evidence (the CII drafted the Islamic Law of Evidence Ordinance, 1982) which would reduce the testimony of women to half that of men. The accumulative trigger was the dictatorship's unrelenting push to rescind women's rights.

The International Commission of Jurists mission visited Pakistan in December 1986 mobilized Pakistani women and called for repealing of certain sections of the Hudood Ordinances relating to crimes and so-called "Islamic" punishments which discriminate against women and non-Muslims.

(In 1983, Safia Bibi, a nearly blind teenaged domestic servant was allegedly raped by her employer and his son. Due to lack of evidence, she was convicted for adultery under the Zina ordinance, while the rapists were acquitted. She was sentenced to fifteen lashes, five years imprisonment, and a fine of 1000 rupees. The decision attracted so much publicity and condemnation from the public and the press that the Federal Shariah Court of its own motion, called for the records of the case and ordered that she should be

released from prison on her own bond. Subsequently, on appeal, the finding of the trial court was reversed and the conviction was set aside).

Women's rights groups helped in the production of a film titled "Who will cast the first stone?" The film was directed by Ahmed A. Jamal and Sabiha Sumar 1989 to highlight the oppression and sufferings of women under the Hudood Ordinances. It a documentary that deals with the state of three women in prison in Pakistan under the Hudood Ordinances.

In 1988, Benazir Bhutto (Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's daughter) became the first female Prime Minister of Pakistan, and the first woman elected to head a Muslim country. During her election campaigns, she voiced concerns over social issues of women, health and discrimination against women. She also announced plans to set up women's police stations, courts and women's development banks. She also promised to repeal controversial Hudood laws that curtailed the rights of women. However, She was not able to repeal a single one of Zia-ul-Haq's Islamisation laws due to her incomplete terms (1988–90 and 1993–96).

Ministry of Women's Development (MWD) established Women's Studies centres at five universities in Islamabad, Karachi, Quetta, Peshawar, and Lahore in 1989. However, four of these Centre became almost non-functional due to lack of financial and administrative support. Only the center at University of Karachi (funded by the Canadian International Development Agency) was able to run a Master of Arts programme.

The First Women Bank Ltd. (FWBL) was established in 1989 to address women's financial needs. FWBL, a nationalised commercial bank, was given the rôle of a development finance institution, as well as of a social welfare organisation.

During 1990s

The Social Action Programme launched in 1992/93 aimed at reducing gender disparities by improving women's access to social services.

Pakistan acceded to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) on 29 February 1996. The Ministry of Women Development (MWD) is the designated national focal machinery for its implementation. However MWD faced a lack of resources initially. Pakistan failed to submit its initial report that was due in 1997. Pakistan neither signed nor ratified the Optional Protocol of the Women's Convention, which has led to non-availability of avenues for filing grievances by individuals or groups against Pakistan under CEDAW.

The report of the Inquiry of the Commission for Women (1997) clearly stated that the Hudood legislation must be repealed as it discriminates against women and is in conflict with their fundamental rights. A similar commission during Benazir Bhutto's administration had also recommended amending certain aspects of Hudood Ordinance. However, neither Benazir Bhutto nor Nawaz Sharif implemented these recommendations.

The country's first all-women university, named after Fatima Jinnah, was inaugurated on 6 August 1998.

During 2000s

NCSW 2006 also reviews laws, rules and regulations affecting the status and rights of women and suggests repeal, amendment or new legislation essential to promote the interests of women. The NCSW strongly recommended the repeal of the Hudood law, which paved the way for the Women Protection Act of 2006.

On 2 September 2004, the Ministry of Women Development was made an independent ministry, separating from the Social Welfare and Education Ministry.

In July 2006, General Pervez Musharraf asked his Government to begin work on amendments to the controversial 1979 Hudood Ordinance introduced under Zia-ul-Haq's régime. He asked the Law Ministry and the Council of Islamic Ideology (under the Ministry of Religious Affairs) to build a consensus for the amendments to the laws. On 7 July 2006 General Musharraf signed an ordinance for the immediate release on bail of around 1300 women who were currently languishing in jails on charges other than terrorism and murder.

In late 2006, the Pakistani parliament passed the Women's Protection Bill, repealing some of the Hudood Ordinances. The bill allowed for DNA and other scientific evidence to be used in prosecuting rape cases

The Cabinet has approved reservation of 10% quota for women in Central Superior Services in its meeting held on 12 July 2006. Earlier, there was a 5% quota for women across the board in all Government departments.

In 2006, The Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendment) Act was also passed.

In December 2006, for the first time, women cadets from the Military Academy Kakul assumed guard duty at the mausoleum of Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

After General Elections held in 2008, PPP appointed a female member of parliament and party loyalist Dr. Fehmida Mirza as the first female speaker in South Asia. During its tenure, Pakistan saw its first female foreign minister, Hina Rabbani Khar, first secretary of Defence, Nargis Sethi, Deputy Speaker of a province Shehla Raza and numerous female ministers, ambassadors, secretaries including Farahnaz Ispahani, Media Advisor to former President of Pakistan and co-chairman PPP, Sherry Rehman, former ambassador of Pakistan to US, Fauzia Wahab, Firdous Ashiq Awan, Farzana Raja, Shazia Marri, Sharmila Faruqi and others held prestigious positions within the administration.

During 2010s

On 29 January 2010 the President signed the 'Protection against Harassment of Women at Workplace Bill 2009.

Two additional bills were signed into law by the President in December 2012 criminalising the primitive practices of Vani, watta-satta, swara and marriage to the Quran which used women as tradable commodities for settlement of disputes. In addition the punishment for acid throwing to life imprisonment.

In 2012 the government revived the National Commission on Status of Women established by General Musharraf for three years in 2000, later being revived for three years at a time. The bill moved by government established the commission as a permanent body with the task to ensure the implementation of women protection legislation and abuses against women.

FIRST WOMAN IN PAKISTAN:

- i. In 1994, Justice Majida Rizvi was appointed as the the first woman judge of a High Court in Pakistan.
- ii. In December 2013, Ashraf Jehan became the first female judge to be appointed to Pakistan's Federal Shariat Court.
- iii. Syeda Tahira Safdar is a Pakistani jurist who is currently serving as the Chief Justice of Balochistan High Court. She will remain in this post until 4 October 2019. She is the first female chief justice of any court in the history of Pakistan.
- iv. Marium Mukhtar will always be remembered as the first lady pilot of the Pakistan Air Force (PAF).
- v. Muniba Mazari, Pakistan's first female Goodwill Ambassador by the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women.
- vi. Rukhsana Parveen and Sofia Javed became the first Pakistani women to bag international medals in boxing at the 2016 South Asian Games in Shillong in February.

- vii. Minhaj Sohail became Pakistan's first female shooter to compete at Olympics 2016. Although, she couldn't win gold and secured 28th position in the 10m air rifle event, Minhaj has made us proud by qualifying for the Rio Games.
- viii. Ayesha Farooq is Pakistan's first ever female war-ready fighter pilot.
- ix. In February 2017, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif appointed Janjua as Pakistan's Foreign Secretary, succeeding Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry. Making Janjua the first woman to hold the highest career position in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- x. In 2008, the National Assembly of Pakistan elected Fahmida Mirza of the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) as its first female speaker.
- xi. Hina Rabbani Khar was the 21st Foreign Minister of Pakistan from February 2011 until March 2013. She was the youngest person and the first woman to have held the position.
- xii. Maleeha Lodhi is a Pakistani diplomat, military strategist, academician and political scientist who serves as Pakistan's Representative to the United Nations, the first woman to hold the position.
- xiii. Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan "Mother of Pakistan", 10th Governor of Sindh, was in office from 15 February 1973 to 28 February 1976.

INCREDIBLE WOMEN OF PAKISTAN / PROMINENT PAKISTANI WOMEN

☐ Fatima Jinnah - Fatima Jinnah was a Pakistani dental surgeon, biographer, stateswoman and one of the leading founders of Pakistan.

☐ Mrs Rana Liaquat Ali Khan - The wife of country's first prime minister, first ambassador of Pakistan, first Muslim winner of human rights award. She has carved out an everlasting model for the women's empowerment in the nation. Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan founded the All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) in 1949, aiming the promotion of moral, social and economic welfare of the women of Pakistan. APWA is a voluntary, non-profit and non-political Pakistani organization.

☐ Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto - Benazir Bhutto was the 11th Prime Minister of Pakistan, serving two non-consecutive terms in 1988-90 and then 1993-96. A scion of the politically powerful Bhutto family, she was the eldest daughter of Zulfikar Ali and 1st women leader of Muslim world.

☐ Bano Qudsia - Bano Qudsia a writer, intellectual, playwright and spiritualist from Pakistan who writes Urdu novels and short stories. She is best known for her novel Raja Gidh and has written for television and stage in both the Urdu and Punjabi languages.

☐ Parveen Shakir - Parveen Shakir was an Urdu poet, teacher and a civil servant of the Government of Pakistan. She started writing at an early age and published her first volume of poetry, Khushbu [Fragrance], the most famous poetry book of Pakistan.

☐ Noor Jehan - Noor Jehan a singer and actress in British India and Pakistan. Her career spanned seven decades. She was renowned as one of the greatest and most influential singers of her time in South Asia and was given the honorific title of Malika-e-Tarannum.

☐ Abida Parveen – The renowned folk singer who is listened and admired all across the world. The soul of her Sufiaana Kalaam moves the soul of people. Dhundo ge ager mulko, , Dil e nadaan, main naraye mastaana, wo jo hum me qarar tha are some of her big time hits.

☐ Sharmeen obaid Chinoy - A Pakistani journalist and documentary filmmaker. She won an Academy Award for her documentary, Saving Face in 2012 and became first Pakistani to win an Oscar. She won an Emmy for her documentary, Pakistan: Children of the Taliban in 2010. She is also the first non-American to win the Livingston Award for Young Journalists. The Pakistani President conferred the Hilal-e-Imtiaz on Obaid- Chinoy on 23 March 2012, for bringing honor to Pakistan as a filmmaker.

☐ Dr Farhat Hashmi – She is famous Islamic Scholar. She is Also owner of one of the biggest Islamic Institution for women naming Al.Hudda.

☐ Bushra Ansari - Bushra Ansari is a Pakistani television presenter, singer, actress and playwright who started as a child performer in the 1960s and has remained a major TV personality for over four decades. She has visited many countries and won numerous awards, including the Pride of Performance Award in 1989 as well as presidential award from Pervez Musharraf and a Women's Achievement Award from Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.

☐ Asma jahangir - Pakistani lawyer, an award winning human rights and democracy activist. Her work focuses on prevention of persecution of religious minorities, gender equality, and extremism. She served as the United Nations Special Reporter on Freedom of Religion or Belief from August 2004 to July 2010, she currently serves on the U.N panel for inquiry into Sri Lankan human rights violations by the Sri Lankan authorities. Jahangir is an recipient of several awards including the, Hilal-i-Imtiaz, Sitara-i-Imtiaz, the UNESCO/Bilbao Prize for the Promotion of a Culture of Human Rights. Women's Rights Activist. Nobel Peace Prize as part of the 1000 Women for Peace project. WAF (Women's Action Forum).

☐ Bilquis edhi - Hilal-e-Imtiaz winner, is a professional nurse and one of the most active philanthropists in Pakistan. She has been nicknamed, The Mother of Pakistan. Together with her husband their charity has saved over 16,000 unwanted babies.

☐ Malala yousafzai - Pakistani activist for female education and the youngest-ever Nobel Prize winner. A 2013 issue of Time magazine featured Yousafzai as one of "The 100 Most Influential People in the World". She was the winner of Pakistan's first National Youth Peace Prize.

☐ Mussarat misbah - Musarrat Misbah, a beautician-turned-supposed philanthropist has been honored with the President's Pride of Performance .She opened "Smile Again Foundation" which helped female survivors of acid and kerosene oil burns in Pakistan by providing them appropriate medical attention and reconstructive surgery, psychological/psychiatric support, shelter and vocational training.

☐ Arfa Karim - Pakistani student and computer prodigy who, in 2004 at the age of nine, became the youngest Microsoft Certified Professional(MCP). She also received the

President's Award for Pride of Performance. A science park in Lahore, the Arfa Software Technology Park, was named after her.

☐ Naseem Hamid - Another woman of pride for us, Ms. Naseem Hameed, gold medalist in Athletes and renowned as the fastest woman of South Asia when she won the 100 meters race is also ambassador of Sports since then.

☐ Aysha Farooq - She is 1st female Pakistani fighter pilot. She now fly in a Chinese-made F7PG fighter jet alongside her 24 male colleagues in Squadron 20.

☐ Fareeda Kokikhel Afridi - Pashtun Feminist. SAWERA (Society for Appraisal and Women Empowerment in Rural Areas).

☐ Kishwar Naheed - Urdu Feminist Poet. Sitara-e-Imtiaz. Hawwa (Eve).

QUESTIONS:

CSS 2016: Write a women's movement in Pakistan. What are its strengths and weaknesses?

CSS 2019: Outline and explain the three major waves of feminist movements in the West. Discuss the influence of these waves on feminist movements in Pakistan.

CHAPTER 5

GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

COLONIAL AND CAPITALISTIC PERSPECTIVES OF GENDER

Colonial perspective

- 18th century poor families and women's condition, their full time job was to look after home. Middle class and wealthy women had servants often
- Marriage is necessary by 12/13 or maximum delay till the age of 25. Widows have to marry within 7 years. Marriage women had no control of their earnings, inheritance and property
- Women organization began in late 1600's. "Sons of liberty" & "Daughters of liberty" 1766 appeared throughout the country
- Actions: Daughters of liberty was active during the period when USA boycotted British clothing and material. Women in 1770 vowed not to drink tea as it was taxed. During war year between America & France, colonial women knew how to defend and kill someone
- After civil war in USA, Abigail Adam wrote letter "Remember the ladies" "when writing new constitution to her husband. Her husband assured her about the rights of women but the common law would not be changed.

Capitalistic Perspective

- A social system that exists in all countries. Means for the producing and distributing the good. Majority of the people sell their ability in return of wages. Working class is paid for services or goods which are then sold for profits gained by capitalist class. Working class is exploited by capitalist class. Motives are to sell the goods not for the satisfaction of people but for profit. Women find themselves at disadvantage term of unjust wages in America. Women face gender biasness in workfare till 1900s
- American women are the part of capitalist society in increased work hours. Working more and being paid less than men and still expected to work at home. USA lags behind other industrialized nation as Italian woman receives 20 weeks maternity leave while American receives 12 weeks

GENDER ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENT THEORIES

i. MODERNIZATION THEORY

- Modernization is a process in which society goes through industrialization, urbanization and social changes (Cultural Change—Islam and Hinduism) that completely transform the lives of individuals and exposure to the

mass media, and literacy. Material advancement is the main factor behind this fact.

- The economic conditions are the ways in which the gender, most importantly women thinks differently from the men. Explores the relation and difference between the first world and third world.
- Modernization also raises the theme of public versus private distinction. Here, modernity, good governance, rationality, and technological progress unfold in a public sphere inhabited by autonomous actors.
- Further, modernization theory suggests that development should be seen as evolutionary process in which countries ladder in five stages

| | |
|--|---|
| a) <u>Undeveloped stage</u> | Dominated by institution such as families, tribes etc |
| b) <u>Pre-Conditions to take off stage</u> | Introduction of material factor such as capital and technology from the west in the form of capital investment |
| c) <u>Take off stage</u> | Traditional attitudes and social institution being overcome and replaced with their western equivalents, eg nuclear family system replaces extended family system |
| d) <u>The Drive to Maturity stage</u> | Exports of manufactured goods to the West as the country takes its place in the international trading system |
| e) <u>Development stage</u> | Majority of the citizens live in urban areas than rural areas and have access to free health care and education |

- **Three waves of modernization**

| 1 st wave | 2 nd wave | 3 rd wave |
|--|--|--|
| 1950 & 1969 | 1970 & 1980 | 1980/90 – present |
| Diffusion of western style of living, technological innovation | It does not support but criticize the influence of western modernity | It is neutral; not in favor or against western modernization |
| Economic development: mass media promote global diffusion | Western culture and economic imperialism | Explains modernity of individual in contemporary society |
| Literacy & Cultural development: mass media can teach literacy and other skills. | | Modern society uses mass media and interactive media: English as language, internet etc, whereas |

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| Encourage state of mind by the imagination of an alternative way of life beyond the traditional way | | traditional society is based on direct interaction b/w people |
| National identity development : mass media could support national identities in a new nations and attention to democratic policies | | |

- Criticism: traditional values/institutions have little value, ignores social and economic problems in western societies stating capitalism is ideal and emphasis on internal obstacles.

ii. WORLD SYSTEM THEORY

- The World System theory argues about the different economic system prevailed in the countries that almost have the changed social structure as per the demands said. The world economic system is the biggest truth of the society and benefits of countries are about at verge to be exploited in any all cases.
 - These new conditions were related to the fact that the international financial and trade systems that influence relations.
 - This theory based on core, periphery and semi periphery areas/countries.
- a) **Core**: Dominant , capital countries& exploit peripheral countries for raw material
Strong in military power, strong central government, complex state institution
Bourgeois and working class, significant influence over non-core nations
 - b) **Peripheral**: Third world countries, lack of strong central government and controlled by other state. They export raw material to core countries. Least economically diversified, weak government& tax system. Less industrialized, population with high poverty and literacy
 - c) **Semi-peripheral**: Midway b/w core and peripheral countries, Spain, Portugal. Strive to join category of core nation. Relatively diversified economies but not dominant in international trade
- Criticism: focuses too much on economy rather than culture and blurs the difference b/w nation and business.

iii. Dependency Theory

- Big and even biggest nations according to economy are getting the success even at the expense of small countries that are considered as poor one. Degree of dependency increases as passage of time.
- Economic and political arrangements of global capitalist economy are the root causes of such disparities. How developing and developed nations interact. Wealthy countries are able to use their wealth to further influence developing nation

- Formulated in 1950 as a challenge to free market economic policies. Free trade and market ideology join the global economy. Established nations are fed by developing nation: colonial dependence. Free trade policies, loan granting strategy keep developing nations in a subservient position.
- Gives the causes of extreme disparities(income, living standard) between modern nations : economic and political arrangements of global capitalist economy
- Does not accept the relative autonomy of government from the powerful elites, the new authors of this school perceive a margin of movement of national governments in terms of pursuing their own agenda.

iv. Structural Functionalism

- Proposed about the different aspects in the society about the various forms and trends that are important to society.
- The 1953 publication of Komarovsky's *Women in the Modern World* coincided with the English translation of Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* in 1953, and predated by ten years Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (considered by some as the kick-off to the second wave). Uniting Komarovsky's work is her thematic focus on three central scientific objectives: "(1) revealing the functional significance of sex roles, (2) locating cultural contradictions, and (3) assessing possibilities for change" (Komarovsky, "Functional Analysis of Sex Roles," 509). It was her choice of gender as a central subject matter and her consistent challenge to claims made about the biological roots of women's nature that enable us to understand Komarovsky's research as specifically feminist.
- Where Parsons saw instrumental, functional sex roles, Komarovsky recognized conflicts, or what she termed "dissensus." Komarovsky's ability to point out women's dissatisfaction with familial roles predated and anticipated the major issues that the women's movement would make public. Komarovsky's comment that "cultural norms are often functionally unsuited to the social situations to which they apply" sounds an awful lot like Shulamith Firestone's later reference to "sex class" that runs so deep it is invisible. But Firestone, like her contemporaries, was either unaware of: or unwilling to cite Komarovsky's research in her writing or to attribute to Komarovsky her early observations about sex roles, society, and conflict.
- Komarovsky's functionalist research paradigm meant that she could never quite confront the problems of gender roles through a political lens concerned with power, conflict, control, or domination. Komarovsky instead remained trapped within a set of gender problematics defined as ethical rather than political dilemmas. Where we might expect Komarovsky's attention to structural and cultural elements of gender roles

to propel us from psychological dimensions of personality toward a critique of institutions as conduits and purveyors of masculinist modes of power, this interest was not immediately achieved. Not until the 1960s was the climate right for research that was far more critical of the status quo and much more impatient with existing inequities and discriminations.

- Komarovsky's keen insight was that society only functions if we "adapt" to our prescribed roles, yet it is this very same adaptation that leads to women's discontent. Betty Friedan focused on this function of adaptation only insofar as it served her purpose in staking a claim for a political argument about women's discontent. Without crediting Komarovsky's theoretical and methodological wisdom, Friedan did not hesitate to critique her for her functionalist research paradigm. Responding to Friedan's methodological objections, Komarovsky pointed out that a functionalist concept of social role as applied to gender emphasized consensus, stability, and continuity. It was precisely this concept of consensus that, in turn, served as a sociological window of insight in determining which problems women faced during the postwar years-and why.

Function of Deviance

- a) Affirmation of cultural norms and values: a person is punished for deviant acts there unacceptable by society, eg, a thief is punished for stealing and helps to understand norms.
- b) Clarification of right and wrong: responses to deviant behavior help to understand, eg, a student losses grade on cheating and other learn cheating a wrong act.
- c) Unification of other in society: responses to deviance bring people closer. Aftermath of 9/11 people come close across the world.
- d) Promoting social change: deviance can also encourage the dominant society to consider alternative norms and values.

Reactions to Cultural Goals & Institutionalized Means

- a) Conformist: accepts the goals society has set for them
- b) Innovators: accepts society's goal but reject usual way of achieving
- c) Rituals: rejects cultural goal but accept institutionalized means of achieving them
- d) Retreatists: rejects cultural and institutionalized means of achieving them
- e) Rebels: not only rejects cultural goal but adopt new way of achieving them with their own goal

GENDER APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT (WID, WAD AND GAD)

Over the years development programs have been criticized for ignoring gender roles and the impact it has on women in the global south. However we see a shift to integrate women into development programs in hopes of eradicating poverty and low social-economic status.

The three main theoretical approaches are: “(1) women in development (WID); (2) gender and development (GAD); (3) women and development (WAD);

Despite the effort to reinforce gender mainstreaming into society we still see a vast number of gender inequality especially in the developing world. Women make up the 70% of individuals living in poverty and in sub-Saharan Africa 57% of HIV infected individuals are women. This also includes the disproportionate ratio of women to men in the job market and at leadership position, low level of education among women, and low socio-economic status among women.

- i. **WID (WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT)** -liberal Feminists (a school of thought)
 - Women in Development (WID) evolved in the in the early 1970s from a liberal feminist framework.
 - Women in development (WID) approach, was originated as a result of two major feminist moments/waves concerning feminine conditions. The first wave also known as women’s suffrage movement, originated in the North America back in the late 19th century, when women fought for the equal right to vote and participate in politics. The second-wave of feminism sought to deal with the remaining social and cultural inequalities women were faced with in everyday affair i.e. sexual violence, reproductive rights, sexual discrimination and glass ceilings. The second wave was very controversial however the women’s movement was very influential that the UN organized the first global conference on women back in 1975 at Mexico. The conference sought to address nations role on fighting gender inequalities and support women’s right. Book on “Women’s Role in Economic Development” by Ester Boserup (1970) sent a shock wave through northern development agencies and humanitarian organization”. She states and gave empirical results of how increasingly specialized division of labor associated with development undermines or neglects the value of women’s work and status especially in the developing world. As it explains why women were being deprived an equal share among men in social benefits and economic gains. Boserup book had an influence on making women more visible in development approach and as a specific category when addressing women in development. In 1973, the US congress implemented a bill, which required the USAID to include women in development programs.
- Different Approaches

- a) The WID approach helped to ensure, the integration of women into the workforce and increase their level of productivity in order to improve their lives. However some have criticized this approach as being very western. Since it is a perception of the global south from global north perspective, as it fails to acknowledge the collective and cultural concerns of women in the developing world. It approach has been tagged as being rather cumbersome on women, as it fails to understand the dynamics of the private sphere but focus solely on the public sphere.
- b) Its main purpose was to integrate women prior viewed as passive beneficiaries of any advancement into the development process. The approach therefore called for greater attention to women in development policy and practice. Between men and women it emphasizes the need to challenge existing gender roles and relations.
- c) The WID perspective marked an important corrective action highlighting the fact that women need to be actively involved in development as active agents if effective and efficient development is to be achieved.
- d) Welfare: Focus on poor women, mainly in the roles of wife and mother.
- e) Equity: Focus on equality between women and men and fair distribution of benefits of development
- f) Anti-poverty: Women targeted as the poorest of the poor, with emphasis on income-generating activities and access to productive resources such as training and micro-finance. Efficiency: Emphasis on need for women's participation for success, effectiveness of development; assumes increased economic participation will result in increased equity. They are most likely to be useful when advocacy for the advancement of women is based on the more effective use of all factors of production, and/or desire for stronger and more sustainable project results. This is the approach currently most favoured by development agencies
- g) Empowerment: Focus on increasing women's capacity to analyse their own situation and determine their own life choices and societal directions. likely to be most useful where a human development and rights-based approach to development predominates, or is desired.

ii. **WAD (WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT) - Marxist feminists**

The women and development (WAD) approach originated back in 1975 in Mexico city, as it sort to discuss women's issues from a neo-Marxist and dependency theory perspective. Its focus was to "explain the relationship between women and the process of capitalist development in terms of material conditions that contribute to their exploitation". WAD is often misinterpreted as WID, however

what sets it apart is that, WAD focuses specifically on the relation between patriarchy and capitalism. The WAD perspective states that women have always participated and contributed towards economic development, regardless of the public or private spheres.

- **Focus:**

- a. Women have always been part of development process-therefore integrating women in development is a myth. Accepts women as important economic actors in their societies
- b. Focuses on relationship between women and development process.
- c. WAD focuses specifically on the relation between patriarchy and capitalism. The WAD perspective states that women have always participated and contributed towards economic development, regardless of the public or private spheres.
- d. Women's work in the public and private domain is central to the maintenance of their societal structures
- e. Looks at the nature of integration of women in development which sustains existing international structures of inequality. Assumes that once international structures become more equitable, women's position would improve. Discourages a strict analytical focus on the problems of women independent of those of men since both sexes are seen to be disadvantaged with oppressive global structure based on class and capital.

Criticism:

- a) Fails to analyze the relationship between patriarchy, differing modes of production and women's subordination and oppression. WAD doesn't question the relations between gender roles.
- b) Singular preoccupation with women's productive role at the expense of the reproductive side of women's work and lives.
- c) Doesn't suggest how global structure would be made equitable.

iii. **GAD (GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT) - Socialist Feminists**

The Gender and development approach originated in the 1980s by socialist feminism. It serve as a transitioning point in the way in which feminist have understood development. It served as a comprehensive overview of the social, economic and political realities of development. It origin relates back to the Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) network, when it was first initiated in India. The DAWN program was then officially recognized in 1986 during the 3rd UN conference on women in Nairobi. The conference brought about activist, researcher and development practitioners globally. As the conference discussed about the achievements made from the previous decade's evaluation of promoting equality among the sexes, and a full scope of the obstacles limiting women's advancements, especially in the developing world.

The forum discussed about the effectiveness of the continuous debt crisis and structural adjustment program implemented by the IMF and the World Bank, and how such concept of neoliberalism tend to marginalize and discriminate women more in the developing countries. The diversity of this approach was open to the experiences and need of women in the developing world. Its two main goals were to prove that the unequal relationship between the sexes hinders development and female participation. The second, it sort to change the structure of power into a long-term goal whereby all decision-making and benefits of development are distributed on equal basis of gender neutrality. The GAD approach is not just focused on the biological inequalities among sexes: men and women, however on how social roles, reproductive roles and economic roles are linked to Gender inequalities of: masculinity and femininity.

- **Features:**

- a. GAD rejects the public/private dichotomy.
 - b. It gives special attention to oppression of women in the family by entering the so called 'private sphere'
 - c. It emphasizes the state's duty to provide social services in promoting women's emancipation.
 - d. Women seen as agents of change rather than as passive recipients of development assistance.
 - e. Stresses the need for women to organize themselves for a more effective political voice.
 - f. Recognizes that patriarchy operates within and across classes to oppress women
 - g. Focuses on strengthening women's legal rights, including the reform of inheritance and land laws.
 - h. It talks in terms of upsetting the existing power relations in society between men and women.
- The Gender and development approach originated in the 1980s by socialist feminism. It serve as a transitioning point in the way in which feminist have understood development. It served as a comprehensive overview of the social, economic and political realities of development.
 - Socially constructed between men and women
 - Highlighted gender roles and gender relations.
 - Challenge to WID: both men and women play reproductive part
 - Gender division of labour and power related to gender
 - Roles and expectations of society to both men & women
 - Redefines traditional gender roles

iv. **WOMEN ,ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT (WED)**

- Origin in 1970s (Northern Feminist) Male control over nature and women
- Ecofeminism
- Ecofeminist (Rosi Braidotti, Harcourt, Maria Mies, Vandana Shiva etc.)
- Theoretical stream within feminist movement
- Environment decline – patriarchal authority in Development planning
- Destroying relationship between community, women and nature

GENDER CRITIQUE OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM (SAPS)

- Structural Adjustment Program) Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) are economic policies for developing countries that have been promoted by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) since the early 1980s by the provision of loans conditional on the adoption of such policies.
- The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is an international organization headquartered in Washington, D.C., in the United States "of 189 countries, working to foster global monetary cooperation,
 - ☐ secure financial stability,
 - ☐ facilitate international trade,
 - ☐ promote high employment and
 - ☐ sustainable economic growth, and reduce poverty Source
- When IMF established? ☐ Formed in 1944 at the Bretton Woods Conference, it came into formal existence in 1945 with 29 member countries and the goal of reconstructing the international payment system.
- Aim of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP):
 - ☐ Liberalizing the economy
 - ☐ Promoting competition
 - ☐ Making private sector stronger
 - ☐ Reducing the borrowing country's fiscal imbalance.
 - ☐ Reducing poverty
 - ☐ Increasing the exports of the country
 - ☐ Making good use of loans granted to borrower country
 - ☐ Making the country capable of returning back the loan
- Liberalisation refers to end of licence, quota and many more restrictions and controls which were put on industries before 1991. ☐ Pakistani companies got liberalisation in the following ways:
 - 1. Except the six industries , all other kinds of industrial license were abolished.
 - 2. No restriction on expansion or contraction of business activities.
 - 3. Freedom in fixing prices.
 - 4. Liberalisation in import and export.
 - 5. Easy and simplifying the procedure to attract foreign capital in India.
 - 6. Freedom in movement of goods and services

- 7. Freedom in fixing the prices of goods and services.
- 8. Emphasis to be on controlling and regulating monopolistic, restrictive and unfair trade practices
- 9. Need for achieving economies of scale for ensuring higher productivity and competitive advantage in the international market, the interference of the government through the MRTP Act was restricted
- To achieve long term economic growth in poor countries
- Currency devaluation, managed balance of payment, reduction of government services through public spending budget deficit cuts, reducing tax on high earners, privatization etc

IMPACTS & CRITIQUES

- Strong impact on economy
- Higher import prices effects producers and consumers
- Govt budget cut and foreign competition generate unemployment
- IMF financing mechanism to support macroeconomic policies and SAPs in low income countries through loan or interest subsidies
- GNP in 1980 is 8 % less than 1989 in Latin America
- Increasing poverty rates and social ills
- Alternative package includes series of commercial banks: deal with the crisis without creating shock and pain

CONTROVERSIAL POINTS OF SAP FOR PAKISTAN

- ☒ De-regulating the business in Pakistan
- ☒ Reducing the level of protection to different industries
- ☒ Reducing the list of restricted import items
- ☒ Increase in the level of indirect taxation
- ☒ Withdrawal of subsidies on gas, electricity, telephone and fertilizers
- ☒ An increase in producer prices of major crops
- ☒ 12.5% reduction in the public sector development program
- ☒ Restriction on Govt. borrowing and credit allocation to private sector

PAKISTAN AND SAPS

- World Bank assistance to Pakistan in 1970= \$25 million
- World Bank resident mission in Pakistan 1979
- Pakistan became member of IMF 1988
- IMF restricting agreements in Pakistan 1991 (privatization)
- Pakistani rupee was pegged to pound sterling until 1982when Zia-ul-Haq changed it
- Central Bank SBP governover in 1988-2009 were employ of world bank of IMF
- IMF important source for solving the fianancial problems of Pakistan

- Loans by IMF imposed strict conditions; prices on food, water, oil etc
- Impacts of IMF structuring Pakistan's economy
- Policy Initiative For Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) Policy was started in late 1990. It aimed to improve business environment & attract FDI The major initiatives include:
 - A) liberalization of foreign exchange regime
 - ☐ permission to foreign investors to bring in, possess foreign currency.
 - ☐ easy access to capital market
 - ☐ flexible rules regarding foreign investment of State bank of Pakistan.
 - B) Export incentives were introduced
 - ☐ replacement of duty-draw-back system with new scheme
 - ☐ Adjustments in the income-tax rebate on export earnings
 - C) Liberalization of import policy
 - ☐ Average import duty on raw materials was lowered
 - ☐ Removal of large number of quantitative restrictions & non-tariff barriers
 - D) Introduction of the investment incentives
 - ☐ Tax holidays for projects in rural areas.
 - ☐ Exemption of import duties on imported machinery
 - ☐ Other fiscal & monetary incentives offered in selected industries

GLOBALIZATION AND GENDER

- Socio-economic-cultural and political integration resulted as transnational economic expansion

Economic Globalization

- Emerged in 20th century
- Unregulated capitalist economy bodies and the ideal of free individual choice
- Economic institution: WTO, IMF, & WB
- Trade liberalization : free trade policies NAFTA
- Deregulation
- Privatization of public assets & Elimination of social welfare programs
- Restriction on immigration
- Feminist insists it should be understood in terms of the effects of global economic & its effect on women
- Globalization promised many things to feminist: peace, justice, prosperity, elimination of racism etc

Q.6 "POWERFUL FORCES OF GLOBALIZATION HAVE HIGHLIGHTED VARIOUS GENDER ISSUES ACROSS CULTURE AND THROUGHOUT THE GLOBE." DISCUSS BY QUOTING EXAMPLES FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

DRIVING FORCES OF GLOBALISATION ARE:

1. Technology:

Faster and cheaper technology in the digital global economy of the Internet era has broken the national barrier of time and space, thus, integration of national markets have been facilitated with ease.

2. Liberalisation:

Strong wave of liberalisation induced by the World Trade Organisation (WTO) as well as unilateral negotiations and decisions undertaken by the countries world over.

3. Trade Flows:

Removal of trade barriers time and again has facilitated a rising growth rate of the world trade over the years. New technology under IT revolution has created distribution channel, which is difficult to be blocked under the protectionist trade policy. For example, French government's restriction on American films tends to be futile when these are shown through satellite or Internet (Economist, 1999).

4. Trade as a Globalizing Force:

- People trade with one another to obtain goods and services that are
 - not available in their own region
 - better quality or less expensive
 - different from goods produced at home

5. Capital Flows:

In the Internet Age, capital has become internationally more mobile.

6. Factor Mobility:

Mobility of individuals, information and knowledge, as agents of production and countries has smoothened the growth process of globalisation.

7. Cultural Diffusion:

Several complex and sensitive issues are inherent in the process and proliferation of globalisation including the role of culture and political/social acceptance and alternation of the required attitudes towards the change and involvement of the people at large in the global arena.

8. The Media as a Globalizing Force:

Newspapers, for example, began to publish online editions that people could read on their home computers. If you want to read about the Chinese government's response to a world event, for example, you can check the online edition of the People's Daily, which publishes versions in Chinese, English, French, Arabic, and other languages. Readers can even e-mail comments that are published on the paper's web site.

9. The Internet and the World Wide Web:

Because of the World Wide Web, a business can now go online to seek out a supplier, who might be anywhere in the world. The business can then remain online to view pictures of the product, request and compare prices, place an order, and receive notice of when to expect delivery.

GENDER ISSUES ACROSS THE GLOBE

- i. Domestic violence
- ii. Honor killing
- iii. Rape

- iv. Vani
- v. Marital rape
- vi. Lack of wages parity
- vii. Sexual harassment
- viii. Economic violence
- ix. Psychological violence
- x. Political violence etc

CULTURE ISSUES ACROSS THE GLOBE

- i. Eating patterns
- ii. Dressing patterns
- iii. Changes in getup/appearance
- iv. Family patterns
- v. Marriage patterns
- vi. Cultural diffusion
- vii. Lack of preservation of cultural values
- viii. Language mixing
- ix. Division of labor
- x. Working patterns

QUESTIONS:

- i. **CSS 2016:** Critically review the Gender and Development Approaches on the following:
 - a. Women in Development (WID)
 - b. Women and Development (WAD)
 - c. Gender and Development (GAD)
- ii. **CSS 2017:** Write short notes on the following:
 - a. Honor Killing
 - b. Gender and Development
- iii. **CSS 2017:** Powerful forces of globalization have highlighted various gender issues across cultures and throughout the globe. Discuss by quoting examples from developing nations.
- iv. **CSS 2018:** In the last two decades, globalization has had a huge impact on the lives of women in developing nations, including Pakistan. What are the impacts of global political economy on Pakistani women.
- v. **CSS 2019:** Explain the relevance of Modernization Theory and Dependency Theory to gender equality. Critically analyze the

subordination of women in modern societies in the light of these two theories.

- vi. **CSS 2019:** The process of globalization has connected nations worldwide and has made the world a global village, yet it has also increased inequalities across nations. Discuss the gendered inequalities created and promoted by the process of globalization in contemporary societies worldwide.
- vii. **CSS 2019:** Write short note on Structural Functionalism

ZAHOOR ELAHI

CHAPTER 6

STATUS OF WOMEN IN PAKISTAN

- Women constitute half of the Pakistan's 207 million population [2017 population census in Pakistan] and women's contribution has been remarkable in every facet of life however their vitality and potential has never been fully realized in the past 70 years after independence.
- Fertility Rate 3, Population growth rate is 1.86
- Pakistan has held the second-to-last spot on the Global Gender Gap Index for five years in a row (2012-17).
- GGG- The yearly report measures progress toward gender parity in four areas including
 - educational attainment,
 - health and survival,
 - economic opportunity and
 - political empowerment.

A. EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF WOMEN IN PAKISTAN

INTRODUCTION:

- ❖ Pakistani women ranked 123 out of 128 in educational attainments in the world.
- ❖ Education is the delivery of knowledge, skills and information from teachers to students.
- ❖ Art. 25-A: Constitution of Pakistan "The State shall remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within minimum possible period from the age of 5-16 years"
- ❖ Education expenditures is 2.4 percent of the GDP in 2018/2019. It ranks 144 among 160 countries of the world with a literacy rate of 57.9.
- ❖ In 2018, literacy varies from 94.5 per cent in Islamabad to 39.9 per cent in Fata while Fata and Balochistan have the lowest female youth literacy rates, 13.6 and 29.9 per cent respectively; Islamabad and Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) have the highest, 92.9 and 82.8 per cent respectively.
- ❖ Literacy Rate 60 % in 2015/16
 - ❖ Male 70 %
 - ❖ Female 49 %
- ❖ Pakistan's "Vision 2025" programme commits to doubling the proportion of its young people enrolled in higher education to 12 per cent within a decade, and doubling the number of doctoral students to 15,000 while aims at increasing public expenditure to 4.0 percent of GDP by 2018."
- ❖ Current Education Policy 2009 revised in June 2015

EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN

- ❖ Education in Pakistan is overseen by Ministry of Education of government of Pakistan.
- ❖ The academic institutions are the responsibility of provincial government.
- ❖ Federal government is responsible for curriculum development, accreditation & some finance research.

EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS/ISSUES OF WOMEN IN PAKISTAN

1. ENROLLMENT ISSUE

- ❖ At national level, the total number of enrolments during FY2016 was recorded at 46 million.
 - ❖ This indicates an increase of 4.4 percent and it is estimated to increase to 45.17 million during FY2016.
 - ❖ In 2017, there are 50.8 million children in the country between the ages of 5 and 16 of which **22.6 million** boys and girls out of school — that's nearly half (**44 per cent**) of all children in the country and out of these more than half, **13 million (or 53 per cent)** are girls.
 - ❖ For example, almost twice as many children from **Balochistan, 47 per cent**, never attended a school, compared to children in **Punjab i.e. 24 per cent**.
 - ❖ The total number of institutes stood at 252.56 thousands during FY2015 as compared to 241.61 thousands during last year, showing an increase of 4.5 percent. However, the number of institutes is estimated to increase to 257.47 thousands during FY2016.
 - ❖ Balochistan has the highest proportion of out-of-school children, followed by the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (Fata). As many as 70pc of children in Balochistan and 60pc in Fata are out of school.
- i. Parents' unwillingness to send their daughters to school. Factors contributing to this unwillingness include lack of basic facilities in schools, poor quality of education, teacher absenteeism.
 - ii. Corporal punishment in some cases.
 - iii. Frequent changes in education policy
 - ❖ Single sex school system and
 - ❖ English as medium of instruction
 - iv. Economic issues
 - ❖ Poverty- Girls from poor families are 20 per cent more likely to remain out of school than their male counterparts i.e. 32 per cent females are out-of-school overall compared to the male rate of 52 per cent.
 - v. Security issues
 - ❖ 500 schools and

- ❖ 5450 incidents of crime against persons

2. DROPOUT ISSUES

- ❖ Of out of school children, some 23 per cent of these children drop out in early years and there are 77 per cent children who never went to school. The net enrollment rate at primary school is as low as 57 per cent. This number drops to 22 per cent in middle school and 14 per cent in high school.
- ❖ Of all the children enrolled in primary school in Pakistan, 69pc are retained until class 5 and only 28pc until class 10.
- ❖ According to a report, released by Alif Ailaan education initiative in mid-2016, there are 6,050 educational institutions in FATA, of which 4,868 (2,905 for boys and 1,963 for girls) are functional, while 1,182 (683 for boys and 499 for girls) are non-functional. The overall dropout rate from kindergarten to class five, over the period of the last six years, has been 73 percent, of which 70 percent are boys and 77 percent girls.
- ❖ Enrolment drops drastically after the primary level, but more steeply so for girls than boys.
- ❖ Nearly 10m boys and 8.1m girls are enrolled at the primary level; this drops to 1.9million boys and 1.4m girls at the higher level, and just 1m boys and 700,000 girls at the higher secondary level.
- ❖ The good news is that this is a 3pc increase from the 25pc of previous years.
- i. Shortage of public schools at higher levels
 - This may be because 80pc of government schools are primary schools, while only 11pc are middle schools, 8pc high schools and 1pc higher secondary schools.
Of the 24m out-of-school children, 18.6m have never attended school, while 5.4m enrolled at some point but dropped out.
- ii. Poor quality
 - About 9pc of schools operate without a school building, while 38pc operate without a building in satisfactory condition.

3. LACK OF PROPER INFRASTRUCTURE

- Wash facilities
 - 44 % of government schools operate without electricity, 28pc without toilets and 34pc without drinking water.
- Insecurity
 - In light of recent attacks on schools in Pakistan, the absence of a boundary wall in 30pc of all government schools is a also a source of concern.
- Gender disparity
 - It is also evident in school enrolment rates, with over half of all girls out of school compared to 43pc of boys.
- Poor quality of teaching

- 51pc of government school teachers have at least a Bachelor's degree in education.
- Of the 49pc who don't have university-level degrees, 30pc have a PTC qualification, while 8pc are communal teachers. Around 7pc have received other training, while 1pc are untrained.
- Total number of teachers was recorded at 1.59 million in FY 2015

4. LACK OF VISION/INEQUALITY

1. Policy Issues
 - i. Bhutto public
 - ii. Zia Madrassa
 - iii. Musharaf private
2. Fee and regulation issues
 - i. Uniformity
 - ii. Fee structure is for profit driven motives
 - iii. Lack of regulation in curriculum

5. MORAL ISSUES

1. Corruption
2. Sexual harassment

REPERCUSSIONS

1. Slow GDP growth
 - ❖ growth accelerates to 4.71 Percent in 2015-16 against 4.04 percent in the last year. 5.28 Percent in 2016-17
2. Decrease in Per Capita Income
 - ❖ US\$1560.7 in 2015/2016
3. Falling Exports
4. Low National Savings
 - ❖ 14.6 percent of GDP in YF 2016
5. Worsening situation of law and order
6. Education of female can have a positive impact on health of our population. According to Alif Ailaan only 40 per cent uneducated mothers immunise their children against deadly and crippling diseases, while the immunisation ratio is 74 per cent among educated mothers.

SOLUTIONS

1. POLITICAL-LED INITIATIVES
 1. Set minimum standard
 2. To increase public spending
2. ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURE
 - ❖ Ghost schools, 2000, Sindh

- ❖ Second shift for step up enrollment
- 3. ENHANCING COORDINATION BETWEEN P&P SCHOOLS
 - ❖ Art. 25(A)
- 4. LAUNCHING OUTREACH PROGRAMMES
 - ❖ LUMS 18%
- 5. IMPLEMENTING EDUCATIONAL POLICY 2009
 - ❖ Correcting irrational clauses such as
 - education budget will be raised by seven per cent by 2015,
 - teachers should have 16 years of education and
 - the literacy rate would be increased to 85 per cent by 2018.
 - ❖ Taking visible measures to improve early child education, no serious steps were taken in this regard.
 - ❖ The state was supposed to introduce food-based incentives to increase enrolment and improve retention and completion rates. However, the official said no such incentive was initiated to control the dropout rates.
- 6. APPOINTING RIGHT PERSON FOR RIGHT JOB
 - ❖ Militancy in public sector universities eg. PU
- 7. REFORMING HEC
 - ❖ After 18th Constitutional Amendment, provincial governments are liable to play a more productive role towards educational sector.
 - ❖ Provincial governments are also spending sizeable amount of their Annual Development Plans (ADPs) on education to achieve the targets.
 - ❖ World Bank Data Sheet, the latest available Public Sector expenditure on Education as percentage of GDP, in other countries of the region was 2.0 percent in Bangladesh, 4.6 percent in Afghanistan, 6.0 percent in Bhutan, 3.8 percent in India, 3.1 percent in Iran and 5.2 percent in Maldives.

B. ECONOMIC STATUS OF WOMEN IN PAKISTAN

INTRODUCTION:

- 1) 'Women are the only exploited group in history to have been idealized into powerlessness.' – Karl Marx
- 2) "Women hold half the sky" – Mao Zedong, one of the great revolutionaries to brace Asia. Mao, like most of leftist leaders, was very clear about the important role women play in shaping a prosperous society. Mao was very right in concluding that no revolution is successful without the active participation of women. In the civil war against Chiang Kai-shek's KMT, Women's Associations were formed in hundreds of villages throughout the Communist controlled areas of China. The Communist Party supported the revolts of the women; they gave leadership to women meetings and assisted them in organizing and extending

their struggles. But that was not just a mere support winning tactics. This practice continues till now as China is tipped to replace America as the economic power of the world.

- 3) To build open doors for women in economy, they should have an entrance to better occupations, a business domain that backings them in working together, access to financial sector that address their issues, and job security in the midst of emergencies. To ensure legitimate rights of women, and to ensure that their voices are heard are critical components of strengthening women empowerment.
- 4) According to International Labor Organization (ILO) reports
 - a. while women represent – 50 percent of the world adult population and – a third of the official labor force,
 - b. they perform – nearly *two-third of all working hours*, and – receive only *a tenth of world income*.
 - c. Women constitute less than 1/7th of the administrators & managers in developing countries. Only 10% seats in world's parliament & 6% in national cabinets are held by them.

ECONOMIC ISSUES OF WOMEN IN PAKISTAN

- i. In economic participation, Pakistani women ranked 126 out of 128 in the world. We have the lowest female labour force participation rate in South Asia.
- ii. Female employment rate in Pakistan is the lowest in the world (4.3 percent).
- iii. The World Bank provides data for Pakistan from 1990 to 2017. The average value for Pakistan during that period was 18.43 percent with a minimum of 12.51 percent in 1995 and a maximum of 24.93 percent in 2017.

Definition: Labor force participation rate is the proportion of the population ages 15 and older that is economically active: all people who supply labor for the production of goods and services during a specified period.

- iv. The ILO data 2017 indicates that Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR) for men (82.5%) is more than three times higher than women (24.8%). The gender gap in LFPR is one of the world's highest, making Pakistan comparable with Arab states and countries of North Africa. Even when women want to participate in the labour force, they are unable to find employment. There is a noticeable gender gap in the unemployment rate. It is 5% for male workers and 9% for female. In the urban areas, the female unemployment rate rises to 20% while that of males is 6%. Women's share in wage employment is only 15% as they are engaged mostly as contributing family workers (54%), eventually working without pay. A UN-Women study estimated the value of female contributing family workers as nearly 4% of GDP (Rs400 billion in 2014).

ECONOMIC ABUSE INCLUDES:

1. withholding economic resources such as money or credit cards
2. withholding physical resources such as food, clothes, necessary medications, or shelter from a partner
3. stealing from or defrauding a partner of money or assets
4. exploiting the intimate partner's resources for personal gain
5. preventing the spouse or intimate partner from working or choosing an occupation e.g. ILO reports states that Nearly 65% of female doctors do not work after marriage, 80% of business graduates sit at home after marriage and less than 10 percent of educated and uneducated women are entrepreneurs.
6. sectoral or occupational segregation. Mostly Pakistani women's occupations are normally constrained to teaching, designing, call centers etc. The Labour Force Survey 2014-15, the most recent available, indicates that women are concentrated in agriculture (72%), manufacturing (14%) and community and personal services (11%). In the case of occupational groups, women are mostly working as skilled agricultural workers (62%), elementary/unskilled workers (15%) and craft and related trade workers (13%). Less than 2% of the female labour force is registered with the provincial social security institutions thus leaving them without any social protection in the event of workplace accident or disease or maternity.

INITIATIVES TAKEN FOR ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT

- i. An autonomous Commission on Status of Women,
- ii. Benazir Income Support Programme,
- iii. 10% quota for women in employment. In Punjab, jobs quota in government sector for women has been increased from 5 to 15 percent working
- iv. Setting up of Women Development Department at provincial level, and
- v. Economic Empowerment of Women through Prime Minister's Youth Programme.
- vi. Poverty Eradication - Micro-Credit mechanisms and micro-finance institution
- vii. Vocational training programs.
- viii. In previous government, Minister of State for Information Technology Anusha Rehman said the government will continue its efforts to promote women entrepreneurs through E-commerce. She said that we will train 30 percent of our girls by 2018 to make them internet literate.
- ix. Pakistan will work to connect half a million women to the market by 2020.
- x. USAID works with the Government of Pakistan and development partners in improving Women's Access to Economic Opportunities.
- xi. Setting up women hostels to facilitate working women.
- xii. Setting up Day Care Centres e.g. 188 in Punjab
- xiii. Establishment of Ombudsman Office
- xiv. Training of female domestic workers
- xv. Granting maternity leave
- xvi. Political initiatives for empowerment

- xvii. Separate sections for women in public transport
- xviii. Punjab Government has finally launched the Pink Motorcycle Scheme for Women that were supposed to be launch as Pink Scooty Scheme for Women. The scheme is currently available for the following five cities of Punjab:
 - a. Rawalpindi
 - b. Multan
 - c. Lahore
 - d. Sargodha
 - e. Faisalabad
- xix. The Pink Rickshaw Initiative is a project envisioned and implemented in Lahore, Pakistan, by The Environment Protection Fund.
(It has two goals: to enable women to become economically independent and to provide a safe public transport option to the women of Lahore)

CONSTRAINING FACTORS FOR WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

- i. Heavy work load of women. (Agri)
- ii. Lack of freedom in dress code
- iii. Pressurizing for domesticity
- iv. Lack of conducive opportunities e.g.
 - o Sharing office with men colleague
 - o Lack of separate wash facilities
 - o Lack of day care facilities
- v. Gender prejudice
- vi. In Pakistan, 98 percent top managers in banks and other financial institutions and industrial units are males.
- vii. Illiteracy.
- viii. Traditional views limit participation
- ix. No funds.
- x. Structural adjustment policies.
- xi. Male chauvinism, Low confidence
- xii. Negative and sensational coverage of media
- xiii. Lack of safety measures

INITIATIVES REQUIRED TO BE TAKEN FOR WOMEN ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT

- i. Pakistan direly needs federal anti-discrimination framework legislation in line with the core ILO Conventions and CEDAW. Such legislation should consider occupational health and safety issues.
- ii. The ILO research indicates that minimum wage policies can be used to combat gender-based pay discrimination. Minimum wage legislation and policies can also be used for targeting specific vulnerable groups of workers, earlier excluded from

the purview of minimum wage legislation, ie, domestic workers, home-based workers and the informal sector workers.

In Pakistan, 46 per cent of women in the labour force receive remuneration falling in the lowest wage bracket (up to Rs5,000).

- iii. Legislation should allow for maternity protection, including 14-week maternity leave (currently 12 weeks) as well as paternity leave and parental leave. Currently, maternity benefits legislation places all the burden of income replacement during maternity leave on the employer unless worker is registered with a social security institution. For this reason, employers show inhibition in hiring women workers. If maternity leave is financed through general taxes, employers will increase hiring of women workers.
- iv. The tax benefits can also be given to employers who hire female workers above a certain percentage.
- v. Legislative efforts need to be complemented with sufficient budgetary allocations for departments/institutions tasked with the enforcement of legislation, vibrant labor inspection system, dissuasive penalties, increased awareness of workers about their rights, access to enforcement mechanisms and protections of workers against victimization.

C. LEGAL STATUS OF WOMEN IN PAKISTAN

- ❖ Pakistani women ranked 43 out of 128 in political empowerment in the world

LEGAL ISSUES OF WOMEN IN PAKISTAN:

- i. Lack of awareness of laws e.g.
 - a. physical harassment
 - b. Rape cases also require a medical examination to be done within 72 hours etc.
- ii. Lack of access to law enforcement agencies
e.g. "When a woman go to a police station after being tortured by her husband, the police would ask her to go back to her house and settle the issue on her own since it was a personal matter"
- iii. Lack of women empowerment in law enforcement agencies
e.g. In rape cases, women face severe humiliation at police stations, where officials put forth all sorts of "bizarre questions".
- iv. Weak investigation system
- v. Flawed judicial system
- vi. Marital rape
- vii. Domestic violence
- viii. Making honor killing as compoundable offence

- ix. Dowry issues
- x. Forcible conversion of religion of female by her life partner
- xi. Nikahnama issue (marriage certificate) that does not allow women to divorce their husbands without approaching a court.
- xii. Complex language of nikahnama and a talaqnama (divorce deed)
- xiii. The Council of Islamic Ideology, a constitutional body which gives Islamic legal advice to the Pakistani Government, declared that Pakistani laws prohibiting child marriage are un-Islamic. In May 2017, the National Assembly rejected the draft Child Marriage Restraint Act for the second time. The proposal would have increased the legal age for marriage from 16 to 18 nationwide.
- xiv. Lack of juvenile female separation from adults in prison.
- xv. There are no specific laws on domestic workers below the age of 18 in Pakistan. To make matters more complicated, the laws addressing adult domestic workers are not specific enough to be effective. Domestic labour is mentioned in two legislations: one is The Provincial Employees Social Security Ordinance, 1965; Section 55-A of the ordinance stipulates that “Every employer of a domestic servant shall be liable to provide at his own cost to the domestic servant medical care to the extent mentioned in section 45”. The other is the Minimum Wages Ordinance, 1961 that includes ‘domestic work’ in its definition of ‘worker’ but the government has not yet notified the minimum wages applicable to domestic workers.

STEPS TAKEN FOR LEGAL EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN IN PAKISTAN

I. CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTIONS (1973):

- Article 9: Security of person –
 - No person shall be deprived of life or liberty saves in accordance with law.
- Article 25: Equality of Citizens
 - (1) All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law.
 - (2) There shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex
 - (3) Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the protection of women and children
- Article 34: Full Participation of Women in National Life
 - Steps shall be taken to ensure the participation of women in all spheres of national life

II. NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN-PAKISTAN

- Statutory Body, est. July 2000
- Purpose:
 - ❖ Examine policies, programs and other measures taken by the Government for women’s development and gender equality;

- ❖ Review laws, rules and regulations affecting the status of women;
- ❖ Monitor mechanisms and institutional procedures for redress of violations of women's rights and individual grievances;
- ❖ Encourage and sponsor research to generate information, analysis and studies relating to women and gender issues;
- ❖ Develop and maintain interaction and dialogue with NGOs, experts and individuals in society at the national, regional and international level; and other function assigned to it by the Federal Government

III. WOMEN'S PROTECTION BILL

- ❖ Passed November 15, 2006
- ❖ Amends highly-criticized Hudood Ordinance (governing rape & adult)
- Entails:
 - ❖ Rape now included in Pakistan Penal Code
 - ❖ Criminal Law not Sharia Law
 - ❖ Requires formal accusation in court - not just suspicion of Police
 - ❖ Change: Rape tried in criminal court with burden of forensic & circumstantial evidence
 - ❖ Controversy: Violation of Articles 2a and 227 of Constitution: "Islam will be the state religion" and "No laws will be passed which are repugnant to the Quran and sunnah."

IV. 2010 AMENDMENT: (PAKISTAN PENAL CODE, 1860)

- ❖ 498A: Prohibition of depriving women from inheriting property
- ❖ 498B: Prohibition of forced marriage
- ❖ 498C: Prohibition of marriage with the Holy Quran

V. PROTECTION AGAINST HARASSMENT OF WOMEN AT THE WORKPLACE ACT, 2010

VI. THE ANTI-WOMEN PRACTICES [CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT] ACT, 2011

VII. THE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE (PREVENTION AND PROTECTION) ACT, 2013

- ❖ Passed by Provincial Assembly of Sindh

VIII. PAKISTAN'S CHILD MARRIAGE RESTRAINT ACT (CMRA) 1929

- ❖ It sets the legal age for marriage to 16 for women and 18 for men.
- ❖ In April 2014, the Sindh Assembly unanimously adopted the Sindh Child Marriage Restraint Act, increasing the minimum age of marriage to 18 and making marriage below 18 a punishable offence.
- ❖ In February 2017, the Parliament adopted an amendment to the Penal Code that would toughen punishment against child marriage. Offenders face a minimum of five years in prison and may serve up to 10 years. They also face a fine of up to 1 million rupees (\$9,547).

IX. THE PUNJAB PROTECTION OF WOMEN AGAINST VIOLENCE ACT 2016

- ❖ "violence" to include "any offence committed against a woman including abetment of an offence, domestic violence, emotional,

psychological and verbal abuse, economic abuse, stalking or a cyber crime”

CONCLUSION:

- i. Pakistan is a member of the South Asia Initiative to End Violence Against Children (SAIEVAC), an inter-governmental body which has adopted a regional action plan to target child marriage.
- ii. Pakistan was among the first States to propose a target to end child marriage by 2030 in discussions of the Open Working Group on the Sustainable Development Goals, a major inter-governmental process that helped to shape the next set of international development goals.

D. HEALTH STATUS OF WOMEN IN PAKISTAN

- ❖ Pakistani women ranked 121 out of 128 in health in the world
- ❖ Health policies devolved to the provinces in 2010 after the 18th Amendment. Pakistan ranks third highest in the world with the number of maternal deaths.
- ❖ Pakistan spends a mere 0.9pc of its GDP on health. Only two countries, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Bangladesh, have a lower ratio of GDP to health spending.
- ❖ government-supported universal healthcare is attainable and affordable, even in low-income countries, so long as it is made a political priority. E.g Thailand and Mexico
- ❖ activist public can play a crucial role in mobilizing public health systems
- ❖ ‘System of Social Protection in Health’ which includes a public health insurance scheme
- ❖ The result of this apathy is appalling health indicators. The infant mortality rate in Pakistan is 66 per 1,000 births, compared to 38 in India and eight in Sri Lanka. Life expectancy in Pakistan for women is 67 years, as compared to 73 in Bangladesh and 78 in Thailand. The maternal mortality rate in Pakistan is 170 per 100,000 live births, in contrast to 30 in Sri Lanka and 20 in Thailand.
- ❖ The overall lack of proper psychological services and rehabilitation centers may lead to women remaining undiagnosed with depression and other conditions, especially after delivery of the baby.
- ❖ Reproductive health is among the most serious problems that women face in Pakistan. They have no right to take any decisions regarding their health, which affects their morbidity and mortality, and as a consequence affects the development of the children.
- ❖ Hepatitis, AIDS, tuberculosis and sexually transmitted diseases is the new wave of infections that have led to a high rate of deaths among women of Pakistan.

- ❖ Pakistani women also suffer from high rates of breast and oral cancers. Chronic illnesses such as diabetes, hypertension, thyroid problems etc. all are very prevalent.
- ❖ Inadequate community outreach and remoteness of health services centres add to the problems, caused by lack of proper care and non-availability of qualified medical staff.
- ❖ Domestic violence remains a chief cause of complications related to pregnancy including unwanted pregnancies, lack of access to family planning services, unsafe abortions or injuries due to abortion, complications due to frequent and high risk pregnancies, lack of follow-up care, sexually transmitted infections, and other psychological problems.
- ❖ Osteoporosis is a condition that weakens bones, making them fragile and more likely to break. It develops slowly over several years and is often only diagnosed when a minor fall or sudden impact causes a bone fracture.

INITIATIVES TAKEN BY GOVT:

- i. Up to 275,000 pregnant women will receive iron and folic acid supplements, as recommended by the **World Health Organization**. This will reduce complications during both pregnancy and delivery from high anemia levels, and help newborns start their lives in better health.
- ii. Pakistan has introduced ROTA virus vaccine with the support of GAVI in a phased manner (Rotavirus is the most common cause of severe diarrhea among infants and children throughout the world and causes the death of about 500,000 children worldwide annually).
- iii. Polio virus vaccine with WHO
- iv. Women and Reproductive Health Initiative (WARHI)
- v. National Health Insurance initiative-
- vi. The Prime Minister's National Health Program, is a milestone in this direction.
- vii. In Punjab, 88 daycare centres have so far been established by the govt with many more in the pipeline.
- viii. Vaccine Logistics Management Information System VLMIS has also been introduced.
- ix. Establishment of Modern Health Centre
- x. Increase in number of Lady Health Workers/Doctors
- xi. Establishment of Rehabilitation Centres.

CONCLUSION:

Regardless of this despairing statistics Pakistani women when they are given chance they have substantiated themselves incredible either in the field of politics, for example, Madr-e- millat Fatima Jinnah one of the founding leader of Pakistan and Benazir Bhutto who was the first Muslim women Prime Minister in the history or in the field of financial

sector, for example, Shamshad Akhtar former Governor State bank of Pakistan the first women to assume this position or in the field of technology, for example, Arfa Kareem who was the youngest Microsoft Certified Professional or in the field of aviation, for example, Shukira Khanam first Pakistani women pilot or in the field of music, for example, “Malka e Taranum” Noor Jahan who had been awarded with the Pakistan’s most highest civilian awards such as “Sitara e Imtiaz” and “Tamgha e Imtiaz” and there are tremendous examples when the women of Pakistan have proved themselves whether national or international platforms.

Women’s empowerment and economic development are closely interrelated. While development itself will bring about women’s empowerment, empowering women will bring about changes in decision-making, which will have a direct impact on development. Empowering women has dual benefits, first to the women and second to the society. When we empower a woman, actually we empower nation. When women have rights of education, skills, knowledge, health and jobs, their hidden potential will be utilized and both males and females will work together for the betterment of the society.

QUESTIONS:

- i. **CSS 2017:** What is status of women’s health in Pakistan? How it could be improved within the available economic resources?
- ii. **CSS 2018:** What are the reasons responsible for making Pakistan as the second worst country in the world for gender inequality despite Pakistan’s commitment to many international conventions and strong commitment to gender equality in 1973 constitution?
- iii. **CSS 2019:** Women’s participation in labor force has increased recently yet women continue to perform their reproductive roles. Discuss the challenges encountered by women as a result of their paid employment worldwide with especial reference to Pakistan.

CHAPTER 7

GENDER AND GOVERNANCE

INTRODUCTION:

Promoting gender equality is an important application of the principles of human rights as promulgated by the United Nations and its various agencies. Encouraging and supporting Women's/Gender Studies is one way UNESCO seeks to promote gender equality. The promotion of full human rights for all has been a tenet of the United Nations since its inception. The adoption on 10 December 1948 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was the beginning of concerted and continual efforts by the United Nations and its many agencies to achieve equality for all. The Declaration calls upon every individual and every institution of society to promote respect for human rights and to strive for their universal and effective recognition. Addressing the specific problem of gender discrimination and inequity, Article 3 of the United Nations' Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) states that "all appropriate measures shall be taken to educate public opinion and to direct national aspirations towards the eradication of prejudice and the abolition of customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority of women." Towards this end, UNESCO's current Work Plan "authorizes the Director-General to implement the corresponding plan of action in order to: strengthen UNESCO's contribution to the promotion of gender equality and the human rights of women in Member States, notably through knowledge sharing, research and analysis of socio-economic issues and structures, and in conformity with the strategic objectives outlined in the Beijing Platform for Action, CEDAW and in support of the Millennium Development Goal of promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women."

DEFINING GOVERNANCE

- The word "governance" came from the Latin verb "gubernare," or more originally from the Greek word "kubernaein," which means "to steer." Basing on its etymology, governance refers to the manner of steering or governing, or of directing and controlling, a group of people or a state.
- Governance refers to decision-making by a range of interested people (or stakeholders) including those in positions of power and ordinary citizens. These decisions have a huge impact on the ways in which women and men lead their lives, on the rules they are expected to abide by, and on the structures that determine where and how they work and live.
- Probably the first governance institution that comes to mind is government. Yet it is not only national governments that make decisions about our lives; global governance institutions such as the United Nations (UN) and the World Trade

Organization (WTO) also make decisions about our world, which then influence those made by national governments. In turn, civil society organizations (CSOs) and citizens play a key role – putting pressure on governments to take action to challenge gender inequalities, and holding them accountable for the commitments they make.

- Five interconnected levels of governance have been identified – the household, community, local and national government, and global institutions.

Various definitions of governance

The World Bank: Governance is ... the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised for the common good. This includes

- (i) the process by which those in authority are selected, monitored and replaced,
- (ii) the capacity of the government to effectively manage its resources and implement sound policies, and
- (iii) the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them.

The Asian Development Bank: Governance is the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's social and economic resources for development.

Government means the way those with power use power.

Eight Elements of Good Governance

- i. Rule of Law...
- ii. Transparency. ...
- iii. Responsiveness. ...
- iv. Consensus Oriented. ...
- v. Equity and Inclusiveness. ...
- vi. Effectiveness and Efficiency. ...
- vii. Accountability....
- viii. Participation...

What challenges do we face?

- Failure to tackle entrenched gender inequalities
- Decision-making is dominated by men
- Governance processes often exclude people with caring responsibilities – primarily women
- Women are not treated equally in governance institutions and processes

What would gender-sensitive governance look like?

- Enabling more women to participate in governance
- The exercise of economic, political, and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises mechanisms, processes, and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations, and mediate their differences.
- The traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised
- Establishment of policies, and continuous monitoring of their proper implementation, by the members of the governing body of an organization. It includes the mechanisms required to balance the powers of the members (with the associated accountability), and their primary duty of enhancing the prosperity and viability of the organization.
- Globally, women are underrepresented in decision-making, not only in the political sphere, but also within the private sector, at the village level and in civil society organisations. This low participation is due to social norms which dictate their domestic roles and often leave them with limited time. Leadership and participation, especially in the political sphere, is often viewed as an area where men have superior knowledge. Traditional and religious leadership positions tend to be dominated by men. This is particularly problematic as these leaders are sometimes called upon by states to adjudicate disputes, especially in transitional justice situations, and can thus limit women's access to justice if they adhere to gender inequitable social norms.
- Women often have informal roles of influence, recognition and power within the community – as mothers, teachers, volunteers, entrepreneurs, as well as community leaders. Women's informal leadership (known as 'quiet leadership' in the Pacific) often has a focus on community service, but these leadership skills can be harnessed and formalised to give women political and formal decision making power.
- For women to participate in urban policy and planning processes, and for these processes to be made more gender-sensitive, a concerted approach is necessary. The key elements of such an approach are:
 - i. an improvement in women's representation in political structures, because human settlements development is a political as well as a technical and institutional process which benefits from women's participation and from women's perspectives;
 - ii. women's active participation in organisations outside of government, playing an advocacy role and providing a demand-driven approach to gender-sensitive human settlements development, through lobbying and making claims on elected representatives, officials and urban development professionals and practitioners;
 - iii. a gender-sensitive and inclusive approach to the development of new urban partnerships.

GOVERNANCE AND PAKISTAN

PAKISTAN'S CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITMENTS TO GENDER EQUITY:

Fundamental Rights are enshrined in the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Chapter 1 of the Constitution contains articles about the fundamental rights. Articles 8 to 28 of the constitution deals with the all fundamental rights provided to the citizens of Pakistan.

- i. Article 3 calls upon the State to eliminate all forms of exploitation.
- ii. Article 4 provides for the right of individual to enjoy the protection of law and to be treated in accordance with the law. This applies to the citizens as well as “to every other person for the time being within Pakistan” without distinction. This article also clearly states that certain rights cannot be suspended.
- iii. Article 25 ensures equality before the law and equal protection of the law and states that there shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone.
- iv. Articles 25(3) and 26(2) allow the state to make special provisions for the protection of women and children.
- v. Article 26 & 27 provide for equal access to public places and equality of employment in the public and private sector.
- vi. Articles 11 & 37 (g) prohibit trafficking in human beings as well as prostitution.
- vii. Article 32 makes special provisions for the representation of women in local Government.
- viii. Article 34 directs the state to take appropriate measures to enable women to participate in all spheres of life and social activities.
- ix. Article 35 asks the state to protect the marriage, the family, the mother and the child.
- x. Article 37 (e) directs the state to make provisions for securing just and humane conditions of work ensuring that children and women are not employed in vocations unsuited to their age or sex, and for ensuring maternity benefits for women in employment
- xi. Articles 51 & 106 provide for the reservation of seats for women in the legislatures.

RIGHTS PROVIDED TO WOMEN IN PAKISTAN UNDER CIVIL LAW:

- a) Factories Act, 1934
- b) Married Women Property Act, 1874
- c) Mines Maternity Benefit Act 1941
- d) The West Punjab Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Act, 1948
- e) The Maternity Benefit Ordinance, 1958

RIGHTS PROVIDED TO WOMEN UNDER CRIMINAL LAW: PAKISTAN PENAL CODE (PPC)

1860:

- a. According to section 310 and 310-A, whoever gives a female in marriage or otherwise in Badal-I-Sulh shall be punished with rigorous imprisonment which may extend to 10 years and shall not be less than 3 years.
 - b. According to section 354 a person may get two years imprisonment if he assaults a woman or uses criminal force against her with intent to outrage her modesty. Section 354-A provides that if any person assaults or uses criminal force against any women and stripes her clothes in a manner which exposes her to the public view shall be punished with death sentence or life imprisonment.
 - c. Section 365-B stipulates that a person, who kidnaps or abducts a woman for the purpose of rape or forceful marriage, may be punished with life imprisonment.
 - d. Section 366-A provides if any person takes away any minor girl to another place or seduce her with intent of illicit intercourse with another person shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extends to 10 years and fine.
 - e. Section 498-A provides that whosoever by deceitful or illegal means deprive any woman from inheriting any movable or immovable property shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to 10 years and not less than 5 years or with fine of Rs.100,000/-
 - f. Section 498-B provides that whosoever coerces or in any manner compels a woman to enter into marriage, shall be punished with imprisonment which extend to 7 years and not less than 3 years and shall also be liable to fine of Rs.500,000/-
 - g. Section 498-C provides that whoever compels or arranges or facilitates the marriage of a woman with Holy Quran , shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to 7 years but not less than 3 years and shall also be liable to fine of Rs.500,000/-
 - h. Section 509 provides that a person who intends by uttering any word or making any sounds or gestures or exhibits any object to insult the modesty of any woman or otherwise intrudes upon the privacy of such woman at working places, shall be punished with 3 years imprisonment or with fine Rs.500,000/- or with both.
- xii. Rights provided to women under Family Laws
- a. Child Marriage Restraint Act,1929
 - b. The Dissolution of Muslim Marriage Act,1939
 - c. Muslim Family Laws Ordinance,1961
 - d. The West Pakistan Family Courts Act,1964
 - e. Dowry and Bridal Gifts(Restriction)Act,1976
 - f. The Guardians and Wards Act,1890

PAKISTAN'S INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS TO GENDER EQUITY:

- i. Pakistan has adopted similar international legal obligations through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)
- ii. Pakistan has signed, ratified and adopted international instruments of ending violence against women - UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against women (CEDAW), in 1996.
- iii. Pakistan is also a signatory to the MDGs, where the third goal on “gender equality and empowerment of women” essentially acknowledges the need to address gender-based violence.
- iv. General Elections 2013 also were the first in Pakistan since ratification in 2010 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which protects freedoms related to elections, including the right “to take part in the conduct public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives”

→ SUFFRAGIST MOVEMENT

- National Women Suffrage Society 1865
- Although British women and men had been arguing for both universal and women’s suffrage since the 1860s, the movement for women’s votes accelerated when Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters Christabel and Sylvia founded the Women’s Social and Political Union (WSPU) in 1903 – a more radical organization than some of the earlier ones fighting for suffrage. Its slogan was “Deeds Not Words” and in fact the WSPU became more and more militant as the years went on and the British government refused to support women’s suffrage. The word “suffragette” was first used to describe women campaigning for the right to vote in an article in a British newspaper in 1906.
- In 1906 a Liberal government was elected to Parliament for the first time, with first Henry Campbell-Bannerman and then, in 1908, Herbert Henry Asquith as Prime Minister. Suffragettes were very hopeful that the Liberals would support them as promised in many candidates’ election campaigns. But they were to be disappointed, particularly with Asquith, a noted anti-suffragist. Even the Women’s Sunday March in Hyde Park in June 1908, in which 250,000 people shouted “Votes for Women,” did not move Asquith to allow a suffrage bill to be introduced.
- On 18 November 1910 a protest in Parliament Square turned violent and police beat many suffragettes. After that the movement began to wage guerrilla warfare, orchestrating systematic window-smashing and arson attacks. As it became more radical and violent, the WSPU lost many of its supporters.
- In August 1914 war was declared in Europe. The suffrage movement suspended its activities, the government released all suffragettes from prison, and the Pankhursts and others threw themselves into supporting Britain’s war effort. Around a million women took on men’s jobs as they went off to fight in the war.

- In February 1918, the Government passed an act giving women the vote if they were over the age of 30 and either owned property or rented for at least £5/year, or were the wife of someone who did. As a result, 8.5 million women became entitled to vote in the General Election of 1918.
- On 2 July 1928, a law was passed allowing all women over the age of 21 to vote.
- Some believe the movement's militancy made the Government more intransigent. Others say the 1918 Act was passed as a reward for women's efforts during the war rather than anything the suffragettes did. There is no doubt, however, that the suffragettes raised the profile of the issue of women's votes to that of national consideration.

→ GENDER ISSUES IN WOMEN AS VOTERS

- **Gender gap in the voter registration**—15 million women who ventured to the polls during Pakistan's general elections on 11 May **2013**. With an overall national voter turnout of 55 per cent, the results were a marked improvement over the country's historically low turnout, which barely crosses 44 per cent. The voter turnout for women was an unprecedented 45 per cent of all votes. There is a gender gap in the voter registration of nearly **11 million (2013)** according to the Election Commission of Pakistan, with women constituting just 43.6 percent of registered voters. At 34.4 percent, **FATA** has the lowest number of registered women voters while **Islamabad** has the highest at 46 percent. Possession of the National Identity Card (CNIC) is essential for registration as voters and while 76 percent of women are now registered with NADRA, the numbers on the electoral roll are much lower. The low level of registration is attributed to the lack of male interest in getting women registered and women's lack of awareness about the electoral system. Limited mobility and a lack of education are additional contributing elements. To fill the gaps of the more than 11 million women who are currently not registered, the Election Commission of Pakistan and UN Women led a public awareness campaign coupled with direct outreach to women through local civil society networks. Seminars and community fairs were held in all district election commission offices as well as in colleges and universities to target youth and mobilize young women to register as voters.
- **In 2018**, 49.48 million voters decided to vote as compared to the 46.9 million in 2013.
- **In 2018 election**, the national average of voter turnout recorded by the ECP is **51.7pc**. A drop from 2013 when turnout was the highest it's ever been at 55.02 per cent. Male voter turn out in 241 constituencies was 58.3 per cent whereas the female voter turnout stood at 47 per cent.
- "A summary has been moved to the Commission by the ECP secretariat recommending that the polls in NA-10 (Shangla) and NA-48 (North Waziristan) —

where women votes were less than 10 per cent of the total polled votes — be declared void,” a source in the ECP told Dawn on Thursday.

- Thari women (NA-221 Tharparkar-I) set example for all with nearly 73% turnout in 2018 elections
- The women should also involve in politics so that the gender issues in women as the biggest part of the society can be transformed into the voters. The **political sense** of the women is less admirable as compare to men with the several decision-making skills that are only present at male level.
- **Mobility restrictions**—Institutional, socioeconomic and cultural barriers limit women’s effective participation in democratic elections. Mobilising female voters is also considered important to get women elected into office and to deepen democracy. Lack of gendered civic awareness and separate polling booths for women are some of the issues. Mobility restrictions mean that women need permission from family males to go to polling stations. As a result, there have been instances of women being disenfranchised in the 2008 and 2013 elections. In 2013, 15 incidents of women being debarred from exercising their vote were reported as a result of an understanding between local elders, political parties and non-state actors. Women were also restricted from voting in combined polling stations. Most of the restrictions on women's voting were reported from remote areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). Older women and women with disabilities have faced challenges as a result of the inappropriate location of polling booths that prevent them from casting their vote.
- The **stereotypic behavior** of the gender with the several aspects needs to be removed instantly.
- **Security issues**— While security threats are a cause of concern for all, women voters and contestants are more vulnerable because of their gender, as was seen in Balochistan, where threats to field workers prevented women from coming out to vote.

→ GENDER ISSUES IN WOMEN AS CANDIDATES

- Social and economic obstacles to women’s participation include the unequal distribution of resources
- Lack of tradition and motivation to actively intervene in politics
- The electorate’s lack of confidence in women
- Economic and social criteria for political candidacy
- Exigencies of availability that political activity demands
- The Women’s Parliamentary Caucus in 2011 had recommended amendments to the Representation of People Act 1976 and make it mandatory for political parties

to award at least ten percent tickets for general elections to women on winnable seats.

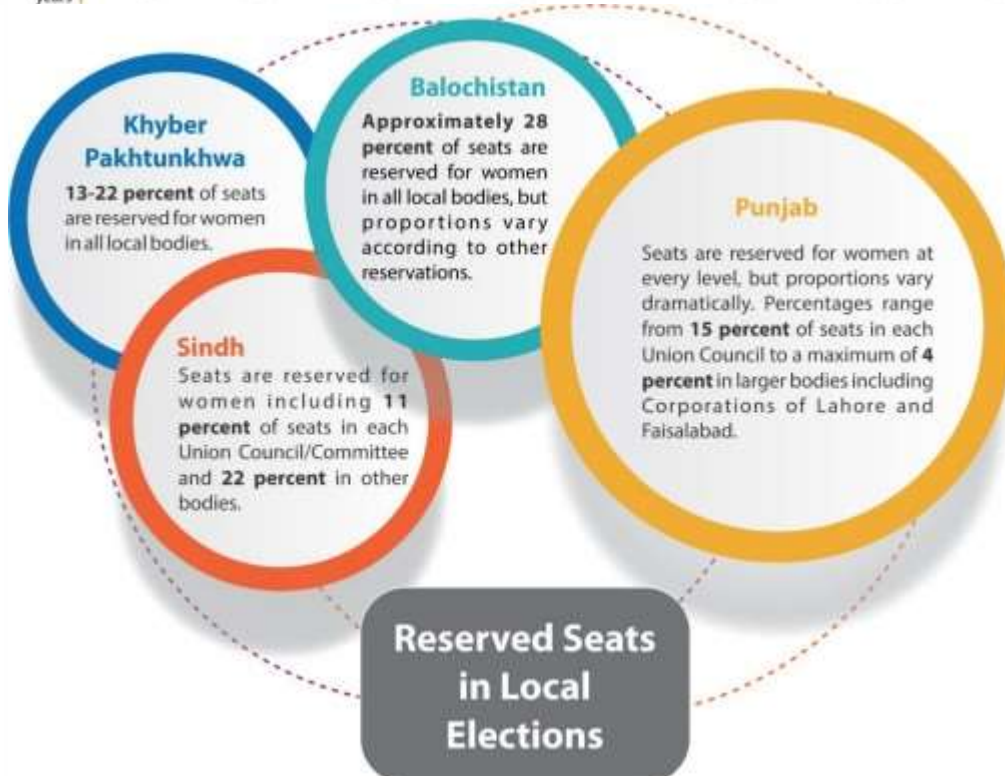
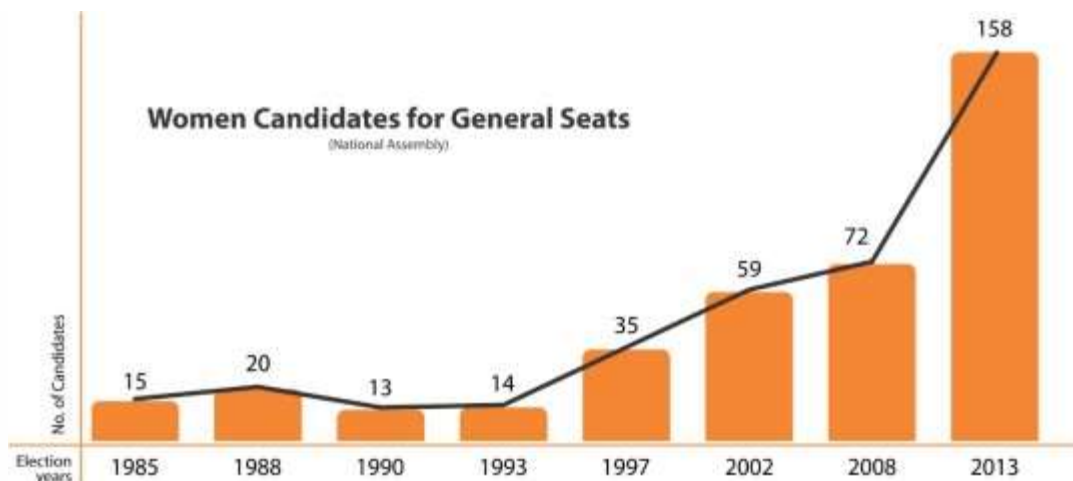
- **Security Issue**--Women candidates too complained about security concerns and harassment incidents during electioneering-a Sindhi minority woman candidate reported that her campaign convoy had been attacked four times. Another revealed that her family was threatened by her rival candidate. Even a high profile candidate like the former Speaker of the National Assembly was not spared harassment. The lone woman candidate from Lower Dir shared experiencing similar treatment on her visit to the National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW). For these women, their poverty and disadvantaged social status exacerbated their vulnerability.
- Women's representation and leadership therefore tend to be more at the **grassroots level** and in social welfare positions. In order to get elected, many female candidates choose to downplay the fact that they are concerned with 'women's issues', for fear this may alienate male voters. It has been argued that, in order to reverse this negative cycle, there must be a significant number of women in positions of power before these issues will feature on the agenda. The addition of women is explicit at government departments and also at major level of governance.
- This is **wrong hidden agenda of political parties** to include women in representation and even at candidate level but the women is being ignored at governance level while pursuing for the public policy.
- **Social norms** that make it more difficult for women to leave their traditionally domestic roles for more public roles.
- ❖ In 2018 elections if multiple candidacies (some candidates are more than 1 seat) are taken into account, as many as 182 women contested in 128 constituencies of the National Assembly's 272 constituencies.
- ❖ In 2013 election, more women filed papers as contestants on general seats than ever before-a total of 455 (158 for the National Assembly and 297 for the Provincial Assemblies)-representing a big jump from the 280 in 2008 (64 in the National Assembly and 116 in the Provincial Assemblies). This increase, while very encouraging, did not greatly impact the gender gap as women contestants on general seats represented only 3.4 percent of the candidates in the National Assembly and 2.7 percent in the Provincial Assembly.
- **Institutional constraints** include barriers such as political systems that operate through rigid schedules.
- **Party politics** tends to be dominated by men, making it more difficult for women to get on party lists for election.
- ❖ Section 206 of the 2017 Election Act states that a political party shall "ensure at least five per cent representation of women candidates" when it makes the

selection of candidates on general seats for national and provincial assemblies. Political parties gave around 3% tickets to women in 2013.

- ❖ In 2018 election: Independent 65, others 57, The PPPP has fielded 19 women while the PML-N, MMA and PTI has given 13, 14 and 14 tickets to women respectively. Except the PPPP, the other parties stayed close to the minimum.
- **Gender Biasness**
- Among other factors that impede women's fuller participation are that of a **paucity of funds** available for campaigning. In the last elections a majority of women candidates could not invest in media campaigns. Women's access to information is restricted because of their lower literacy levels and limited access to TV or radio.
- **Training women for political candidacy**, providing funding or capacity building on fundraising for women candidates, and including women as election monitors.
- ❖ In 2013 election, nine women made it to the National Assembly through direct vote but in 2018 election only eight women won general seats out of 464 contestants in NA. On general seats for provincial assemblies, eight women won the elections out of 296 total women candidates for provincial assemblies.
- The representation of women through the different aspects of the **trade unions** can necessary to develop with several aspects, from government to trade unions.
- **Capacity gaps** mean women are less likely than men to have the education, contacts and resources needed to become effective leaders, an obstacle while participating in politics.
- ❖ Very few women are in leadership positions-less than 5 percent in the Central Executive Committees-in most political parties and are usually confined to women's wings. Thus, they are not in a position to influence either the **awarding of tickets** or imposing restrictions on voting.
- *Dr Fehmida Mirza, former Speaker of the NA of Pakistan, became the fist female lawmaker in the country to be elected five times.*

Women in Elections 2013





→ **Gender Issues in Women as Representatives**

- Remain in minority
- Can't lead their issues
- Dependent on men
- Less weightage
- Lack of leadership opportunities
- Character assassination
- Sexual harassment
- Security issues
- ❖ A lesser spoken about issue is Violence Against Women in Politics (VAWIP). A cleric killed sitting Provincial Minister for Social Welfare **Ms. Zile Huma** in 2007

while she was addressing a public rally because she as a woman politician was unacceptable.

- Even where women have been able to secure office, they continue to face additional challenges compared to their male counterparts. These include both male and female opposition, inexperience of the political domain and low confidence. In addition, many women politicians find that it can be difficult to balance their public responsibilities with their domestic roles.
- In some cases, particularly in fragile contexts, women may face intimidation or threats in running for office. This is primarily due to the fact that men or local customary authorities may feel that this threatens the traditional male hierarchy or patriarchal order.
- Globally, fewer than 19% of national parliamentarians are women (WDR).

→ IMPACT OF POLITICAL QUOTA IN PAKISTAN

- **INTRODUCTION:**
 - i. 186 women were elected and nominated in various legislatures between 1947 and 1999. The total number of women who contested and succeeded in general elections till 1977 was only 28. This trend showed that factors operating against women's electoral role had not changed, though in the first Constitution of 1956, they were granted the right of double vote, one for the general seats and one for women's reserved seats.
 - ii. Under 1956 Constitution, Parliament was unicameral. Legislative powers vested in the Parliament. In the 1956 constitution, 3 percent quota for women was approved. The 1956 constitution under Article 44(2) (1) provided for reservation of 10 seats for women for a period of 10 years, equally divided between East and West Pakistan.
 - iii. Under 1962 Constitution, the electoral system was made indirect, and the 'Basic Democrats', for both wings were declared Electoral College for the purpose of electing the Assemblies and the President. Three seats were reserved for women from each unit. The term of this Assembly was three years. The norm was established that if the President was from West Pakistan, the Speaker was to be from East Pakistan and vice versa.
 - iv. On 25th March 1969 the second Martial law was imposed and General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan took-over as the President of Pakistan and Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA). He later issued a Legal Framework Order (LFO), under which the first ever general elections were held on 7th December 1970. This was the first Assembly elected on the adult franchise and population basis. It consist

of 313 members, 169 from East Pakistan and 144 from West Pakistan including 13 reserved seats for women (6 were from West Pakistan and 7 from East Pakistan).

- v. Under 1973 Constitution, Pakistan adopted bicameral system. Originally, the general seats of the National Assembly were 200 with additional 10 seats reserved for women, bringing the total strength to 210. The newly created Upper House i.e. the Senate had 63 members.
- vi. The first election under the 1973 constitution was held in 1977 but assemblies were dissolved within months of the election with the imposition of Martial Law in July 1977. In 1981, General Zia ul Haq nominated the Majlis-e-Shoora (Federal Advisory Council) and inducted 20 women as members. The Majlis-e-Shoora was a step towards Zia's idea of Islamic democracy.
- vii. Later these women reserved seats were increased to 20 in 1985. In 2002 these women reserved seats (quota) have been revived and increased to sixty e.g. 17 per cent in the Federal Government and 33 per cent in local bodies election by the government of General Pervez Musharraf in Political Parties Act 2002.

● **POSITIVE IMPACTS:**

- i. The fact that women constitute half of the world population, therefore, it is simply an issue of justice to reflect their numerical strength in political institutions.
- ii. Women have a specific perspective on politics and political issues, therefore, their presence will make a difference to politics
- iii. They have special interests due to their reproductive roles and subordinate position in society, therefore, they must be present in political decision making bodies to represent and protect women's interests
- iv. Though women elected indirectly on reserved seats have played a critical role in pushing through pro-women legislation and highlighting human rights issues
- v. The representation of their issues - The quota system aims to increase women's representation to address the problem of underrepresentation of women
- vi. Taking leadership role
- vii. Countering patriarchy
- viii. Enhancing masculine role
- ix. Building better relationship with men
- x. Promoting softer image of the country
- xi. Inclusive approach – gender equality - The quota system has increased the seats of women in assemblies but it is a temporary measure to achieve gender balance
- xii. Consensus oriented decision

xiii. Favoring democratic behavior - Quotas have been viewed as one of the most effective affirmative actions in increasing women's political participation

● **NEGATIVE IMPACTS:**

- i. Favoritism
- ii. Dependency on the party leadership
- iii. Unaware of political realities/grass root conditions
- iv. Lack of interest in political issues
- v. Lack of interest in development funds
- vi. Women are still primarily a minority within patriarchal political systems.
- vii. It does not facilitate the real political empowerment and the democratic participation of women. Women are treated as mere fillers for statistics without real political and economic power. This system provides only symbolic representation to women.
- viii. Women politicians cannot be assumed to priorities or even identify with the needs of other women. Class, race, religion, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation and disabilities are some of the many differences that can divide women.
- ix. Though more women are now contesting on general seats, women's representation in the national and provincial assemblies and in the senate is essentially achieved through a gender quota that is filled indirectly by nomination. These indirectly elected women lack a power base because they are not accountable to a constituency.
- x. Low weightage - they are generally considered less important in comparison to their directly elected female colleagues
- xi. Lack of leadership role
- xii. Dependence on men - Although women's representation in the assemblies has increased quotas, they do not work in isolation: they cannot be separated from dominant societal attitudes and norms. The socioeconomic position of women in society means they are treated unequally by the men in the assemblies and their views are not taken seriously. Due to the lack of actual participation of women in politics, within political parties and towards a real knowledge of the political process, these women look towards their male political masters for direction.
- xiii. Balancing family and career is a challenge to them - Generally society discourages women's activities outside the home, as it is harmful to their family life. Women are perceived to have primary responsibility as wives and mothers. Hence, a political career may well come in these cases as a second or third job.
- xiv. Marginalized role in the parliament - During the sessions of the Senate in 2003-04, women senators raised only 201 (7%) out of a total of 2,769 questions. Similarly, out of 335 resolutions, only 43 (12%) were moved by women senators, and out of total of 400 motions, only 26 (7%) motions were passed by them.

Conclusion

- i. The review of trends in the field of women's political empowerment shows a diverse progress report from different parts of the world. There are numerous difficulties still to be resolved. Targets set by UN for a 30% (which would eventually grow into 50%) participation has only been achieved in few countries. Some progress has been achieved over the past few years, towards enhancing women's political representation, as well as in the realization that women's involvement in politics is an important pre-requisite for democracy. Women are still facing key challenges.
- ii. The region of South Asia has had the largest number of female leaders but general trends do not show similarity in political participation of women. South Asia has been slow in the political empowerment of women.
- iii. In Pakistan, since independence, all regimes whether liberal, conservative or military have treated women's issues as political necessity only to project their regimes as liberal and modern to the world. These regimes gave limited rights to women for a place in society and politics. For instance, Ayub Khan introduced the Family Law Ordinance 1961, Zulfikar Bhutto's regime fixed 10% quota for women in parliament, Benazir Bhutto's government established Women's Study Centre, First Women's Bank, and Women's Police Station. General Pervez Musharaf's era allocated the 33% women seats in local government and 17% seats in parliament. None of these regimes responded positively or responsibly to women's issues. Women's questions have been used to strengthen their own political agenda and to secure political points.
- iv. Men support the case of women only when they think that the interests of men would be served profoundly. Many women elected in parliament belong to politicians who have been already in power in Pakistan previously. This trend may manipulate the process of change in the interest of power regimes. The inaugural status of this quota may provide a base for future strengthening of women's status in Pakistan but we need to go from gender sensitivity to encompass the dimensions of collective gender rights. Changes are to be brought from within if they are to be sustained.
- v. Women lack interest in politics because politics is projected as a 'negative' field. Women do not have participation in formal political processes. Men consider themselves 'traditional custodians' of political heritage and do not welcome women's participation in important political decisions. The immediate problems that women face include lack of political skill, financial resources and the dubbing of politics as an all male arena. The ideal of increasing the level of women's representation and participation in decision-making bodies requires well-developed strategies. It also seeks quality in women's representation, opportunities for women in formal education and training and scholarship grants to equip women to effectively participate in political activities.

- vi. One of the most important signs of the modernization of society is connected to the role of women in society. We cannot imagine a modern society without considering the status of women; we cannot imagine such a society if women do not enjoy their social, political, cultural and economic rights and if women have not achieved full dignity and social status. In relative terms, the status of women has improved in contemporary Pakistani society with the passage of time, but the ideal of women's empowerment is still a distant dream.

QUESTIONS:

- i. **CSS 2016:** What are the pros and cons of gender quota in politics? Give your views on the impact of gender quota in politics in Pakistan.
- ii. **CSS 2017:** Women active political participation could stabilize democracy and boost economic development. Comment on this statement within the context of socio-economic realities of Pakistani society?
- iii. **CSS 2018:** Believing the statement that “Women cover half the sky”, do you think so we need equal number of women in spheres of public domain, especially in politics?
- iv. **CSS 2019:** Write short note on Suffragist movement

CHAPTER 8

GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

- Gender-based violence (GBV) is violence that is directed against a person on the basis of gender.
- **Some Global eye openers:-**
 - China: Suicidal rates are higher in case of women
 - 37% women victims of domestic violence: NFH survey.
 - In the United States a rape occurs every six minutes and violence occurs once in 2/3 of all marriages.
 - In Canada, one in every four women can expect to be sexually assaulted at some point in her life.
 - In France 95 per cent of its victims of violence are women, 51 per cent of the above at the hands of a husband (Carillo 5).
 - *In Pakistan* 99 per cent of housewives and 77 per cent of working women are beaten by their husbands (Carillo 6). Given the number of men in India and China, there should be about 30 million more women in India and 38 million more women in China (Carillo 6).
 - According to the World Health Organization more than 80 million women have undergone sexual surgery (female circumcision) in Africa alone ([M. Schuler] 400). Every minute and a half a woman is raped in South Africa, totalling approximately 380,000 women raped each year (Schuler 322)
- ❖ Violence against women was seen to violate articles 2, 3, 5, 6, 11, 12, and 16 of CEDAW. These articles deal specifically with prohibition of discrimination by public and private actors, the obligation to ensure full development and advancement of women, the need to eliminate traditional practices which discriminate against women, the need to eliminate trafficking in women, and the need to promote employment, health, and equality in the family (Sullivan). Though none of the provisions deal directly with the issue of violence, it was argued that the eliminating the problem of violence is part of the elimination of discrimination. The Committee in charge of implementing the CEDAW stated clearly in General Recommendation 19 that violence is a form of discrimination. The attempt to stretch the Convention to include violence has been somewhat successful but more specific international standards are necessary.
- ❖ Those standards have been clearly spelled out in the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women passed by the General Assembly in December 1993.

- The **UN General Assembly Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women** defines violence as:
‘Any act of gender-based violence that results in or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty whether occurring in public or private life’. (Article 2)
- The **Council of Europe** defines violence against women as ‘all acts of gender-based violence that result in, or are likely to result in, physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.’
- The term "gender violence" reflects the idea that violence often serves to maintain structural gender inequalities, and includes all types of violence against men, women, children, adolescents, gay, transgender people and gender non conforming.
- The most gender-based violence is inflicted by men on women and girls. It is estimated that **20 to 25%** of women in Europe have suffered physical violence. The number of women who have suffered from other forms of gender-based violence is much higher.
- According to the **National Violence Against Women Survey (1998)**, 15% of women will be the victim of a completed rape in their lifetimes and 2.1% of men. According to the Department of Justice, 99% of all people arrested for rape are men.
- **WB report published in October 2018** states that Gender-based violence (GBV) or violence against women and girls (VAWG), is a global pandemic that affects 1 in 3 women in their lifetime.
- This issue is not only devastating for survivors of violence and their families, but also entails significant social and economic costs. In some countries, violence against women is estimated to cost countries up to 3.7% of their GDP – more than double what most governments spend on education.
- **Aurat Foundation** in 2016 estimates that 8,500 women face violation in the country every year— the majority of these cases are of domestic violence, which takes place inside the home.
- Every day in Punjab, at least six women are murdered or face a murder attempt; at least eight women are raped, another 11 assaulted, and 32 abducted for various reasons, according to a report published by the Law and order wing of the Special Monitoring Unit (SMU) on March 14, 2016.

To sum up the report's findings, at least 60 women are subjected to violence every day in Punjab alone.

FORMS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

a) SEXUAL VIOLENCE

- i. Mainly Intercourse
- ii. Planned or a surprise attack.
- iii. Occurrence, Perpetrator/backgrounds
- iv. Sexual violence is common in situations of war and armed conflict.

Other forms of sexual violence include, but are not limited to:

- Sexual slavery
- Sexual harassment (including demands for sex in exchange for job promotion or advancement or higher school marks or grades)
- Trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation
- Forced exposure to pornography
- Forced pregnancy
- Forced sterilization
- Forced abortion
- Eve teasing
- Forced marriage
- Female genital mutilation
- Virginity tests
- Uranism
- Voyeurism
- Sadism
- Masochism
- Bestiality
- Incest
- Marital rape
- Groping
- Virginity tests

❖ WB Report 2018 states:

- a. 35% of women worldwide have experienced either physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence or non-partner sexual violence.
- b. Globally, 7% of women have been sexually assaulted by someone other than a partner.
- c. 200 million women have experienced female genital mutilation/cutting.

b) PSYCHOLOGICAL VIOLENCE

- Emotional violence
- Threats
- Abusive language
- Blackmailing
- Taunts
- Bullying
- Divorce
- Isolation
- Overburden
- Quran Marriage

c) ECONOMIC VIOLENCE

- Lack of fulfillment of economic needs
- Lack of inheritance share
- Lack of providing pocket money
- Lack of power/decision making power to spend money
- Lack of acceptance of economic roles
- Glass ceiling
- Security/Harassment issues
- Dowry

d) PHYSICAL VIOLENCE

- i. Mainly domestic violence
 - ii. Illegal and legal
 - iii. Causes
 - iv. Forms
- Physical harassment
 - Beating
 - Kicking
 - Chaining
 - Head-shaving
 - Kidnapping
 - Killing – forms
 - Braid cutting
 - Knife-cut
 - Face blackening
 - Ink/shoe throwing
 - Amputation

- ❖ Globally, as many as 38% of murders of women are committed by an intimate partner.

APPROACHES STATING VIOLENCE:

There are in effect three approaches to the issue of violence against women (Omvedt).

- I. The **radical feminist approach** locates the discussion in an understanding of patriarchy. According to this approach violence is intrinsic in the relationship between men and women and manifests itself in sexuality as well as in the social and political institutions of society. This leads to a focus on problems of domestic violence, and rape as a manifestation of the initial inequality in the relationship between the sexes (Firestone). Violence is therefore pervasive and inherent in women's daily interaction with men (Brownmiller).
- II. **Socialist feminism** approaches the question of violence against women in a fundamentally different way. Violence is seen as a part of the social and economic forces which operate in society, forces which make women one of many victims. The struggle against violence is therefore not a struggle against men and male domination alone but against systems of exploitation which disempower women. Violence is a result of economic exploitation and only secondarily a function of the male-female relationship. Third world socialist feminists see female workers in certain industries as being victims of violence. There is also a concern with the commodification of women as sexual objects in prostitution and the international trafficking of women (Mitchell).
- III. **Eco-feminism** also deals with violence against women in a significantly different way. It sees relationships between women and nature, between subsistence production engaged by certain women and violent accumulation engaged by certain men and the state. Violence is seen as part of the military industrial complex, an attempt to destroy both women and nature. As is often said in these circles, "There is no essential difference between the rape of a woman, the conquest of accounts, and the destruction of the earth" (Omvedt 15). The issues that are relevant to these groups are a concern with the destruction of the lifestyles of women living in the rural areas of the Third World along with those who live in tribal homelands. Violence is seen as a by-product of the industrial age.
- IV. **The human rights paradigm**, on the other hand, privileges a certain type of human personality, namely, the free, independent woman as an individual endowed with rights and rational agency (Coomaraswamy 1992a:3). The core concept of the human rights approach centers around the issue of empowerment. Violence against women involves the use of force or the threat of the use of force to prevent the necessary empowerment of women within society. The state is therefore under an obligation to ensure that women are

given full opportunity to be independent and empowered without being abused. In the past, the human rights approach has centred on empowering women through access to education, equal employment, adequate health care, and equal civil and political rights. CEDAW, for example, is structured along these lines. The more modern approach, however, is that the right to be free and independent includes the right to be free from fear and the right to be secure in the family and in the community.

In addition, violence was initially seen as an act of private individuals and the human rights model was not structured to hold states accountable for the acts of private citizens. But in recent times there is a growing understanding that state responsibility includes the duty to prevent the rights of individuals from being violated by private actors, whether they be individuals or corporations. The emergence of state responsibility for violence in society has been one of the most important contributions of the women's movement to the issue of human rights.

THEORIES OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

i. MICRO-ORIENTED THEORIES

Social learning theory – individuals learn how to behave through both experience of and exposure to violence. – Intergenerational transmission of violence – Social learning theory can also be used to examine how the relationship between the victim and offender contributes to the cycle of violence:

- Learned helplessness
- Survivorship

Personality Characteristics and Psychopathology – individuals who use violence against women have some sort of personality disorder or mental illness that might get in the way of otherwise normal inhibitions about using violence. – Those who engage in violent behavior are seen as sick individuals who are different from other people. – Focusing only on psychological factors tends to decrease the abuser's responsibility for his actions.

Biological and Neurological factors – Biological suggests that violence against women is related to the process of natural selection. Rape can be viewed as an extreme response to the natural selection pressure on men to reproduce combined with attempts by females to control the identity of their partner. –

Childhood attention deficit disorders and head injuries as risk factors – Eliminates responsibility for the offender.

Exchange Theory – individuals engage in behavior either to earn rewards or to escape punishment. Violence is a means by which individuals or groups can maintain or advance their interests.

Resource Theory – violence occurs in a family in order to maintain power

ii. MACRO THEORIES

Feminist Theory – violence occurs as a result of a male-dominated social structure and the socialization practices that teach gender-specific roles for men and women. ◦ Patriarchy ◦ Gender roles ◦ Does not account for violence by women in both heterosexual and lesbian relationships. }

Family Violence Perspective – violence affects all family relationships (both men and women can be violent) and the origin of the problem is in the nature of the family structure.

Subculture of Violence – certain groups in society may be more likely than other groups to accept the use of violence in specific situations. }

Cultural Acceptance of Violence – cultural approval of violence in certain areas of life such as in movies and sporting events, may spill over into other areas of interpersonal interaction and contribute to the use of violence against women. }

Stress – is a significant risk factor for violence against women; violence is often used in response to a stressful situation.

iii. MULTIDIMENSIONAL THEORIES

Exchange Theory and Social Control Theory – violence and abuse are higher when the rewards exceed the costs (exchange theory) and due to the privacy of the family institution, as well as the reluctance of others to intervene (control theory), assists in reducing the costs of violence. Cultural approval of the use of violence increases the rewards for violent behavior. – Men hit women because they can.

Gender theory – men and women view violence differently and violence is one means of constructing masculinity. Components of the social system that serve to maintain a patriarchal system may increase the risk for violence against women because they influence the power structure within intimate relationships and support relationships in which males have a higher relative status than females.

Male Peer-Support Model – a number of factors (patriarchal social structure, male peer social support, membership in social groups, alcohol use, and a lack of deterrence) contribute to the increased likelihood of violence against women, particularly rape, occurring. Male peer-support groups serve to reinforce and maintain patriarchal values, including a narrow definition of masculinity. }

Social Etiological Model – At the societal level, violence is the result of structural inequality, which establishes a pattern of exploitation and domination of one group by another. At a personal level, individuals may use violence to resolve conflicts, particularly when they want to gain or regain control. This model looks at a combination of structural factors and personal characteristics to explain violence against women.

Ecological Model – suggests that behavior is shaped through interactions between individuals and their social environment. Development is a result of interactions at the following levels of social organization: – Individual – Microsystem – interactions with family, friends, colleagues in the near environment – Mesosystem – interactions between

others in the near environment that affect the individual (ex. home and school) – Exosystem – impact on an individual of actions by policy makers, employers, school boards, etc. – Macrosystem – influence of largely held cultural attitudes and beliefs regarding one’s behavior.

→ **Structural and Direct Forms of Violence**

- Direct violence includes war, murder, rape, assault, verbal attacks and is the kind we physically perceive, but it manifests out of conditions created by the first two invisible forms and can’t be eliminated without eliminating them. Direct violence has its roots in structural violence; then it feeds back and strengthens them. Both are independent on each other. Structural violence cause direct violence. Direct violence reinforces structural violence.
- Structural violence is injustice and exploitation built into a social system that generates wealth for the few and poverty for the many, stunting everyone’s ability to develop their full humanity. By privileging some classes, ethnicities, genders, and nationalities over others, it institutionalizes unequal opportunities for education, resources, and respect. Structural violence forms the very basis of capitalism, patriarchy, and any dominator system.

→ **STRATEGIES TO ELIMINATE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN**

- **Public awareness for rights:** The 16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence, a global campaign spanning from 25 November through 10 December, is taking place this year against the backdrop of an unprecedented global outcry. At the heart of this year’s theme, “Leave No One Behind – End Violence against Women”, for the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women (25 November) and UNiTE Campaign’s observance of the 16 Days of Activism to End Violence against Women (25 November – 10 December), is the imperative to support those who are particularly vulnerable. The UNiTE Campaign is calling on everyone to join the movement to end violence against women, using the colour orange to make your action visible.
- **Breaking the silence:** Millions have rallied behind the hashtag #MeToo and other campaigns, exposing the sheer magnitude of sexual harassment and other forms of violence that women everywhere suffer, every day. Breaking the silence is the first step to transforming the culture of gender-based violence.
- **Education for prevention:** UN Women, in partnership with the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS) has developed a global non-formal education curriculum to engage young people in efforts to prevent and end violence against girls and women. Educate community members on their responsibilities under international and national human rights laws.

- **Addressing root and structural causes:** Violence against women and girls is rooted in gender-based discrimination and social norms and gender stereotypes that perpetuate such violence. Given the devastating effect violence has on women, efforts have mainly focused on responses and services for survivors. However, the best way to end violence against women and girls is to prevent it from happening in the first place by addressing its root and structural causes.
- **Making Laws:** Create laws and enforce existing laws that protect women from discrimination and violence, including rape, beatings, verbal abuse, mutilation, torture, “honor” killings and trafficking.
- **Promoting the peaceful resolution of disputes:** It can be done by including the perspectives of women and girls.
- **Economic Empowerment:** Strengthen women’s ability to earn money and support their households by providing skills training for women.
- **Exercising free will in marriage:** Sensitize the public to the disadvantages of early and forced child marriages.
- **Political Empowerment:** Encourage women to participate in the political process and educate the public about the value of women’s votes.
-
- The best chance to break this cycle is through socialism. Economic democracy and social equality will reduce the structural violence, which will reduce the direct violence. By approaching it from these fundamental levels, socialism can wind down the syndrome of violence.
- States have concrete and clear obligations to address violence against women, whether committed by state agents or by non-state actors. States have a duty to prevent acts of violence against women; to investigate such acts when they occur and prosecute and punish perpetrators; and to provide redress and relief to the victims.
- Generic aspects of good or promising practices can be extracted from a variety of experiences around the world. Common principles include: clear policies and laws; strong enforcement mechanisms; motivated and well-trained personnel; the involvement of multiple sectors; and close collaboration with local women’s groups, civil society organizations, academics and professionals.
- **Strengthening institutional efforts to address GBV:** In October 2016, the World Bank launched the Global Gender-Based Violence Task Force to strengthen the institution’s efforts to prevent and respond to risks of GBV, and particularly sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) that may arise in World Bank-supported projects. It builds on existing work by the World Bank and other actors to tackle violence against women and girls through strengthened approaches to identifying and assessing key risks, and developing key mitigations measures to prevent and respond to sexual exploitation and abuse and other forms of GBV.
- **Making judicial Reforms:**

- **Increasing women in law enforcement agencies:**
- **Improving investigation system**
- **Implementing**
- **Certainty in punishment**

QUESTIONS:

- CSS 2016:** What are sites and forms of violence against women in Pakistan and how in your view this menace can be eliminated from our society?
- CSS 2017:** What are the different gender based violence and in your opinion what could be the workable strategies to eliminate gender based violence from Pakistani society?
- CSS 2018:** Write short note on Government initiatives for combating the menace of violence against women.
- CSS 2019:** Explain the structural and direct forms of violence against women in the Pakistani society by highlighting the case study of Mukhtaran Mai.

CHAPTER 9

CASE STUDIES

MUKHTARAN MAI

June 22, 2002: Mukhtar Mai, 30, from Meerawala village in southern Punjab, was ganged-raped. At 2 pm, she was raped by four men after being dragged into the house of a Mastoi tribesman in her native village of Meerwala, in Muzaffargarh district.

An investigation ordered by the Punjab governor in July 2002 revealed that Mukhtaran's brother Abdul Shakoor, then 12 years old, had been raped by three men from the Mastoi tribe, who then threatened the boy to keep his abuse quiet. When the boy refused, one of the men accused him of having sexual relations with his sister, Salma, who was then at least six years older than Shakoor.

Mukhtaran's family at first tried to arrange a settlement of the dispute by asking that Shakoor marry Salma and that one of the Mastoi tribe marry Mukhtaran. The Mastoi clan was initially willing to accept the agreement but Salma's brothers, including one of the men who raped Shakoor, refused.

Meanwhile, Mai's brother is arrested by the police on charges of adultery as alleged by the Mastoi. The Mastoi rejects the jirga's initial decision of Shakoor marrying the girl he is accused of having adultery with. Instead an appeal to settle scores by Qisas, 'eye for an eye' is demanded. The Mastoi's suggested that they would be willing to 'forgive' Mukhtaran's family if she came and apologised on behalf of her brother. Mukhara appears in front of the jirga, is gang-raped by four men in front onlookers and made to parade naked on the streets. The Mastoi clan then informs the police that both parties have agreed upon a deal and Shakoor is released.

June 28, 2002: Maulana Abdul Razzaq, an imam of the village mosque, protests the decision of the jirga and Mai's rape. What made the incident a national story was a sermon the following Friday, six days later, when the imam of the local mosque spoke against the rape in the Friday prayers. Maulana Razzaq urges the villagers to report the matter, declaring it a grievous sin and a crime. He then proceeds to inform a local journalist, Murad Abbass, who first reported the case in a local newspaper. The imam convinces Mai's family to report the case. The case is filed on June 30, 2002. Meanwhile media attention builds pressure and the Punjab Government demands the police to take immediate action. Within two days the case is registered.

Mukhtaran Mai was awarded Rs500,000 by the government as compensation for her ordeal, which she used to begin setting up a school in her village, which she felt would help address the many social inequities in Meerwala. The international attention that her case got meant that she was able to receive more donations, and expand to two schools.

Legal Scenario

At a trial, a lower court convicted six men, including the four assailants, sentencing them to death, and acquitted the rest of the eight men. In appeal to H.C, five out of six accused in Mai's rape have been acquitted. It was the Supreme Court that took Suo motu notice on the LHC's decision and now its decision to uphold the initial verdict is extremely disappointing to say the least.

The initial report: The initial report filed in Mai's case alleges 14 men of being involved in the gang rape. Charges are filed under the provisions of Pakistan Penal Code (provisions 109/149) of 1868, the Anti-Terrorism Act (7c & 21-1) of 1997 and the Offence of Zina (Enforcement of Hadd) Ordinance (10-4 and 11) of 1979. Using these provisions, Mai's lawyers argue that the crime of rape should be extended to everyone present at the time of Mai's rape, abetting the crime. By this provision, four of the fourteen are charged with rape and the rest for the act of commission or omission. Medico legal reports and a chemical analysis of Mai's case reveal two semen stains.

August 31, 2002: Court sentences six of the fourteen men to death, under the anti-terrorism provision. Four are sentenced while the remaining eight are released. An appeal is filed in the Lahore High Court against the release of the eight men.

March 3, 2005: The Lahore High Court, Multan Bench, reverses the trial court's decision. It acquits five out of the six and reverses the death penalty for the sixth man, to life imprisonment. "Lack of evidence" was cited as the reason for the reversal. The Federal Shariat Court intervenes and suspends the LHC verdict.

"The Federal Shariat Court's subsequent suspension of the LHC verdict on the grounds that high courts had no jurisdiction to hear appeals in cases pertaining to Hudood laws, and the Supreme Court's action to take jurisdiction of the case in response, underscore the jurisdictional problems that have plagued Pakistan's higher judiciary since the inception of the Federal Shariat Court in 1980." The decision of the LHC was met with hue and cry by human rights organisations demanding the state to intervene. The Supreme Court then decided to take Suo motu action against LHC's decision and hear the final appeal. All fourteen men alleged in the initial report by Mai were re-arrested. June 28, 2005: Acquittals of the five men initially convicted by the trial court stands while that for eight others, is held until retrial.nApril 21, 2011: Upholding the Lahore

High Court's verdict, the Supreme Court's three-judge bench acquitted five out of six suspects in the Mukhtar Mai's case. The remaining eight have also been released.

Importance/Contributions Of This Case Study

i. The role of the police here reflects how influential parties have control over criminal investigations. Police officials did not bother with details of the settlement and despite evidence of sodomy, Shakoor was still taken under custody.

ii. One of the most crucial aspects of Mukhtar Mai's case is the role of the village cleric in mobilising people to take action, reporting the matter to a journalist and urging Mai's family to take action. As we protest role of some religious political parties in hindering women rights, we must acknowledge men like Maulana Abdul Razzaq in bringing Mai's case to the forefront.

iii. There is no irony among those people who hear about Mukhtaran Mai and did not utter a rigid words for those who are the main culprit of such a reckless event. Those people are attached with the system that have a place in Pakistan to just listen the appeals of poor people.

iv. The chemical analysis report clearly reports two semen stains, which means irrefutable evidence against at least two of the four charged with rape.

v. Another reason provided is poor investigations, for which no one but our flawed system of justice is to be blamed.

vi. The worst thing happened again in this Mukhtaran Mai case that was happened in most of poor people cases who considered the supreme court as the supreme power over other institutes that represents Pakistan at the so called judiciary platform. The realization that the women cannot raise her voice is being proved by the women sector in entire basis because women are happening with the several rationales and those rationales are not bind with the exact form as it should be.

vii. As pointed out by Ali Dayaan Hassan, the jurisdiction dilemma further delayed the case.

viii. In short, only one of the fourteen identified by Mai as her rapists has been charged. It is worth recalling the adage: justice delayed is justice denied. After nine years of court trials, numerous appeals and a plethora of threats on her life, Mai has been let down by the justice system. In a society where crimes pertaining to women are repeatedly snubbed, Mai evolved as symbol of courage and defiance. Her resolve has inspired women in Pakistan to keep fighting the struggle against societal chauvinism and

patriarchy. Mai used financial help to set up schools, ambulance services and shelters for women in her village. It is remarkable for a woman to stand against adversity with such grace and composure.

ix. The cultural obligation of Pakistani society predominantly supported the conservative elements; consequently the use of violence by male members of society against women becomes a common practice. Such acts of violence against women completely marginalize women in different spheres of life, but the most vulnerable condition is of the women who live in the rural area in Pakistan. As their mobility has been restricted and they do not have the opportunities of education and job. Such facilities are only available to the privileged class living in rural areas. However, rural women still contributing in to the family income through working in fields equal to man and by providing the food to their male workers of family into the field. Such marginalization of women in Pakistan even become worse when the act of violence take place against women in the shape of honour killing, watta satta, early marriages, rape etc.

C. Mukhtara Mai who raised her voice against the inhuman customs and traditions and refused all pressures against women in the name of honour.

Awards and acclaim

- i. On 2 August 2005, the Pakistani government awarded Mukhtaran the Fatima Jinnah gold medal for bravery and courage.
- ii. On 2 November 2005, the US magazine Glamour named Mukhtaran as their Woman of The Year.
- iii. On 12 January 2006, Mukhtaran Mai published her memoir with the collaboration of Marie-Thérèse Cuny under the title *Déshonorée*. The originating publisher of the book is OH ! Editions in France and her book was published simultaneously in German by Droemer Verlag as *Die Schuld, eine Frau zu sein*.
- iv. On 16 January 2006, to coincide with the publication of her memoir, Mukhtaran Mai travelled to Paris (France) and was received by Foreign Minister Philippe Douste-Blazy.
- v. On 2 May 2006, Mukhtaran spoke at the United Nations headquarters in New York. In an interview with United Nations TV, Mai said that "she wanted to get the message across to the world that one should fight for their rights and for the rights of the next generation." She was welcomed by UN Under-Secretary General Shashi Tharoor, who said, "I think it is fair to say that anyone who has the moral courage and internal strength to turn such a brutal attack into a weapon to defend others in a similar position, is a hero indeed, and is worthy of our deepest respect and admiration."

- vi. On 31 October 2006, Mukhtaran's memoir was released in the United States as *In the Name of Honor: A Memoir*.
- vii. On 15 November 2006, Pakistan's lower house of Parliament voted to alter its rape laws to move them from religious law to penal code, effectively separating rape from adultery. It also modifies the law to no longer require that the victim produce four witnesses of the assault, and it allows circumstantial and forensic evidence be used for investigation. The bill reduced the penalty for adultery from execution to a maximum of five years' incarceration and a 10,000 rupee fine. A modified version of the bill, called the Protection of Women Bill, was signed by Musharraf in late 2006. Critics of the final version of the law complained that "[a] judge can still decide whether rape cases will be heard in a civil or an Islamic court. Rape victims will have to report their complaints to district courts, not at local police stations, compelling many to travel long distances. As a result, many will be discouraged." 24 January 2007
- viii. In March 2007, Mukhtaran formally received the 2006 North-South Prize of the Council of Europe for her contribution to human rights. In April 2007, Mukhtaran Mai won the North-South Prize from the Council of Europe.
- ix. In October 2010, Laurentian University of Canada decided to award an honorary doctorate degree to Mukhtar Mai.

Love in Meerwala

In 2005, when some of the men who assaulted her were acquitted on appeal, the government assigned her police protection. One of the officers, Nasir Abbas Gabol, fell in love with Mukhtaran, though he initially kept his feelings to himself. Soon, however, Gabol could not contain himself and in late 2008, he proposed. He was crushed when Mukhtaran said no, since Gabol was already married. Dejected at her response, Gabol attempted suicide, which persuaded his first wife, Shumaila, to appeal on his behalf to Mukhtaran. With Shumaila's consent, Mukhtaran was eventually persuaded to say yes, though not before she made Gabol promise to transfer some land to Shumaila's name and guarantee her a monthly stipend of Rs10,000.

SHARMEEN OBAID CHINOY

- i. Pakistani education activist Malala Yousufzai and filmmaker Sharmeen Obaid Chinoy made it to The New York Time's Women of Impact list this month April 2015, as the Times' celebrated 50 women who have made the biggest difference in the world over the last year. Malala, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2014, takes the 36th spot, followed by Sharmeen Obaid at number 48. The Times describes Malala as "continuing her fight for children's rights and girls' education across the globe, all the while pursuing her own high school education in the UK." Sharmeen Obaid Chinoy's most recent film Song of Lahore received a standing ovation at the Tribeca Film Festival.
- ii. Sharmeen Obaid Chinoy was born on 12 Nov. 1978 in Karachi. She made history on February 26, 2012, becoming the first Pakistani to win an Academy Award for her short documentary Saving Face. Investigative journalist and visual storyteller, Sharmeen Obaid Chinoy, already the first Pakistani to win an International Emmy Award, recently became the first Pakistani to be nominated for an Academy Award.

- iii. Saving Face not only showcases the plight of hundreds of women across Pakistan who fall victim to acid violence each year, it also takes a look into a historic bill passed by Pakistan's parliament proposing strict punishment for perpetrators of the crime. The film is set to premier in the U.S. on March 8, 2012 on HBO.
- iv. In 2016, she won her second Oscar for 'A Girl in the River' which has incredibly positive messages in it, too: a policeman who is a hero, a doctor who is a hero, a lawyer who is a hero.

Background

In December 2001, Obaid-Chinoy returned to Pakistan and spent time in refugee camps and went back to the US with a documentary proposal in hand. At the age of twenty two, with no prior experience, she sent letters to eighty news companies and organizations in the US, and was declined by all of them.

Eventually, Bill Abrams, the president of New York Times Television gave her her big break.

sharmeen terrorschildren-1g-300x197She returned to Pakistan to produce Terror's Children.

Terror's Children is a personal journey of a Pakistani filmmaker Sharmeen Obaid.

For ten weeks in the summer of 2002, she followed the lives of eight Afghan refugee children in the city of Karachi, who had been forced to flee their war ravaged homes in Afghanistan, often alone, to face hunger, disease, illiteracy, servitude and even forced militancy. While many of these children live in the Afghan refugee camp, some also live in illegal encroachments near garbage dumps and become scavengers who sell paper and bottles that they have collected by sifting through trash, others find refuge in religious schools (called "madrasas") that provide free food, shelter and clothing to young boys in exchange for their allegiance to the cause of Islam.

Obaid-Chinoy was a faculty member in the media sciences department at SZABIST (Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto Institute of Science and technology, Karachi). She started her film company, SOC Films, in Karachi in November 2011. Obaid-Chinoy is also the president of The Citizens Archive of Pakistan, a non profit organization dedicated to Cultural and Historic Preservation. (CAP).

Importance/Contributions of this case study

- i. Her films include SAVING FACE, TRANSGENDERS: PAKISTAN'S OPEN SECRET AND PAKISTAN'S TALIBAN GENERATION, which aired on PBS, Channel 4, CBC, SBS and Arte and was the recipient of the Alfred I Dupont Award as well as The Association for International Broadcasting award. Sharmeen has made over a dozen-multi award winning films in over 10 countries around the world and is the

first non-American to be awarded the Livingston Award for best international reporting.

- ii. Obaid-Chinoy began writing investigative pieces at the age of fourteen as a way to contribute to critical conversation in Pakistan. She was always interested in telling stories of marginalized communities; people whose voices were never heard and whose compelling stories needed to be shared. She continued to pursue journalism while she was at Smith and wrote for a number of Canadian and American publications.
- iii. Saving Face highlighted Acid violence that is most prevalent in the Seraiki belt in the Punjab province, a cotton growing region in which acid is readily available as it is used in the fields. The Seraiki belt has some of the lowest levels of education and highest levels of unemployment in the country, and this has resulted in a culture that has over time come to accept certain forms of violence against women. Officially, there are over 100 cases of acid violence reported in Pakistan every year, though it is estimated that the real numbers are far higher. Globally, it is found most often in South Asia, Cambodia and Jamaica.

SAVING FACE tells the stories of two acid-attack survivors: Zakia and Rukhsana, their arduous attempts to bring their assailants to justice, and the charitable work of London-based, Pakistani-born plastic surgeon Dr. Mohammad Jawad, who strives to help these women put this horrific act behind them and move on with their lives. Directed by Oscar® and Emmy®-nominated filmmaker Daniel Junge and Emmy®-winning Pakistani director Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy, SAVING FACE is an intimate look inside Pakistani society, illuminating each women's personal journey while showing how reformers are tackling this vexing problem.

- iv. In terms of our image abroad, her Oscar nomination was interesting for people to see a different side of Pakistan, even if it is just for one night. It's important for Pakistanis to share their talent and skill with the rest of the world.
- v. She made Saving Face so that it could be used as an educational tool to spread awareness and promote dialogue. Zakia and Rukhsana, the two main characters in the film are inspiring women who have shown grace and bravery when faced with unimaginable circumstances. Their narratives will engage the audiences and hopefully bring light to this issue.
- vi. As an investigative journalist, she feels that it is her duty to address issues that people do not want to discuss. It is important to address issues instead of running

away from them, and that the first step is to accept that we have faults just like every other country.

- vii. Primarily, her films have helped spread messages to communities that have previously been unaware of issues. Communities have become better equipped at addressing and spreading awareness about these issues. With the help of the media, non-governmental organizations and an active public, people are able to organize into bodies that can effectively combat violence against marginalized communities.
- viii. The film will now be able to reach a wider audience. Their main goal was to tell their story and showcase the way many women around the world are impacted by acid violence.
- ix. She gives such criticism short shrift, pointing out that “honour” killings have been a focus for activists within Pakistan for decades, while her film’s contribution was to bring this to national – and international – attention. In 2016, she won her second Oscar for *A Girl in the River*, a documentary about 19-year-old Saba, whose uncle and father try to kill her when she marries a man of her choosing. After her win, a previously stalled “honour” killing bill was passed in Pakistan.

AWARDS AND NOMINATIONS

| Year | Award | Category | Work | Result |
|------|---|--|--------------------------------------|--------|
| 2007 | One World Media | Broadcast Journalist of the Year Award | | Won |
| 2010 | Emmy Awards | Best Documentary | <i>Pakistan's Taliban Generation</i> | Won |
| | Livingston Award | Young Journalists - Best International Reporting <i>She was the first non-American to win the Livingston Award for Young Journalists.</i> | | Won |
| 2012 | Academy Award | Academy Award for Best Documentary Short Subject | Saving Face | Won |
| | New York Indian Film Festival | Best Documentary | | Won |
| | SAARC Film Awards | Best Documentary Prize | | Won |

| | | | | |
|----------------------|--|---|---|----------|
| | Glamour Awards | The Lifesaver | | Won |
| | Government of Pakistan | Contribution to arts Hilal-i-Imtiaz (Crescent of Excellence) | | Honorary |
| | Lux Style Awards | Lux Style Achievement Award | | Won |
| 2013 | Crystal Award | Outstanding efforts in Promoting Human Rights and Women's Issues through Film | | Won |
| | | Best Documentary | Saving Face | Won |
| | | Outstanding Editing: Documentary and Long Form | | |
| | | Outstanding Science and Technology Programming | | |
| | | Outstanding Cinematography Documentary and Long Form | | |
| Outstanding Research | | | | |
| 2016 | Academy Award | Academy Award for Best Documentary Short Subject | A Girl in the River: The Price of Forgiveness | Won |

MALALA YOUSAFZAI

Malala Yousafzai was born on July 12, 1997, in Mingora, Pakistan, located in the country's Swat Valley. For the first few years of her life, her hometown remained a popular tourist spot that was known for its summer festivals.

Taliban militants take control of Swat. They ban many things — like owning a television and playing music — and enforce harsh punishments, including public executions, for

citizens who defy their orders. In December of 2008, the Taliban issues an edict banning girls from going to school. As a child, she became an advocate for girls' education, which resulted in the Taliban issuing a death threat against her. Malala and her family learned that the Taliban had issued a death threat against her because of her activism. Though Malala was frightened for the safety of her father—an anti-Taliban activist—she and her family initially felt that the fundamentalist group would not actually harm a child.

On October 9, 2012, when 15-year-old Malala was riding a bus with friends on their way home from school, a masked gunman boarded the bus and demanded to know which girl was Malala. When her friends looked toward Malala, her location was given away. The gunman fired at her, hitting Malala in the left side of her head; the bullet then traveled down her neck. Two other girls were also injured in the attack. The shooting left Malala in critical condition, so she was flown to a military hospital in Peshawar. A portion of her skull was removed to treat her swelling brain. To receive further care, she was transferred to Birmingham, England.

After the Attack

- i. Once she was in the United Kingdom, Yousafzai was taken out of a medically induced coma. Though she would require multiple surgeries—including repair of a facial nerve to fix the paralyzed left side of her face—she had suffered no major brain damage. In March 2013, she was able to begin attending school in Birmingham.
- ii. The shooting resulted in a massive outpouring of support for Yousafzai, which continued during her recovery. She gave a speech at the United Nations on her 16th birthday, in 2013. She has also written an autobiography, *I Am Malala: The Girl Who Stood Up for Education and Was Shot by the Taliban*, which was released in October 2013. Unfortunately, the Taliban still considers Yousafzai a target.
- iii. Despite the Taliban's threats, Yousafzai remains a staunch advocate for the power of education. On October 10, 2013, in acknowledgement of her work, the European Parliament awarded Yousafzai the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought. That same year, she was nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize. She didn't win the prize, but was named a nominee again in March 2014. In August of the same year, Leanin.Org held a live chat on Facebook with Sheryl Sandberg and Yousafzai about the importance of education for girls around the world. She talked about her story, her inspiration and family, her plans for the future and advocacy, and she answered a variety of inquiries from the social network's users.
- iv. In October 2014, Yousafzai received the Nobel Peace Prize, along with Indian children's rights activist Kailash Satyarthi. At age 17, she became the youngest

person to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. In congratulating Yousafzai, Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said: "She is (the) pride of Pakistan, she has made her countrymen proud. Her achievement is unparalleled and unequalled. Girls and boys of the world should take lead from her struggle and commitment." U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon described her as "a brave and gentle advocate of peace who through the simple act of going to school became a global teacher."

- v. For her 18th birthday on July 12, 2015, also called Malala Day, the young activist continued to take action on global education by opening a school for Syrian refugee girls in Lebanon. Its expenses covered by the Malala Fund, the school was designed to admit nearly 200 girls from the ages of 14 to 18. "Today on my first day as an adult, on behalf of the world's children, I demand of leaders we must invest in books instead of bullets," Yousafzai proclaimed in one of the school's classrooms.
- vi. That day, she also asked her supporters on The Malala Fund website: "Post a photo of yourself holding up your favorite book and share why YOU choose #BooksNotBullets - and tell world leaders to fund the real weapon for change, education!" The teenage activist wrote: "The shocking truth is that world leaders have the money to fully fund primary AND secondary education around the world - but they are choosing to spend it on other things, like their military budgets. In fact, if the whole world stopped spending money on the military for just 8 days, we could have the \$39 billion still needed to provide 12 years of free, quality education to every child on the planet."
- vii. In October 2015, a documentary about Yousafzai's life was released. HE NAMED ME MALALA, directed by Davis Guggenheim (An Inconvenient Truth, Waiting for Superman), gives viewers an intimate look into the life of Malala, her family, and her commitment to supporting education for girls around the world.
- viii. In April 2017, United Nations Secretary-General Antonio Guterres appointed Yousafzai as a U.N. Messenger of Peace to promote girls education. The appointment is the highest honor given by the United Nations for an initial period of two years. Yousafzai was also given honorary Canadian citizenship in April. She is the sixth person and the youngest in the country's history to receive the honor.

Importance/Contributions of this case study

- i. Before Malala Yousafzai became a household name, she was just like any other young girl — she loved school, Justin Bieber and Harry Potter, according to CNN. But when the Taliban outlawed education for girls in her home of Swat Valley, Pakistan, she unhesitatingly went from ordinary student to intractable advocate

overnight. Despite direct death threats, Yousafzai — who was just 11 years old at the time — continued attending classes and anonymously blogged about her experiences for the BBC.

“I did not want to be silent because I had to live in that situation forever,” she told CNN. “And it was a better idea, because otherwise they were going to kill us — so it was a better idea to speak and then be killed.”

She highlighted importance of education. Yousafzai attended a school that her father, Ziauddin Yousafzai, had founded. After the Taliban began attacking girls' schools in Swat, Malala gave a speech in Peshawar, Pakistan, in September 2008. The title of her talk was, "How dare the Taliban take away my basic right to education?"

This case shows her passion for education. In early 2009, Yousafzai began blogging for the BBC about living under the Taliban's threats to deny her an education. In order to hide her identity, she used the name Gul Makai. However, she was revealed to be the BBC blogger in December of that year. With a growing public platform, Yousafzai continued to speak out about her right, and the right of all women, to an education. Her activism resulted in a nomination for the International Children's Peace Prize in 2011. That same year, she was awarded Pakistan's National Youth Peace Prize.

- ii. On Oct. 9, 2012, a Taliban member nearly took Yousafzai's life when he shot her in the head while she was riding home from school because she had come to represent everything progressive that the militant group rejects.

The defiant activist underwent numerous surgeries in the U.K., which included having her skull reconstructed. But throughout her ordeal, she refused to harbor ill will toward the terrorist group, and has advocated instead for a peaceful response on a number of occasions.

“If you hit a Talib, then there would be no difference between you and the Talib,” Yousafzai told Jon Stewart on “The Daily Show” last October, rendering the outspoken host speechless. “You must not treat others with cruelty ... You must fight others through peace and through dialogue and through education.”

- iii. In her characteristically unflappable voice, Yousafzai rallied the U.N. last year on the inaugural Malala Day when she outlined her every expectation for the 57 million children who are out of school around the world. “One child, one teacher,

one book and one pen can change the world. Education is the only solution. Education first,” she said during her speech on her 16th birthday.

The U.N. paid heed to her words when it unveiled on that same day the Global Education First Initiative, a project that aims to bring quality and inclusive education to all, over the next five years.

- iv. Yousafzai is a devout Muslim and she wants to make sure that terrorists don't get away with misappropriating the religion to justify their violent missions. “They think that God is a tiny, little conservative being who would send girls to the hell just because of going to school,” she said. “The terrorists are misusing the name of Islam and Pashtun society for their own personal benefits.”

And after terror group Boko Haram kidnapped nearly 300 schoolgirls in Nigeria in April, Yousafzai again publicly reminded the world that Islam does not condone such depraved acts. “I think they haven't studied Islam yet, they haven't studied Quran yet, and they should go and they should learn Islam,” she told CNN in May. “I think that they should think of these girls as their own sisters. How can one imprison his own sisters and treat them in such a bad way?”

- v. Yousafzai is a staunch education advocate, but that's not the only cause for which she's going to fight tooth and nail. “Innocent victims are killed in terrorism, and they lead to resentment among the Pakistani people. If we refocus efforts on education it will make a big impact.”
- vi. In 2013, the esteemed group of a record 259 nominees for the Nobel Peace Prize boasted such shakers as the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons and Chelsea Manning, the U.S. Army private who has admitted to sending hundreds of thousands of classified documents to the website WikiLeaks. Three members of the Norwegian parliament believed that, at 15, Yousafzai also deserved a nomination for “her courageous commitment to the right of girls to education,” parliamentarian Freddy de Ruyter wrote on the Labor party website, according to NBC. “A commitment that seemed so threatening to the extremists that they chose to try and kill her.”
- vii. When the news hit that Yousafzai didn't win the Nobel Peace Prize, the Taliban was quick to express its relief. “She did nothing big so it's good that she didn't get it,” spokesman Shahidullah Shahid told the Agence France-Presse last October. “This award should be given to the real Muslims who are struggling for Islam.” But the resilient teenager remained insouciant to her enemy's harsh words and to not being named the youngest Nobel Peace Prize in history.

“I think I have won the Nobel Peace Prize,” she said at an NPR event last October. “Because when I look at the nomination and the support of people — if you just remove the jury — I have won it. And I’m happy for that.”

- viii. Just a month after she was shot, Yousafzai and her supporters began planting the seeds for the Malala Fund, a nonprofit that is working to fulfill the activist’s dream of bringing education to every boy and girl across the globe.
- ix. In a show of solidarity, Yousafzai helped hundreds of Syrian refugees cross from their war-torn country into Jordan in February, after leaving their homes behind and enduring an arduous trek through the desert.
- x. She was joined by her father and a team from her eponymous organization, the Malala Fund, which has partnered with grassroots Jordanian and Syrian organizations and NGOs working to bring every school-aged Syrian refugee back in the classroom, according to the nonprofit’s blog.
- xi. It’s been three months since more than 200 Nigerian schoolgirls were kidnapped and President Goodluck Jonathan is feeling the heat to get them home safely, particularly from Yousafzai. The tireless teen met with Jonathan and the families this past weekend, and made quite an impression on the Nigerian leader, according to Reuters.

“The president promised me ... that the abducted girls will return to their homes soon,” she said.

And she’s going to hold him to his vow.

“I will from now be counting days and will be looking,” Yousafzai said. “I can’t stop this campaign until I see these girls return back to their families and continue their education.”

- xii. She proved herself as a bold girl with masculine traits. As a young girl, Malala Yousafzai defied the Taliban in Pakistan and demanded that girls be allowed to receive an education.

Awards and honours

Yousafzai has been awarded the following national and international honours:

- i. 2011: International Children's Peace Prize (nominee)

- ii. 2011: National Youth Peace Prize
- iii. Anne Frank Award for Moral Courage, January 2012
- iv. Sitara-e-Shujaat, Pakistan's third-highest civilian bravery award, October 2012
- v. Foreign Policy magazine top 100 global thinker, November 2012
- vi. 2012: Time magazine Person of the Year shortlist
- vii. Mother Teresa Awards for Social Justice, November 2012
- viii. Rome Prize for Peace and Humanitarian Action, December 2012
- ix. 2012: Top Name in Annual Survey of Global English, January 2013
- x. Simone de Beauvoir Prize, January 2013
- xi. Memminger Freiheitspreis 1525, March 2013[155] (conferred on 7 December 2013 in Oxford
- xii. Doughty Street Advocacy award of Index on Censorship, March 2013
- xiii. Fred and Anne Jarvis Award of the UK National Union of Teachers, March 2013
- xiv. Vital Voices Global Leadership Awards, Global Trailblazer, April 2013
- xv. One of Time's "100 Most Influential People in the World", April 2013
- xvi. Premi Internacional Catalunya Award of Catalonia, May 2013
- xvii. Annual Award for Development of the OPEC Fund for International Development (OFID), June 2013
- xviii. International Campaigner of the Year, 2013 Observer Ethical Awards, June 2013
- xix. 2012: Tipperary International Peace Award, Ireland Tipperary Peace Convention, August 2013
- xx. Portrait of Yousafzai by Jonathan Yeo displayed at National Portrait Gallery, London (2013)
- xxi. 2013: Ambassador of Conscience Award from Amnesty International
- xxii. 2013: International Children's Peace Prize, KidsRights Foundation
- xxiii. 2013: Clinton Global Citizen Awards from Clinton Foundation
- xxiv. 2013: Harvard Foundation's Peter Gomes Humanitarian Award from Harvard University
- xxv. 2013: Anna Politkovskaya Award – Reach All Women in War
- xxvi. 2013: Reflections of Hope Award – Oklahoma City National Memorial & Museum
- xxvii. 2013: Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought – awarded by the European Parliament
- xxviii. 2013: Honorary Master of Arts degree awarded by the University of Edinburgh
- xxix. 2013: Pride of Britain (October)
- xxx. 2013: Glamour magazine Woman of the Year
- xxxi. 2013: GG2 Hammer Award at GG2 Leadership Awards (November)
- xxxii. 2013: International Prize for Equality and Non-Discrimination
- xxxiii. 2014: Nominee for World Children's Prize also known as Children's Nobel Prize
- xxxiv. 2014: Awarded Honorary Life Membership by the PSEU (Ireland)
- xxxv. 2014: Skoll Global Treasure Award

- xxxvi. 2014: Honorary Doctor of Civil Law, University of King's College, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada
- xxxvii. 2014: Nobel Peace Prize, shared with Kailash Satyarthi
- xxxviii. 2014: Philadelphia Liberty Medal
- xxxix. 2014: One of Time Magazine "The 25 Most Influential Teens of 2014"
- xl. 2014: Honorary Canadian citizenship
- xli. 2015: Grammy Award for Best Children's Album
- xlii. 2015: Asteroid 316201 Malala named in her honour.
- xliii. 2016: Honorary president of the students union of the University of Sheffield
- xliv. 2016: DAWN newspaper reported that Yousafzai's biography page on Wikipedia was the most read of the year amongst Pakistani personalities.
- xlv. 2017: Youngest ever United Nations Messenger of Peace
- xlvi. 2017: Received honorary doctorate from the University of Ottawa
- xlvii. 2017: Ellis Island International Medal of Honor

WHAT IS AN HONOUR KILLING?

A Middle Eastern and South Asian cultural practice where murder, usually of a female family member, is committed by male family members as a response to a slight upon the so-called honour of the family. The murder intends to defend the family honour they feel is lost by a specific action deemed dishonorable by religious and tribal standards, such as adultery.

Honour Killings in Pakistan:

Honour killings are justified in the name of religious tradition. These traditions have become blurred and corrupted, allowing for widespread abuse. Women and young girls are being killed by husbands, fathers, and brothers who feel shame as been brought upon their family. Authorities blame woman for their deaths, believing that they deserve punishment for their actions and murder is a justifiable action taken by men. Similar practices of honour killings have been known since ancient Roman times.

Hundreds of women die each year in Pakistan as a result of Honour Killings. Many killings go unreported, placing some estimates of those actually dying in the thousands. One in every five homicides in Pakistan are related to an honour killing.

Reasons behind Honour Killings:

A threat of violence involves every aspect of a women's life, with most living in daily fear of being attacked. A mere suspicion can lead to murder for a woman, such as A rumor spread in a village. An accusation by a jealous husband. In extreme cases a man's dream about his wife's adultery. Women face death by shooting, burning or being slaughtered with axes. Women are most often killed as a result of

- Being suspected of having an illicit relationship.
- Attempting to marry a man of her choice.
- Divorcing an abusive husband.
- Coming forward about being raped.

All of these reasons go against the ideas and beliefs that men are not in the wrong and that the woman has brought her own misfortune upon herself.

Aftermath of Honour Killings:

Women are never given a chance to explain or clear up any misunderstandings. Tradition in Pakistan dictates that the only way to restore honor to a man is by killing the offending woman. Police and law enforcement almost always take the side of the man in honour killings, and men are rarely prosecuted. When men are convicted of murder, the judiciary ensures that men receive a light sentence, further promoting that men can kill female family members without worrying about consequences. With lack of women's shelters and places to hide for the accused, any woman attempting to travel on her own to seek refuge is an easy target for abuse by police, strangers, and male family members on the hunt for her. Because Women have few options to turn to in order to seek help suicide appears to be the best option to escape the persecution.

What is being done to stop Honour Killings?

The United Nations (UN) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women has ratified with the government of Pakistan to stop honour killings and discrimination against women. Despite this ratification, the Pakistan government has failed to make significant changes to women's rights and equality. Women are still under the subjugation of male family members and male members of society.