Gender Studies

Short notes compiled by

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1. Introduction to Gender Studies

1.1 Introduction to Gender Studies

What is Gender:
- Is a status designation derived from the male and female physiological aspects to allow individuals to functions within a social context.
- Refers to those traits and characteristics that a person is expected to possess by virtue of being male or female, as well as the different roles that the person is expected to perform.
- Is not determined biologically, as a result of sexual characteristics of either women or men, but is constructed socially.
- It is a central principle for organizing societies.
- It affects all parts of life-social, economic, political

Why study Gender?
- It helps to understand how our individual identities as man and woman structure our interactions.
- It enables an understanding of how gender shapes how we view others, learn different role and occupy status.
- It enables us to learn how structures of patriarchy form the basis of power and resource allocation.
- To analyze how structures create gender standards and organizational rules and expectations.

The Gender Approach
- Gender is not about women but about the relation between men and women.
- It is an approach that focuses on women and men and not on women in isolation. It highlights:
  - the differences between women's and men's interest even within the same household and how these interact and are expressed.
  - the conventions and hierarchies which determine women's and men's position in the family, community and society at large, whereby women are usually dominated by men
  - the differences among women and among men, based on age, wealth, ethnic background and other factors
  - the way gender roles and relations change, often quite rapidly, as a result of social, economic and technological trends

Gender Theories
Functional Theory:
- Believe that there are social roles better suited to one gender than the other, and that societies are more stable when certain tasks are fulfilled by the appropriate sex.
- *In the 1950s, Talcott Parsons advanced the idea that the nuclear family effectively reared children to meet the labor demands of a capitalist system.*
- According to Parsons: Men were more suited for *an instrumental role, public domain* (the person who provides the family's material support and is often an authority figure). Women were more suited for *an expressive role, private domain* (the person who provides the family's emotional support and nurturing). This is called the public-private dichotomy. Men in the public realm and the women in the private realm.

This theory was subjected to criticism by the Conflict theory.

Conflict Theory

- Believe men have historically had access to most of society's material resources and privileges. Therefore, it is in their interest to try to maintain their dominant position.
- Because of traditional division of labour, men have more access to resources and this privileged them in dominant positions.
- More values attached to male dominated spheres and a system of hierarchy discriminates women from accessing resource and privileges in society.
- Because there is no incentive for those in power to give up this control, these arrangements persist far beyond their functional necessity.
- When there is a resistance against the dominated position of men, it leads to conflict; therefore, the dichotomy of the public-private realms cannot be justified.

Symbolic Interaction theory

- Emphasize how the concept of gender is socially constructed, maintained, and reproduced in our everyday lives.
- Gender is learned through the process of socialization and gender inequality produced through interaction in society.

Building upon the conflict theory and the symbolic interaction theory, another perspective emerged in 1970's and 1980's, knowns as Feminist Theory.

Feminist Theory

- It tries to understand the gender relation between a man and a woman and to understand the discrimination that exists in society because of the public-private dichotomy.
- Analyzes the status of women and men in society with reference to access to resources, position and privileges.
- Questions the subordinate or inferior position attributed to women on basis of their biology. There is a famous saying in feminism that biology is not destiny.
- *"One is not born a woman, but one becomes one." Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex (1949).* Early feminist writer.
- Critically examines the intersections of multiple forms of stratifications (eg. race, class, ethnicity).
- There was a shift from gender as a fixed category to a social construct, it varies from society to society and from time to time.

Gender as Performativity

- A theory given by *Judith Butler* who argued that it is in the process of social interaction that creates femininity and masculinity.
- Gender is constructed through your own repetitive performance of gender. Cross dressing is the best example of performance of gender.

Doing Gender

- It was propounded by West and Zimmerman implying the acting out of gender in everyday life, towards the end of 80's and 90's.
- Gender is not a set of trait nor a role but the product of social doing.
- It is something that one does repeatedly in the process of everyday interaction.

Some relevant concepts

Gender Binary

- It is the classification of sex and gender into two distinct, opposite and disconnected forms of masculine and feminine. It is one general type of a gender system.
- Traditionally only two gender was recognized feminine or masculine. Today there is gender binary is rejected - more than two, recognition of third gender.

Third Gender

- describes any socially or legally recognised gender role outside of the gender binary of male and female. In India often known as hijra or eunuch.

Gender bias

- Gender blind or gender neutral approach both in academics and development. Most often role of women ignored or rather presumed under men.
- Often women entered project passively rather than actively. It is the outcome of unequal status given to men and women.
- It functions through process of gender socialization. Results in gender discrimination.

Gender Assignment

When there are indications that genital sex might not be decisive in a particular case, is normally not defined by a single definition, but by a combination of conditions, including chromosomes and gonads.

Transgender

Having a gender that is different from the gender one was assigned at birth.

Intersex or hermaphroditic

which means having an abnormal chromosomal makeup and mixed or indeterminate male and female sex characteristics.

Gender Stereotypes

- are simplistic generalizations about the gender attributes, differences, and the roles of individuals and/or groups.
- significantly attribute to the status quo in terms of women and men's roles. The commonest female stereotypical role that is prevalent is of the homemaker. Begins before birth and influence early: Kicking foetuses are boys · Boys in school are rewarded for right answers; girls for neatness & diligence.

Gender Identity

It refers to how one thinks of one's own gender: whether one thinks of oneself as a man (masculine) or as a woman (feminine.). For example, if a person considers himself a male and is most comfortable referring to his personal gender in masculine terms, then his gender identity is male. However, his gender role is male only if he demonstrates typically male characteristics in behaviour, dress, and/or mannerisms. Gender role is often an outward expression of gender identity, but not necessarily so. In most individuals, gender identity and gender role are congruous.

Gender Roles

Roles are learned behaviours in a given society/community, or other special group, that condition which activities, tasks and responsibilities are perceived as male and female. They are affected by age, class, race,

ethnicity, religion and by the geographical, economic and political environment. Both men and women play multiple roles in society. Men are able to focus on a particular productive role, and play their multiple roles sequentially. Women, in contrast to men, must play their roles simultaneously, and balance competing claims on time for each of them. Elements of gender role include clothing, speech patterns, movement, occupations and other factors not limited to biological sex.

Gender Socialization

Socialization is the process of learning one's culture and how to live within it; the way people adopt ideas about social roles from other members of their society. There is the tendency for boys and girls to be socialized differently. Boys are raised to conform to the male gender role, and girls are raised to conform to the female gender or role. *Gender socialization begins at birth and occurs through four major agents of socialization: family, education, peer groups, and mass media*. Each agent reinforces gender roles by creating and maintaining normative expectations for gender-specific behavior.

Patriarchy

- Common sense - applies male domination, male prejudice or male power.
- Sociology - means absolute rule of the father or the eldest male member over his family.
- Feminist - refers to the masculine domination over women. As a concept helps to understand the subordination of women. Not only descriptive but analytical concept explains the relation where men have privilege over women. It gives men the right to control women's reproductive and productive labour.
- The term often considered opposite of patriarchy is matriarchy. MATRIARCHY implies rule of the female or women power. Across the world we find no matriarchal society. It is an illusion. Many societies, for example, Nayars of Kerela and Khasis of Manipur are Matrilineal society. It implies inheritance through female line. In these societies the power is in the hand of men only, only the line of transmission changes- from father to son in matrilineal and from mother to mother's brother & sister's son.

Gender Discrimination

Discrimination based on a person because of their gender. The unequal treatment towards girls & women creates hierarchies that works to deny certain rights to them. Discrimination begins at home and is carried on to the workplace. Different forms of gender discrimination: Women paid less compared to men, girl child given less food, education than boys. Elimination of girl/female foetus due to society treating them as burden.

Gender Relations

The ways in which culture or society defines rights, responsibilities and identities of men and women in relation to one another. Men & Women are expected to behave differently in different situation not only because of biological traits but because of the social-cultural pattern of relations. The relation between men and women are guided by cultural norms that regulate their behaviour. In traditional gender relation men assume dominance over women.

Gender Equity

requires equal enjoyment by women and men of socially valued goods, opportunities, resources and rewards. Gender equity does not mean that women and men become the same, but that their opportunities and life chances are equal.

Gender Equality

is the state or condition of being the same especially in terms of social status and legal/political rights. It does not mean that men and women became the same but that their rights, responsibilities and duties are not depended on biology.

Gender Empowerment

Became a relevant term in the 1980s both in the academics and in the field of development. In simple form, means the redistribution of power that challenges patriarchal ideologies and male dominance. It entails the transformation of the structure or institution that reinforces and perpetuates gender discrimination. It is a process that enables women to gain access to and control of material resources. It is a process of awareness and capacity building leading to greater participation in decision making & transformative action.

Gender Mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming is the public policy concept of assessing the different implications for women and men of any planned policy action, including legislation and programmes, in all areas and levels. *The concept of gender mainstreaming was first proposed at the 1985 Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi*. The idea has been developed in the United Nations development community. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. It not only a question of social justice, but is necessary for ensuring equitable sustainable human development by the most effective and efficient means.

1.2 Difference between Gender and Women Studies

Women's Studies interrogates the history of women and their contributions to society (and how society has treated them). Women's studies as an academic enterprise had its roots in second wave feminism and originated as a challenge to male-defined and male-centred knowledge.

Gender Studies interrogates the way societies conceive gender, how those cultural categories affect the way individuals are treated within society, and the ways in which that cultural understanding of gender categories interacts with all the other products of culture (how journalism reports, how things are marketed, etc).

Women are only one set of a much larger spectrum of genders. Some facilities feel the need to study them separately; others subsume women's as a sub-major of Gender in general.
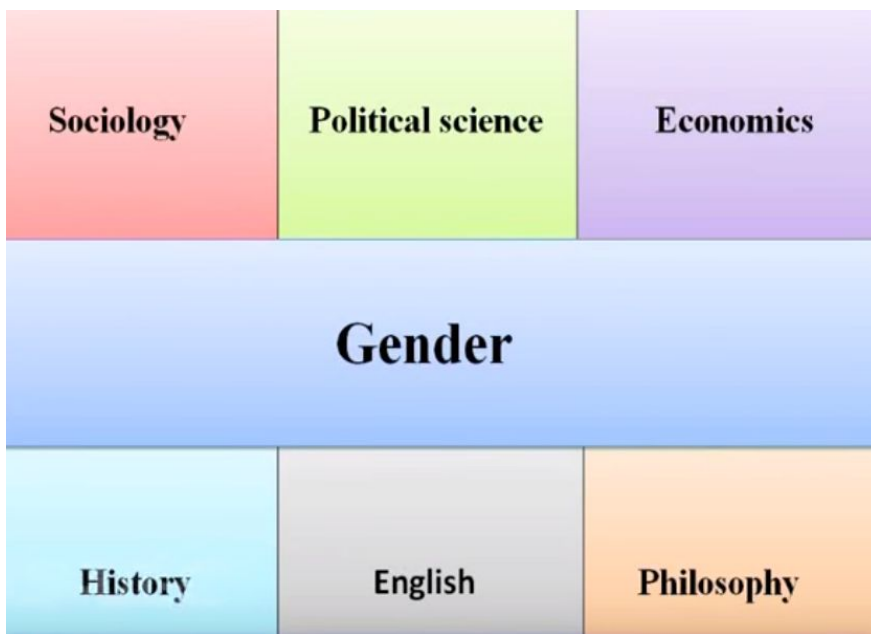
The premise of gender studies is that to fully grasp the experience of women, the experience of men (and now all genders) must be examined to reveal power and the relations that lead to oppression. How can you understand oppression without knowing anything about the oppressor?

Most of the women's studies programs are now called as gender studies or gender and women's studies. The pragmatic reason for this is that it is seen as less feminist, more respectable and less threatening than women's studies. While the term 'gender' was initially used by feminists to establish the social (as opposed to natural) basis of hierarchy and division between men and women, this meaning has largely been lost in its incorporation into everyday language. 'Gender', therefore has come to seem a safe and neutral term.

'Gender studies' is also seen as more inclusive than 'women's studies', taking in men and women as well as those who identify as neither.

In practice, there is little that definitively differentiates between gender studies and women's studies in terms of what is taught. To be sure, every curriculum is different, but all, whether women's studies or gender studies, use feminist research and theory, discuss gender and inevitably discuss men as well as women and transgressions of gender binaries.

1.3 Multidisciplinary nature of Gender Studies

Sociology	Political science	Economics
Gender		
History	English	Philosophy

Gender and Sociology

Differences -Sex and Gender

Sex	Gender
• Biological Construct	• Societal -Culturalconstruct
• Internal	• External
• Difficult to Change (Constant)	• Can be Changed (Variable)
• Two main categories-Male and Female	• Two main Categories- Masculine and Feminine
• Sex remains same regardless of time and culture	• Gender Roles differ as per time and culture.
• Natural	• Cultural

- Oakley in her book *Sex, Gender and Society (1972),* argued that
  "*'Sex' is a word that refers to the biological differences between male and female: the visible difference in genitalia, the related difference in procreative function. 'Gender', however, is a matter of culture: it refers to the social classification into 'masculine' and 'feminine'.*

Gender and Political Science

Aristotle believed that there were two kinds of science, one governing the natural world (physics), and the other the human world (politics). Until relatively recently, most practitioners of Aristotle's brand of political science were theorists, and most were men. Over the past century, political science has been systematically formalized into a key discipline within the social sciences. Also in this time, women gained the right to formal

education, with women now more likely than men to graduate college and increasingly more likely to attend graduate school.

Compared to other branches of the social sciences, political science has been among the most resistant to feminist analysis.

Political science, as a gendered institution, has shown itself to be capable of change over its first century. The status of women has improved, the professional environment has in many ways become more women friendly, and scholarship on gender has expanded in scope and quantity. Nevertheless, gender parity remains an elusive goal. Women are underrepresented at virtually every level of the discipline, from graduate school to APSA leadership, and they continue to face gender-related obstacles in their professional lives. Moreover, women and politics scholarship remains somewhat marginalized in the discipline.

Scholars of women and politics maintain that no aspect of politics can be understood without an understanding of the ways that gender influences underlying assumptions and dynamics, just as the history of political science in its first century cannot be fully understood without an examination of its own gender politics. Although the study of gender and politics poses important epistemological, theoretical, and empirical challenges for the discipline, many political scientists remain unfamiliar with gender politics research, even in their areas of expertise.

Feminism as a form of theory and practice has remained important to scholars and to the research carried out in the field of gender and politics. For many gender scholars, therefore, the "personal is political"—their academic interests have been inseparable from their political commitment. Their endeavor is therefore one of "critical scholarship" with an explicitly normative dimension. Debates about separate gender sections and panels on women and politics—seen by some as separatist—linked to broader questions about women's political participation, such as whether women should organize within established structures (political parties, trade unions) or autonomously. The development of much academic work on gender and politics was shaped by this broader context of feminist and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) activism.

Thus, the burgeoning gender and politics scholarship has looked at a range of themes using a diversity of approaches. Much has focused on women—first on including women in the current categories and analyses of political science—thereby gendering the classic "units of analysis" such as citizens, voters, legislators, parties, legislatures, states, and nations. A second strand on women has examined political activities in arenas traditionally seen as outside political science. A third strand has looked at gender as a structure of social organization.

Gender and Economics

The economy is the system of human activities directed at the allocation (production, distribution and exchange) of scarce resources by economic agents over economic agents.

Economic agency is the capacity of an economic agent to solve an economic problem. Economic agents choose the optimum solution given a set of multiple constraints (time, budget, knowledge). This optimum may be individual or shared, changes over time and may be gender specific.

Power inequities characterize gender relations, which tend to reproduce existing inequities through gendered economic institutions.

Women and men may differ in terms of their capacity and constraints to solve an economic problem and to strive for an individual or shared optimum solution.

Gender and Philosophy

How are 'philosophy' and 'gender' implicated? Throughout history, philosophers—mostly men, though with more women among their number than is sometimes supposed—have often sought to specify and justify the proper roles of women and men, and to explore the political consequences of sexual difference. The last forty years, however, have seen a dramatic explosion of critical thinking about how philosophy is a gendered discipline; there has also been an abundance of philosophical work that uses gender as a central analytic category. In particular, feminist philosophy has become established as a major field of inquiry, and it is now complemented by related emerging areas, including the philosophy of race and the philosophy of sex and love.

1.4 Autonomy vs. Integration Debate in Gender Studies

- Proponents of the autonomy of gender studies emphasize that gender studies be an autonomous subject on its own, without any dependence on other curriculum.
- Integration of gender studies means that the existing curriculum, faculty, administration be used to advance the goals of gender studies.

Phase Theory:

Phase theory is a classification of feminist thinking about the development of the Women's Studies curriculum over the past 15 to 20 years. The most widely disseminated phase theory is that of Peggy Mcintosh, who locates five interactive phases using history as a paradigm in her interactive phases.
- Phase 1 -> Womanless history
- Phase 2 -> Women in history
- Phase 3 -> Women as a problem, anomaly or absence in history
- Phase 4 -> Women as history
- Phase 5 -> History redefined or reconstructed to include us all

Schuster and Van Dyne presents six stages:
- Stage 1 -> Invisible Women
- Stage 2 -> Searching for missing women
- Stage 3 -> Women as a subordinate group
- Stage 4 -> Women studied on their own terms
- Stage 5 -> Women as a challenge to the disciplines
- Stage 6 -> The transformed curriculum

1.5 Status of Gender Studies in Pakistan

- The center of excellence for women studies at the university of Karachi is the pioneer institute of women studies in Pakistan; it was established in 1989 by the ministry of women development, Government of Pakistan.In 2002, initiated M-Phil/PhD programmes. A journal is produced. Punjab university and LCWU are also offering gender studies subjects.
- Indigenous courses are required rather than that of EU or the USA, peculiar to Pakistani society.
- Dearth of native writing, need to include islamic feminism.
- MA program started in PU but the program lack local context, qualitative research.
- No real links between the academic feminism and the women movement. Women movement being primarily run by NGOs (not all working together, lack of funds).
- Gender expert jobs in market?

2. Social Construction of Gender

2.1 Historicizing Constructionism

2.1.1 Problematizing the category of "Sex": Queer Theory

- Queer is by definition whatever is at odds with the normal, the legitimate, the dominant.
- **Emerged in 1990s out of the fields of queer studies and women's studies. Italian feminist and film theorist Teresa de Lauretis coined the term "queer theory" for a conference organized at the University of California in 1990.**
- "Queer unsettles and questions the genderedness of sexuality." Teresa de Lauretis.
- Queer theory expands its focus to encompass any kind of sexual activity or identity that falls into normative and deviant categories.
- It focuses in mismatches between sex, gender and desire, according to Jagose (1996).
- Has been associated with bisexual, lesbian and gay subjects, but also includes topics such as cross-dressing, intersexuality, gender ambiguity, and gender-corrective surgery.
- Annamarie Jagose wrote Queert theory: An introduction in 1997.
- Queer theory main project is exploring the contesting of the categorization of gender and sexuality; identities are not fixed. There is an interval between what is subject does and what a subject is.
- Largely derived from post-structuralist theory and deconstruction in particular.

2.1.2 Is "Sex" socially determined, too?

- Were differences between women and men determined by biological factors alone, we would not find the vast diversity that exists in gender relations from society to society; moreover, were sex differences universal in content, what it means to be a man or to be a woman would not vary from one culture to another.

2.2 Masculinities and Femininity

- Masculine issues should also be addressed without compromising the importance of femininity.
- Not all men enjoy the same benefits of masculinity.

Femininity

Attributes and characteristic attributed to woman to behave feminine or adopt femininity. It is made up of both socially-defined and biologically-created factors. Traits traditionally cited as feminine include gentleness, empathy, and sensitivity.
Women are supposed to be Caring, Nurturing, Emotional, Domestic, Sensitive, Passive, Soft, Gentle, resulting in Lower status...poorly paid work - childcare, nursing teaching

Masculinity

Is a set of social practices and cultural representations associated with a man. The plural masculinities' is used to refer to the differences in the experience of men. It is understood as a form of power relation both among men and between men and women. Hegemonic masculinity is the most honoured type of masculinity. It is the ideal & dominant form of a masculine trait.
Men are supposed to be Tough, Providing, Rational, Public/work orientated,Thick skinned, Active, Rough, Hard resulting in Higher status... Influential roles...well paid jobs...political leadership.

The definitions of femininity and/or masculinity are fortified through the following:
- Family
    - Repository of all the men's tension and stress, child bearer
    - Use of blue or pink dresses to indicate the sex of the infant

- Media
  - Depression among young girls who desire the thin, twiggy ideal body shape
  - Reduces femininity into body parts
  - Women are also shown as more confident, hosting TV shows, etc.
  - Shows masculinity as hostile, brutal, aggressive.
- Social stratification
  - Femininity is for male entertainment and possession.
  - Active life of a women is not for a middle-class and/or poor woman, or for a woman of lower class groups.
  - A poor women from lower castes has to fight discrimination not only from the males within the family, but also from both males and females from other classes and castes. It is the right, possibly, of rich women or women belonging to the upper caste groups.
- Religion
  - Feminism argues that most institutionalized modern religions are patriarchal.
  - All religious scriptures and texts assign particular roles to each gender. Women are wives and daughters - homemakers, while men are breadwinners.
- Education
  - It is believed that girls are not good at maths / science, but are excellent at languages, social sciences and arts.
  - Regard reading art and music as feminine and mathematics, athletics and mechanical skills as masculine.
- Work culture
  - In the organized sector, women are concentrated in clerical and non-managerial positions. Very few women top the promotional bar.
- The two most common pieces defining masculinity are, at all costs, to not be like a woman and not be gay.

Femaleness

having the biological body of a woman, hormones, genetics, etc.

Feminine

traits and characteristics associated with the female body.

Femininity

social-cultural meaning attached to feminine / woman.

Feminist

a person who advocates the equalitarian treatment towards women.

Feminism

Ideology / movement that intends to define, establish, and achieve equal political, economic, cultural, personal, and social rights for women.

Femaleness and Feminine are biological category Femininity is a social-cultural category. Feminist and Feminism are political category Both men and women can display femininity, be a feminist and practice feminism.

2.3 Nature versus Culture: A Debate in Gender Development

- Started in 1800s. Whether human behavior is basic living instincts, predetermined by cognitive programming or slowly modeled by each individual's upbringing and external social factors.
- Biologists believe that humans inherit and grow according to their biological programming.
- Dr. Rick conducted an experiment on 40 newborns and concluded that our degree of intelligence are strongly affected by our primary and secondary socialization and that our IQ would probably deteriorate if we stopped socializing.
- Neurologist Freud analysed three parts of human brain. Id -> born with, basic instincts, our true desires. Ego -> based on reality principle, balances the needs of our Id while helping us keep our head on the situation of reality. Superego -> develops at the age of five, moral values and conscience exists. If there weren't any socialization, how would superego evolve to have moral consciousness. Therefore, the act and state of mind is mostly socially constructed.
- Sociologists claim that predetermined factors only lay foundation for the interaction with the external society and other individuals to trigger human behaviour.
- Food affects social behaviours and is socially constructed.
- Different languages show that human behavior is mostly socialized.
- We weren't born with gender roles biologically programmed, but we were primarily socialized to pick up the norm of our society.

3. Feminist Theories and Practice

3.1 What is Feminism

- Feminism as a socio-economic and political movement rests on two premises - that women are disadvantaged because of their sex, and that this disadvantage can and should be overthrown.
- To a certain extent, feminism and feminists highlight the supremacy of men and the subjugation of women in most societies. However, feminism has been associated with a number of views and divergent positions: Feminists have accepted both revolutionary as well reformist strategies for achieving their ends; feminist theories have drawn on different political traditions and values; and the women's movement has tried to accomplish goals that range from achievement of female suffrage, equality in education and jobs to the legalization of abortion, ending of female circumcision and abolition of restrictive or demeaning dress codes.
- It is Mary Wollstonecraft's work *Vindication of the Rights of Women (1792)* that is considered to be the first text on modern feminism. In an age which accentuated an education that made a woman into an ideal wife, the weaker-sex, she argued that a permanent change in feminine condition requires rejecting attitudes and principles that make women subordinate citizen.

Basic Feminist Ideas

1. *Working to increase equality,* critical of status quo and advocates change towards equality.
2. *Expanding human choices*, reintegration of humanity, not just two spheres, female and male sphere.
3. *Eliminating gender stratification.* Law and rights equal for all irrespective of sex.
4. *Ending sexual violence*
5. *Promoting sexual freedom,* womo][0pen's control over their sexuality and reproduction.

What is Feminist Theory

- Feminist theories try to locate reality and society through women's experiences.
- Feminist Theory is the extension of feminism into theoretical and philosophical discourse to understand nature of gender inequality.
- *It was first introduced by Elizabeth Cady Stranton in 1848.*

- It supports the argument of men and women being equal economically, socially and politically.
- Emphasis on acceptance of the fact that gender and gender relations are fundamental to all social life, including the lives of men & women.
- It tries to understand the gender relation between a man and a woman and to understand the discrimination that exists in society because of the public-private dichotomy.
- Analyzes the status of women and men in society with reference to access to resources, position and privileges.
- Questions the subordinate or inferior position attributed to women on basis of their biology. There is a famous saying in feminism that biology is not destiny.
- *"One is not born a woman, but one becomes one." Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex (1949).* Early feminist writer.
- Critically examines the intersections of multiple forms of stratifications (eg. race, class, ethnicity).
- There was a shift from gender as a fixed category to a social construct, it varies from society to society and from time to time.

Feminist theory has several purposes:

- To understand the power differential between men and women. Do away with the superiority of the men over women based on their biological differences.
- To understand women's oppression - how it evolved (Friedrich Engels said that with the emergence of private property and economy, there was a shift from matriarchal to patriarchal and this is where oppression of women began), how it changes over time, how it is related to other forms of oppression, how to overcome oppression. Feminist Theorization has been the result of women's movement.

3.2 Liberal Feminism

- Liberal feminism, the most widely practiced form, is based on the idea of equal rights within the nation-state system. This school of thought has several variations and articulations but is mainly concerned with issues of legal and political equality between men and women.
- Inspired by the liberal thoughts of western society during the 19th century Enlightenment period, coinciding with first wave of feminism. It was concerned with extending to women the liberal values of liberty, equality and justice through legal and social reforms, so that women have more access to education, polity which were considered as domains of men only.
- Accepted the status quo, did not favour the alteration of existing structure. Works within the structure of mainstream society to integrate women into that structure. In the first-wave, biological differences were not challenged as well.
- Affirms that women's subordinate social position can be addressed by the existing political process under democracy. Women had to access parliament, therefore, in first wave we see demand to vote for women.
- The key battle is key to education, if access to education made possible then gender equality can be achieved.

Eminent Liberal Feminist

- *Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797) - A Vindication of the Rights of Women (1792)*
  - "If women be educated for dependence; that is, to act according to the will of another fallible being, and submit, right or wrong, to power, where are we to stop?"
  - "The divine right of husbands, like the divine right of kings, may, it is hoped, in this enlightened age, be contested without danger."
  - *"I do not wish (women) to have power over men, but over themselves."*
  - Women are entitled to same rights as men on the ground that both are human beings.
- *John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) & Harriet Taylor Mill (1807-1858) - The Subjection of Women*

- - Focused on establishing a right to vote and to hold political office - Much of the book was dedicated to undermining popular stereotypes of women that were used to justify political exclusion.
    - Proposed that society should be organized on the basis of 'reason' and the 'accidents of birth' such as sex should be ignored.
  - *Betty Friedan - The Feminine Mystique (1963).*
    - In the era of second wave of feminism which had considerable liberal feminism.
    - "The Problem That Has No Name": unhappiness despite gains of the women's rights movement
    - Argues that traditional gender roles stifle women's development
    - Treats gender roles as inherently dehumanizing
    - Reflects the fact that it is a cultural myth that women seek security and fulfilment in domestic life.

General Criticism

- The main problem of liberal feminism is its tendency to accept male values as universal values.
- All women should want to become like men, to aspire to masculine values.
- Liberal feminism often did not include an analysis of class or sexuality (the sex / gender system). No difference between sex and gender, it came later in feminism.
- Liberal feminism is reformist in nature -- it tries to open public life equally to women and men without actually challenging the patriarchal structure of the society itself.

Criticism from Radical Feminists

- Argue that women is different from men and to argue to equality implies that they aspire to be like men who are responsible for war, violence, hierarchy, and the exploitation of nature and their fellows.

Criticism from Social Feminists

- Object that liberal feminism ignore the problems of the working-class women. It neglects the questions of production and reproduction that lies at the heart of human activity.

Achievements

- Brough to the fore the discrimination against women at the workplace.
- Equal Pay Act and Sex Discrimination Act were passed.
- Chosen to work towards legislative change to ensure equality for women and men.

3.3 Radical Feminism

- Believe that even socialist revolution would not end patriarchy, instead, to attain equality, society must eliminate gender itself. One way is to use new reproductive technology to separate women's bodies from the process of childbearing - envisioning a gender free society.
- Argue that women are oppressed because women are women, men are men. Male domination permeates all aspects of society.
- The Radical Feminist School lays emphasis on the private sphere on account of the main focus of the liberal and Marxist schools on the public one. The main stress in the Radical school of thought is on patriarchy as a material and ideological system that oppresses women not only with regard to the political and economic spheres, but also in the home and family where sexuality, in particular heterosexuality, is the mainstay of patriarchal relations. Radical feminists focus mainly on the body, sexuality, family, reproduction, and the manner in which the oppression of women begins with the most intimate 'enemy' residing within the home and family.
- Emerged in the late 1960s New Left civil rights and anti-war Protests. They are more outspoken about the position of women in society.

- They viewed oppression of women as the most fundamental form of oppression that cuts across race, class and culture
- To bring about gender equality significant and radical change is needed in society. Just as Marxist who believe that once class division is abolished, gender equality will be achieved, the radical feminist believe that for gender equality, radical changes in the social structure of a society has to be undertaken.
- Locate relations of inequality in patriarchy in different areas:
  - Women and men are essentially different from one another.
  - They would agree with liberals that women need to be more represented in the public sphere, but not on equality rights grounds, but rather on the ground that women bring a different voice to politics.
  - They would also expand the 'sites' of politics: not simply the public sphere, but also the private sphere, the bedroom, the family, the body, that is, they have a power relation.
- Radical feminists focus on the subordination of women as its primary concern- revealing how male power is exercised and reinforced through such practices as sexual harassment, rape, pornography, prostitution, as well as childbearing, housework, love and marriage.
- Radical feminists made stride in the battle against violence against women.
- They celebrate womanhood in contrast to the devaluation of women that pervades the larger society, focusing on the creative power inherent in women's biology.

Eminent Radical Feminist

- Delphy and Leonard (1992) argue it is men rather than capitalism who benefit the most from exploiting women and the family is central in maintaining this structure.
- Gayle Rubin - gave the sex / gender system. It is a "set of arrangements by which a society transforms biological sexuality into products of human activity."
- *Kate Millet in her work Sexual Politics* demonstrates how male-dominated culture has produced writers and literary works that are degrading to women and hurtful of efforts to reform and alleviate the Conditions of women's lives. She argues that the sexual relation between man and woman is a relation of power.

General Criticism

- Presents patriarchy as never changing with contexts of economic/production relations.
- Did not make feminism as an enabling force, rather a confrontationist feminism.
- All women are not same, even women oppress women.
- Science and objectivity are not male activities, science is not to be blamed.

Comparison of radical feminism and liberal feminism	
Radical feminism	**Liberal feminism**
women's liberation	Female emancipation
patriarchy	gender inequality
sisterhood	individualism
personal is political	conventional politics
transform private realm	Public private divide
gender equality	access to public realm
sexual politics	equal rights / opportunities

Revolutionary change	Reform / gradualism
consciousness raising	political activism

Criticism by Liberal Feminists

- Wrong to assume that men cannot become adherents to the feminist cause.
- Notion that male domination enters into the very fabric of relationships ignore the importance of choice and privacy.
- Prostitutes are sex workers, no harm if legalized and banning pornography is censorship.
- Gradual change rather than Utopian fantasies is more feasible.

Criticism by Socialist Feminists

- Opposed to the idea of sisterhood, see women as different classes.
- Patriarchy has not always existed as claimed by radical feminists. Moreover, there are different kinds of patriarchy based on specific historical context.
- See no harm is forming alliances with men.

3.4 Marxist Feminism

- Karl Marx proposed that the class struggle, that is there is a gap between have and have nots, the capitalist class exploits those who have no access to capital / property.
- Marxist feminism is drawn from Friedrich Engels' seminal work on the family, private property and the state and focuses on the two main activities that order human relations, namely production and reproduction.1 Production refers to the manner in which human societies reproduce themselves and meet their needs of self-preservation (political economy). Reproduction refers to the manner in which human societies ensure the survival of the species through procreation, as well as the social organization and division of labor for the care and upbringing of the young. Production thus refers to the organization of the economy (tribal, feudal, capitalist, socialist or other), and reproduction addresses the system of patriarchy which relies on the family and the gender division of labor. Marxist feminists call for a change in the system of production to eliminate social classes which are based on the exploitation of one class by another.
- Capitalist class relationships are the root cause of female oppression, exploitation and discrimination.
- Patriarchy is an ideology (a set of related beliefs about the world - in this instance, male - female relationships) that stems from male attempts to justify the economic exploitation of women. It is not only restricted to household but it is a matter of men exploiting the material resources in relation to women.
- The "family system" characteristic of modern societies benefits capitalism (and, by extension, the men who tend to dominate positions of power and influence) because women:
  - can be forced / socialised into unpaid domestic labour.
  - can be forced / socialised into responsibility for child-rearing.
  - the family is a site for the social class reproduction of inequality.

Eminent Marxist Feminists

- *Margaret Benston (1972)* argued that capitalism benefits from a large army of women - unpaid workforce - who are compliant and willing to do as they're told because women have been socialised to act this way and women rears future workers to think the same way.
- *Fran Ansley (1972)* provides a critique of Parson's theory of family. She sees the 'function of the family (particularly the wife) as being an 'emotional safety-valve' absorbing the husbands frustrations created by the capitalist system.
- *Diana Feeley (1972)* argues the family socialises the young into a false consciousness of class inequality and stratification.

- Marxist feminism places a lot of emphasis on nuclear family ignoring family diversity (in the same way functionalists do). The nuclear family consists of a husband and a wife, whereas there are other family systems such as in Pakistan where there is a joint family system.
- the approach also assumes a degree of passivity with women, for example some women might actively choose their social role as a wife and mother.
- some women might have an active' matriarchal rather than being a "passive' victim of patriarchy.

3.5 Socialist Feminism

- Unlike the exclusionary position of radical feminism which maintains that only the wearer knows where the shoe pinches, socialist feminism posits a link between patriarchy and capitalism.
- The Socialist School of Feminism combines the insights of the Marxist and Radical feminists and addresses both the private and public spheres - reproduction as well as production. They demand a fundamental change in socio-economic structures, patriarchal institutions and practices as well as the state superstructure that further reinforces the institutions of inequality. These approaches may have been given a coherent ideological basis within the western feminist tradition, but the seeds of the growing consciousness within the Indian subcontinent lie in its own history and the cross-cultural borrowing followed later.
- Capitalism increases patriarchy by concentrating wealth and power in the hands of small number of men.
- Connects the oppression of women to Marxist ideas about exploitation, oppression and labor. Capitalism and Patriarchy are same in this context.
- See domestic work, childcare and marriage as ways in which women are exploited by a patriarchal system that devalues women and the substantial work they do.
- Capitalism brought with it the ownership of private property, generally owned by the man, and resulted in the historical defeat of female sex.
- Women constitutes reserve labour that can be utilised without burdening the economy or the state.
- Focus their energies on broad change that affects society as a whole, rather than on an individual basis. They see the need to work alongside not just men, but all other groups, as they see the oppression of women as a part of a larger pattern that affects everyone involved in the capitalist system.

Eminent Socialist Feminist

- *Juliet Mitchell - 'Woman's Estate'.* It describes the organization of women's liberation in Western Europe and America. *She locates the areas of women's oppression in four key areas: work, reproduction, sexuality and the socialization of children.*
- *Alison Jaggar - In 'Feminist politics and human Nature'* Jaggar summed up well the way feminists were using socialist and Marxist ideas to understand the way women were exploited and their laboring and reproductive work devalued and unpaid though necessary for capitalism to function.

General Criticism

- Does not take into account ethnicity.

This position of Feminism has been criticized for ignoring women's oppression.

Marxist feminism	socialist feminism
Women are oppressed in both the domestic and the public sphere. Women is a reserve Army of labour as	They question not only the production system but also the control of means of the production and wages.

there labor is not valued they feed into the continuation and strengthening of capitalism.	

Criticism by Liberal Feminists

- Women should be entitled for a choice as to go outside the home for work or remain inside home.
- Opposed to the authoritarian character of communist parties in their states.

Criticism by Radical Feminists

- Sceptical that the problems facing women are simply to do with capitalism.

Different theories of feminism, comparison

Branch	Main Issue	Description	Solution
Cultural Feminist	Gender Difference	Women's location in and experience of, most situation is different from men	Celebrate difference due to difference in culture
Liberal Feminist	Gender Inequality	Women's experience in most situation is not only different but also less privileged and unequal	Equality between men and women in education and economy
Socialist Feminist	Structural Oppression	Women's Experience of difference due to structure	End oppression of class and gender by making economy more inclusive for women
Radical Feminist	Gender Oppression	Women's experience due to difference in hierarchy	Change in relations of power

3.6 Psychoanalytical Feminism

- 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. They wanted to alter the experiences of early childhood and family relations, as well as linguistic patterns, that produce and reinforce masculinity and femininity.
- 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.
  - Lacanian feminists, mostly French, analyze links between gendered identity and language.
- Early feminist appropriations of Freud in the work of Alfred Adler, Karen Horney and Clara Thompson explained women's psychic pathologies as generated and sustained by their inferior social status within patriarchy, rather than biologically determined lack.

- Later feminist appropriations of Freud critique the traditional family structure in which primarily women mother and assume other caretaking responsibilities. In The Reproduction of Mothering, Nancy Chodorow, for instance, argued that differential experiences in infancy orient girls and boys toward different developmental paths, with boys definitively separating from their mothers to identify with the father's social power and girls developing a more symbiotic/continuous sense of self in relation to the mother.
- 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. Lacanian feminists wanted to interrogate and resist oppressive constructions of gender and sexuality encoded in language.

3.7 Men's Feminism

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3.8 Postmodern Feminism

- Seek to overcome the dualistic character of traditional theory, we should refuse to accept that either we want to overturn everything or we want to keep things as they are. In this way, we avoid making binary choices.
- Merging of liberal, socialist or radical feminism gave rise to post-modern or post-structural feminism.
- Postmodern feminism takes various issues, such as cultural feminism, black feminism and lesbian feminism.
- following are the possibilities in postmodern feminism
  - Post-feminism -> Each women has her own unique story to tell and there cannot be any one theory of feminine deprivation.
  - Power-feminism -> Opposite to post-feminism. Women are encouraged to try all possible opportunities of empowering themselves.a

4. Feminist Movements

4.1 Feminist Movements in the West. First Wave, Second Wave and Third Wave Feminism.

Feminism is considered to be of recent origin, though feminism views can be traced back to ancient civilizations such as Greece and China. However, it was not until the nineteenth century that an organized movement to deal with issues relating to women emerged. *It is Mary Wollstonecraft's work Vindication of the Rights of Women (1792) that is considered to be the first text on modern feminism.*

"A feminist movement consists in envisioning a just and equal world by transforming the social, economic and political structures and discourses of discrimination and exclusion, through individual and collective action and reflection upon the world." *Feminism and the Women's Movement in Pakistan, a research paper by Dr. Rubina Saigol*

First wave feminism - women's fight for equal contract and property rights (1830's - early 1900's)

- By the mid-19th century, the campaign for female suffrage and women's right to vote became the central theme of the women's movement, and it was believed that if women could vote, all other forms of discrimination or prejudice based on gender and sex would disappear. This period is considered to be the first wave of feminism. The idea behind the movements was that women should enjoy the same legal and political rights as men.

- *The first wave of feminism ended with the acceptance of female suffrage, first introduced in New Zealand in 1893. In 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment of the US constitution granted American women the right to vote.*
- Also known as the Suffragist movement because it was centered around right to vote.
- Refers to a period of feminist activity during the 19th & early 20th century in the USA, UK, Canada - The main concern were education, marriage and employment and the plight of single white middle class women.
- The overall goal was to improve the legal position for women in particular to gain right to vote.
- The assumption was that men and women have separate biologically determined roles and society.

Success of first wave

- Spread of women's consciousness
- Suffrage (right to vote) in the USA
- Opening of higher education for women
- Married women's property right recognized in the Married Women Property Act of 1870
- Widening of access to profession such as medicines

Limitations of first wave

- Confined to white-middle class women.
- Focused specifically on right to vote & education
- Issues of differences among women from different race and class ignored
- Limited influence after gaining rights, was sidelined by other progressive movements

Second Wave Feminism - broadening the debate (1960's - 1980's)

- *The Feminine Mystique is a book written by Betty Friedan which is widely credited with sparking the beginning of second-wave feminism in the United States. It was published in 1963. In this book she tried to explore what she termed as 'the problem with no name.'*
- The second wave of feminism realized that political and legals rights were not helping in solving the real 'women's question'.
- A number of works, such as those of Kate Miller's *Sexual Politics* (1970) and Gemaine Greer's *The Female Eunuch* (1970), started the trend of focusing on the personal, psychological and sexual issues. The second wave of feminism sought a radical and revolutionary process of social change in order to bring about women's liberation.
- 1960 -1990 • Picks up from First-Wave Feminism critique of gender differences
- Second wave different from first in that rejected biological differences between men and women and argued for cultural construction of gender.
- Not contented in giving equal rights of voting and education, but also aims at identifying and eliminating sources of sexism and gender oppression.
- Characterised by struggles for equal pay, equal rights at work and better representation in public bodies such as parliament. The movement expanded and it became more inclusive.

Issues raised by Second Wave Feminism

- Raising consciousness about patriarchy, which was the biggest obstacle for the women to move ahead.
- Legalizing birth control and abortion. It is my body and I have the right to control it.
- Attaining equal rights in education and political realms, in continuation of first wave.
- Gaining liberation from domination by men, more or less linked to patriarchy.
- Equality both in the homes and workplace, essentially rejecting the dichotomy of public-private domains being responsible for gender inequality.

- Gave the slogan 'Personal is Political - implying that domestic violence is a social problem and not a private matter; therefore it is the responsibility of the state to circumvent it.

Shortcomings of Second Wave Feminism

- Criticised on the ground that it did not meet the need of all women. It articulated the tendency to assume that all women had the same need as white upper class women.
- It neglected differences based on race and ethnicity.
- Limited to academic activism and thus failed to connect with the lived experiences of women.

Third Wave Feminism - the micropolitics of gender equality (1990's - present)

- Expressed criticism of the second wave as dogmatic and limited in scope, it is more pragmatic approach.
- Rejected the second wave assumption of women as victim of patriarchal structures.
- Incorporated the difference in women on basis of multiple identities (women are not homogenous category, race, class, religion, community).
- Extends Second-Wave Feminism's critique of gender norms by rejecting dichotomous (distinction by public and private realm) and hierarchical thinking.
- Typically seeks to destabilize the very notions of gender and sex.
- Examines both the variability within categories (such as woman) and the complex ways in which those categories interact.

Issues taken up by Third Wave Feminism

- Focus on individual empowerment of women and less on activism. It is shift from issues of polity, education to women per say.
- It celebrated the multiple and contradictory identity of women - accepting diversity among women. All women do not have same problems.
- Dealt with issues that limited or oppressed women's participation in social, economic and political life.
  - *Advocated the need to change stereotypes portrayed by media and language.*
  - Celebrates emotions and experiences that traditionally have been labelled as "unfeminine." Women are invited to be angry, aggressive, and outspoken. Till second wave feminism, biological differences were accepted as natural and being feminine was considered derogatory and inferior - doing away with stereotypes.

Challenges to Third Wave Feminism

- Criticized on ground of lacking political will to bring about radical social change. It was seen as an activity of a large group of women who wanted to bring about a certain change in society.
- Its focus on identity issues is not a universal concern. The ability to explore one's identity is a privilege. Gender identity is sacrificed by the national identity. A tug war between gender and other identities.
- Other critics argue that the Third Wave feminists do more damage than good by equating women's sexuality with power. Feminism was seen as an anti-men kind of women.

Comparison between the three waves of feminism

First Wave	Second Wave	Third Wave
Suffrage	Equal Pay	Patriarchy
- 19th and early 20th century	- Began in the US, then spread to Europe, Asia	- Fights for equality by focusing exclusively on

		female victims of gender - neutral issues
● Focused mainly on suffrage, alongside other legal rights ● Mostly active in the UK, Canada, and United States ● Movement succeeded in gaining women the right to vote & other legal liberties	● Focused mainly on sexuality, reproductive rights, and the wage gap ● Movement succeeded in securing career options for women, and many reproductive rights	● Mostly on Tumblr + Facebook. Mostly middle / upper class US ● Rejects labelling by adopting labels and identities ● Everything is the Patriarchy's fault, also rape culture

Fourth Wave Feminism

- Jennifer Baumgardner identifies fourth-wave feminism as starting in 2008 and continuing into the present day. Kira Cochrane, editor of All the Rebel Women, defines fourth wave feminism as a movement that is connected through technology.
- Associated with online feminism, especially using Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube and other forms of social media to discuss, uplift, and activate gender equality and social justice.
- Lays emphasis on individual woman's inner freedom and awakening. It tries to resolve the issues and problems raised by feminism and attempts to understand the relationship of interdependence between man and woman.
- It is associated with the increased focus on intersectionality.
- Acknowledges the existence of multiple identities along with gender identities.

4.2 United Nation Conferences on Women

The United Nations has organized four major conferences on women:

1st, 1975: The World Conference of the International Women's Year was held in Mexico City on 1975.

The Commission on the Status of Women called for the organization of the first world conference on women to coincide with International Women's Year. The World Conference of the International Women's Year was subsequently held in Mexico City; 133 governments participated, while 6,000 NGO representatives attended a parallel forum, the International Women's Year Tribune. The conference defined a World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year, which offered a comprehensive set of guidelines for the advancement of women through 1985.

2nd, 1980: The World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace was held in Copenhagen on 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.

3rd, 1985: The World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace was held on 1985 in Nairobi.

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.

4th, 1995: The World Conference on Women: Action for Equality, Development and Peace was held in Beijing on 1995.

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:

1. Women and poverty
   a. Review, adopt and maintain macroeconomic policies and development strategies that address the needs and efforts of women in poverty.
   b. Revise laws and administrative practices to ensure women's equal rights and access to economic resources.
   c. Provide women with access to savings and credit mechanisms and institutions.
   d. Develop gender-based methodologies and conduct research to address the feminization of poverty.
2. Education and training of women
   a. Ensure equal access to education.
   b. Eradicate illiteracy among women.
   c. Improve women's access to vocational training, science and technology, and continuing education.
   d. Develop non-discriminatory education and training.
   e. Allocate sufficient resources for and monitor the implementation of educational reforms.
   f. Promote lifelong education and training for girls and women.
3. Women and health
   a. Increase women's access throughout the life cycle to appropriate, affordable and quality health care, information and related services.
   b. Strengthen preventive programmes that promote women's health.
   c. Under take gender-sensitive initiatives that address sexually transmitted diseases, HIV/AIDS, and sexual and reproductive health issues..
   d. Promote research and disseminate information on women's health.
   e. Increase resources and monitor follow-up for women's health.
4. Violence against women
   a. Take integrated measures to prevent and eliminate violence against women.
   b. Study the causes and consequences of violence against women and the effectiveness of preventive measures.
   c. Eliminate trafficking in women and assist victims of violence due to prostitution and trafficking.

5. Women and armed conflict
    a. Increase the participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels and protect women living in situations of armed and other conflicts or under foreign occupation.
    b. Reduce excessive military expenditures and control the availability of armaments.
    c. Promote non-violent forms of conflict resolution and reduce the incidence of human rights abuse in conflict situations.
    d. Promote women's contribution to fostering a culture of peace.
    e. Provide protection, assistance and training to refugee women, other displaced women in need of international protection and internally displaced women.
    f. Provide assistance to the women of the colonies and non-self-governing territories.
6. Women and the economy
    a. Promote women's economic rights and independence, including access to employment, appropriate working conditions and control over economic resources.
    b. Facilitate women's equal access to resources, employment, markets and trade.
    c. Provide business services, training and access to markets, information and technology, particularly to low-income women.
    d. Strengthen women's economic capacity and commercial networks.
    e. Eliminate occupational segregation and all forms of employment discrimination.
    f. Promote harmonization of work and family responsibilities for women and men.
7. Women in power and decision-making
    a. Take measures to ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making.
    b. Increase women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership.
8. Institutional mechanism for the advancement of women
    a. Create or strengthen national machineries and other governmental bodies.
    b. Integrate gender perspectives in legislation, public policies, programmes and projects.
    c. Generate and disseminate gender-disaggregated data and information for planning and evaluation.
9. Human rights of women
    a. Promote and protect the human rights of women, through the full implementation of all human rights instruments, especially the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.
    b. Ensure equality and non-discrimination under the law and in practice.
    c. Achieve legal literacy.
10. Women and the media
    a. Increase the participation and access of women to expression and decision-making in and through the media and new technologies of communication.
    b. Promote a balanced and non-stereotyped portrayal of women in the media.
11. Women and the environment
    a. Involve women actively in environmental decision-making at all levels.
    b. Integrate gender concerns and perspectives in policies and programmes for sustainable development.
    c. Strengthen or establish mechanisms at the national, regional, and international levels to assess the impact of development and environmental policies on women.
12. The girl-child
    a. Eliminate all forms of discrimination against the girl-child.
    b. Eliminate negative cultural attitudes and practices against girls.
    c. Promote and protect the rights of the girl-child and increase awareness of her needs and potential.
    d. Eliminate discrimination against girls in education, skills development and training.
    e. Eliminate discrimination against girls in health and nutrition.

  f. Eliminate the economic exploitation of child labour and protect young girls at work.

  g. Eradicate violence against the girl-child.

  h. Promote the girl-child's awareness of and participation in social, economic and political life.

  i. Strengthen the role of the family in improving the status of the girl-child.

The Beijing conference built on political agreements reached at the three previous global conferences on women, and consolidated five decades of legal advances aimed at securing the equality of women with men in law and in practice. More than 17,000 participants attended, including 6,000 government delegates at the negotiations, along with more than 4,000 accredited NGO representatives, a host of international civil servants and around 4,000 media representatives. A parallel NGO Forum held in Huairou near Beijing also drew some 30,000 participants.

There were follow up session in 2000, 2005, 2010 and 2015 to review and for the appraisal of the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action.

4.3 Feminist Movements in Pakistan

Feminism and the Women's Movement in Pakistan Actors, Debates and Strategies by Dr. Rubina Saigol.

In Pakistan, feminists have belonged to various schools, sometimes knowingly and at other times unconsciously. The approach of most of the feminists is eclectic and they do not necessarily subscribe to any one school, as changes are needed at multiple levels involving both structure and superstructure, to transform societies.

The emergence of women's political consciousness, and its ultimate flowering into a full-fledged movement for women's rights, may be divided into six broad time periods when major shifts occurred in the political landscape:

1. Colonialism and the Education Reform Movement:

 1.1. By 1790, the system of law in India was anglicized but Personal Laws of each of the religions of India were retained and continued to govern relations between men and women. Customary and religious law that subordinated women was left untouched.

 1.2. The Muslim Personal Law of 1937 recognized the right of Muslim women to inherit property, with the exception of agricultural land due to an understanding reached between the large landowners in the Punjab and the British administration.

 1.3. The contradictory imperatives of preservation of the old order, while stepping reluctantly into the new one, were reconciled by a strict public/private division in which women would guard the symbolic frontiers of identity by maintaining tradition and culture, and the men would enter the fields of politics and commerce.

 1.4. Modernist leaders like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan fervently supported the education of Muslim males of the Ashrafiya (Muslim gentry) while warning against the polluting effects of a secular western education upon Muslim women.

 1.5. In the second half of the 19th century and early decades of the 20th, debates on the issue of purdah (veiling) raged between modernist and traditional Muslims.

 1.6. The woman question was first raised by men in 1886 at the annual meeting of the Muhammadan Educational Conference (MEC). Shaikh Abdullah of Aligarh was the principal advocate of women's right to education but he was opposed by a number of seemingly progressive men.

 1.7. In December 1899 a women's teacher training school was opened in Calcutta.

 1.8. Women's education was perceived as a way of loosening male control and, predictably, it became the basis of women's rights in India.

1.9. A newspaper for women's rights, Huquq-e-Niswan, was started by Syed Mumtaz Ali and his wife Muhammadi Begum.

1.10. In 1924, women were excluded from the annual session of the MEC. In 1925, Attiya Faizi traveled from Bombay to Aligarh, gate-crashed the annual MEC meeting and addressed an all-male gathering from behind a curtain. The presiding officer was so embarrassed that he escorted her to the dais from where she spoke breaking all the norms and taboos around women's appearance in public.

1.11. In 1915, the first All-India Muslim Ladies conference was attended by a few select women from among the elite. In 1917 this organization passed a resolution against polygamy causing a major stir in Lahore.

1.12. In 1921 Madras granted women's franchise and by 1925 all the provinces except Orissa and Bihar granted voting rights to propertied persons, men and women.

1.13. The Government of India Act of 1935 enfranchised six million women and, for the first time, reserved seats for women were allocated in both the Council of State and the February Assembly

1.14. Bi Amna, during Khilafat Movement, and her cohorts were not demanding women's rights, the participation in political action created a consciousness of justice which she wanted for her son. Men encouraged women's involvement in politics for religious and national causes, not for women's own rights.

1.15. The Khilafat and nationalist movements were not liberating for women as they invoked cultural nationalism which reinforces the patriarchal ideas of masculinity and femininity.

2. Rise of Anti-colonial Nationalist Movements in India

2.1. Women were massively mobilized in the Pakistan Movement. As increasing numbers of women joined the Muslim League, a women's section was formed. In April 1940, women took out a protest demonstration against the arrest of Muslim League leaders and the banning of the Khaksar Tehreek. This was the first time that women took to street politics clad in burqas (veils).

2.2. Over time, the wider struggle for liberation rendered women's social and political activism acceptable and respectable. In 1943, five thousand women participated in the All-India Muslim League annual session in Karachi. The newly-formed Women's National Guard, which later became Pakistan Girl Guides, was also present.

2.3. In the 1946 elections, two women candidates from the Muslim League, Salma Tassaduque Hussain and Jahanara Shahnawaz, participated.

2.4. In 1947 when the Civil Disobedience movement was launched, women from the North Western Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) were mobilized by the Khudai Khidmatgar and nationalist movements.

2.5. Participation in the nationalist struggle led to an awareness of their oppression and rights as women. They had won the right to education, to vote and to own property in the course of the nationalist struggle. They became aware of their ability to mobilize, organize and provide services in crisis situations. However, their own struggle as women was subsumed under the larger nationalist struggle for independence.

2.6. The national struggle made it possible to transgress traditional boundaries, an act which otherwise would receive disapprobation.

2.7. As in other liberation movements across South Asia and elsewhere, women are called upon to participate and add to the numbers, and once the struggle is over and freedom won, they are forced back into traditional roles of motherhood, childcare and household duties, while men bask in the freedom so attained.

3. Post-colonial Restructuring of State and Society

3.1. In the early period of Pakistan's history, the struggle for women's rights was piecemeal, gradual and evolutionary. Progressive legislation was often resisted by the clergy, which perceived the steps in the direction of women's rights as western and antithetical to religion and culture.

3.2. The first legislature of Pakistan had two women representatives, Jahanara Shahnawaz, the Muslim League veteran who had been elected to the All-India Muslim League Council in 1937; and Shaista Ikramullah from the Suhrawardy family of East Pakistan.

3.3. Thousands of women marched to the Assembly chambers shouting slogans, led by Jahanara Shahnawaz and other women leaders and finally the Muslim Personal Law of Shariat (1948) became effective recognizing women's right to inherit property.

3.4. In the 1956 Constitution, the principle of female suffrage for women's reserved seats was accepted on the basis of special women's territorial constituencies, thus giving dual voting rights to women for both general and reserved women seats. However, at this early stage of the country's history there was no coherent and organized women's movement to challenge the measures by the religious lobby and the clergy.

3.5. The societal reaction to the setting up in 1949 of the Pakistan Women's National Guard and Pakistan Women's Naval Reserve differed significantly from the response to the WVS which received support from the government.

3.6. Women were acceptable in the public sphere in so far as they conformed to a traditional and conservative vision of housewives, mothers, welfare workers and service providers.

3.7. In 1949 Ra'ana Liaquat invited a hundred women to a meeting in Karachi and from this was born the All-Pakistan Women's Association (APWA). It focused on creating educational, social and cultural consciousness and improving the economic participation of women for national development.

3.8. APWA's warm and complementary relationship with the state continued through the era of Ayub Khan's military dictatorship. The Muslim Family Laws Ordinance (MFLO) of 1961, which gave women a few rights with regard to marriage, the custody of children, divorce and registration of marriages and divorces, was passed as a result of APWA's efforts.

3.9. The absence of a vibrant women's rights movement or feminist struggle was one of the reasons that when Fatima Jinnah stood in the elections against Ayub Khan in 1965, he used the Ulema to declare that a woman could not be the head of state in a Muslim country.

3.10. There was a proliferation of women's organizations in the 1960s and 1970s, some concerned with welfare, others with economic and professional aims, and still others based on economic empowerment

3.11. The 1973 Constitution gave more rights to women than in the past. Article 25 of rights declared that every citizen was equal before law and Article 25 (2) said there would be no discrimination based on sex alone.

3.12. Article 27 of fundamental stated that there would be no discrimination on the basis of race, religion, caste or sex for appointment in the service of Pakistan.

3.13. Article 32 of the Basic Principles of State Policy guaranteed reservation of seats for women, and article 35 stipulated that the state shall protect marriage, family and mother and child.

3.14. Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali was made Governor of Sindh and Kaniz Yousaf was made the Vice-Chancellor of a university. Begum Ashraf Abbasi was elected as the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly and all government services were opened to women through administrative reforms in 1972. Women could enter the services from which they were hitherto debarred, such as the Foreign Service and management groups. Women could now be Prime Minister, Governor or Cabinet minister.

3.15. In 1975, the International Women's Year (IWY) was launched. The Prime Minister's wife, Nusrat Bhutto, went to Mexico to represent Pakistan and signed the Mexico Declaration.

3.16. Beginning from the post-partition period to the end of the PPP's rule in 1977 through a military coup, the relationship of the women's movement with the nascent state remained devoid of conflict and confrontation. The women's organizations remained concerned with women's

economic uplift, development and consciousness-raising and did not offer political resistance.

4. Cold War Imperialist Conflict and the Reconfiguration of Islamization

4.1. *A number of discriminatory laws including the Hudood Ordinance of 1979, the Qisas and Diyat Ordinance and the Law of Evidence of 1984 were promulgated. The Qisas and Diyat law privatized the crime of murder and saved the perpetrators of 'honor killing'. The Law of Evidence reduced women's testimony in a court of law to half that of men.*

4.2. It was the Fehmida and Allah Bux case, filed under the Zina Ordinance (one of the five Hudood Ordinances) that motivated women to protect and preserve the few rights they had achieved in the two previous dispensations. From that point on, the relationship between women and the state transformed radically from the mutual accommodation of the earlier decades to conflict, confrontation and contestation

4.3. *In 1981, a group of women met in Shirkat Gah Karachi and formed the Women Action Forum (WAF). During the martial law regime of General Zia, WAF was generally recognized as the formal face of the women's movement.*

4.4. In WAF, the liberal feminism was the dominant strand as the human rights discourse seemed less threatening than socialist or communist ideas.

4.5. On account of the contentious debates within WAF it was subjected to criticism by some of the more academic feminists. Fauzia Gardezi pointed out that there were two main problems with the Women Action Forum approach: one, the attempts to work within an Islamic framework and two, failing to incorporate feminist principles and analysis sufficiently into the movement.

4.6. During the martial law regime of General Zia, WAF was generally recognized as the formal face of the women's movement. However a lesser known but vibrant peasant movement, the Sindhiani Tehreek (ST), was simultaneously active in Sindh. Sindhiani was initially born in the towns of Thatta and Badin and soon gained supporters from large parts of rural Sindh. Sindhiani Tehreek formed the women's wing of the Awami Tehreek, a political party, but took major stands against patriarchy as well as dictatorship.

4.7. ST raised the issues of women's share in property, polygamy, the right to marry and sought an end to cultural and customary practices and norms that discriminate against women.

4.8. The main critique of Sindhiani Tehreek pertains to its reliance upon Sindhi nationalism, as it aligns their interests with those of oppressive landlords rather than with other peasants, thus creating a class contradiction. Secondly, the decision to work within a religious framework, because of the context and the need to mobilize women, can become self-defeating as was the case with WAF.

5. Democracy and the Rise of Neoliberalism

5.1. The last years of the 1980s saw the end of the Cold War and the breaking down of the Berlin wall. The US heralded the New World Order and the era of neoliberal ideology became ascendant - three major tenets: privatization, trade liberalization and deregulation.

5.2. In the 1990s there was a mushroom growth of NGOs working on various issues ranging from women's rights to labor, environment, sustainable development, child rights and so on.

5.3. During Benazir Bhutto's two stints in government (1988-1990 and 1993-1996) some women-friendly measures were taken such as the setting up of Women's Studies Centers in various public sector universities. Furthermore, the First Women Bank was established.

5.4. The big change for Pakistani women was that the general atmosphere in the country was far more open and liberal compared with the suffocating vigilantism of the Zia era. Women were not forced to observe a dress code, and could participate in spectator sports as well as move around freely without being hounded by Zia's violent vigilantes.

5.5. *During her second stint in power, Benazir Bhutto represented Pakistan at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 which led to Pakistan acceding to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).*

5.6. Nawaz Sharif's two stints in power (1990-1993 and 1997-1999) were characterized by the dominance of the religious right, along with a renewed stress on General Zia's unfinished agenda of Islamization.

5.7. In the decade of the 1990s, Pakistani women's relationship with the state vacillated between cooperation and collaboration with Benazir Bhutto, and confrontation and contestation during the time of Nawaz Sharif.

5.8. By that 1990s, NGOs had become widespread phenomena globally and in Pakistan. A large number of donors and NGOs began to talk about gender (gender training, gender sensitization, gender mainstreaming or gender awareness). Gradually, and almost imperceptibly, women began to disappear from the discourse and 'gender' became a euphemism for women.

5.9. The ideology of development, as packaged and promoted by donors and NGOs, harmed the women's movement and activism in a number of ways. Gender training and sensitization sessions became a popular pastime.

5.10. The combined effect of the proliferation of NGOs on gender and development and women's issues, and the technocratic straightjacket ideology of 'gender training' was that the political and critical edge of the women's movement diminished. Gender issues thus became a business and a profession, a nine-to-five job with a steady diminution in the passion and deep commitment that characterized unpaid early feminism.

5.11. In the place of women's rights and an ideological and intellectual understanding of patriarchy, the focus was on Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD) and finally, of course, Gender and Development (GAD) which reflected a de-politicized agenda of development sans politics.

5.12. A substantial body of literature on nationalism, militarism, the state, human rights, ethnicity, religious domination, informal economy, globalization and neo-liberalism was produced from a feminist perspective. This is one of the positive outcomes of donor funding and NGO formation which otherwise contradicted feminism since activism became nine-to-five and sterile.

6. Global War on Terror and the Post-9/11 Reconstruction of Identities

6.1. General Musharraf's was a time when increased donor funding became available to women's organizations, such as Aurat Foundation, for programs to train newly elected women councilors under the Women's Political Participation Project (W3P).

6.2. In the local government, their representation was a historic 33% while 17.5% seats were reserved for women in the provincial and national assemblies. For the first time there were around 60 women on reserved seats in the National Assembly.

6.3. General Musharraf appointed Shamshad Akhtar as the first ever Governor of the State Bank of Pakistan.

6.4. In 2002-2003, the Gender Reform Action Plan (GRAP) proposed a coherent gender reform agenda to align policies, structures, policies, programs and projects for enabling governments to implement promises, both national and international, on gender equality. To many stakeholders, GRAP policies seemed made for a foreign country and not Pakistan.

6.5. In 2003, the National Commission on the Status of Women, constituted as a statutory body in July 2000, brought out a report recommending the repeal of the Hudood Ordinance as it degraded women and deprived them of their rights thereby making the law iniquitous.

6.6. In 2006, the Women Protection Act was passed and the crime of rape was taken out of Hadd (maximum) punishment and placed in Taazir, Pakistan's criminal procedure.

6.7. In the Musharraf era, the women's relationship with the state was once again characterized by quiescence, silence, frequent collaboration and co-operation. Aside from a condemnatory statement by WAF, there was hardly a voice to challenge the illegal transfer of power to the military. By that time, the massive spread of NGOs and the induction of Left-leaning women into lucrative paid work, had taken the steam out of the women's movement. WAF had become dormant since the mid1990s, barring a few press releases and statements.

6.8.   When the General, while referring to Mukhtaran Mai's gang rape case, remarked that Pakistani women get raped in order to go abroad and get millions of dollars, many women's NGOs and groups were up in arms, but the resulting furor died after a few days of indignant anger.

6.9.   Despite being all-powerful, Musharraf was unable to reverse any of the laws passed by his predecessor in the name of religion and they remained protected by the 8th amendment. His deals with the religious right in terms of their support for his continuance in power led to women's rights becoming the bargaining chips. The clerics supported his Legal Framework Order and 17th amendment in return for their governments in NWFP (now KP) and Balochistan, and his agreement to not repeal the retrogressive laws against women.

6.10. The PPP, ANP, and MQM, were all considered secular and liberal parties and more women-friendly than any available alternative. Nevertheless, they had no qualms about signing deals with religious and right-wing parties to limit women's voting rights and political participation, especially at the Union Council level. Patriarchal norms, values and practices were thus evident among these parties, even though their official party positions claimed to be supportive of women's rights.

6.11. The relationship between the women's groups and the PPP-led ruling alliance since 2008 was characterized by accommodation and cooperation, but was not always or entirely free of friction.

6.12. Since the state constructed and designed by General Zia was not dismantled, even by the PPP government, its manifestations keep appearing. The trumped up case of blasphemy against a Christian woman, Aasia Bibi, led to the murder of Punjab Governor Salman Taseer in January 2011, by his own security guard, a religious fanatic.

6.13.   In 2012, the case of a Hindu girl, Rinkel Kumari, caused uproar among civil society activists. Rinkel was kidnapped and taken to Mirpur Mathelo where she was forcibly converted to Islam and married off to a Muslim. All this was done by a PPP member of parliament, Mian Mitho.

6.14. *On the other hand, some very positive and pro women legislation was accomplished during the tenure of the PPP-led alliance. Law against sexual harassment in the workplace (2010).*

6.15. *A law was passed against anti-women practices and ensuring inheritance rights (2011), and an act of parliament created the National Commission on the Status of Women (2012) which is an autonomous body but lacuna persist which affect its functioning.*

6.16. *In 2012, a domestic violence bill was passed which will apply only to the Islamabad Capital Territory but serve as a model for the provinces which can now legislate on women's issues.*

6.17. With the passage of the 18th amendment in 2010, women's issues became a provincial subject and the Ministry of Women's Development at the federal level was devolved to the provinces where Women's Development Departments are now responsible for addressing their concerns.

6.18. Currently, there seems to be an absence of a vibrant and forceful women's movement of the kind observed in the 1980s on the horizon. Scattered groups take to the streets over specific issues in different cities but a coherent movement seems to be absent at this point in time.

Is there an autonomous feminist or women's movement in Pakistan?

- A movement needs to have at least four basic features, namely:
    - a concise vision of the desired world
    - a clear analysis of the problem
    - a consciously thought out strategy
    - collective agreement over its goals and aims.
- There seems to be strands and fragmentation instead of a coherently articulated movement reminiscent of the 1980's. Currently, no movement seems to strictly fit the definition used here, however, pockets of resistance and dispersed actions do constitute feminist activism.
- Feminist, Tahira Abdullah, thinks there is not even on such movement although there are several groups, platforms and coalitions. WAF is no longer very active. Sindhiani Tehreek exists in small geographic pockets.

- NGOs are not movements as they are mostly donor-funded. However, the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, ASR, Shirkat Gar, etc. challenge social, political and economic structure of inequality and patriarchy.
- The institutions that need to raise feminist issues, like the commissions on the status of women, are deliberately made ineffective through bureaucratic controls, red tape and scarce funding. Other institutional positions, such as the Ombudspersons for sexual harassment, are kept intentionally vacant.
- Feminist and Human Rights activist, Nasreen Azhar, believes that there is an autonomous women's movement in the country in the sense that women activists respond to issues and developments concerning women's rights and human rights and also confront challenges.
- Feminist artist, Lala Rukh points out that the discourse on patriarchy has been weak even within WAF, perhaps due to the presence of a number of conservative and religious women uncomfortable with the term 'feminism'.
- Feminist researcher and activist, Ayesha Khan, thinks that there is a women's movement in Pakistan which includes a range of views on women's oppression, and the activists who participate in it agree that structures which oppress women must be changed.
- Interviews with a cross-section of activists and feminists living and working in different cities, reveals that there are multiple, diverse and varying perspectives on whether or not a cohesive and organized feminist movement, as defined in the early sections of this paper, exists in Pakistan.

Conclusion

- Feminist and women's rights consciousness in Pakistan has historically been shaped in response to national and global reconfigurations of power including colonialism, nationalism, dictatorship, democracy and the Global War on Terror (GWoT).
- The relationship between the women's movement and the Pakistani state has undergone significant shifts, from mutual accommodation and a complementary ethos to confrontation and conflict, followed by collaboration, co-optation and, finally, collusion depending upon transformations in the nature of the state at particular moments in history.
- The strategies of the women's movement reflect significant shifts, from a focus on education and welfare to legal reform, and ultimately to women's political and economic rights.
- A historically consistent and sustained tension between the women's movement / feminism and the state, as well as between the movement and 'civil society' consisting of non-state actors, has resulted from specific articulations of religion at different times confronted by the impulse toward a secular ethos.

5. Gender and Development

5.1 Colonial and Capitalistic Perspectives of Gender

- *Colonization itself was a gendered act, carried out by imperial workforces, overwhelmingly men, drawn from masculinized occupations such as soldiering and long-distance trade. The rape of women of colonized societies was a normal part of conquest.*
  - Raewyn Connell
- In the history of modern globalization, beginning with the expansion of England and other European countries in colonial conquest, agents of globalization, leaders and troops, have been men, but not just any men. They have been particular men whose locations within gendered social relations and practices can be captured by the concept of masculinity.
- As corporate capitalism developed, Connell argue, a hegemonic masculinity based on claims to expertise developed along with masculinities still organized around domination.
- From a coloniality of gender perspective, colonisation altered the indigenous sense of self and identity, as well as understandings of cosmology, and of gender relations.

- The concept of gender was introduced by Western colonisers and became a tool for domination that designates two binary oppositions and hierarchical social categories; women became defined by their subordinate relation to men in all categories.
- Colonialism gave rise to Capitalism. Women started contributing financially besides family.
- Gender has been a resource for globalizing firms as they seek out new sources of low-wage labor.
- In global cities the work of provisioning, cleaning the offices, child tending, caring for bodies and homes must be done so that global managers and other members of the global elite can go easily about their business. The labor power for these tasks is to a large extent provided by immigrants, disproportionately women, from Third World countries.
- Gender relations in both the workplace and domestic sphere contrast from region to region.
- Moore argued that capitalism added to the oppression of women, but Stoler argues that in countries such as Indonesia, women have benefited from capitalist market, who have been working alongside men even in pre-colonial era.
- In some countries such as Malaysia, the religious beliefs are an obstacle for the employment of women. The capitalist market seeks profit and can accommodate religious practices at workplace.
- In many countries, the employment of women increased many folds, but this was due to the cheap labor offered by the women workforce. Husband, in a family, still held the authority owing to the high wages offered to men.
- Most companies favor employing young, single mothers, as they are seen to have better family values and a greater sense of responsibility. Capitalism, thus, benefits from those women desperate to work in order to provide for their family, and creates an element of dependency on the company. It exploits notions of family values to produce a workforce that will create the greatest profit.
- Dress code in companies creates an environment of staff loyalty by giving women importance, and by this employers are in stronger position to exploit the women workers by paying them lower wages.
- Capitalist organizations continued to ignore the needs of their own workers and their families and people in general unless forced to pay attention
- Increased labor participation by women can be viewed as a positive result by capitalism but it has come at a cost of lower wages than men and poorer working conditions. A large number of women are still dependent on both their employers and their husbands.
- Inequality and dire poverty are gendered outcomes of globalization
- *Women are responsible for what Boulding called the roles of "breeder-feeder-producer". She observed that women have had a triple role of reproduction (breeding), taking care of others (feeding), and engaging in productive work (producing).*

5.2 Gender Analysis of Development Theories

- Three theories have been used by global economy and development theorists to explain the differing levels of development and inequality between countries: modernization, dependency, and world system theory.
- These theories mainly explore the impact of the global economy on inequality.
- The original conceptions of modernization, dependency, and world system theory have all neglected to incorporate gender into an analysis of international development and global inequality

5.2.1 Modernization Theory

- Modernization theory developed out of mainstream United States economics and sociology in the 1950s-60s
- Modernization theorists proposed that economic development is linear and all countries progress through similar processes.
- These theorists believe all countries will "naturally" develop and that poorer countries would follow paths similar to Western countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom.
- Rostow calls this process "essentially biological." His book, The Stages of Economic Growth, focuses on the economic system and the "five stages of growth": 1) the preconditions for take-off, 2) the take-off, 3) the drive to maturity, 4) the age of mass consumption, and 5) beyond consumption.

- According to modernization theorists, internal problems within a county explained why some poorer countries lagged behind in economic development compared to wealthier countries. In fact, Rostow's (1960) first stage of economic growth, the preconditions for take-off, are cultural preconditions.
- The solution proposed for countries that lagged behind was to adopt economic, political, and cultural guidelines from industrialized, Western countries, which would lead to economic growth.
- Research has found that there has been a middle level of inequality in agrarian countries, the highest level of inequality in transitional countries, and the lowest level of inequality in industrialized countries (
- Critics argue that according to modernization, there is no room left for alternative development views of an anti-capitalist or anti imperialist nature. Nor does it account for obstacles to late development by early developing countries.
- *Modernization theorists have not considered gender when theorizing about development and have treated development and income inequality as a gender-neutral phenomena.* A feminist response to the omission of women in modernization theory resulted in Women in Development.

Women in Development

- Until the 1970s, the role of women in economic development was completely ignored.
- Feminist researchers critiqued modernization theory as biased due to the omission of women and began exploring the relationship between gender inequality and international development.
- The first development theory that included gender was dubbed "women in development" (WID), which was an extension of the modernization approach.
- In her influential book, Women's Role in Economic Development, Boserup (1970) considered how international economic development, as a gendered process, affected women differently than it affected men.
- According to Boserup, women had been left out of the traditional development process and had not benefited from development efforts that had targeted Africa, Asia, and Latin America.
- Boserup theorized that women's subordination and ensuing exploitation in poor countries was the result of their exclusion from waged labor.
- She argued that women needed to be included in the economic development process and, in particular that women need to be brought into the formal economic sector in order to reap the full rewards of development.
- WID theorists, including Boserup (1970), argued that gender inequalities were likely to decline as a country developed because of an increase in economic opportunities and firm competition.
- Competition was expected to eliminate gender inequalities in employment, education, finance, training, and overall discrimination. WID argued in favor of women's access to education, jobs, and capital to achieve gender equality.
- As a result of WID's dissemination amongst economists and development theorists, gender equality began to be seen as a development goal in its own right and has been recognized in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), now signed and ratified by a majority of poor countries.
- The WID framework was promptly adopted by many 13 aid agencies and international organizations including the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).
- Since the 1970s, increasing numbers of women in poor countries have been entering the formal workforce. However, the majority of women who entered the formal workforce in poor countries received low pay in unstable jobs, often in export-processing factories.
- Contradicting Boserup's prediction, neither women's labor force participation nor higher levels of education have completely eliminated differences in status or income between men and women .
- Women have been gaining an increased share of many kinds of jobs, but this has not been accompanied by a redistribution of domestic, household, and child-care responsibilities. Women are responsible for what Boulding called the roles of "breeder-feeder-producer"

Criticism

- A central critique lobbied against the WID perspective has been that it does not challenge the patriarchal and hegemonic capitalist systems.
- WID theorists did not question why women had not faired as well as men, or explore the structure of women's subordination and oppression. WID focused on how women could have greater participation and how they could be integrated into existing systems and programs.
- In many contexts, women lack decision making authority. Therefore as their income increases, they may still not have the power to decide how that income is spent.
- The WID perspective ignored the influence of class, race, and culture, and treated women as a homogenous group

5.2.2 Dependency Theory

- The theory arose as a reaction to modernization theory, an earlier theory of development which held that all societies progress through similar stages of development, that today's underdeveloped areas are thus in a similar situation to that of today's developed areas at some time in the past, and that, therefore, the task of helping the underdeveloped areas out of poverty is to accelerate them along this supposed common path of development, by various means such as investment, technology transfers, and closer integration into the world market.
- According to dependency theorists, the lagging development of poor countries is the effect of long-standing "unequal exchanges" between poor and rich countries.The unequal exchanges between these countries have resulted in a handful of rich, economically-developed countries and a larger number of poor countries that have not benefited from the global economic system.
- Dependency theory is the notion that resources flow from a "periphery" of poor and underdeveloped states to a "core" of wealthy states, enriching the latter at the expense of the former. It is a central contention of dependency theory that poor states are impoverished and rich ones enriched by the way poor states are integrated into the "world system".
- It was not enough to examine an individual country to understand why it has or has not "developed." Within Wallerstein's (1974) world system, countries are economically positioned as core, periphery, or semi-periphery; these positions are the result of uneven development rooted in colonialism.
    - Core countries are highly industrialized and possess a large amount of the world's wealth. They have large economic, military, and political resources that enable them to limit threats to their economic stability. The United States, Germany, and Japan are examples of core countries.
    - Periphery countries are those that are disadvantaged in relation to core countries. Periphery countries are often former colonies of the core and, as a result, suffer from weak domestic economies. Zimbabwe, Bolivia and Indonesia are examples of periphery countries.
    - Semi-periphery or "middlemen" countries are developmentally between the core and periphery, and are often regional economic powers. Semi-periphery countries are major exporters of minerals and agricultural goods, and are often the political and economic buffers between core and periphery countries. Argentina, Spain, and South Africa are examples of semi periphery countries.
- The world system has facilitated three main types of dependency within periphery countries: classical, investment, and debt dependency.
    - The first type, classical or trade dependency, asserts that periphery nations are dependent because of a "vertical trade pattern". Periphery countries trade raw materials for processed goods, creating an unequal relationship.
    - The second type of dependency described by world system theory, investment dependency, refers to the role of foreign investment in creating dependency between poor and rich countries. With foreign investment comes rapid economic growth, often in manufacturing, that tends to result in growing inequality within the country.

- - The third type of dependency, debt dependency, refers to the dependent relationships that result from capital being borrowed by periphery countries from core countries or international organizations controlled by the core. When loans cannot be 19 paid back, indebted countries are often forced to take out new loans to refinance old debt. Poor countries then begin a cycle of continuous borrowing and most of their revenue from exports is used to pay back old loans instead of developing their economy or social programs.
- From a Dependency perspective, increased participation in the workforce also implies increased hazards for women. Women's jobs outside the home tend to be the lowest earning, least secure, and most dangerous available in the economy, especially in periods of recession that plague most developing countries.

Criticism

- Though the dependency/world system perspective has been a more critical framework than modernization theory, it too initially ignored issues related to gender and treated development as a gender-neutral process.

Gender and Development

- The scholarly framework called "gender and development" (GAD) emerged in the 1980s, as a critique of the WID perspective.
- GAD researchers focused on why women have been systematically positioned in inferior and/or secondary roles. Moreover, the community of GAD scholars began to question the meaning of development and the goal of integrating women into the economic development process.
- Most core-sponsored development programs have focused on men as economic actors, ignoring the productive role of women in society. As a result of their gender and location in the periphery, women are often doubly disadvantaged by the world system.
- Patriarchal relations in the periphery enabled men to retain control over the distribution of these new economic resources.
- Unlike the WID perspective, GAD called past and present social, economic, and political structures into question.
- The systems of patriarchy and capitalism are seen as dually creating the inequality that women experience during development. Therefore, socialist-feminist scholars argue that changes in the economic domain alone cannot eliminate inequality because the patriarchal domain would still exist. Instead, a solution to the matrix of development inequality should target both capitalism and patriarchy.
- GAD scholars have attempted to portray and analyze women not only as victims, but also as agents in the process of development. Much of the past traditional development and even WID research framed women as 'a vulnerable group' and portrayed them as passive, ignorant, and voiceless.
- In 1995, at the Fourth World Conference on Women, the "Bejing Platform for Action" called for the empowerment of women and not just gender equality.

Criticism

- The weakness of the GAD perspective is that it is not easily incorporated into current development and aid programs. GAD requires a commitment from international organizations as well as governments to make large scale changes to long-established institutions and organizations.

5.2.3 World System Theory

- The world systems theory, developed by sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein, is an approach to world history and social change that suggests there is a world economic system in which some countries benefit while others are exploited. Just like we cannot understand an individual's behavior without

reference to their surroundings, experiences, and culture, a nation's economic system cannot be understood without reference to the world system of which they are a part.

- The main characteristics of this theory are:
  - The world systems theory is established on a three-level hierarchy consisting of core, periphery, and semi-periphery areas.
  - The core countries dominate and exploit the peripheral countries for labor and raw materials.
  - The peripheral countries are dependent on core countries for capital.
  - The semi-peripheral countries share characteristics of both core and peripheral countries.
- This theory emphasizes the social structure of global inequality.
- World Systems Theory focuses on a larger division of labor that takes places nationally, regionally and internationally with countries occupying a "core," "periphery role" or a middle ground semi-periphery. These roles can be mutual beneficial and the roles of a specific state can change over time. Whereas Dependency Theory says the poor periphery countries are exploited for the benefit of enriching core countries.
- World Systems acknowledges the exploitative nature in Capitalism but also recognizes that the world isn't as binary as rich country vs poor country.
- World-systems theory traces emerged in the 1970s. Its roots can be found in sociology, but it has developed into a highly interdisciplinary field. World-systems theory was aiming to replace modernization theory, which Wallerstein criticised for three reasons:
  - its focus on the nation state as the only unit of analysis
  - its assumption that there is only a single path of evolutionary development for all countries
  - its disregard of transnational structures that constrain local and national development.
- There are three major predecessors of world-systems theory: the Annales school, the Marxist tradition, and the dependence theory.
- World-systems analysis builds upon but also differs fundamentally from dependency theory. While accepting world inequality, the world market and imperialism as fundamental features of historical capitalism, Wallerstein broke with orthodox dependency theory's central proposition. For Wallerstein, core countries do not exploit poor countries for two basic reasons.
  - Firstly, core capitalists exploit workers in all zones of the capitalist world economy (not just the periphery) and therefore, the crucial redistribution between core and periphery is surplus value, not "wealth" or "resources" abstractly conceived.
  - Secondly, core states do not exploit poor states, as dependency theory proposes, because capitalism is organised around an inter-regional and transnational division of labor rather than an international division of labour.

Criticism

- World-systems theory has attracted criticisms from its rivals; notably for being too focused on economy and not enough on culture and for being too core-centric and state-centric.
- In Wallerstein's own words:
  In short, most of the criticisms of world-systems analysis criticize it for what it explicitly proclaims as its perspective. World-systems analysis views these other modes of analysis as defective and/or limiting in scope and calls for unthinking them.

5.2.4 Structural Functionalism

- Structural functionalism has provided one of the most important perspectives of sociological research in the twentieth century and has been a major influence on research in the social sciences, including gender studies. Viewing the family as the most integral component of society, assumptions about gender roles within marriage assume a prominent place in this perspective.
- Functionalists argue that gender roles were established well before the pre-industrial era when men typically took care of responsibilities outside of the home, such as hunting, and women typically took care of the domestic responsibilities in or around the home. These roles were considered functional

because women were often limited by the physical restraints of pregnancy and nursing and unable to leave the home for long periods of time. Once established, these roles were passed on to subsequent generations since they served as an effective means of keeping the family system functioning properly.

- When changes occurred in the social and economic climate of the United States during World War II, changes in the family structure also occurred. Many women had to assume the role of breadwinner (or modern hunter-gatherer) alongside their domestic role in order to stabilize a rapidly changing society. When the men returned from war and wanted to reclaim their jobs, society fell back into a state of imbalance, as many women did not want to forfeit their wage-earning positions.
- Structural functionalists posit that gender roles arise from the need to establish a division of labor that will help maintain the smooth running of the family and concomitantly contribute to the stability of society. In this view, girls and boys are taught different approaches to life. Boys are taught instrumentality—that is, to be goal oriented, to focus on tasks, and to be concerned for the relationship of the family to outside societal structures. Girls, on the other hand, are taught to be expressive—that is, to express their emotions and to look for and react to the emotions of others.

Criticism:

- The functionalist perspective is less useful for describing the realities of gender in the postindustrial age, in which many women work outside the home, men can stay at home with the children, and everyone helps with the housework.

5.3 Gender Approaches to Development:

5.3.1 Women in Development (WID)

- The term "women in development" was originally coined by a Washington-based network of female development professionals in the early 1970s who sought to question trickle down existing theories of development by contesting that economic development had identical impacts on men and women.
- Women in development is an approach of development projects that emerged in the 1969s, calling for treatment of women's issues in development projects. It is the integration of women into the global economies by improving their status and assisting in total development.
- The focus of the 1970s feminist movements and their repeated calls for employment opportunities in the development agenda meant that particular attention was given to the productive labour of women, leaving aside reproductive concerns and social welfare
- It challenged the invisibility of women in development process. The model explained the justification for women as beneficiary of development. Integrates women as active economic agents in development process.
- The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) established a special Division for Women in Development, promoting concrete action to ensure that women participate in UNDP projects.
- The Women in Development approach was the first contemporary movement to specifically integrate women in the broader development agenda and acted as the precursor to later movements such as the Women and Development (WAD), and ultimately, the Gender and Development approach, departing from some of the criticized aspects imputed to the WID.

Criticism

- It failed to focus on cultural difference in experience of women and focused on public sphere.
- An approach that had in some cases the unwanted consequence of depicting women as a unit whose claims are conditional on its productive value, associating increased female status with the value of cash income in women's lives.
- Ignores the larger social processes that affect women's lives and their reproductive roles. The approach does not address the root causes of gender inequalities.

- The underlying assumption behind the call for the integration of the Third World women with their national economy was that women were not already participating in development, thus downplaying women's roles in household production and informal economic and political activities

5.3.2 Women and Development (WAD)

- Women and development (WAD) is a theoretical and practical approach to development. It was introduced into gender studies scholarship in the second half of the 1970s, following its origins, which can be traced to the First World Conference on Women in Mexico City in 1975, organized by the UN. It is a departure from the previously predominant theory, WID (Women in Development) and is often mistaken for WID, but has many distinct characteristics.
- WAD arose out of a shift in thinking about women's role in development, and concerns about the explanatory limitations of modernization theory. While previous thinking held that development was a vehicle to advance women, new ideas suggested that development was only made possible by the involvement of women, and rather than being simply passive recipients of development aid, they should be actively involved in development projects.
- WAD took this thinking a step further and suggested that women have always been an integral part of development, and did not suddenly appear in the 1970s as a result of exogenous development efforts.
- The WAD approach suggests that there be women-only development projects that were theorized to remove women from the patriarchal hegemony that would exist if women participated in development alongside men in a patriarchal culture.
- Rather than focus specifically on women's relationship to development, WAD focuses on the relationship between patriarchy and capitalism.

Criticism

- Some of the common critiques of the WAD approach include concerns that the women-only development projects would struggle, or ultimately fail, due to their scale, and the marginalized status of these women.
- The WAD perspective suffers from a tendency to view women as a class, and pay little attention to the differences among women (such as feminist concept of intersectionality), including race and ethnicity, and prescribe development endeavors that may only serve to address the needs of a particular group.
- WAD has been criticized for its singular preoccupation with the productive side of women's work, while it ignores the reproductive aspect of women's work and lives. Value is placed on income-generating activities, and none is ascribed to social and cultural reproduction.

5.3.3 Gender and Development (GAD)

- The Gender and Development (GAD) approach in the 1980s attempted to redress the problem in WID, using gender analysis to develop a broader view. The approach is more concerned with relationships, the way in which men and women participate in development processes, rather than strictly focusing on women's issues.
- The GAD approach focuses on the socially constructed differences between men and women and the need to challenge existing gender roles and relations.
- This approach was majorly influenced by the writings of academic scholars such as Oakley (1972) and Rubin (1975), who emphasize the social relationship between men and women.
- GAD departs from WID, which discussed women's subordination and lack of inclusion in discussions of international development without examining broader systems of gender relations.
- Two major frameworks 'Gender roles' and 'social relations analysis' are used in this approach:
  - 'Gender roles' focuses on the social construction of identities within the household; it also reveals the expectations from 'maleness and femaleness' in their relative access to resources.

- ○ 'Social relations analysis' exposes the social dimensions of hierarchical power relations embedded in social institutions, as well as its determining influence on 'the relative position of men and women in society.' This relative positioning tends to discriminate against women.
- Unlike WID, the GAD approach is not concerned specifically with women, but with the way in which a society assigns roles, responsibilities and expectations to both women and men.
- *In response to pervasive gender inequalities, Beijing Platform for Action established gender mainstreaming in 1995 as a strategy across all policy areas at all levels of governance for achieving gender equality.*
- Developed in the 1980s as alternative to the WAD approach. It offered a holistic approach looking at all aspects of women's lives. It questioned assigned roles to men and women as per their biological body, thereby rejects private-public dichotomy. This approach shifts the focus from women as a group to the socially determined relations between women and men. It promotes a development process that transforms gender relations in order to enable women to participate on an equal basis with men in determining their common future.

Criticism

- GAD has been criticized for emphasizing the social differences between men and women while neglecting the bonds between them and also the potential for changes in roles.
- Another criticism is that GAD does not dig deeply enough into social relations and so may not explain how these relations can undermine programs directed at women.
- It also does not uncover the types of trade-offs that women are prepared to make for the sake of achieving their ideals of marriage or motherhood.
- Another criticism is that the GAD perspective is theoretically distinct from WID, but in practice, a program seem to have the element of the two. Whilst many development agencies are now committed to a gender approach, in practice, the primary institutional perspective remain focused on a WID approach.

5.3.4 Gender Critique of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs)

- Structural Adjustment Policies are economic policies which countries must follow in order to qualify for new World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) loans and help them make debt repayments on the older debts owed to commercial banks, governments and the World Bank. Although SAPs are designed for individual countries but have common guiding principles and features which include export-led growth; privatisation and liberalisation; and the efficiency of the free market.
- SAPs generally require countries to devalue their currencies against the dollar; lift import and export restrictions; balance their budgets and not overspend; and remove price controls and state subsidies.
- Balancing national budgets can be done by raising taxes, which the IMF frowns upon, or by cutting government spending, which it definitely recommends. As a result, SAPs often result in deep cuts in programmes like education, health and social care, and the removal of subsidies designed to control the price of basics such as food and milk. So SAPs hurt the poor most, because they depend heavily on these services and subsidies.
- Structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) consist of loans provided by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) to countries that experienced economic crises. The two Bretton Woods Institutions require borrowing countries to implement certain policies in order to obtain new loans (or to lower interest rates on existing ones). The conditionality clauses attached to the loans have been criticized because of their effects on the social sector.
- These programs include internal changes (notably privatization and deregulation) as well as external ones, especially the reduction of trade barriers. Countries that fail to enact these programmes may be subject to severe fiscal discipline. Critics argue that the financial threats to poor countries amount to blackmail, and that poor nations have no choice but to comply.

- *Structural Adjustment and Poverty: The Case of Pakistan, research paper by Tilat Anwar in Pakistan development review* shows that an economic crisis in 1988 lead to an implementation of a medium term structural adjustment programme within the framework of the IMF and the World Bank. The research concludes that the intensity and severity of poverty increased significantly by all poverty lines and poverty measures over the period of adjustment. Structural adjustment created new poor in urban areas amongst the low income groups (mainly Clerical and Sales workers) whose real wages were eroded over the period.
- *Impact Evaluation of Structural Adjustment Program: A Case of Pakistan, b*y Rana Ejaz Ali Khan and et al.
- The term "Structural Adjustment Program" has gained such a negative connotation that the World Bank and IMF launched a new initiative, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Initiative.

5.4 Globalization and Gender

- Access to information and trade openness have created job opportunities for women, translating into increased wages.
- With globalization, gender inequality can negatively affect a country's standing in international affairs.
- Access to information have also increased awareness about the role of women, thus a shift toward more egalitarian society.
- Globalization alone cannot empower women and decrease gender inequality, public policy at various levels within a country needs reshaping.
- The employment opportunities offered by the globalization are mostly of low cadre involving repetitive jobs at factories, while the top executive and policy making jobs are mostly held by men.

6. Status of Women in Pakistan

- *"No nation can rise to the height of glory unless their women are side by side with them…It is crime against humanity that our women are shut up with in the four walls of the houses as prisoners. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable condition in which our women have to live."*
  - Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Father of the Nation
- The World Economic Forum in its Global Gender Gap Report, 2017 placed Pakistan 143rd out of 144 countries, worst in the South Asian region that has an average remaining gender gap of 34% as noted by the index.
- Pakistan ranks 135 out of 174 in UNDP's gender related development index, 2017.
- Article 34 of the Constitution of Pakistan requires that 'steps shall be taken to ensure full participation of women in all the spheres of national life'.

6.1 Status of Women's health in Pakistan

- *The state shall secure the well-being of the people, irrespective of sex, caste, creed or race…provide basic necessities of life, such as…medical relief, for all such citizens…as are permanently or temporarily unable to earn their livelihood on account of infirmity, sickness or unemployment…*
  - Constitution of Pakistan, 1973, Article 38(a) and (d)
- *Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.*
  - Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 25(1)
- Health is a state of complete mental, physical, and social well-being and does not mean the mere absence of disease or infirmity.
- The health of families and nations is interlinked with the health of women. Health or death of women can have serious implications for the health of her children and family.
- Pakistan ranks third worst country in the world if numbers of maternal deaths are taken into account.

- "Around 55 percent of pregnant women in Pakistan do not have access to trained staff or lady health visitors and most of them give birth to their children at home," Dr Yasmin Rashid said, who is one of the leading gynaecologists of the country and has served as the head of the obstetrics & gynaecology department at King Edward Medical University.
- The dogmatic and extremely narrow approach to women's rights and indifference towards women's health is the main reason why women are not able to get the proper medical attention. Women are at times not even allowed by other women to undergo medical treatment or visit a doctor. The tribal and rural concept of home deliveries is another reason why patients remain undiagnosed of medical complications and later on suffer for the remainder of their lives.
- 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.
- There is widespread and chronic malnutrition among women and young children, especially girl children, against whom there is cultural and social discrimination in the distribution of household resources.
- Women lack the power within their families to decide on the number of children they want. Patriarchal values system and gender biases affect women's choices and health and consequently their work, economic productivity and sense of wellbeing.
- In Pakistan, societal attitudes and norms, as well as cultural practices (Karo Kari, exchange marriages, dowry, etc.), play a vital role in women's mental health.
- *A large study at Jinnah Post-Graduate Medical Center, Karachi back in early 1990s showed that twice as many women as men sought psychiatric care and that most of these women were between 20s and mid 40s.*
  - Women's mental health in Pakistan, research paper by Unaiza Niaz
- On average, 48.1 percent of women and girls aged between 15 and 49 years in Pakistan have no say in decisions regarding their own health care, but rates vary significantly by location, wealth and ethnicity.
  - Report by UN for the year 2017.
- Only in Sindh maternal mortality is six to eight per thousand live births. They tend to marry at younger ages around six to seven and the fertility rates average at six births per woman.
- Usage of contraceptive measures is taboo to discuss with families. Such issues often hid under the rug and "Haya" and "Namoos" takes over such discussions.

6.2 Status of Women in Education

- **George Herbert says: " A mother is worth a hundred school masters."**
- *The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to sixteen years in such manner as may be determined by law.*
  - Constitution of Pakistan Article 25-A
- Pakistan's overall literacy rate remains static at 58 percefnt with literacy rate of males 70 percent and 48 percent of females, according to Economic Survey of Pakistan, 2016-2017.
- Poor rural males have a literacy rate of 60%, but their female counterparts have an abysmal 14%.
  - Human Rights Commission Report, 2017
- According to the Economic Survey of Pakistan, the country's overall literacy rate declined from 60 percent to 58 percent in the fiscal year 2016-2017.
- Patriarchal values are deeply embedded in the society of Pakistan, and its different manifestations are observed in different aspects of the society such as in women's education. Men are preferred to women when it comes to quality education.
- The number of women who attend school in urban areas vs. rural areas differs drastically. In urban areas, women's education is increasing every day.
- Problems of access to education especially in rural areas, problems of separate schools, fear of extremists, fear of losing power (patriarchy).

- Destruction of schools and killings have harmed women's education in Pakistan. 16-year-old education activist and blogger Malala Yousafzai was shot in the head and neck by Taliban insurgents on 9 October 2012. In August, 2018, more than 10 girl schools were set ablaze by terrorists in Diamer.
- Being the youngest person to ever obtain this certification –Arfa was certified at only 9 years of age- she got the chance to fly to the USA and meet Mr. Gates himself. Arfa expressed her dream of going to Harvard University or MIT to complete her studies in order to become a developer or a satellite.

6.3 Women and Employment

- *The state shall ensure the elimination of all forms of exploitation and the gradual fulfillment of the fundamental principle, from each according to his ability, to each according to his work.*
    - Constitution of Pakistan, Article 3
- 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
- An ILO report published in 2017, *Pakistan's Hidden Workers*, highlighted the vulnerability of home-based workers. The majority of them are women and they lack legal protections and access to collective bargaining. Their wage rates are generally set by middlemen and they are 'chronically and significantly underpaid.' Of those who attempted to negotiate better rates, 95 percent failed.
- One out of five women in Pakistan is part of labour force: UN report, 2017.
- At a mere 22pc in 2015, we have the lowest female labour force participation rate in South Asia, according to Global Gender Gap report.
- Mahbub ul Haq Human Development Report, 2017, on women in Pakistan observes that women on average earn 38.6pc less than men, with the pay gap persisting even if both sexes have the same level of education and are doing the same work.
- The findings of this paper show that the women are suffering from market discrimination and hence are pushed to separate low-paid and low-status jobs. Majority of women are employed in the unorganized sectors. Mostly, women are concentrated in sector known for low level of productivity, less income stability and low security of employment due to their dual role at home and workplace. Organized services sector is mostly government services, and provides employment to a small proportion of women. The rate of unemployment among women is consistently higher than that of men, both in rural and urban areas.
    - Employment situation of women in Pakistan, by Mahpara Begum Sadaqat, Karachi University
- The social conditions and social disabilities (early marriages, more number of children, lack of education and skills), the lower status accorded to women, superstitious beliefs and rituals, religious sanctions, and the overriding patriarchal value system prevalent in most parts of the world has kept women dependent upon men, both for sustenance and financial support.
- Recent changes have witnessed an increased participation of women in organized sector; industrialization, increased education and other infrastructural facilities for women have opened up a number of avenues for them.
- The growth have taken place in traditional occupations, clustered in finance, services (teaching, nursing), publishing, retailing, banking and consumer products.
- Women account for only 10 percent of managerial workforce, according to Sujata Sen in her book Gender Studies.
- *Investing proportionally more in women than in men -- in education, health, family planning, access to land, inputs and extensions -- is an important part of developmental strategy, as well as an act of social justice.*
    - World Bank Policy Paper on 'Enhancing Women's Participation in Economic Development'
- The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2010 and the Protection against Sexual Harassment of Women at the Workplace Act, 2010 are important steps.
- The Maternity Benefits Ordinance, 1958, is generally applied only to factories, leaving a significant proportion of working women outside its protective net.

Reasons of low participation of women in labor force

- Women generally take part time jobs to strike a balance between work and family.
- Women need lengthy breaks from work because of family reasons, makes reentry difficult.
- Problem of accommodation of women
- Because of problems of distance and security, many educated women are reluctant to go and work in rural areas.
- Women are generally paid less than men in private sector.
- Women find it difficult to accept transfers because of family considerations.

6.4 Women and Law

- The legal system of Pakistan includes existing laws, judiciary, police officials, prosecutors and defence lawyers. Local customs / traditions, tribal leaders, jirgas and local religious interpreters are the unofficial part of this system.
- A legal system in any society is itself a product of the existing economic system and social conditions but simultaneously, it mirrors the socio-economic realities, political attitudes / institutions as well as sexual and ethical code of conduct.

Laws enacted for the protect/ion of women rights in Pakistan

- Hindu Marriage Act, 2017
- The Acid Control and Acid Crime Prevention Act, 2011
- Prevention of Anti-Women Practices Act, 2011
- Criminal Law (Amendment) (Offense of Rape) Act 2016
- Criminal Law (Amendment) (Offences in the name or pretext of Honour) Act, 2016
- Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act, 2016

Constitutional Rights of Women

Article 25 (1) and (2)
- 25 (1) declares all citizens to be equal before law and entitled to equal protection of law and
- 25 (2) states that there shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone.

Article 25 (3)
- Allows the State to create special laws and rules for specific issues facing women and children, which are being ignored.

Article 34
- Ensures full participation of women in all spheres of national life.

18th Amendment
- Devolves most social issues to provinces and gives them responsibility for legislation and initiatives regarding those women's rights issues that fall within the purview of provinces. 18th Amendment has increased resources to provinces to work on women's empowerment.

7. Gender and Governance

7.1 Defining Governance

- In the 1992 report entitled "Governance and Development", the World Bank set out its definition of good governance. This term is defined as "the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development".
- The World Bank identified three distinct aspects of governance:
    - the form of the political regime

- - the process by which authority is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development
  - the capacity of governments to design, formulate and implement policies and discharge functions.
- According to International Development Association (IDA), the four major pillars against which governance can be judged are stated to be:
  - *Accountability:* At the macro level this includes financial accountability, in terms of an effective, transparent and publicly accountable system for expenditure control and cash management, and an external audit system. At the micro level it requires that managers of implementing and parastatal agencies be accountable for operational efficiency.
  - *Transparency:* Private-sector investment decisions depend on public knowledge of the government's policies and confidence in its intentions, as well as in the information provided by the government on economic and market conditions.
  - *The rule of law:* A fair, predictable and stable legal framework is essential so that businesses and individuals may assess economic opportunities and act on them without fear of arbitrary interference or expropriation.
  - *Participation:* Good governance requires that civil society has the opportunity to participate during the formulation of development strategies and that directly affected communities and groups should be able to participate in the design and implementation of programmes and projects.

7.2 Suffragist Movement

- During the colonial times, the right to vote was limited to adult males who owned property. Many people thought property owners had the strongest interest in good government.
- One of the first public appeals for women suffrage came in 1848. Two reformers Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton adopted a Declaration of Sentiments modeled on the Declaration of Independence of 1776. The 1776 document declared that "all men are created equal." The 1848 declaration proclaimed that "all men and women are created equal."
- In 1869, suffragists formed two national organizations to work for the vote.
  - National Women Suffrage Association -> Radical views, amendment to the constitution to give women the right to vote.
  - American Women Suffrage Association -> Conservative views, to persuade individual states to give women to the right to vote.
- In December 1869, women won vote in the territory of Wyoming.
- The 19th amendment was first introduced in Congress in 1878. Failed for the next 40 years consecutively.
- August 1920, the required number of states ratified the 19th amendment, says, "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

7.3 Gender Issues in Women as Voters

American women's rights activist Susan B. Anthony articulates this issue as: *"There never will be complete equality until women themselves help to make laws and elect lawmakers."*

Major obstacles in women's registration as voters

- Structural Obstacles
  - Lack of necessary or any documentation
  - Identification and the Veil
  - Passive systems
    - "Passive" systems whereby the government, usually an interior ministry, formulates the voter's list based on the civil registry or some other database of citizen information.

Women who have married and changed their names and addresses may be inadvertently disenfranchised if their records are not automatically updated.
- ○ Remote locations and limited hours
  - ■ Sparse locations, especially in rural areas, and limited times of opening hours present particular obstacles for women given their role in society.
- Socio-Economic Constraints
  - ○ lack of education and high rates of illiteracy
    - ■ women ignore the importance of the exercise of their right to vote, as they are mainly absorbed by their domestic tasks, family duties and income-earning activities
- Cultural, Social and Political Obstacles
  - ○ Religious customs, conservative interpretations of religious law, traditional cultural norms and societies permeated with gender discrimination and gendered roles, both formal and informal pose some of the biggest obstacles to women's ability to participate in political life through registering and voting among other activities.
  - ○ There are instances where women, individually and collectively, are prevented from exercising their right to vote by their families, tribes, clans and local and religious leaders, sometimes by threats to their physical wellbeing.

Impact of women votes

- Research shows that women's choices systematically differ from those of men even in political matters. Clinton's defeat in 2016 is attributed to a large extent to the fact that white women without college degrees chose Trump.
  - Tribue, by Hassan Khawar
- The IDEAS Political Attitudes Survey 2017 carried out by Ali Cheema and Asad Liaquat in three National Assembly and four provincial assembly constituencies of Lahore revealed that while men placed greater emphasis on corruption, purchasing power, health and education than women, women considered electricity, water, gas and security more important than men.
- The same survey also revealed that almost 60% of the total voters were undecided and women in particular were more 'disengaged' from parties, compared to men.

Gender issues in Women as Voters: Case of Pakistan

- The National Assembly has 60 seats reserved for women and women make 48.8 percent of the total population of Pakistan (according to the 6th Population and Housing Census 2017).
- In Pakistan, there is no constitutional bar on the political participation of women as voters or as candidates. However, women's representation in the national legislature has never moved beyond 10% until 2001 when the gender quota was restored by the military regime at the local, provincial and national level. Through a legislative provision 33 percent seats were reserved for women in local government and 17 percent in the national and provincial assemblies and senate.
- According to Global Gender Gap Report 2017, Pakistan ranks 95 / 144 in respect of Political Empowerment Index. Interestingly, the USA ranks 96 / 144 in the list.
- The gap between registered men and women voters is too big to be acceptable, the difference being 11 million in 2013 and 12 million in 2018. Its primary cause seems to be the requirement of holding a Computerised National Identity Card (CNIC) in order to be eligible to vote.
- According to an estimate provided by the National Commission on the Status of Women, it would take 18 years to bridge the gap between registered men and women voters even if 6,000 new ID cards are issued to women every day.

- The 2018 election of PK-23 Shangla was declared void because only five per cent of the voters were women against the required number of at least 10 percent according to the Election Act 2017 to validate the result.

7.4 Gender Issues in Women as Candidates

- Women as candidates face several barriers, ranging from lack of party support to financial constraints. Women are denied party tickets on the plea that they lack social and financial capital, and are expected to run their election campaigns from their own resources, as are the men.The attitude of the leadership and the culture within political parties generally mirror the male patriarchal attitudes that prevail in the private sphere of the home.
- In political party structures, women wings are not very well-connected to the decision-making circles within the party, so the primary barrier to women's political participation via the political structure has been the patriarchy within the political party where the decisions are made by powerful men.
- "Somebody is going to say 'oh, you are my daughter or sister and we will go on your behalf and talk to the voters'," policy analyst Azeema Cheema says. "That reduces the women's agency, it cuts her out a bit. Hence they are not able to establish the kind of influence a man does."
- A total of 176 women candidates were in the run for general seats of the National Assembly in the 2018 elections.

Steps taken to address issues of women as candidates

- Section 206 of the Election Act 2017 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.
- However, most of the women candidates have been fielded to contest for the national and provincial assembly seats where there is less or no chance of winning.
- Pakistan's National Assembly already has 60 seats reserved for women in addition to the 272 general seats for which direct elections are held.

7.5 Gender Issues in Women as Representatives

- 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, which reinforces their dependency on the party leadership. And though women elected indirectly on reserved seats have played a critical role in pushing through pro-women legislation and highlighting human rights issues, they are generally considered less important in comparison to their directly elected female colleagues.
- The contradictory reality of a country with a higher number of women in the parliament and a rise in gender-based violence is undoubtedly linked with the rising trends in poverty, militancy, crime and violence in the country and a weak criminal justice system that allows perpetrators of violence to escape punishment. Therefore, any initiative that enables women parliamentarians are to play a greater role in supporting measures that promote/protect women's human rights demands a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the larger context that shapes women's participation and representation in legislation and policy making.
- Women remained politically very visible during Pakistan movement and participated actively in subsequent political and constitutional processes. Ms. Fatima Jinnah, Begum Shaista Ikramullah, Begum Ra'ana Liaqat Ali, Begum Shah Nawaz, Lady Abdullah Haroon, Lady Hafeezullah, Begum Hafeezudin, are the few to name.

- In the current politics Benazir Bhutto (late), Fehmida Mirza, Sherry Rehman, Hina Rabbani Kher, Marvi Memon, Maryam Nawaz and many more hold the important portfolios in different governments.
- However, most of them belong to politically influential families with a very strong support of their men who are already in politics.
- According to the census 2017, women make up half the Pakistan's population of 207 million citizens, and of the overall 97 million registered voters, 42 million are women. Ironically, Pakistan implements somewhat unjust and distorted model of proportional representation for the election of women. The number of reserved seat for women to a party are allocated in proportion to general seats won, which at the moment stands 17 percent. This system does not provide women elected to the reserved seats with any say to influence the decision-making or policy forming process, and they are not allocated development funds.
- To enable women to play a powerful and influential role in decision-making or policy forming process in the country, they should be given political representation directly proportional to their registered votes or women's votes polled in the elections after some reforms in the system of election to reserved seats are introduced.
- The reasons behind the limited political empowerment of women have to do with socio-cultural practices and the economic dependency of women on the male counterpart of their household.
- Currently, political indicators of women's political empowerment are due entirely to top-down approaches, like the quota, which are affected through the legislative measures.

Steps taken to improve women's political representation:

- For the first time and under military rule, in 2000, the quota for women's political participation was raised to 33% at the local government level. This quota was effective at three levels of the local government, namely the union council, the tehsil, and the district level.
- Before the 2002 election, the number of women was increased to 17% in both the national and provincial assemblies (with 61 out of 342 members in the national assembly being women).

7.6 Impact of Political Quota in Pakistan

According to article 51 of the constitution of Pakistan, there shall be 60 seats out of the total 336 seats.
- One critical way of removing historical discriminations against women and mainstreaming them into politics is to introduce legislative or political quotas for them through affirmative action measures by the governments and political parties.
- The quota is seen as a mechanism for achieving a significant increase in the level of representation of women in the political process and a means for ensuring that womenís political interests are represented and safeguarded.
- The indirect modality of elections on reserved seats for women in Pakistan is where a particular modality has resulted in one huge disadvantage i.e. it deprives women from having constituencies and as such, they cannot establish contact with the electorate and remain dependent on their male-dominated political hierarchies.
- The introduction of gender quota systems is highly influenced by recommendations from international organizations and cross-country inspiration. In 1995, the Beijing Platform for Action called on governments to take measures to ensure womenís equal access to, and full participation in, power structures and decision-making bodies, and to set specific targets and implement measures to increase substantially the number of women, through positive action, among other means.

Arguments against the quota system

- Those who oppose quota systems argue that quotas are against the principle of equal opportunity for all. Since in these systems women are given preference over men, as such they are undemocratic.
- Quotas are also called undemocratic, as they take away votersí right to decide who is elected.

- It is also argued that quotas imply that politicians are elected because of their gender and not because of their qualifications; and in this way more qualified candidates are pushed aside. Thus quotas violate the principles of liberal democracy.

Arguments in favour of the quota system

- Proponents of the quota system argue that quotas for women do not discriminate, but compensate for actual barriers that prevent women from their fair share of the political seats.
- Quotas imply that there are several women together in a committee or assembly, thus minimizing the stress often experienced by the token women. It is also argued that quotas are justified as women as citizens have the right to equal representation.
- In response to the arguments that women are generally less qualified and experienced in politics it is stated that election is about representation and not educational qualifications.
- In response to the objection that quotas are undemocratic, because voters do not decide who is elected, it is argued that in actual practice the political parties control the nominations and they are not primarily the voters who decide who gets elected; therefore quotas are not violations of voters' rights.

Types of quotas

Reserved seats (constitutional and/or legislative)

Constitutional or legislative quotas normally try to reserve a number of places on electoral lists for female candidates or reserve a number of seats in an assembly for women. It is done through a clause in the constitution or by legislation which stipulates that a certain percentage or number among those elected must be women.
In Pakistan, Article 51 of the Constitution states that 60 seats shall be reserved for the women in National Assembly.

Legislated candidate quotas (constitutional and/or legislative)

This type of quota set a minimum proportion of women on candidate lists, as a constitutional or legal requirement. Such quota provisions are stipulated in the national legislation or electoral laws of a country. It is done through a clause in the electoral law which states that a certain percentage or number among those elected must be women.
In Pakistan, the Electoral Act 2017 makes it mandatory for the political parties to nominate at least 5% of the seats for women in the national and provincial assemblies.

Political party quotas (voluntary)

This type of quota set a minimum proportion of women on candidate lists, as a measure written into the statutes of individual political parties.

Political Quota in Pakistan

- Under the Devolution of Power Plan the military regime introduced a new system of Local Government, which consisted of three tiers, from top to bottom: District/City-District Administration, Tehsil/Town Administration and Union Administration. At each level, there was a council: Zila, Tehsil/Town, Union, each of which had 33 percent reserved seats for women. At the Union level the women councillors on reserved seats were directly elected by a joint electorate of men and women, while at the other two tiers they were indirectly elected by the elected councillors.
- The government restored the 1973 constitution, after major amendments, through a ìLegal Framework Order 2002. Under this LFO, although the long-standing popular demand of reserving seats for women was accepted in principle, but instead of giving them a 33 percent representation the LFO allowed only a 17 percent representation; devoting 60 seats in a 342-Member National Assembly and for the first

time 17 seats in the 104 member Upper House or Senate to women; 17.6 percent seats were also reserved for women in each of the provincial assemblies.

- A List Systemî was introduced for election to these reserved seats under which the emerging parliamentary groups were to get these seats in proportion to their general representation in the House. The Article 51, sub article 6 (d) of the Chapter 2 of the amended Constitution says: members to the seats reserved for women shall be elected through proportional representation system of political parties' lists of candidates on the basis of total number of general seats secured by each political party in the National Assembly.
- The number of women who contested the election in 2018 is unprecedented in the electoral history of Pakistan. Out of 171 women candidates for the National Assembly, 105 were awarded tickets by the political parties. Similarly six candidates from religious minorities got elected and five transgender contested election.

Impact of political quota in Pakistan

A research study conducted by Dr. Farzana Bari "Bridging the Fault Lines: Rethinking the Gender Quota Approach in Pakistan" critically reviews quota designs, practices and experiences of women parliamentarians on both quota and general seats.

Positive impacts

- Womenís presence in elected political institutions in Pakistan at the national and provincial level in such a substantial number has had a hugely positive impact in transforming the socio-political perceptions about recognizing and legitimizing women's entitlement to citizenship and governance, as well as their inclusion in the public domain.
- It has resulted in unleashing a process to make women's concerns a visible priority on the national agenda.
- Even women who came on general seats were treating women on gender quota as lesser parliamentarians. There was an arrogance of being elected directly. Over the years, the situation has changed. Now active women on reserved seats command a lot of respect too. They are neither a frill nor frivolous. Parties have also improved the representation on quota seats.
- Gender quota is a critical strategy to bridge the gender gap in politics. Gender quota in politics has created role models of women as politicians. Women's numerical strength and physical visibility in the parliament, media and at the constituency level inspired many more women to enter formal politics. Veeru Kohli, a Hindu bonded labourer, belonging to a schedule caste decided to contest in the 2013 election on provincial assembly seat PA-50 in Hyderabad, Sindh

Negative impacts

- Many if not most remain preoccupied with chatting and gossiping with each other, treating the proceedings more as a social gathering than a legislative session, thereby undermining the very purpose of women's quota in electoral process.
- Most of the women filling the reserved seats are relations of important men, granting the seats on the basis of political favour. This marginalizes the true representation of women in national legislature, especially that of the rural areas.
- Indirect modality of election on quota seats is identified as the key mechanism through which women dependence on male leadership of political parties has been reinforced. Indirect election deprives women of any opportunity to develop their own constituency/power base.
- In the absence of criteria for women to be nominated on gender quota seats, political parties select women of their choice, belonging to their own families, elite background and those who are willing to toe the party line rather than push for women's agenda.

- Women who fill the reserved seat quotas have some experience of political processes and can fulfil the serious responsibilities with which they are entrusted on behalf of Pakistan's women.
- A consensus on the direct mode of election on the reserved seats for women has emerged from numerous consultations conducted by national and international NGOs, UN agencies and Women's Parliamentary Caucus etc.
- In view of the entrenched patriarchal mindset and non-democratic dynastic nature of political parties, change in Political Party Act 1962, is decisive to make it mandatory for political parties to hold periodic party elections, give 33 percent representation to women in decision making bodies within the party, and at least 20 percent party tickets to women to contest elections on general seats.
  - Dr Farzana Bari
- To engender the parliament, 20 percent representation must be given to women at the chairpersonship level and in the membership of the standing committees of the parliament.
  - Dr Farzana Bari

8. Gender Based Violence

8.1 Defining Gender Based Violence

- Article 1 of the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (DEVAW) states that "*For the purposes of this Declaration, the term "violence against women" means 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 in private life."*
- The term violence derives from the Latin word vis, which means force and refers to the notions of constraint and using physical superiority on the other person.
- Gender-based violence is an umbrella term for any harmful act that is perpetrated against a person's will, and that is based on socially ascribed (gender) differences between males and females. GBV primarily affects women and girls, although boys and men and sexual and gender minorities also experience it.
- Gender-based violence includes physical, sexual and psychological violence such as domestic violence; sexual abuse, including rape and sexual abuse of children by family members; forced pregnancy; sexual slavery; traditional practices harmful to women, such as honor killings, burning or acid throwing, female genital mutilation, dowry-related violence; violence in armed conflict, such as murder and rape; and emotional abuse, such as coercion and abusive language. Trafficking of women and girls for prostitution, forced marriage, sexual harassment and intimidation at work are additional examples of violence against women.
- Gender violence occurs in both the 'public' and 'private' spheres. Such violence not only occurs in the family and in the general community, but is sometimes also perpetuated by the state through policies or the actions of agents of the state such as the police, military or immigration authorities. Gender-based violence happens in all societies, across all social classes, with women particularly at risk from men they know.
- Gender-based violence is not exclusively a woman's concern. It is both a cause and consequence of gender perceptions. The use of the term 'gender-based violence' provides a new context in which to examine and understand the phenomenon of violence against women. It shifts the focus from women as victims to gender and the unequal power relationships between women and men created and maintained by gender stereotypes as the basic underlying cause of violence against women.

Types of gender based violence

- Overt physical abuse (includes battering, sexual assault, at home or in the workplace)

- Psychological abuse (includes deprivation of liberty, forced marriage, sexual harassment, at home or in the workplace)
- Deprivation of resources needed for physical and psychological well-being (including health care, nutrition, education, means of livelihood)
- Treatment of women as commodities (includes trafficking in women and girls for sexual exploitation)

Sites of Gender-Based Violence

Family
- Family is one of the primary sites of gender violence.It prepares its members for social life, forms gender stereotypes and perceptions of division of labor between the sexes.
- is the arena where physical abuses (spousal battering, sexual assault, sexual abuse) and/or psychological abuses occur.(Domestic violence can also take such forms as confinement, forced marriage of woman arranged by her family without her consent, threats, insults and neglect; overt control of a woman's sexuality through either forced pregnancy or forced abortion.)
- because violence within the family and household takes place in the home, it is often seen as a 'private' issue and information about it is lacking.

Community / Society
- as a group sharing common social, cultural, religious or ethnic belonging, it perpetuates existing family structure and power inequalities in family and society.
- justifies the behavior of male abusers aimed at establishing control over women in the family, and supports harmful traditional practices such as battering and corporal punishment
- workplace can also be a site of violence. Either in governmental service or in a business company, women are vulnerable to sexual aggression (harassment, intimidation) and commercialized violence (trafficking for sexual exploitation).

State
- legitimizes power inequalities in family and society and perpetuates gender based violence through enactment of discriminatory laws and policies or through the discriminatory application of the law.
- is responsible for tolerance of gender violence on an unofficial level (i.e. in the family and in the community).
- To the extent that it is the State's recognized role to sanction certain norms that protect individual life and dignity and maintain collective peace, it is the State's obligation to develop and implement measures that redress gender violence.

Gender based violent and the UN
- The conceptualization of violence against women and girls as a violation of human rights was one of the achievements of the women's movement during the Second World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993.
- In 1993, the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (DEVAW), which is currently the main international document addressing the problem of gender-based violence. In DEVAW, the UN offered the first official definition of gender-based violence.
- Article 1 of the DEVAW states that "*For the purposes of this Declaration, the term "violence against women" means 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 in private life.*"
  - The Declaration was the first international document which defined violence against women within a broader gender-based framework and identified the family, the community and the state as major sites of gender-based violence.

- The Declaration's basic assertion is that violence against women arises from historic inequality between men and women that results in the domination of men over women and causes gender discrimination. It emphasizes that violence is one of the crucial social mechanisms "…by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men."
- Since the adoption of the Declaration, international law can be interpreted to define gender-based violence as a human rights violation.
- The historic significance of the Declaration lies in the identification of practical measures needed to combat gender-based violence. The Declaration reflects growing international concern about the problem and calls on States to develop national action plans to promote the protection of women against any form of violence, create effective legislative remedies to eliminate such violence, review and reform legislation and law enforcement policies to ensure proper protection of women's rights.

8.2 Theories of Violence against Women

Violence as a Pathology

- In the first attempts to explain violence against women and children, it was predominantly understood and constructed as being a rare and abnormal phenomenon in the Western context, explained through pathological reasoning of behavior, of which violence against women was considered to be one symptom.
- The pathologies can be as diverse as biological anomalies, abnormal personality traits, abusive families of origin, and alcoholism on the part of offender as well as violence survivor.

Violence as an Outcome of Expressive Tension

- Expressive violence refers to violent acts, which are used as ends in themselves. They are thought to be driven by impulse forces – anger or tension - from within, and usually imply causing threat or pain to the source of distress.
- Argued that the potential of expressive violence in the family is greater than in any other social group, because family members usually spend much more time interacting to each other than in any other social environment, as well as the scope of interaction and activities is large and diverse. Moreover, any family conflict or stress is much more intense, because of their highly personal nature.
- The pathology and inner tension/frustration discourses, which prevailed over the first attempts to explain gender based violence, positions an offender mainly as being a victim of an etiology, which is beyond his power and full responsibility.

Instrumental Power Strategy

- Instrumental violence refers to intentional threat or use of force as a means to an end, or as a strategy, which is beyond the pure releasing of inner tensions.
- This perspective views offenders as fully conscious, rational, and goal directed human beings, who use violence intentionally as immediate and effective instrument to achieve these goals.
- Family is particularly vulnerable to conflicts, because of the multiple and conflicting interests of family members, also its exclusively private nature, and resistance to public interference. Violence in this system serves as a powerful mode of advancing one's interests when other modes of conflict management fail.

Normative Support of Violence

- It is norms and values, surrounding masculinity, femininity, family, and heterosexual relationship within the culture at large, that constitute the problem of gender based violence, and inform about its widespread prevalence.

Violence as Learned Behavior

- This discourse is mainly based on social-psychological theories of social learning, which account for violent behavior as a learned phenomenon.
- Bandura's model demonstrates that violent behavior develops through observation and reinforcement. At a behavioral level, he claims, violence becomes more likely response, when non violent responses for dealing with conflicting and stressful situations have not been modelled in a person's learning history. He also suggests that violence is learned through socialization practices in the family, which serves as a training ground for violence and provides examples for imitation, and role models.

The Ecological Model

One theoretical base to understand violence against women is the Ecological Model. The ecological model studies factors active in four distinct spheres: individual, family, communitarian and sociocultural, as shown in figure below:
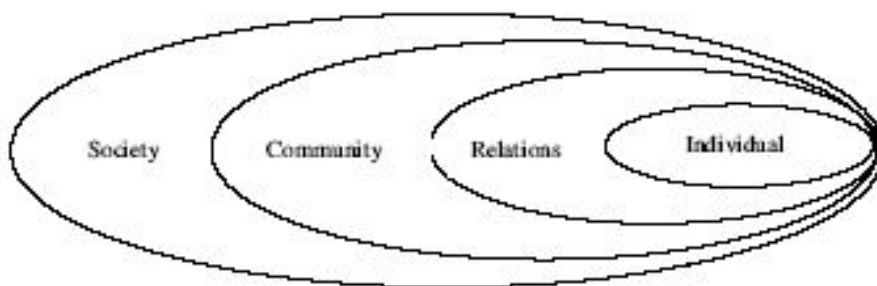

Figure 1 - The Ecological Model to understand violence

- Source: OPS/OMS, 2002

- This model focuses on violence in the interaction among its distinct levels. These are superposing causality levels, in which there is not only single determinant, but an interaction of operating factors, favoring violence or protecting the individual against it.
- The First World Report on Violence and Health tries to understand the multifaceted nature of violence through this model.
  - The first level identifies biological and personal history factors. Traceable data include personal and demographic characteristics (age, sex, education, income), antecedents of aggressive or self-devaluation behaviors, mental or personality disorders and substance-related disorders.
  - The second level includes closer relations, such as those between couples and partners, other family members and friends. It has been observed that these increase the risk of suffering or perpetrating violent acts. Having friends who commit or incite violent acts can increase the risk that young people will suffer or execute these actions.
  - The third level explores the community contexts where social relations are developed in, such as schools, workplaces and neighborhoods. Attempts are made to identify the characteristics of these environments, as they can increase the risk of violent acts. The risk can be influenced by factors like mobility of the place of residence, population density, high unemployment levels and existence of drugs traffic in the region.
  - The fourth level is directed at general factors, related to the structure of society. These factors contribute to create a climate that incites or inhibits violence, such as the possibility of obtaining arms due to social and cultural standards. These include standards that prioritize parents' rights over their children's well-being, consider suicide as a personal option more than as a preventable act of violence, reaffirm men's dominion over women and boys, back the excessive use of police force against citizens or support political conflicts. This level also includes other facts, such as sanitary, economic, educative and social policies, which contribute to maintain economic or social inequalities among groups.

8.2.1 Gender based violence in Pakistan

According to official figures released by the Ministry of Human Rights, 8,648 incidents of human rights violation were reported in the country between January 2012 and September 15, 2015.
These included:
- 90 incidents of acid burning
- 72 of burning
- 481 of domestic violence
- 860 honour killings
- 344 rape/gang rapes
- 268 sexual assault/harassment
- 535 cases of violence against women

Types of abuse

Physical violence

- *Dowry deaths*
  Dowry deaths have been described by the United Nations as a form of domestic violence in Pakistan. Women are often attacked and murdered if their in-laws deem their dowry to have been insufficient. Amongst dowry-related violence, bride burnings, also known as "stove deaths", are widely reported. In 1988 a survey showed that 800 women were killed in this manner, in 1989 the number rose to 1100, and in 1990 it stood at 1800 estimated killings.
- *Acid attacks*
  Acid attacks in Pakistan came to international attention after the release of a documentary by Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy called Saving Face (2012). Various reasons have been given for such attacks, such as a woman dressing inappropriately or rejecting a proposal of marriage. According to the Acid Survivors Foundation, up to 150 attacks occur every year. The foundation reports that the attacks are often the result in an escalation of domestic abuse, and the majority of victims are female.
- Honour killing
  A report noted that one in five homicides in Pakistan are attributed to honour killings. The prevalence of such honour killings that have been reported are around 2,000 killings every four years. Overall, out of all homicides of both men and women in Pakistan, honour killings of women constitute 21%. Moreover, the perpetrator in most honour killings is the husband. The highest occurring reason in spousal honour killings was alleged extramarital affairs. ("Honour killings are a public health problem for Pakistan". British Medical Journal. 2009)

Psychological abuse

- Psychological abuse generally includes yelling, insulting, controlling behaviors, and threatening. In a study by Zakar et al., of 373 randomly selected married women of reproductive age interviewed in Pakistani hospitals, 60.8% reported as current victims of severe psychological violence with 15% having been victims in the past.

Factors contributing to gender based violence

Poverty

Associated with poverty is illiteracy and social stigma against domestic violence. Lack of an education due to financial reasons accompanies a lack of awareness about women's rights.

Patriarchalism

The dual constructs of women as the property of men and as the standard-bearers of a family's honour set the stage for culturally sanctioned forms of violence. Many women are expected to be homemakers and to perform key household duties, however, if a woman is not performing her duties by her mother-in-law's standards, the mother-in-law may seek to punish the woman through her son.

Child marriage

Defined as marriage before the age of 18 years, child marriage is widespread in Pakistan and linked to spousal violence. Child marriage occurs most often in rural and low-income households where education is minimal.

Marriages within the extended family

Marriages within blood relations such as first and second cousins, are considered marriages in biraderi, or brotherhood, within many Pakistani subcultures. Analysis of a Pakistani Health Demographic Survey from 2012 to 2013 showed that women in consanguineous marriages are more likely to face psychological domestic abuse.

Increased urbanization

Women who move cities or areas after marriage away from their respective family are more at risk for domestic violence. These women are left without parental or familial support as the only contacts they have are now limited to their husband and husband's family.

Legislative measures taken

- In 2011, the Senate passed the Acid Control and Acid Crime Prevention Bill to repress acid attacks in the country.
- The Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendment) Act was passed in December 2006, incorporating and modifying several clauses in the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC) and Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC) in relation with sexual assaults on women.
- Many states have ratified the UN Convention on Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) that require them to treat domestic violence against women as a violation of fundamental human rights and to encompass these international standards into domestic legislation as well. Pakistan ratified CEDAW in 1996.
- Punjab Protection of Women against Violence Act 2016.

8.3 Structural and Direct Forms of Violence

The triangle of violence, defined by the Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung, identifies three types of violence and argues that the phenomenon has a similar structure to that of an iceberg, in which there is always a small visible part and a huge hidden part.

Direct violence

Direct violence corresponding to the tip of the iceberg, has as its main characteristic the fact that most of its effects are visible, mainly the materials, but not all of them: hate, psychological trauma or the emergence of concepts such as 'enemy' are equally serious effects, but they are often not seen as such. Being the most popular and obvious, it is commonly thought that direct is the worst kind of violence, which is not true for precisely this visibility, which makes it easier to identify and therefore to combat. It is important to note that this type of violence is the manifestation of something, not its origin, and is in the beginning where it should be sought causes and act more effectively. Direct violence does not affect many people as cultural and structural violence, which are the hidden part of the iceberg.

Cultural violence

Cultural violence is a symbolic violence that is expressed in countless media —religion, ideology, language, art, science, media, education, etc.— and serves to legitimize direct and structural violence and to inhibit or suppress the response of the victims. It even offers justifications for humans, unlike other species, to destroy each other and to be rewarded for doing so: it is not strange to accept violence in the name of country or religion. There is a culture of violence in which schools and other instruments of transmission and reproduction of culture show History as a succession of wars; it is usual to suppress conflicts by unquestioned parental authority, or authority of the male over the female; mass media sell armies use as the main way of solving international conflicts, etc. So life goes on in an atmosphere of constant violence, manifested daily in all areas and at all levels.

Structural violence

Structural violence is a term commonly ascribed to Johan Galtung, which he introduced in the article "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research" (1969). According to Galtung, rather than conveying a physical image, structural violence is an "avoidable impairment of fundamental human needs".

Structural violence is displayed when, as a result of social stratification processes, there is a damage in the satisfaction of basic human needs: survival, welfare, identity, freedom, etc. It is caused by a set of structures, both physical and organizational, which do not allow the satisfaction of those needs and is the worst of the three violence because it is the origin of all and kills and affects more people. It is also a form of indirect violence and sometimes even unintentional: the actions that cause hunger, for example, are not designed and made directly for that purpose, but they are result from capitalist economic policy and the unfair distribution of wealth. This sometimes causes that the reasons of structural violence are not clearly visible and therefore it is more difficult to deal with it.

According to Galtung, often causes of direct violence are related to structural violence and justified by cultural violence: many situations are the result of an abuse of power which concerns an oppressed group, or a social injustice —insufficient resources sharing, great inequality in personal income, limited access to social services— and receive the backing of speeches justifying them.

8.4 Strategies to Eliminate Violence against Women

A staggering 32 per cent of women have experienced physical violence in Pakistan and 40 percent of ever-married women have suffered from spousal abuse at some point in their life (The Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey 2012-2013)

Changes in the education curricula:

Education on gender equity with the aim to inculcate behaviors of peace, tolerance and acceptance to diversity.

Public policy:

Consistent enacting and implementation of gender responsive policies and laws in all public and private sector forums. A need to focus on the root causes and the incremental prevention and elimination of gender-based violence.The government should be pressurized to empower women and abolish feudalism and obscurantism. Improve legislation, and introduce gender-based violence in health packages.

Capacity building:

Capacity building of stakeholders and the sensitization of religious leaders, politicians and decision-makers through human rights education, and the establishment of a proper justice system. Trainings for NGOs were needed.Women should be empowered, both socially and economically.

Strengthening of linkages:

Encouraging linkages between stakeholders to mobilize support for reducing gender-based violence. Improved internal and external accountability mechanisms for law enforcement agencies. Strengthening of the National Commission on the Status of Women and the Gender Crime Centre at the National Police Bureau. Government should cooperate with NGOs and civil society to identify culprits and punish them as per the law.

Engaging Men:

Men need to be engaged in frameworks to address gender-based violence.

Following recommendations were made by Ms Rakhshinda Parveen in her study of Gender-Based Violence in Pakistan, published by Aurat Foundation in 2011.

General Recommendations

- It is recommended that the usual approaches to addressing gender-based violence be deconstructed in the particular context of Pakistan. This will benefit both Pakistani women and USAID's image, and help to construct and sustain survivor-centered approaches.
- The Government of Pakistan must be encouraged to re-examine all laws that are discriminatory against women and girls. In particular, it is important to repeal the discriminatory Hudood Ordinance, and to re-enact earlier rape laws with an amendment making marital rape a criminal offense. There is also a need to implement specific legislation explicitly criminalizes domestic violence.
- Critical organs of the state, such as the police and judiciary, must be sensitized to gender concerns. Funds must be provided to the government to develop a long term program which trains police, prosecutors, doctors and forensic scientists, and judges, to eliminate gender bias in handling cases of gender-based violence.
- The nexus between gender and health must be highlighted through effective service delivery. There is a need for training health professionals to address gender-based violence issues in clinical settings. The Pakistani government must be supported to improve its forensic services. Funds should be earmarked to train personnel and to upgrade physical facilities and equipment.
- It is recommended that programs be developed in cooperation with NGOs to provide basic services for women victims and survivors of violence. These should include women's shelters, medical care, counseling, and legal aid. Alliances and networking with grassroots NGOs assisting women victims of violence must be established.
- Efforts are required to monitor and improve the Pakistan government's response to gender-based violence by ensuring that reliable national statistics are available, detailing the nature and degree of violence, rates of prosecution and conviction, and the nature of punishment.
- There is a need for a detailed mapping study on gender-based violence in Pakistan.

Specific Recommendations

- Educational programs for law enforcement and health professionals working with women must be initiated. Specific service delivery points like women crisis centers as refuges for women subject to domestic violence and their children, hotlines, shelters, and other innovative programs for victims of domestic violence must be developed.

- A wide range of media, including electronic, print, new media, and popular theatre, must be employed appropriately to reach various audiences and build an indigenous perspective and prescriptions for addressing gender-based violence.
- It is imperative to recognize the role of men in reducing harm and ending gender-based violence, particularly in Pakistan's cultural environment.
- It is important to abstain from applying or imposing universal approaches. While the problem of violence is global, the solutions are not always the same. Therefore, socially acceptable and culturally appropriate actions are required. Understanding attitudes and behaviors is essential at the design, development, and dissemination stages of all interventions in advocacy and service delivery.
- Communities can contribute a great deal to efforts to end gender-based violence and the attitudes that lead to abusive actions. Global experiences have demonstrated that collaborative partnerships among schools, health, mental health centers, courts, social services organizations, community-based NGOs and advocacy groups can provide leadership for early interventions and prevention measures. Further, community education campaigns can be powerful tools in raising awareness of gender-based violence.

STOP Sexual Violence

Strategy	Approach
Promote Social Norms that Protect Against Violence	- Bystander Approaches - Mobilizing men and boys as allies
Teach Skills to Prevent Sexual Violence	- Social-emotional learning - Teaching healthy, safe dating and intimate relationship skills to adolescents - Promoting health sexuality - Empowerment-based training
Provide Opportunities to Empower and Support Girls and Women	- Strengthening economic supports for women and families - Strengthening leadership and opportunities for girls
Create Protective Environments	- Improving safety and monitoring in schools - Establishing and consistently applying workplace policies - Addressing community-level risks through environmental approaches
Support Victims / Survivors to Lessen Harms	- Victim-centered services - Treatment for victims of SV - Treatment for at-risk children and families to prevent problem behavior including sex offending

9. Case Studies of:

9.1 Mukhtaran Mai

UN Under-Secretary General Shashi Tharoor while welcoming Mukhtaran in 2006, 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."*

Talking to The Express Tribune in 2011, Farzana Bari, a human rights' activist said, *"Our public has given justice to Muktaran Mai but unfortunately our courts have failed to do so."* She added the court-of-law had failed to ensure justice to the victim who had been fighting for it since long.

About Mukhtaran Mai

Mukhtaran Bibi now known as Mukhtār Māʼī is a Pakistani woman from the village of Meerwala, in the rural tehsil (county) of Jatoi of the Muzaffargarh District of Pakistan. In June 2002, Mukhtār Māʼī was the survivor of a gang rape as a form of honour revenge, on the orders of a tribal council of the local Mastoi Baloch clan that was richer and more powerful as opposed to her Tatla clan in that region.

Mukhtaran Mai Judicial Case

Mai's 12-year-old brother, Abdul Shakoor (or Shakur), was abducted by three baloch Mastoi men. He was taken to a sugar field where he was gang raped and sodomized repeatedly. When the boy refused to stay silent about the incident, he was kept imprisoned in the home of Abdul Khaliq, a Mastoi man. When police came to investigate, Shakoor was instead accused of having an affair with Khaliq's sister, Salma Naseen, who was in her late 20s at the time. Shakoor was then arrested on charges of adultery but later released. In later trials, Shakoor's rapists were convicted of sodomy and sentenced to 5 years of imprisonment.

The Mastoi tribal council (jirga) convened separately regarding Shakoor's alleged affair with Naseen. They concluded that Shakoor should marry Naseen while Mai (a Gujar tribeswoman) be married to a Mastoi man. Villagers rejected this conclusion due to the belief that adultery must be punished with adultery. Mai was called to the council to apologize to the Mastoi tribe for her brother's actions. When she arrived, she was dragged to a nearby hut where she was gang raped in retaliation by 4 Mastoi men while an additional 10 people watched. Following the rape, she was paraded nude through the village. Her clothes were presented as evidence in court and following the medical examination of Mukhtaran and chemical analysis of her clothes at least two semen stains were revealed.

After being raped, Mukhtaran spoke up, and pursued the case, which was picked up by both domestic and international media. On 1 September 2002, an anti-terrorism court sentenced 6 men (including the 4 rapists) to death for rape. In 2005, the Lahore High Court cited "insufficient evidence" and acquitted 5 of the 6 convicted, and commuted the punishment for the sixth man to a life sentence. Mukhtaran and the government appealed this decision, and the Supreme Court suspended the acquittal and held appeal hearings. In 2011, the Supreme Court too acquitted the accused.

Mukhtaran's struggle for women's rights

Mukhtaran began to work to educate girls, and to promote education with a view towards raising awareness to prevent future honour crimes. Out of this work grew the organization Mukhtar Mai Women's Welfare Organization (MMWWO). The goals of MMWWO are to help the local community, especially women, through education and other projects.

The main focus of her work is to educate young girls, and to educate the community about women's rights and gender issues. Her organization teaches young girls, and tries to make sure they stay in school, rather than work or get married. The MMWWO also provides shelter and legal help for people, often women, who are victims of violence or injustice.

Achievements by Mukhtaran

- In April 2007, Mukhtar Mai won the North-South Prize from the Council of Europe.
- In 2005, Glamour Magazine named her "Woman of the Year".
- According to the New York Times, "Her autobiography is the No. 3 best seller in France , and movies are being made about her.
- She has been praised by dignitaries like Laura Bush and the French foreign minister.
- On 2 August 2005, the Pakistani government awarded Mukhtaran the Fatima Jinnah gold medal for bravery and courage.
- 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."
- In October 2010, Laurentian University of Canada decided to award an honorary doctorate degree to Mukhtar Mai.

9.2 Mallala Yousaf Zai

"One child, one teacher, one book, one pen can change the world," said Malala at the UN headquarters in New York addressing a specially convened youth assembly on 12 July, 2013, the UN dubbed the event "Malala Day".

Yousafzai called on world leaders to invest in "books, not bullets", The Christian Science Monitor, July 2015

About Malala Yousaf Zai

Malala Yousafzai was born on July 12, 1997, in Mingora, the largest city in the Swat Valley in what is now the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province of Pakistan. She is the daughter of Ziauddin and Tor Pekai Yousafzai and has two younger brothers.

Her family came to run a chain of schools in the region. Considering Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Benazir Bhutto as her role models, she was particularly inspired by her father's thoughts and humanitarian work. In 2007, when Malala was ten years old, the situation in the Swat Valley rapidly changed for her family and community. The Taliban began to control the Swat Valley and quickly became the dominant socio-political force throughout much of northwestern Pakistan. In early 2009, when she was 11–12, she wrote a blog under a pseudonym for the BBC Urdu detailing her life during the Taliban occupation of Swat. The following summer, journalist Adam B. Ellick made a New York Times documentary about her life as the Pakistani military intervened in the region. She rose in prominence, giving interviews in print and on television, and she was nominated for the International Children's Peace Prize by activist Desmond Tutu.

Malala Shot in the head by a Taliban gunman

On 9 October 2012, while on a bus in the Swat District, after taking an exam, Yousafzai and two other girls were shot by a Taliban gunman in an assassination attempt in retaliation for her activism; the gunman fled the scene. Yousafzai was hit in the head with a bullet and remained unconscious and in critical condition at the Rawalpindi Institute of Cardiology, but her condition later improved enough for her to be transferred to the Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Birmingham, UK.

The attempt on her life sparked an international outpouring of support for Yousafzai. Deutsche Welle reported in January 2013 that Yousafzai may have become "the most famous teenager in the world".

Malala as an Education Activist

Following her recovery, Yousafzai became a prominent activist for the right to education. Based out of Birmingham, she founded the Malala Fund, a non-profit organisation, and in 2013 co-authored I am Malala, an international bestseller.

Achievements

- In 2012, she was the recipient of Pakistan's first National Youth Peace Prize and the 2013 Sakharov Prize.
- In 2014, she was the co-recipient of the 2014 Nobel Peace Prize, along with Kailash Satyarthi. Aged 17 at the time, this made her the youngest-ever Nobel Prize laureate.
- In 2015, Yousafzai was a subject of the Oscar-shortlisted documentary He Named Me Malala.
- The 2013, 2014 and 2015 issues of Time magazine featured her as one of the most influential people globally.
- In 2017, she was awarded honorary Canadian citizenship and became the youngest person to address the House of Commons of Canada.
- Yousafzai attended Edgbaston High School from 2013 to 2017, and is currently studying for a bachelor's degree in Philosophy, Politics and Economics at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.

Criticism by some segments of Pakistan

Malala is no national hero. Revered by many abroad, she is reviled by many at home, including among middle-class Pakistanis one might imagine would be her greatest fans.

In November 2014, just a month after she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, the All Pakistan Private Schools Federation — which claimed to represent 150,000 schools — announced an "I Am Not Malala" day and called for her memoir, I Am Malala, to be banned.

The criticism boiled down to this:
- There's nothing special about Malala.
- Many Pakistani children suffer worse fates than Malala.
- What has Malala ever done for Pakistan?
- Why does the world love Malala so much?
- And if Malala really cares about Pakistan, why doesn't she come back?
- Her shooting was staged and she is an agent of the west.

The Malala Fund oversees several programs in Pakistan. According to the fund's website, these include providing educational opportunities to girls that had been domestic laborers; establishing educational programming for children fleeing conflict; and repairing classrooms and providing school supplies for girls' schools affected by flooding.

In a deeply patriarchal society, Malala's gender raises even more suspicion about her transformation. A male Malala would be far more likely to be welcomed as a hero, not slated as a traitor.

Why Pakistan Hates Malala, Foreign Policy Magazine

9.3 Shermin Ubaid Chinoy

Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy (born 12 November 1978) is a Pakistani journalist, filmmaker and activist. She is known for her work in films that highlight the inequality with women. She is the recipient of two Academy Awards, six Emmy Awards and a Lux Style Award. In 2012, the Government of Pakistan honoured her with the Hilal-i-Imtiaz, the second highest civilian honour of the country, and Time magazine named her one of the 100

most influential people in the world. She is the only female film director to have won two academy awards by the age of 37.

In 2017, Obaid-Chinoy became the first artist to co-chair the World Economic Forum. Her most notable films includes, the animated adventure 3 Bahadur (2015), the musical journey Song of Lahore (2015) and the two Academy Award-winning films, the documentary Saving Face (2012) and the biographical A Girl in the River: The Price of Forgiveness (2016).