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MASTER'S DEGREE FINAL DISSERTATION

Gender Inequality in Pakistan

**Causes and Consequences from Feminist and Anthropological
Perspectives**

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Abstract

This thesis explores the causes and consequences of gender inequality in Pakistan. With a feminist and anthropological lens, it aims to look at the political, social, and economic struggles of women. The historical background of the current gap in gender equality will be explored. The cultural concept of patriarchy will be analysed in relation to different forms of violence against women, e.g., cultural, structural, and direct violence, but also social, political, and economic violence. In conclusion, the study suggests that patriarchal structures are the root cause for gender inequality and gender-based violence. Within the last part of the thesis, a solution space is opened, that introduces different approaches to diminish the struggles of women. The capability approach is proposed as an extended version of human rights that offers a powerful philosophical frame, however, its implementation in the reality displays limitations. Women's activism (female agency) and education remains a key part in the fight for gender equality.

Keywords: Gender inequality, Pakistan, Anthropology, Patriarchy, Capability Approach

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research Background

Pakistan is a diverse country with various landscapes, unique cultures, and a plural society. It has an unsteady history, its independence in 1947 was coined by a colonial heritage that gave the state a problematic birth, followed by wars and military operations, foreign policies and implementations, conflicts of religious and cultural identity (Jalal, 2014). For me, it is a place that combines all topics of my academic studies, Peace, Conflict, Anthropology and Development. It is also a very happening place regarding development, that will require more research in the upcoming years. The reason for my focus on Pakistan is not a coincidence, as I am married to a Pashtun, who grew up in a village in Mardan district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, in the northwest region of Pakistan. He introduced me to this fascinating country, and I consider myself a part of his loving family. In order to explain the research problem of this thesis, I will highlight some challenges of the state since its relatively short existence after independence.

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan is in South Asia and has a total population of 204.6 million people, it is therefore the sixth most populous state in the world (Worldometer, 2019; Malik & Courtney, 2011). Pakistan experienced a conflict between the push and pull factors of modernity, i.e. “industrialization and the contemporary emphasis on realization of human potential” against redefined traditions, i.e. Islamization (Weiss, 1985: 865). The history of the country can be separated into three parts. Initially, the position and options of women in the region have been limited, not due to religious law, but more because of customs and attitudes (Weiss, 1985). Between the creation of Pakistan in 1947 and 1979, only two legal reforms regarding women’s rights were instituted, one in order to ensure women’s rights in divorce and one prohibiting discrimination based on sex (Weiss, 1985). The second era of the country is

the regime of a military dictator Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, who ruled between 1978 until his death in 1988. The government of Zia introduced its Islamization program in 1979 with the purpose of making Pakistan an “establishment of an Islamic state, claiming that the basis for all aspects of a moral society is found within the sharia (legal code) of Islam” (Weiss, 1985: 866). Zia’s real agenda in the establishment of the program remains problematic. While the Qur’an advocates the improvement of women’s positions and guarantees rights as female inheritance, female education, female consent to marriage and remarriage for widows and divorcees (Weiss, 1985), the government proposals would “systematically reduce women’s power and participation through established social institutions (e.g., legal, educational, political)”. This is reinforced by the implementation of “*purdah*, the formalized separation of women from the world of men” (Weiss, 1985: 867). As a result, female mobility, agency, decision making power and freedoms became very limited in many families. The lower status of women compared to men have resulted in immense health issues, education differences, harmful practices and violence against women. The last era, after Zia’s death in 1988 until today can be described as a more progressive time. New policies and regulations will be discussed in Chapter one. Nonetheless, gender inequalities and female suffering remain a big issue within the country, as suggested by the recent Gender Gap Index of the world economic forum.

1.2 Justification of the Research

Gender inequality and violence against women is the most pervasive but least recognised human right abuse and an ongoing issue around the globe. Despite Pakistan’s recent economic progress, many social inequalities seem to remain, especially gender inequalities. The world economic forum placed Pakistan as the second worst county in terms of gender equality in its Global Gender Gap Index in 2018, behind Yemen. The gender gap measures

economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment. Pakistan had a good progress in wage equality and on the educational attainment sub index within the year but was overtaken by faster-improving countries (Gender Gap Index, 2018).

Within the 2018 poll of the Thomson Reuters Foundation, Pakistan ranked as the 6th most dangerous place for women, after India, Afghanistan, Syria, Somalia and Saudi Arabia (Thomas Reuters Foundation Poll 2018). Pakistan improved its rank from the third place in 2011. The poll measures health, culture & religion, non-sexual violence, sexual violence, discrimination and human trafficking. Pakistan scored as the 4th most dangerous country for women in the categories culture and religion, in terms of cultural, tribal and religious traditions or customary practices (including acid attacks, female genital mutilation, child marriage, forced marriage, punishment/retribution through stoning or physical abuse or mutilation and female infanticide/foeticide) and the category discrimination (including job discrimination, inability to make a livelihood, discriminatory land, property or inheritance rights, lack of access to education and lack of access to adequate nutrition). As stated on the Thomas Reuters website: the

World Bank data shows almost one in three married Pakistani women report facing physical violence from their husbands although informal estimates are much higher. Rights groups say hundreds of women and girls are killed in Pakistan each year by family members angered at perceived damage to their “honour”, which may involve eloping, fraternizing with men or any infringement of conservative values regarding women (Thomas Reuters Foundation Poll 2018).

Many policies and Women's NGOs have been working on women empowerment. However, patriarchy seems deeply entrenched in the cultures and traditions of the society in Pakistan. The capability approach could offer solution to the issue, as it aims at enlarging freedoms and capabilities. However, as some authors argue, the right implementation of this highly philosophical approach on the realities of societies needs further investigation.

The research problem of the thesis is: The freedoms, capabilities, and agencies of women in Pakistan are strongly restricted.

1.3 Research Statement and Questions

The research statement of the thesis is: The root cause of gender inequality in Pakistan is the patriarchal structure present in its society, which affects the capabilities, freedoms, and agencies of women. The research question is in accordance:

In what ways does gender inequality exist in the society of Pakistan?

Sub-questions are:

- What are the causes and consequences of gender inequality in Pakistan?
- Can the patriarchal structure in Pakistan be seen as a form of violence?
- What alternatives and approaches can challenge these issues?

These research questions are chosen in order to reveal women's realities and limitations inflicted by patriarchal structures of the Pakistani society. Further I want to explore alternative development solutions to enlarge agency, freedom, and capabilities of women.

1.4 Objectives of the Research

The main objective of this thesis is to explore Gender inequality in Pakistan, with all its structures, causes and consequences. In order to do so, a first step is the mapping of Pakistan. Here, I will explain Pakistan's history, its recent developments, social structures, gender policies and the work of Women NGOs. The social and political challenges faced by women in Pakistan will be visualized. The next important step in the thesis will be the exploration and definition of patriarchy and patriarchal structures in the Pakistani society. From out an anthropological perspective, patriarchy in the sense of patrilocality and patrilineage, is a family structure that is not necessarily violent or suppressive. However, the negative implementations that are often channelled through patriarchy in the form of cultural, structural, and direct violence need to be visualized. The final objective of the research will be the proposition of the capability approach in order to enlarge women's rights, freedom, and mobility. For this purpose, I will introduce the approach, the contributions of the most important authors and the limitations in the implementation of the concept. Malala Yousafzai's fight for female education will be named as an example of nonviolent female resistance. Shortly summarized the objectives of the thesis will be:

1. Discuss Pakistan's recent economic development and social inequalities
2. Visualize the social, political, and economic challenges faced by women in Pakistan
3. Analyse the patriarchal structures in Pakistan in relation to forms of violence
4. Discuss the application of different approaches for women empowerment in Pakistan and discuss its limitations and extensions in the society/culture

1.5 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The thesis has different conceptual frameworks that also become apparent in the division of the chapters one to four, Gender and Anthropology, Gender and Development, Gender-based Violence (Gender and Conflict) and Gender and Peace, all in relation to the cultural context of Pakistan. Within the first chapter, the notions of Gender and Anthropology are introduced, as they lay the ground, not only for the methodological frame of analysis, but also, describe the lens that I apply in understanding oppressive systems in a cultural context. The book 'Gender and Anthropology' by Frances E. Mascia-Lees and Nancy Johnson Black provides an ideal starting point in providing the history and different notion of gender within anthropology. Within the second chapter I turn my attention towards an important, but often underestimated part in developmental thinking, the gender component in development. Janet Momsen's book 'Gender and Development' states that gender is a development issue and touches many issues around gender inequality, health, and globalization. Although the book is not written specifically about gender inequality in Pakistan, it will provide a great frame of analysis within the Pakistani context. The third chapter is concerned with gender, violence, and patriarchy. Patriarchy is approached from out a feminist methodology here, but also understood in its cultural context, through feminist anthropology. Sylvia Walby's feministic book "Theorizing Patriarchy" provides the guideline in my analysis. Also, Mona Eltahawy book 'Headscarves and Hymen' served as an inspiration in this context. Within the fourth chapter, my theoretical solution space, I will approach gender from out a peace philosophy context. Alternative approaches and activism will serve as examples for peaceful transformation. The capability approach will be defined through the contributions of three leading authors, Amartya Sen ("Freedom as development"), Martha Nussbaum ("Upheavals of thought: The intelligence of emotions") and Sabina Alkire ("Why the capability approach?"). Especially Martha Nussbaum provides a powerful frame, since she has used the approach for gender inequality in

India. It's limitations in the implementation for women in Pakistan can be discussed with the article of Tehmina Hammad and Nidhi Singal in their field study "Education of women with disabilities in Pakistan: enhanced agency, unfulfilled aspirations."

The necessary literature background on Pakistan will be mostly provided with articles, e.g. Rahat Imran's article "Legal injustices: The Zina Hudood ordinance of Pakistan and its implications for women" and Parveen Azam Ali and Maria Irma Bustamante Gavino article "Violence against women in Pakistan: a framework for Analysis". Further I will use media reports (especially from DAWN news) and Anita Weiss's influential book "Interpreting Islam, Modernity, and Women's Rights in Pakistan".

I am under the impression that the topic of gender inequality in Pakistan is academically understudied, especially with an anthropological and feministic frame of perspective. My aim in this thesis is to combine different theoretical frames in order to provide a rich interdisciplinary and comprehensive account of the realities of women in Pakistan. I therefore believe that this thesis contributes to the existing academia in a unique and substantial way.

1.6 Methodology and Limitations

The geographical area of the research will be Pakistan, which is challenging due to its cultural and geographical diversity. Other countries' statistics and cultural conditions might be stated in order to establish a theoretical framework of gender inequality and gender-based violence and as means of comparison. Especially Afghanistan, India and other South Asian countries played a part in my research and might occur in this thesis, due to their geographic, historical, and cultural closeness to Pakistan. The time period of legislative progress of my research will span the creation of Pakistan in 1947, the focus will however rest on recent development and statistics. The research subject will be women in Pakistan, of all ages, ethnicities, and social classes with a comparison between rural/tribal and urban areas.

Information will be abstracted through literature review and media information. The approach of the literature review will be integrative, as I want to generate a new perspective and frame on the issue of gender inequality (University of Alabama Libraries, 2019). Coming from out an anthropological academic background, I will use anthropological approaches of analysis of gender roles and inequalities. However, due to temporal limitations the scope of the thesis does not allow ‘real’ ethnographic methodologies in the sense of field work, interviews, and observation. Nevertheless, the methodology of feminist ethnography is applied as it is defined as studies that are conducted ‘on, by and for women’ and as it centres around the social construction of gender in one’s inquiry (Gobo, 2008). It has been argued that feminist ethnography is rather about understanding processes and does not necessarily includes the data collection and reporting that is typical in traditional anthropology (Gobo, 2008). The guiding principles of feminist ethnography, that distinguish them from traditional ethnographies are depicted in the image below and will be applied as best as possible within the thesis.

- pay closer attention to the process of action, its 'doing' in time and space, rather than adopting a structuralist view of social activities;
- listen to participants and let them talk using active listening techniques;
- give emancipatory intent to research, which should aim at the 'conscientization' of women so that they become aware of their inequality, and empower them to free themselves from oppressive social constraints: as Mary Maynard writes, 'to challenge the subordination, passivity and silencing of women by encouraging them to speak out about their own condition and in so doing to confront the experts and dominant males with the limitations of their own knowledge' (1994: 93);
- hence, research must have a political impact and not be merely descriptive (like most male ethnographies), in the sense that it must aid understanding of how and why women are oppressed and the solutions that are possible;
- produce research that will alleviate oppression, promote equal opportunities in corporations, 'correct both the *invisibility* and *distortion* of female experience in ways relevant to ending women's unequal social position' (Lather, 1988: 571), adopting an advocacy perspective;
- access the experience of participants, grasping the more subjective, emotional and irrational aspects of their lives;
- 'give voice' to marginalized groups (women who have suffered violence, women who have been exploited, women who are defenceless or abandoned by their husbands, lesbians, etc.), adopting a multi-voice approach which lets those who are usually silent speak out;
- pay closer attention to reflexivity, to the ways in which researchers construct their data by unconsciously imbuing them with their prejudices and stereotypes;
- adopt different research ethics based on 'reciprocity, honesty, accountability, responsibility, equality, etc., in order to treat participants of ethnography with respect . . . [and to] establish the intention of non-exploitation' (Skeggs, 2001: 433);
- be more caring (than men) towards the research participants and acknowledge 'that the emotional content of women's lives is an integral part of the research agenda' (Kasper, 1994: 268), because the aim is to engage in dialogue with the participants, instead of treating them simply or structurally as the sources of data;
- put the observed and the observer on the same footing so that the power relation usually exploited by the latter is reduced or even eliminated: to do this, the researcher may, for example, devote time to sharing her experiences and opinions with the participants;
- relinquish control over the research, in the sense that the observed should have some control over the data, be able to express themselves, and if need be, contest the descriptions and explanations offered by the ethnographer;
- pay closer attention to the narratives of the ethnographic text, to the politics of representation, and to how ethnographic texts construct reality.

Gobo, 2008: 58

If the application of feminist ethnography is not possible, instead feminist methodologies will be used, I am therefore using a mixed methods research. Both

methodologies are concerned with the marginalization of women in academic research and in real life (Aggarwal, 2000). While the notion of feminism is quite diverse in its different approaches (see chapter 3), feminist anthropology is a bit more specific in the examination of gender inequality while considering cultural differences. Although my heart is drawn towards the usage of feminist anthropology, the thesis is not always using the element of culture to describe and assess situations. Sometimes the approach is therefore rather feminist than ethnographic feminist, e.g. during the description of Pakistan's legislations and history of women's rights. In many other parts, however, I am trying to apply a feminist anthropological lens, that acknowledges cultural aspects. Feminist anthropology provides me with an ethnographic lens, techniques of analysis, and theoretical approaches for sexual inequality. Within the last chapter, the notion of the capability approach, which likewise is a lens in analysing inequality, will broaden the approach of feminist methodology. Martha Nussbaum's perception of the capability approach has been used by her to analyse gender inequality in India and can set a great example for feminist methodology and even feminist anthropology as she established a focus on narratives (Nussbaum, 2001).

The theoretical frame will be a critical inquiry in terms of feminism, especially anthropological feminism. Feminist anthropology is a field of study that is posing questions about how differential power is constituted as gender differences, it tries to explain variation in gender roles. It "articulates the relationship between structure and agency" and "analyses the practice of gender over time from inter-subjective, political perspective (Walter, 1995: 272). Feminist anthropology is also interested in "how people resist and change oppressive structures as it is in how people accommodate oppression" (Walter, 1995: 273). One important principle is the obligation of the Anthropologist to "identify and defend her relationship to scholarly questions and to place her words about another culture in ongoing communication with its practitioners" (Walter, 1995: 273). This framework really suits my research aims, as I am

interested in exploring the gender issue from out an anthropological perspective. That means that I do not want to impose own norms and values, but instead I want to find out how women experience gender discrimination and what is important to women living in Pakistan.

The epistemology of the research will be constructionism, since I believe that we create meaning according to our culture, upbringing, and knowledge. The epistemological basis within feminist anthropology is also very important since the representation of a culture and the meaning of it are highlighted within anthropology. I will therefore try to use as many female Pakistani authors as possible. Unfortunately, research on this topic, and research from female Pakistani authors on this topic, remain limited. The research is theoretical with a qualitative approach; however quantitative data might be interpreted in order to look at recent developments and statistics in Pakistan.

There are a few possible limitations within the thesis that I am concerned about. The first one is cultural sensitivity. As an Anthropologist it is of utmost importance to me to work as close to the reality as possible. Since I am not working with my own observation and interviews, but with primary and secondary sources through literature review, I cannot guarantee that I meet all ethnographic requirements and that my statements apply to all research subjects of this study. Generalization of statements must therefore be handled with a lot of care, in order to avoid unjustified assumptions or implementation of Western notions. As this topic is also a very sensitive one, it is important to stay authentic and vigilant in my criticism without offending culture, religion, and society in Pakistan. Nonetheless, I am concerned that the thesis will not meet consensus of everyone in the Pakistani society. I am not sure what level of openness and criticism is accepted and if my study could have negative consequences for me personally, e.g. refuse of entry into Pakistan or barriers for further fieldwork. These concerns should however not hold me back from expressing my thoughts and offering my analysis of the issues within the society.

At this point, it is very important for me to note, that gender inequality and violence against women is an issue in every society around the world, regardless of religion, social class, and ethnicity. A focus on these issues will shed a negative light on any given society or country, I therefore kindly remind the reader not to generalize or stigmatize the respective culture. As feminist anthropology plays an important role in this complex understanding, I would like to end this chapter with an introduction to gender within anthropology.

1.7 Gender and Anthropology

Frances E. Mascia-Lees and Nancy Johnson Black's book 'Gender and Anthropology' gives an important overview on how gender roles and gender inequality have been approached by anthropologists. They not only give a historical perspective on how notions within the discipline have changed in relation to changing social and political contexts, but also provide a guide on how to use techniques of analysis in order to understand gender and the role it plays in societies. Gender can be seen as the meaning that a society attaches to physical or biological traits that differentiate females and males. These meanings provide members of the society with ideas on how to act, what to believe and how to file experiences. Anthropologists took on the task of explaining variation in gender roles, interpretation, and meaning of differences. In many Western societies, meaning is assigned to males and females from the moment of birth, a child's sex continues to be significant for how parents think about and treat their children. Everywhere culture constructs definitions of masculinity and femininity that have consequences for how each of us is treated in innumerable ways during our lifetime (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000).

Culture refers here to a system of meaning that is learned and shared by members of a group, it organizes people's behaviour and thoughts in the context of their societies history and environment. Gender constructs and expectations can be unlearned and modified, although the

process can be difficult (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000).

With the second wave of women's movements in North America came the awareness that many academic disciplines such as history, sociology and anthropology had ignored the importance of gender. This was particularly ironic in the case of anthropology, given its goal to understand humans, not only men, in the context of their culture. Anthropology offers alternative societal models. Paired with the influences of the women's movement of the 70s the subdiscipline of feminist anthropology was born, committed to understand systems of oppression and analysing forces of exclusion. Another important factor in it is the idea of working for social change. It looked at societies with fresh eyes and questioned the naturalness of women's position as 'stay at home caretakers' by studying the role of women as warriors and breadwinners, matrilineages and exposing bias in previous anthropological work as male-centred (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000). We will now look at some of the debates around gender within anthropology.

1.7.1 The Nature/Nurture Debate

Within gender studies, gender is mostly defined as a cultural construct, which suggests that gender is largely defined due to nurture and not nature or biological causes. This theory is somewhat controversial in many parts of societies, as many people believe that gender behaviour is inborn. The tendency of this widespread belief is important, because some behaviour is often justified with being inborn and natural, which is also often equated with what is right and unchangeable (e.g the common phrase "boys will be boys") (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000). It is undeniable that men and women have natural differences, which often have been used to rationalize and deepen systems of oppression. The idea that biology holds the key in understanding men and women is widespread, as the simple explanations it offers, makes negotiating the complexity of the world seem easier (Mascia-Lees and Johnson

Black, 2000).

1.7.2 Essentialism

At the same time anthropologists are continuously looking for universal human similarities. The idea of essentialism proposes that all women share certain experiences because of biological similarities. The notion is strongly criticised, as it treats women as a single unified category. It cannot be ignored that factors as class, ethnicity, religion, sexual preference and physical ability produce widely different experiences for women (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000).

1.7.3 Universal Subordination

Some theorists argue that there is no known society in which women are superior to men and there are many in which women are not, therefore women can universally be seen as the “second sex”. These theorist search for factors that can explain this universal subordination. The assumption can however not be verified, egalitarian societies are possible (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000). Many feminist anthropologist link theoretical knowledge with an active search for social change in a society, they are particularly wary of arguments that serve conservative political agendas in maintaining the status quo and its inequalities (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000).

1.7.4 Social Evolutionism

In the late 19th century British and North American societies thought of themselves as a Western superiority in regard to progress. The colonialism of the British Empire was rationalized by the notion that the conquered people were inherently inferior and grounded in the racist notion that darker skinned inhabitants of the world are inferior to white, lighter

skinned populations. Inferior biological attributes were also subscribed to members of the lower class, women, criminals, and other societal outcasts. Family and gender roles that ensured male dominance, male rights, monogamy and patrilineality (a kinship system of reckoning descent by tracing genealogical connections through men) were seen as superior forms (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000). Notions of that time state that earlier societies were promiscuous and lacked regulation of sexuality. Out of these chaotic circumstances evolved matrilineage, a system that traces descent through the female line. Women had the rights to their children and property rights (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000). Regarding to the social evolutionist Herbert Spencer, these matrilineal societies were inherently weak, because men lacked control over women and paternal authority over children. Monogamy and patrilineage, on the other hand, would increase the chances of existence of a society and would evolve to higher stages of development. Freeing women from productive labour would also be beneficial, as it allows women to become fit mothers. Male dominance was therefore seen for a long time as evolutionary grounded in biological differences between sexes, especially with a connection to female reproductive functions. Social evolutionism was highly criticized by feminist approaches, as these assumptions were merely asserted and ethnocentric. Most scientist do not longer believe that there is a universal law that governs the direction of social change towards an ultimate state of perfection, or that non-Western societies are representative of the past time. Every society has its own unique history (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000).

1.7.5 Functionalism

By the early 20th century social evolutionism was forced to the background due to the criticism. A new prominent school of thought in British anthropology was functionalism, with famous supporters such as the British anthropologist Edward Evans-Pritchard. His theory

stated that the natural division of labour between sexes allows a society to function harmoniously and to maintain the balance for its continued successful functioning. By the 1970s feminist anthropologist began to question these anthropological assumptions of male superiority analysing its shortcomings and male biases in the discipline. Women's activities were overlooked and regarded as unimportant for much too long within the discipline. Women's life was too often seen and described through male Anthropologists that asked men about their wives and daughters, and what women talked about was perceived as gossip while men were performing important social communication (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000).

1.7.6 Social Learning Theory

Soon after, the discipline focused stronger on social factors of sexual stratification. For example, the social learning theory, has its focus on how cultural learnings shape male and female personality traits, gender identity and behaviour. The tendency in most societies to stress nurturance, obedience and responsibility in girls is connected to women's role in child rearing within this theory, while men are typically encouraged to be self-reliant and achievement oriented, as they often take the economic role of the breadwinner within the family system. It is also important to note here that a six-culture study from Whiting and Whiting from 1975 found women's workload to be the most significant factor in affecting personality traits (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000).

1.7.8 Third Gender Category

Another interesting topic for anthropologists is the 'third gender category'. Anthropologists have always been interested in the variation in sexual identity that can be found cross-culturally. In some societies, including Pakistan, men and women are not strictly forced

into two defined gender identities, but are allowed to act as a third gender category. Other examples, apart from Pakistan, are Northern India, Thailand, but also Native societies that existed in the United States and Canada. The category is defined as males who dress in women's clothes, act more like women and are usually perceived neither male nor female. They often perform special ritual functions.

In Pakistan, the latest census of 2017 counted 10,418 transgender people, a figure that is likely to represent only a fraction of the actual number, as the community itself estimates to have at least half a million (Mohyidin, 2018). The so called Hijras or Khwaja Sara, often work in entertainment, as sex workers or beggars, since they had less civil rights and less economic chances (Sahqani et al., 2019). In May 2019, the National Assembly in Pakistan passed the pathbreaking and historic Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act, and therefore became the first country in Asia and one of the few in the world, that recognize a self-perceived gender identity legally (Mohyidin, 2018). People that used to be classified as 'criminal tribe' by the British empire, now can become electoral candidates, observers and activists. The government's intentions to provide protection and rights seems sincere, however, no funding is provided to address the problems of the community, the act wants to correct (Mohyidin, 2018). Although the Act can be seen as a major breakthrough, it should not be confused with progressive, inclusive ideas about the LGBTQ+ community. Hijras have a long-standing history within the region and fought and demonstrated for their rights. Homosexuality is however widely not tolerated within the society, people with a different sexual orientation often suffer depression, anxiety, shame and guilt (Majeed, 2014).

The work on third gender categories within anthropology has been influential in shifting the attention towards a psychoanalytical explanation of selfhood within the gender identity frame. It has been suggested that cultural context as well as direct and indirect socialization have a

significant effect on the development of personality types (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000).

1.7.9 Kinship and Marriage Systems

Another interesting field in anthropology are kinship systems. Especially matriarchies are interesting from out the gender perspective. Matriarchies can be described as social systems in which women are in power due to the primacy of mother rights. There is little empirical evidence about the claims that matriarchies ever existed, and feminists have different approaches towards the notion. While some view matriarchies as a notion that offers a vision for a different world, others argue that the myth reinforces male power as the myth implies that women are unable to handle power and therefore could not sustain matriarchies. The term should not be confused with matrilineage, a system in which kinship is traced through the mother's line, while patrilineal societies put an emphasis on the father's line and bilateral (two sides) descent reckon descent through the mother as well as the father. A matrilineal society would therefore form a descent group through the connection with a woman. A woman's father and husband would not be included in her matrilineage, but her brothers would, as they share a mother. In such systems, men usually show more loyalty towards their mothers and sisters (than towards their wives), as they share the same descent group. However, newly married couples usually live with or close to the bride's family (matrilocality), which heightens the potential for conflicting duties and responsibilities. At the same time, while related women are kept together, while men are dispersed, concentrated male power is discouraged. Typically, authority over women and their children go to the women's brother instead to her husband. It is important to note here that the position of women in matrilineages is not necessarily better than in other kinship systems. They do not necessarily have more power or authority, as they are still controlled by men, though the men are their brothers instead of their fathers and

husbands. Other anthropologists argue however, that women tend to have more independence in matrilineages than in patrilineages (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000). I believe, that the combination of patrilineage, patrilocality and patriarchy, as it can be found in Pakistan, does however, suggest a strong accumulation of male control and power over females.

1.7.10 Structuralist Approach

Many scholars claim that there is a universal subordination of women in all societies (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000). The notion has been studied from out a structuralist approach, coined mainly by the anthropologist Levi-Strauss and continued by the feminist Sherry Ortner. The approach is questioning why women are seen inferior in all societies, when they actually contribute significantly to the society in maintaining and perpetuating the social group. The approach is strongly influenced by the nature/culture dichotomy, which states that women have often been interpreted as natural (as they are closer to the physical world), while men are perceived as cultural (as they are seen as creative and involved in public affairs). Ortner argues that the notion gives rise to the universal idea of women as being inferior. Also, in Islamic societies women have been associated with animality and men with reason since a time before the eighteenth century (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000). Levi-Strauss theory is that universal cognitive processes are responsible for the lower status of women, not specific structures in a social system. Stereotypes about men and women are based on a universal need to mediate the transition from nature to culture. Men are valued more than women, not because of an innate physical or genetic superiority, but because of the way the human mind wants to organize the world into opposing categories (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000). According to Levi-Strauss marriage rules are based on these notions as well. The universal incest taboo, which prohibits mating with close kin, is an example of how the natural act of mating is culturally regulated, it marks the transition of humans from nature to culture, which

can be seen as the foundation of all societies. At the same time, marriage is described as a system of reciprocity, in which women are exchanged in order to foster bonds between social groups. Women are objects in the system, things that are exchanged, while men are the subjects, that make the decision over women (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000).

1.7.11 Post-Structuralists

Post-structuralists draw on the work of early structuralists, but they criticize the ideas that have been central in Western thinking and want to break down and go beyond the binary categories, like nature/culture, self/other, male/female. Their work has great significance for current notions of social inequality and feminist anthropology and has been coined by the philosopher-historian Michel Foucault. The main focus lays here on how discourses and language produce knowledge that normalizes what is considered to be normal, abnormal and the truth. It is difficult to construct identities outside these discourses, so they can perpetuate power relations and domination. Foucault was interested in how we can dismantle these power regimes, patterns of domination and how we can uncover how they oppress individuals. Feminism and the oppression of homosexuality are some examples. He argued that there is a need for counter discourses that speak on the behalf of the oppressed (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000).

1.7.12 Reflexive Approach

The reflexive approach has been adopted by many feminist anthropologists and is connected to the self-criticism that the discipline recently has undergone. At the wake of colonial critique and other systems of oppression, also Anthropologists started to question how early notions and representations perpetuated inequalities between the 'West' and the 'Rest'. Like feminist anthropology, reflexive anthropology thought critically about political and

ethical questions surrounding their work and laid a special focus on how ethnographic representations have reproduced unequal power relations. Even the concept of ‘culture’, the basis of anthropology, has been questioned in the sense that it should not be understood as something that can be seen, touched, bounded or studied, once we find the right methods. Therefore, ethnographies need to be understood as a process of interaction, rather than an accurate description. They also questioned the context of traditional fieldwork, in which primarily privileged individuals from the West study often oppressive systems and people from non-Western societies, to the point of asking whether there truly can be a ‘feminist ethnography’. As an answer, it has been suggested, to move towards a militant anthropology “that is morally engaged and openly committed to aiding the people being studied in their political struggle against oppression” (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000: 95). Other feminist anthropologists warn that focusing too much on ethnographies might hinder the transformation of the politics of research. Instead there should be a focus on political practices, such as teaching, activist research, or solidarity work. Self-reflexivity is extremely important here and helps us to be more aware of power relations in our daily lives, so that the commitment to fighting oppression becomes more realizable (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000).

1.8 Conclusion Chapter One

This chapter introduces the thesis by providing the thesis background, justification, research statement and questions, theoretical framework, and the methodology. It introduces Pakistan as a diverse country with an unsteady history, a country that scored second worst in gender equality in the Global Gender Gap Index 2018 and as the 6th most dangerous country for women in the Thomas Reuters Foundation Poll (Gender Gap Index 2018, Thomas Reuters Foundation Poll 2018). The statement that is under investigation within this thesis is that the patriarchal structures in Pakistan are responsible for the gender inequality and the hostile

environment many women live under. The research questions are designed to create the greater picture of gender inequality by exploring the causes and consequences, the violent ways of patriarchy, and possible approaches for positive change. The conceptual frames that are used in the thesis are Anthropology and Development, Conflict and Peace, all in relation to Gender. A mixed method is applied, consisting of feminist methodologies and feminist anthropology. As the concept of feminist anthropology is very important within the thesis, the first chapter ends with an introduction to anthropology and the aspect of gender within it. The impact feminism had on anthropology since the 1970s is substantial. Feminism has become so broad that some started referring to it as 'feminisms'. However, there is still much work to be done. In the 1980s the United Nation reported: Women, half of the world's population, did two thirds of the world's work, earned one tenth of the world's income, and owned one hundredth of the world's property" (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000: 104). Not much has improved since then, gender inequality remains one of the biggest struggles around the world, responsible for much suffering. This thesis aims at investigating causes and consequences of gender inequalities within a cultural context through a respectful, culturally sensitive way. The next chapter will take a closer look at the particular cultural context of Pakistan.

Chapter 2: Gender inequality in Pakistan

2.1 Introduction Chapter Two

This chapter provides an introduction to the state of Pakistan in relation to the two main concepts of this thesis, gender and development. It will provide a historical context of the country, with a special focus on gender inequality. It will then look at the implementation of policies that influence the gender balance up to this day and the women movements and NGOs that have resisted these policies. The phenomenon of ‘growth without development’ and its implications for women will be discussed in the following segment, followed by the conclusion of the chapter. In order to provide a fundamental basis for the discussions in this chapter, a general investigation of the concepts of gender and development will be established in the introduction.

2.2 Gender and Development

In order to elaborate the concepts of gender and development it is necessary to give some definitions and historical background. Development is defined in the Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English as: “gradually unfolding, fuller working out, growth; evolution [...] well-grown state, stage of advancement; product; [...] Development area”, it is therefore a word with many uses that almost seems ubiquitous in the English language (Potter et al., 2008: 4). Also, within academic field of Development Studies, the word is used with different meanings. Development as fundamental or structural change (e.g., increase in income); Development as intervention and action (actual monitoring of improvement is not so important here); Development as improvement (focus on the outcome) or development as the platform for improvement (changes that can facilitate development). These definitions show that development is not always about an overall improvement, it can also be a partial. For instance,

the income per head might improve, but inequality can increase rapidly at the same time (Potter et al., 2008). The table below gives an alternative interpretation of development and shines light on the bad as well as on the good possible outcomes of the developmental process.

Good	Bad
Development brings economic growth	Development is a dependent and subordinate process
Development brings overall national progress	Development is a process creating and widening spatial inequalities
Development brings modernisation along Western lines	Development undermines local cultures and values
Development improves the provision of basic needs	Development perpetuates poverty and poor working and living conditions
Development can help create sustainable growth	Development is often environmentally unsustainable
Development brings improved governance	Development infringes human rights and undermines democracy

Source: Adapted from Rigg (1997).

Source: Potter et al., 2008: 5

Gender on the other hand is a concept, which was adopted by Anthropologists in order to refer to the social dimensions and spectrums of sex differences. It expresses the idea that “differences between men and women are the product primarily of cultural processes of learning and socialization rather than of innate biological differences” (Merry, 2011: 9). Sex, therefore, refers to genitalia, while gender (roles) mean the social aspects of how men and women are expected to act in a particular sociocultural system. Patriarchy can be defined as an institutionalized male dominance. Gender equality was defined by Janet Momsen as “equality of opportunities and a society in which men and women are able to live equally fulfilled lives. [...] The absence of gender equality means a huge loss of human potential and has costs for both men and women and also for development” (Momsen, 2010: 8). Societies with a high level of gender discrimination, pay a price in more poverty, slower growth, and a lower quality of life. Gender equality on the other hand enhances development (Momsen, 2010: 9). We will

now look at the history of the development idea and the emergence of the gender topic within it.

2.2.1 History of Gender in Development

The origins of the modern process of development can be situated in the late 1940s (Potter et al., 2008). After the end of World War two, two-third of the world was defined as underdeveloped and the United States and its allies recognized the need for policies that would spread the benefits of scientific and industrial discoveries (Momsen, 2010). Aid became an accepted part of the national budget and development agencies started to blossom. However, aid was increasingly used as political power, especially by the United States and the USSR, who used aid as a tool to influence ex-colonial and ex-aligned states of the ‘third world’ in their Cold War competition. After the collapse of the USSR in 1989, Americas neoliberal capitalism became the dominant strategy. Poverty was seen as the root cause for terrorism. Therefore, poverty reduction, became the new focus in development, especially in areas that were considered to have anti-Western ideas. Development became directly associated with Western values and ideologies (Potter et al., 2008). The mission was to spread modernization and increase the gross domestic product. The role of women was always considered within development, but the perspective developed much over time. In order to illustrate this, a chronology of approaches towards women will follow, as described in Janet Momsen’s book ‘Gender and Development’.

2.2.1.1 The Welfare Approach

Before the early 1970s women in development were only thought of in their roles as wives and mothers, with a focus on improving health of mother and child and reducing fertility. It was assumed that women would benefit from the economic position of their husbands, once the macroeconomic strategies would trickle down to the poor. The

development process was assumed to affect men and women in the same way (Momsen, 2010). The work of Ester Boserup changed that misconception and brought to light that women did not always benefit if the household head's income increased, how women's work was mostly ignored and how women were increasingly associated with backwardness and a low social status (Momsen, 2010). Planned and unplanned development too often had an adverse impact on women (Tinker, 1990).

2.2.1.2 The Women in Development Approach (WID)

The rise of women's movement in the West led to the establishment of Women in Development (WID) policies of governments, NGOs, and donor agencies. The focus lay on income generation projects for women in order to integrate them into economic development. The main ideas were efficiency and self-sufficiency rather than welfare (Tinker, 1990). The anti-poverty approach failed, as well as many projects, since they were built on the misconception that women of the Global South had time available to undertake them. The approach further failed to recognize women's double burden of work and family care and treated women identically, without recognizing differences of age, class and culture.

2.2.1.3 The Gender and Development Approach (GAD)

The criticism of the former approach led to a new approach based on the concept of gender (the socially constructed ideas of masculinity and femininity) and gender relations (the social patterns and power relations between men and women). The approach aims at analysing how development changes the power play between these categories and views women as the agents of change. Women are recognized as heterogeneous group with important influences of class, age, marital status, and ethnicity on development outcomes. The approach differentiates between 'practical' gender interest, with the aims of improving

the life of women in their current role and ‘strategic’ gender interests, which aims at empowering and increasing the potential of women to take on new roles.

2.2.1.4 Women and Development

New criticism arose at the UN Women’s World Conference in Mexico City in 1975, when many women of the Global South rejected the feminist approaches of the predominantly white women from the North, as they lack the perspective of developing countries. They argued that overcoming colonialism and poverty are more important than achieving gender equality. The DAWN network grew out of this criticism to provide views of developing countries.

By the 1990 the three main approaches WID, GAD and WAD had merged, but different approaches and theories continue to emerge (Momsen, 2010).

2.2.1.5 The Efficiency Approach

The idea of this approach is that gender analysis is economically important for the success of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs). In order to improve planning and effectiveness of development projects, it is necessary to understand women and men’s role and responsibilities in the society. Criticism on this approach contains the focus on what women can do for development, rather than what development can do for women (Momsen, 2010).

2.2.1.6 The Empowerment Approach

The term empowerment has been used from out different perspectives. In the 1980s it was regarded as the weapon of the weak, best used in grassroot and participatory activities. By the 1990s the term was adopted and mainstreamed by big development agencies, who

viewed it more as enhancing efficiency and productivity. Within literature, it is defined as social transformation and achieving gender inequality; or a process “that enables people to gain self-confidence and self-esteem, so allowing men and women to actively participate in development decision-making” (Momsen, 2010: 14). Often the approach includes working with women at the community level and building organization skills. I personally think that empowerment means to give space, so someone is free to take power.

2.2.1.7 Gender and Environment

This approach is based on ecofeminism, especially on the ideas of Vandana Shiva in 1989, which draws an essential link between women and environment. It encourages environmental programs to take women and the role of women into account.

2.2.1.8 Mainstreaming Gender Inequality

This approach tries to combine the strengths of the efficiency and empowerment approach within mainstream development. It wants to make sure that men and women are integral parts in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation in all development programs. It wants to prevent gender inequality to be perpetuated and sees the gender dimension as important part of poverty alleviation.

2.2.1.9 The Millennium Development Goals

The Millennium Development goals were set up by the United Nations at the United Nations Millennium Summit in 2000 and defined eight goals to be achieved within the next fifteen years. Gender empowerment was entrenched in it especially within Goal 3: Empower women by eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005. The

declaration was criticised on different levels, many objectives were not reached in the given timescale.

2.2.1.10 Sustainable Development Goals

The UN member states adopted the Sustainable Development Agenda in September 2015 as a succession of the Millennium Goals. With a broader scope, more aspirations, and a clearer vision, it aims at improving conditions on three dimensions i.e., economic, social, and environmental. The Gender aspects in the declaration were helped shaped by prominent women's rights activists, advocates, organisations, think tanks, academia and international agencies, especially in Goal 5, the 'gender goal' (Esquivel et al., 2016).

Despite all these approaches, until today, in no country in the developing world do women enjoy equality with men regarding political, legal social, and economic rights (Tinker, 1990).

2.3 History of Gender Inequality in Pakistan

Pakistan is a diverse country with various landscapes, unique cultures and a plural society. It came into existence as a result of the partition of India between Muslim and Hindu majority regions, parallel to the departure of the Britishers from India in 1947. Pakistan faced some constitutional and administrative problems in the start due to sudden death of its founder Jinnah in 1948. Since the country was founded for the Muslims of the Sub-continent, the role of Islam in this new country was not defined and hence challenged between the modern political elite and the conservative mullahs. The country prospered until the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto era of the late 70s and the society of the country was quite progressive with equal participation of women. Due to not a predetermined role of Islam in the country affairs, the military dictators

took advantage of this sensitive topic and tried to intensify the role of Islam and Mullah for their political legitimacy. Pakistan experienced a conflict between the push and pull factors of modernity, i.e. “industrialization and the contemporary emphasis on realization of human potential” and redefined traditions, i.e. Islamization (Weiss, 1985: 865). A manipulative interpretation of Islam by the ruling junta (ruling military or political group) and dominance of a regressive religious interpretations in the society, hence arisen laws and policies, and embedded harmful traditions in the society, are the main causes for the suffering of many women in the Pakistani society. Its “worldview is shaped by the contradictory socio-historical currents of Islamic rule, British colonialism, religious orthodoxy” (Raza and Murad, 2010: 541). In order to understand gender inequality in Pakistan, we will examine its history since its creation with a focus on women’s rights. The efforts of the state to formulate a definition of women’s rights is complicated. Creating a vision of women’s rights that all communities in Pakistan find acceptable within their cultural and religious borders, remains a challenge. For convenience, I will divide the history of the country into three parts.

2.3.1 Pakistan after the Partition (1947-1977)

Pakistan gained independence in 1947 after the British rule ended in India (Imran, 2005). New legislations had to be formed, after a period which long had been considered as an intrusion by the Britishers into family affairs of Muslims (Weiss, 2014). The founding fathers of Pakistan, Jinnah and Iqbal, “had an enlightened view of the equal role of the woman in the administration of the affairs of the state and society” (Raza and Murad, 2010). Jinnah’s sister Fatima and other educated women played a major role in the campaign for an independent Pakistan that had equal opportunities for men and women which was in their view the essence of an “honourable country amongst the comity of nations” (Raza and Murad, 2010). She can therefore be seen as “the first woman in modern Muslim history that contested a presidential

election and fought valiantly for the cause of democracy and human rights in Pakistan” (Raza and Murad, 541-542: 2010). For that, she was criticised by religious conservatives, whose interpretation of Islam excluded women from economic or social partaking. Orthodox Muslim groups “felt it their prerogative to act as guardians of Shariah Law and hindered attempts to develop progressive interpretation of Islam with respect to women's rights” (Mumtaz in Hussain et al., 2013). Therefore, the social role of women continued to be vulnerable to the “extremist and chauvinistic social forces, who are bent on imposing restrictions on the socially active role of women” (Raza and Murad, 2010).

Additionally, tribal and feudal traditions of many Pakistani cultures complicated the issue. Centuries old customs and attitudes, who existed in the region before the creation of the country, influenced the position of women and limited their options (Weiss, 1985: 867). Some cultural practices, e.g., karokari (honour related punishments), Vani (compensation for blood feuds) and izzat (honour), are designed for the social exclusion and suppression of women in the society and sometimes ended in the killing of women. It is also argued that “colonialism created the conditions in which an oppositional, identity-preserving, view of Islam could and did flourish” (Hussain et al., 2013). Colonial powers wanted to inculcate European institutions and value systems. As the Western culture has a strong patriarchal base itself, the economic and social rights and opportunities for colonized male were broadened on the expense of their women (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000).

In the early history of Pakistan two women’s organisations were founded, the Pakistan Women’s National Guard in 1949 and the Women’s Voluntary Service in 1948, which was focusing on the problems of female refugees after the partition with India. Between the creation of Pakistan in 1947 and 1979, only two legal reforms regarding women’s rights were instituted, one in order to ensure women’s rights in divorce and one prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex (Weiss, 1985: 868).

2.3.2 The Zia Regime (1977-1988)

The second era of the country is the dictatorship of General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, who took over power from the first democratically elected Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto, and ruled for 11 years, between 1977 until his death in 1988 (Imran, 2005: 78). This era was probably the most harmful for women's rights, as it produced "a culture of intolerance", that "persecuted women and subjected them to all kinds of humiliation and ill-treatment" (Alavi, 1991). The four major events of 1979, the execution of former president Z. A. Bhutto by hanging through the US backed military regime of Zia, the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the introduction of the Hudood Ordinance by the new regime had a profound impact on the Pakistani society (Imran, 2005). In search of legitimacy and acceptance of the orthodox religious groups Zia

embarked upon a series of measures that were designed to undermine what little existed by way of women's legal rights, educational facilities, and career opportunities - as well as the simple right for freedom of movement and protection from molestation by males (Alavi, 1991:1).

The government of Zia introduced its Islamization program in 1979 with the purpose of making Pakistan an "establishment of an Islamic state, claiming that the basis for all aspects of a moral society is found within the sharia (legal code) of Islam" (Weiss, 1985: 866). Zia's real agenda in the establishment of the program remains problematic. While the Qur'an advocates the improvement of women's positions and guarantees rights, e.g. female inheritance, female education, female consent to marriage and remarriage for widows and divorcees (Weiss, 1985), the government proposals would "systematically reduce women's power and participation through established social institutions (e.g., legal, educational, political)". This is reinforced by the implementation of "*purdah*, the formalized separation of women from the world of men" (Weiss, 1985: 867). *Purdah* also strongly influenced the

workspace of women in Pakistan during that era. Another extremely harmful development for women's rights came through the implementation of the 'Zina Hudood Ordinance' and the law of evidence which will be discussed further below. As a result, female mobility, agency, decision making power, and freedoms became very limited in many families. The lower status of women compared to men have resulted in immense health issues, education differences, harmful practices, and violence against women.

2.3.3 Recent History of Pakistan (1988-2019)

The last era, after Zia's death in 1988 until today can be described as a more progressive time with a liberal atmosphere (Hussain et al., 2013). From 1988 to 1993 Pakistan's efforts to integrate women's rights into national planning structure, started with the Seventh Plan, a social initiative for the advancement of women. In 1993, Benazir Bhutto, the daughter of the founder of the PPP party, won the election and vowed to put a focus on the social system and overcoming inequality. The Social Action Program was founded to expand basic education, health care, population services, clean water and sanitation (Weiss, 2014). The government also opened women's police stations to combat the sexual harassment that some women experienced in detention. In 1996 Pakistan became a state party of the CEDAW, which is the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. However, neither in Benazir Bhutto's (1988–90; 1993–96) nor in Nawaz Sharif's (1990–93; 1997–99) government, actions were taken that actually passed new legislations on women's rights or reversed the legislations of the Zia regime. Instead this happened under another military government, under Pervez Musharraf, who finally turned attention towards working on strategies and promotion of women's rights and empowerment in social, political and economic sphere (Weiss, 2014). He wanted to modernize the country, promoting economic development and gender rights, e.g in marriage, inheritance, divorce and custody rights of women. He also

consistently worked towards liberal causes, e.g. environmental sustainability, human development and education for all Pakistanis. Under his government, he revived reserved parliamentary seats for women, revived the Hudood Laws and submitted the CEDAW Report in front of the UN Division for the Advancement of Women in 2007. Being raped was finally no longer a crime under law in Pakistan (Weiss, 2014).

The PPP administration that came into power in 2008 continued the process of promoting women's rights through poverty alleviation, ratification of UN human rights accords and legal reforms. During its period (2008-2013) it promulgated the national Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Act and addressed sexual harassment at the workplace. Other important Acts are the "Acid Control and Acid Crime Act" of 2011, which focuses at penalties for Acid crimes and the "Women in Distress and Detention Fund /Amendment) Act" of 2011, which provides funds to women in detention, distress and disabled women.

In 2013 the elections resulted in a new administration of Nawaz Sharif's PML-N party. The administration is striving to propose new legislation for women workers and wants to empower women, by "expanding opportunities for their socioeconomic development and eliminating all forms of discrimination against women" (Weiss, 2014: 46). In 2018 Imran Khan, a former cricket player and relative newcomer in politics, was elected as prime minister. He was supported by many young Pakistanis looking for a change and was pledging many reforms, from tackling climate change to boosting tourism and getting more girls into schools. Whether he will achieve his aims is still open, however, Khan is already tackling different issues. Not only is the country in an economic free fall that requires financial backing, but Khan is also struggling with protests against his alleged blasphemy ruling, and other ongoing security threats (Gertholtz, 2018). Within the next part, two important legislations will be examined, which can be described as extremely damaging for the rights of women.

2.4 Legal Policies and their Implications

For a long time, women in Pakistan were “most vulnerable and convenient targets of social, domestic and sexual violence” (Imran, 2005: 78). Two state legislations, which were implemented during the Islamization process of General Zia in accordance with a rigid and archaic perspective on the Sharia law, undermined Women’s rights even further in the already orthodox and patriarchal society. The policies aimed at limiting female mobility, freedom, education and access to jobs. They governed rape cases and became “powerful weapon in the hands of the patriarchal society of Pakistan to subjugate women. [...] Rape became a daunting weapon” (Imran, 2005: 78). The laws not only “facilitated oppression and sexual violence against women in an alarming degree, but also seriously eroded women’s chances of equal justice” (Imran, 2005: 78). The various loopholes of the law started to govern morality and sexual behaviour and encouraged injustices against women. The author argues that patriarchy and vested political motives have used religion to strengthen and reinforce each other (Imran, 2005).

2.4.1 The Zina Hudood Ordinance

The Zina Hudood Ordinance was implemented in 1979. It is designed to favour male over female and implements an interpretation of the Quran that views women as inferior and subordinate to men. It implements a non-debatable basis of what behaviour is acceptable for a woman, within an extremely narrow frame (Imran, 2005). Punishments seem cruel and disproportional. In Rahat Imran’s article, the rules and regulations of the Ordinance are summarized according to the Hudood Ordinance of 1979:

- 1) The Hudood Ordinance criminalizes *Zina*, which is defined as extra- marital sex, including adultery, and fornication.

- 2) It criminalizes *Zina-bil-jabr*, defined as rape outside of a valid marriage.
- 3) Further it defines *Zina* and *Zina-bil-jabr* based on the assigned criminal punishment.
- 4) Hence, *Zina* and *Zina-bil-jabr* are liable to *Hadd*, which means stoning to death. A punishment ordained, supposedly, by the Holy Quran or Sunnah.
- 5) *Zina* and *Zina-bil-jabr* are also liable to *tazir*, which is defined as any punishment other than *Hadd*. The *tazir* punishment for *Zina* can be up to ten years of imprisonment and whipping (up to thirty lashes and/or a fine). The *tazir* punishment for *Zina-bil-jabr* is up to twenty-five years of imprisonment and whipping up to thirty lashes (Imran, 2005).

The Hudood Ordinance does not differentiate if a sexual act is performed wilfully or forcefully by a woman, and therefore turns victims into the accused. A subsequent pregnancy from rape is seen as evidence against the woman. Although also men are accused of *Zina*, they normally go free after a simple denial, as they can testify on their own behalf, contrary to women, as determined in ‘The Law of Evidence’. Therefore, men usually are exempted from the maximum Hudood punishment, while women are sentenced with it. With other words, women would be punished, while rapist would walk free.

2.4.2 The Law of Evidence

The law of evidence was implemented in 1984 and was supposed to bring the existing law of evidence in line with prescriptions of Islam. It is claimed to be based on a Quran verse, which demands two male witnesses or at least one male and two female witnesses (Weiss, 2014). The law states that the testimony of two females is counted only as one reliable source, it is therefore only half as much worth as a male testimony in the eyes of the court of law. A woman can not testify independently on behalf of herself. Further, a woman who has been

raped needs to provide an adequate number of witnesses of the incident, defined as four Muslim men of good character who must verify her claim of sexual penetration, with other words rape. Meeting these requirements are highly unlikely. If she is unable to do so, her allegations will be turned into a confession of Zina, sexual intercourse outside the marriage, and she will be liable to *tanzir* punishments, e.g. imprisonment, lashing or stoning to death. Furthermore, she herself can be categorized as a rapist, since women are often assumed to be the one seducing men. In order to understand the implications of these laws, two famous cases will be elaborated next.

2.4.3 Case Studies

The Safia Bibi Case: Safia Bibi, a sixteen-year-old blind girl from Sahiwal, eighty kilometres from Lahore, the daughter of a peasant, was employed in the house of the local landlord as domestic help. In 1983, she was raped, first by the son of the landlord and then by the landlord himself and in turn became pregnant. A case was registered against the offenders and Safia was asked to identify the men in the courtroom. As she was unable to do so, her pregnancy was considered a proof of Zina and she was sentenced to three years in prison, fifteen lashes and a fine. The judge commented that her sentence was light due to her age and disability (Quraishi, 1999).

The Zainab Noor Case: A shocking case of marital rape and abuse. Zainab Noor, the wife of Qari Sharif, an Imam of a local mosque in a village near Attock, Punjab province, was beaten, raped, and electrocuted in 1994 and lost at least three parts of her body as a result, her anus, vagina, and urinary bladder. She was sent to London for reconstructive surgery and survived. The incident caused a huge outcry in the media and Pakistani human rights organisations. Although her husband was sentenced, the gender-discriminatory justice system

played in his favour. His initial 30 years in prison were reduced to 10 years after Sharif's appeal, of which he served six years in prison in the end. Although these laws have been transformed, they continue to exist under the same name in Pakistan (Imran, 2005).

We will turn our attention now to another aspect of gender inequality, the economic role, freedom and wages of women in Pakistan.

2.5 Determinants of Differences in Freedom and Wages – A historical Perspective

The role of women is strongly affected by economic development. The change of subsistence economies to high-technology societies comes along with a change from family production to a specialized production of goods and services (Boserup in Tinker, 1900). As argued by Ester Boserup in her revolutionary book 'Women's Role in Economic Development' women's status in agricultural societies was linked with their roles in food production. As men monopolized the advanced technologies, women increasingly became marginalized and in turn their status and freedoms decreased. This was exacerbated by colonial powers who reinforced their gender stereotypes and division of labour within their development programs (Tinker, 1990). In Pakistan the mainstay of the economy is agriculture, employing circa 50% of its population (Malik and Courtney, 2011). In the Colony districts of the Punjab most women always had an active role in the agricultural production, which gave them some economic freedom, as it was common for women to spend parts of the money, they earned, how they wanted, without asking for their husband's permission. However, after the Green revolution of the 1970s many peasants had prospered and showed their new higher social status by withdrawing their women from the work on the fields and confining them to the seclusion and isolation of the *purdah* (*purdah*: literal meaning a curtain), the four walls of their home (Alavi, 1991). *Purdah* was therefore more important to the propertied classes than to the working class.

The women resented this change and described their new life as a prison. This brings us to the important conceptual distinction between the exploitation of female labour and female oppression. Although the women had lost some burden of labour, the level of oppression increased enormously. They did not only lose economic freedom but the freedom of movement altogether (Alavi, 1991). Other women were affected by the green revolution, due to a discriminatory use of technology; men used tractors, while women continued to use hand tools (or no tools at all) and performing the heavy work of weeding and transplanting (Boserup in Tinker, 1990). Yet, lower middle-class women in urban regions were even worse off and can be regarded as the most oppressed women in Pakistan during that time, because of the '*pardah* and *char diwari*' (*char diwari*: literal meaning four walls of a house). Women in villages, even if they would be confined behind the *pardah*, would at least have access to the company of other women within the village which gave them a support system; as compared to the isolated family units for the women of the urban regions (Alavi, 1991).

The worries of most of the upper-class women were different, but not less alarming in the sense of women's rights. As they are economically more stable, women of the upper class are not working and often have servants to do house chores. In consequence, they are totally dependent on their husbands and often live in fear of being abandoned for a second wife. The society requires a woman to live under '*saya*' (literal meaning a 'shadow'), the protection of a male headed household, which means it is very difficult for women to live independently. Upper class women were

therefore, reduced virtually to the status of well fed, well dressed and well ornamented slaves who depend absolutely upon the whim of their husbands. Where the husband ill-treats or abuses them, they must put up with it. Because of the difficulty in setting up an independent household even women with careers share this problem (Alavi, 1991:5).

Within lower middle class and working class the problem of dependence is not unbeknownst, however men tend to abandon their first wives to a lesser extent, since they usually cannot afford two wives and often marry within their own kin or tribe. '*Biraderi*', the kinship lineage exerts pressure to stay with their wives, who are daughters of their kinsmen (Alavi, 1991). "The values and norms of kinship obligations cannot be flouted without penalty, except by the rich and the powerful or those who live in cosmopolitan circles" (Alavi, 1991:4).

During the time of independence, it was considered normal that the men had to earn the wages to support their families, however, with a continuous inflation in the country more and more women had to take jobs to implement the family income. The lower middle-class families can be separated into two categories, families with educated women in the sense that they can hold a job which is considered 'respectable' and more traditional families with uneducated women, who tend to take on home-based work to contribute to the family's economy. While the first category was especially targeted by the harsh implementations of the Zia regime, the second category of women was very vulnerable to being exploited as cheap labourers. This work includes outrageously underpaid factory work, especially in the clothing trade and even worse paid and oppressive work within the sphere of *purda*, in this context called '*char diwari*' i.e. the four walls of their home, where materials and orders are brought to their home and the finished product will be recollected from there later. The long hours of work, next to the own domestic chores and attendance to (often) a multitude of children are "paid a mere pittance", but the women often have no other choice (Alavi, 1991:5). Education could be seen as a solution to this dilemma; however, the education of women was regarded as a "mere indulgence, wasteful of the money spent on it" (Alavi, 1991: 5). Also, it brought along the danger of 'over-qualification of women', which means in this context, that women were not supposed to have better qualifications than a potential husband, as this would be a threat to the false pride of men (Alavi, 1991). Consequently, the more education a woman would gain, the

more her marriage chances would decrease. To conclude, economic development does affect the role of women. Vice versa, the interpretations and expectations of how women are supposed to act and what is respectable for them, affects their possibilities to participate on the economic market. The economic participation of women is among the lowest in the world (Weiss, 2014). Throughout the thesis, this will be explored further. We will now turn to religious influences on women's rights.

2.6 Religious Interpretation and Influence on Women's Rights

97 percent of Pakistan's population is Muslim, however, what it means to be a Muslim is tied to local and cultural traditions. The country still tries to find an appropriate role of Islam in the civic and political spheres (Weiss, 2014; Jalal 2014). According to Anita Weiss, one big problem in the approach of women's rights in Pakistan is *ijtihad*, religious interpretation. Despite of formal laws and policies, viewpoints on Islamic norms, traditions and values are very divergent between individuals and groups who conduct *ijtihad*. Although many Pakistanis believe, that there is only one version of Islam, that should be practiced, the content of that version is very contested. Even within families, neighbourhoods and communities there is often no religious consensus, therefore there is not really 'one version' prevalent. *Ijtihad* has long been conducted by religious scholars in order to react on social changes. In an orthodox sense, only they are qualified to make these interpretations, however, more and more political and social leaders have been posturing themselves a such, in order to promote their understanding of Islam, resulting in something which has been referred to as "interpretative anarchy" (Weiss, 2014: 3). This everyday *ijtihad* that led to undocumented realms of belief and practice, is important, if we want to examine interpretations of women's rights. The question what is acceptable within Islam, especially for women, has become a defining question in the state and is often incoherent with what is acceptable in a cultural context.

Attempting to summarize perceptions on women's rights into different groups is difficult, and as argued by Anita Weiss, inaccurate, because of the enormous diversity within each of these groups, but Weiss attempted in anyway and identified four principal lenses, traditional, progressive, orthodox Islamic, and extremist views. As progressive and extremist views will be examined in a different part of this thesis, I would like to give some space to orthodox views here. Orthodox Islamic groups have been stereotyped as being regressive or unconcerned regarding women's rights, but the reality is much more complicated. The majority of the population can be seen as fairly conservative and engages in some Islamic discourse, while steering away from extremist rhetoric. The religious discourse has been strongly influenced by different schools of thought, we might even say Islamic sects, who compete for dominance and have their own followers, ranging from hundreds to millions of followers (Sikkand, 2007; Siddiqa, 2010). Examples include deobandis, ahle hadith, the shia community (which is more than twenty percent), lashkar e jhangvi, sipah i sahaba, brelvis i.e., tehreek i labaik ya rasool allah. Those of them who match the Wahabi ideologies are often sponsored by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates and some are sponsored by Iran. Religious discourse is spread by different religious and religio-political groups and religious parties. These groups are sponsored by different likeminded countries and rich people such as the Saudi Arabian block and the Iranian regime (Haqqani, 2005; Haqqani, 2006).

Jama'at-i-Islami, is one of those organisations, that wants to solve the challenges of Muslims and promotes their Islamic values. They are financially supported by Saudi Arabia and used to enjoy popular following in Pakistan, especially among urban middle-class people, military and intelligence establishments (Weiss, 2014). Maududi, one of its leaders, promotes *purdah* and states that "women's freedom had led to the decline of the nation" (Weiss, 2014, 103). Female education is supported, but only to acquire knowledge that makes a woman a good mother and housewife. Samia Raheel Qazi, daughter of the late leader of Jama'at and

President of the Women's Commission of the organisation, however argues, that Jama'at's priorities are the empowerment, education, health, social rights and free and speedy justice, which naturally appertain to women within Islam, but are not given to them in the contemporary Pakistani society. She also argued that the condition of women would be far better than for women in the West, if they were to receive all the rights due under Islamic law (Weiss, 2014). Nevertheless, the organization's view on women's rights is criticised for having a highly limited conception. Tehmina Rashid argues that they are basically "confined to inheritance, choice in marriage, dower, divorce and maintenance, and simplifies women's duties to keep her husband happy, procreate, and stay in the house" (Weiss, 2014: 106) and that the group further has a class bias that excludes rural and poor segments of the population¹.

The Institute of Policy Studies in Islamabad (IPS) has strong ideological affiliations with the Jama'at. The IPS team has been known for consistently being against legislations that take action against anti-women practices, such as, forced marriage, marriage to the Quran, loss of inheritance, child marriage, domestic violence and other matters related to religious obligations. In relation to the Acid Crime Prevention Act, the IPS team questioned the benefits of harsh punishments and fines and instead suggested the Islamic Law of *Qisas*, a punishment where the accused suffers the same fate as his/her victim. Regarding honour killing, they stated that it is un-Islamic and a product of illiteracy, however, they did not want to be associated with campaigns against it, never clearly condemned it and felt that the issue had gotten disproportionate media attention from the West (Weiss, 2014).

The women at Jama'at are "uncomfortable with the notion of breaking boundaries, which includes adopting views of international feminism and Western women's rights, homosexuality, and legalized abortion" (Weiss, 2014: 110). They have been described in Weiss

¹ Nowadays the group has very less following and Maududi is considered in most parts of the Pakistani population as a 'wrong Muslim'.

book by Amina Jamal as following, they

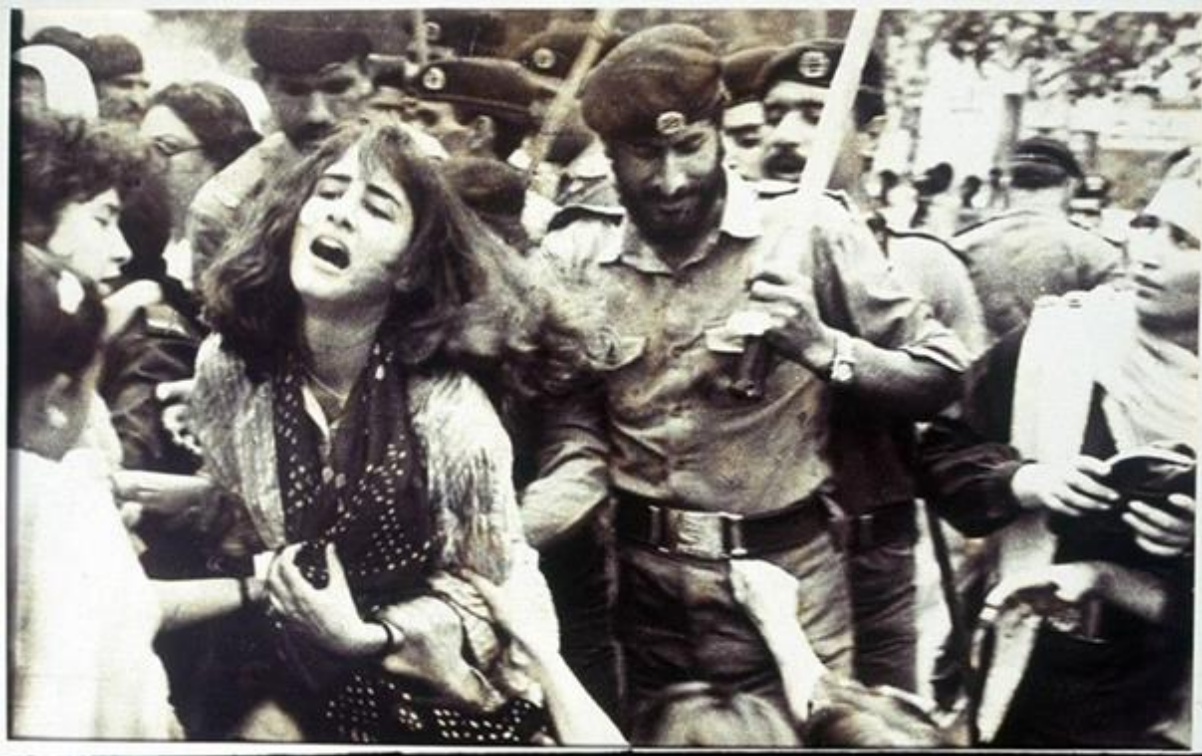
are developing their own version of modernity that allows them to challenge the feminist women's movement and the state . . . [though] reject universalized notions of human emancipation that they consider to be tied to a Western secular understanding of modernity (Weiss, 2014: 111).

Although I strongly believe in the importance and right to form one own's notion, I also believe in universal human rights, as they are proposed in Martha Nussbaum's capability approach in Chapter 4. The role of women is not static, despite the myth "that women' struggles for their rights are alien to societies that have embraced Islam" (Weiss, 2014: 4). It has been argued by Masooda Bano in her article "Religion and female empowerment: evidence from Pakistan and northern Nigeria" that women's agency and aspirations are not as much influenced by religious beliefs as often assumed. While religious norms are assumed to nurture patriarchal values and restrict female agency, she showed in her ethnographic study that women's choices, notions and aspirations are based on their socio-economic background and less bound by religious institutions (Bano, 2018). Also, when economic opportunities advance, religious restrictions and norms usually relax (Klugman et al. 2014). Religious norms have been contributing in restricting female agency, however in which ways they correlate needs more research. In reality, women have mobilized throughout the Muslim world and in Pakistan. The next section will elaborate female agency and movements in Pakistan.

2.7 Women's Movements

According to Hamza Alavi, the 1980s also truly have "been a decade of the women of Pakistan" (Alavi, 1991). Powerful women movements formed in the struggle against the anti-

feminist policies of Zia, e.g. the leading and most effective Women's Action Forum (WAF), the Democratic Women's Association, the Sindhiani Tehrik and the Women's Front, and the All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) (Alavi, 1991). In the course of Zia's destructive Islamization program these organisations broke into action into a mass mobilization. Pakistani feminist started making strategies to build resistance and form awareness, which included campaigns, writing and publishing, international networking, and participation at international conferences to inform about the situation of females in Pakistan (Imran, 2005). The urban based Women's Action Forum provided a significant platform for women, coming mainly from the upper- and middle-class. They "launched a systematic countrywide struggle through advocacy programs, research, writing, pickets, lobbying, street agitation, and press campaigns" (Imran, 2005: 93). The rural based organisation Sindhiani Tehrik of the Sindh province mobilized women at the same time to seek protection of their rights. When the Law of Evidence was proposed in 1983, women organized a rally to march to the High Court in Lahore to present a memorandum to the Chief of Justice. The peaceful rally of the 300 women went violent when over 500 policemen attacked the marching women with tear gas and batons (see picture below). Many women were beaten and arrested, nonetheless, some women managed to reach the High Court where they were greeted with garlands by progressive male lawyers, who wanted to acknowledge their militancy and resolve (Imran, 2005: 93-94). This day, the 12th February, has become a symbol for the women's resistance movement and Pakistan's Women day, that is commemorated each year in memory of the peaceful demonstration that was attacked by the police (Imran, 2005).



Source: tribune.com.pk

Although many women sympathised with the goals and aims of the organisations, only a few could spare the time to participate, especially the working-class women struggled to find time to go to meetings and demonstrations. Additionally, there is the problem of limited mobility for women in Pakistan. Women either had to go with their own car, or in a female friend's car, or they had to go with a male relative, since it was unthinkable to go with an unrelated male (Alvi, 1991). The women's movements therefore revolved around educated women in the professional spheres and women with salaried jobs (Alvi, 1991). However, this does not mean that the rest of the women were not aware of the issues for women in Pakistan. Participating women articulated demands and attitudes that represented all women in Pakistan, they can be seen as "the tip of a huge iceberg, their inarticulate sisters being submerged, for the time being, in an ocean of work" (Alvi, 1991). It is not surprising that

official propaganda under the long years of the Zia regime tried to discredit the

women's movement by caricaturing it as a movement of English-educated, Westernised, upper class women whose heads are filled with foreign imported ideas and who, the propaganda claimed, had no roots amongst true Pakistani women (Alavi, 1991: 9).

It is worth noting that the women in the movements did a remarkable job, given that these were all unfamiliar tasks, and have shown a lot of courage and leadership.

A more contemporary example of women's movement is the 'aurat march' that took place at the International Women's Day 2019. Tens of thousands of women and men came together to protest against gender inequality and violence. According to Dawn, it was only the second time such an event had taken place in Pakistan. Unfortunately, the march received a huge online backlash from out the society, led by many known personalities and actors, who accused the protests to be 'vulgar', 'not representative of Pakistani women, culture and traditions' and 'of having an 'anti-Islamic agenda'. Many called for an opposing 'men's march'. Organisers and protestants of the march received online rape and death threats. The role of the media in the campaign has been criticized, as they had focused on the comments of the trolls and picked out the few provocative placards (Reuters, 2019). Most of the signs that protestants wore, called for fundamental rights, as access to education and employment, but some signs also read 'Divorced and Happy' or 'Warm your own food'. This hit too close to home for many men and reportedly released a wave of masculine anxiety, as men feared emancipation within their home spheres (Zahra-Malik, 2019).

2.8 Women's NGOs

Many women, who had studied abroad, came back to Pakistan, with the vision of women's movements with the aim of emancipation and equal rights. As a result, many Women's NGOs emerged to fill the need. According to the statistics of 2002 of the Ministry

of Women's Development 13,013 NGOs are operating in Pakistan, many of them with predominantly female staff, which have evolved over the years into research centres for feminist scholars. This growth of NGOs introduced a new wave of feminist activism and women's resistance (Imran, 2005).

The establishment of an organized feminist resistance in Pakistan is impressive, given the odds that women have to contend with, and is testimony that Pakistani women have proved their resilience in the face of oppression and discrimination to keep the feminist movement vibrant and alive (Imran, 2005: 96).

They prove that striving for women's rights in a Muslim context is not new or imported from the West and that it is a myth that Muslim women do not engage in the struggle for their rights (Weiss, 2014). The achievements of the government in regard to women's rights are largely due to the activism and mobilisation of these organizations, especially Shirkat Gah and the Aurat Foundation. Both organisations can be situated in a rights-based framework, are secular in orientation and have progressive views consistent with the global arena. Shirkat Gah was established in 1975 as a "non-hierarchical women's collective to integrate consciousness raising with a development perspective, and to initiative projects translating advocacy into action (Weiss, 2014: 78-79). Their work includes capacity building of local community based and civil society organisations, sessions on sexual and reproductive health, violence against women, livelihood, environment and sustainable development, they promote human rights, good governance, legal reforms and conduct extensive research on women's realities (Weiss, 2014). The Aurat Foundation on the other hand understands itself as a "catalyst to enable groups to influence policy, legislation, and programs for greater economic and political power for women in society" (Weiss, 2014: 86). They established several links with grass-root organizations, macro-level decision makers and departments of the government. Their main goals are, greater access to knowledge, resources and institutions; influence on attitudes and

behaviour for a positive social environment for women; facilitation of citizens' active participation in social change. They also want to incorporate men into the struggle for women's rights, as they view this as the only way for a positive change in the society (Weiss, 2014). There is hope that female agency is on the rise in Pakistan. In Khyber Agency, a district in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, a registration campaign proved to be successful, as more women register as voters than men for the forthcoming general elections (Shinwari, 2018). Within the next part, economic development will be further explored, as it is an important factor in gender inequality.

2.9 Growth without Development

2.9.1 Introduction

This part of the chapter examines the correlation between economic growth and gender inequality in Pakistan. It therefore seeks to explain Pakistan's history of economic growth since its independence in 1947 and investigate how economic growth affects women and men differently and vice versa, how economic growth can be hindered by gender inequality. Standard literature on economic development used to seem reluctant in considering the position of women and gender inequality as a separate problem that is worth investigating (Sen in Tinker, 1990: 123). The variables of class, ownership, occupation, incomes, and family status are important in social and economic analysis but very often there is a need for gender classification as well (Sen in Tinker, 1990). In order to do so the article "The Political Economy of Growth Without Development: A Case Study of Pakistan" from William Easterly will be analysed. There will be an emphasize on the education of women, since education is seen as the key element in establishing sustainable economic growth.

Although William Easterly's article "The Political Economy of Growth Without Development: A Case Study of Pakistan" is outdated in terms of recent numbers and figures,

it still gives valuable insights into Pakistan's history of Development of the last half of the 20th century. The article examines the phenomenon of Pakistan's underperformance in the social and political sphere, despite its respectable per capita growth between 1950 to 1999, a pattern which Easterly calls, 'growth without development' (Easterly, 2001: 1). Within this period, Pakistan had tripled its per capita income and had a PPP per capita income higher than a third of the world's countries by 1999 (Easterly, 2001). Despite this growth, Pakistan had poor health, education, and fertility indicators and was struggling with gender inequality, corruption, political instability, and violence. According to Easterly, the state was less respectful of human rights and less democratic in comparison with other countries with a similar level of income. After centuries of stagnation, the growth in real income per head did "not filter down to the bottom half of the population", the degree of inequality has even widened after independence (Maddison, 2006: 11). What were the reasons for Pakistan's underperformance? In order to examine this phenomenon, some statistics and the history of development since independence will be elaborated.

Pakistan was, after India and Egypt, the third largest recipient of official development assistance in the world between 1960-1998. Foreign donors and the Pakistani government participated in programs to improve social conditions, e.g. the Social Action Program (SAP), however, spending on health remained very low with only \$2 per capita.

Instead, the state has been spending a lot on defence (3.3 percentage points of GDP more than other countries with a similar income level), nuclear weapons, and a very expensive express lane between Lahore and Islamabad, with traffic less than 10 percent of its capacity (Easterly, 2001). These excessive and in my opinion, clearly misdirected, public spending "led to a very high public debt" and "contributed to a poor creditworthiness rating by international credit risk agencies" (Easterly, 2001: 5). In turn, this contributed to Pakistan's "poor record at attracting private capital in the 1990s" (Easterly, 2001: 5). According to Easterly, "the

overspending on defence is roughly equal to the sum of the underspending on health and education as percent of GDP” (Easterly, 2001: 10). Pakistan’s political position and tensions in foreign affairs required much expenses in order to maintain a certain security level, this money was in turn missing for the social sector which desperately needed it in order to foster social and cultural capacity blossoming.

If compared with India, it is important to note, that the economy of Pakistan was much more affected by the partition and the cessation of trade with India than India was. Twenty percent of the Pakistani population persisted of refugees, compared with only two percent in India. Production and property relations were therefore badly disrupted and many people with essential skills were displaced (Maddison, 2006).

2.9.2 Health

One big issue in Pakistan is access to health care, particularly for women and children. In a comparison of health indicators of different countries, Easterly found that

Pakistan has 36 percent lower births attended by trained personnel, 11 percentage points higher babies born with low birthweight, 42 percent lower health spending per capita, 1.6 percent of GDP less in public health spending, 27 excess infant deaths per thousand, 19 excess child deaths per thousand, and 23 percentage points less share of population with access to sanitation (Easterly, 2001: 6).

Pakistan’s public expenditure on health is still very low in 2018. Compared with other South Asian neighbours, Nepal spends the highest amount with 6 percent of its GDP, India is only spending 1.4 percent of its GDP, which is still more than Pakistan with only 0.9 percent of the GDP (Buhne, 2018). This is also visible in Pakistan’s life expectancy, which is with 68

years lower than India's expectancy of 69.1 years. Females born in 2018 have a life expectancy of 66.9 years, while men have a life expectancy of 65 years (gapminder).

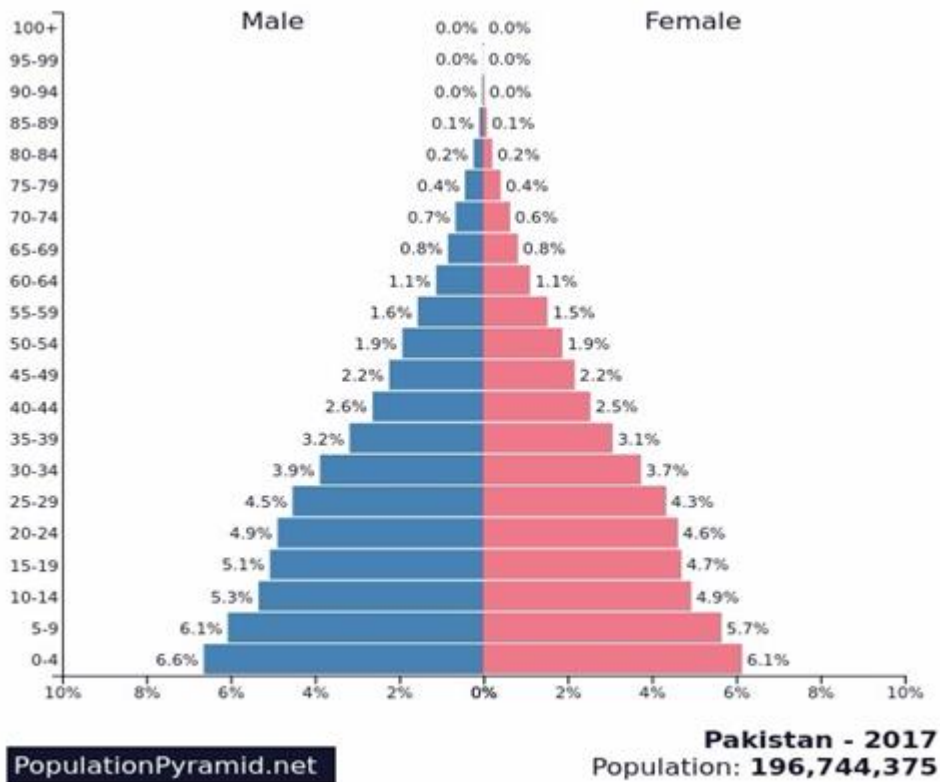
2.9.3 Regional and Urban/Rural Inequality

When talking about numbers of the national average in Pakistan, we have to bear in mind, that Pakistan has significant regional and urban/rural differences. According to Easterly, 64 percent of the population lived in rural areas (Easterly, 2001). While 'Gapminder' indicates recent statistics of a 40 percent urban population, other authors state that more than 70 percent of the population live in urban or semi-urban areas, with basic amenities and a minimum literacy rate. Women in urban areas have better access to education and job opportunities and tend to be less bounded by constraints than women in rural areas (Gull Tarar and Pulla, 2014). The school enrolment rates differ greatly between regions, urbanization and gender, ranging, for example, from 24 percent for rural girls (Sindh) to 62 percent for urban girls. Generally, both rural and urban gender gaps are smaller in Punjab than in other regions (Easterly, 2001). There is also a huge education gap between the rich elite and the poor majority: "There is a gap of 9 years in median educational attainment between the richest 20 percent and the poorest 40 percent, which is close being the highest in the world for Filmer's sample" (Easterly, 2001: 12). "The class gap interacts with the gender gap so that two-thirds of rich males have attained 9th grade compared to 2 out of every 100 poor females" (Easterly, 2001: 13). In many aspects the urban Pakistani women is almost at par with women of developed countries, in the rural areas however, women often face a life that is archaic, brutal, and clearly oppressive. These trends sometimes mingle, as migration from rural to urban areas sometimes transfer attitudes, that yet need to adjust to urban ways (Niaz, 2004).

2.9.4 Socio-economic Status of Women in Pakistan

Women in Pakistan are discriminated against in both education and health. According to Easterly, this may reflect “some exogenous ideological and religious currents as well as political economy determinants” (Easterly, 2001: 9).

Population rates reveal interesting facts about women’s rights and capabilities. Compared to other countries with a similar income level, population growth is not unusually high in Pakistan, but there is an excess fertility rate of 0.6 child births per woman. This high number of unplanned conceptions indicated that “twenty-one percentage points fewer married women of childbearing age use contraceptives than is typical for a country of Pakistan's income level (Easterly, 2001: 9). Despite the evident biological advantages in survival and longevity that women seem to have in comparison with men, at least if they have equal access to health care, nutrition and medical attention, many less developed countries do not reflect this in the population pyramid (Sen in Tinker, 1990). “Pakistan also has a lower female proportion of population than normal, presumably reflecting the consequences of various forms of gender discrimination. Girls between the ages of 1 and 4 had a 66 percent higher death rate than boys in the 1990s” (Easterly, 2001: 9). Evaluating the population pyramid of 2018, these facts did not change much since then. There is a big difference in birth rate between boys and girls, with much less girls (6.1 percent of the population) being born than boys (6.6 percent of the population). Also, since women usually are more resistant than men, and tend to live longer lives, it is striking to see that the male female ratio stays the same even in higher ages, at no point there are more women in the population than men. This can also be seen as an indicator for bad women’s health in the society.



Further indicators for gender inequality, as infant mortality and female school enrolment were among the worst in the world in Pakistan. A nationwide average of only 29 percent of females were literate, with huge gaps between urban (41 percent in urban Sindh) and rural areas (3 percent in rural Northwest Frontier Province and Balochistan) (Easterly, 2001). Also, there is a negative association between women’s education and fertility within the society. It is very likely that the gender gap might be feeding into other social gaps.

2.9.5 Causes of ‘Growth without Development’

There are different theories and probably various factors and reasons for Pakistan’s growth without development. One theory is that the Pakistani society was dominated by an elite who does not support human capital investment. This ‘oligarchy’ opposes the idea of education for everyone, since they fear for their own power position, since the educated society

demands political rights i.e. democracy (Easterly, 2001). Galor and Moav 2000 add that “when labor and land are abundant and capital is scarce, there will be a low return to investing in mass education” during an early stage of development (Galor and Moav in Easterly, 2001: 3). In the case of Pakistan, they note that “large landowners would have little incentive to tax themselves to pay for schooling for the masses” (Easterly, 2001: 3). Pakistan therefore seemed to be stuck in early stage of development, where “land is abundant relative to physical capital and ownership of the land is highly concentrated” (Easterly, 2001: 4).

A compatible theory applies for women’s rights in Pakistan: “a male power elite could decide to keep women uneducated so that women do not have the skills necessary to petition for more equal treatment” (Easterly, 2001: 4). Pakistan was therefore a country with the equilibria: “high fertility, low women’s education, physical capital scarcity and low output per capita” (Easterly, 2001: 4).

Another cause might be Pakistan feudalistic system: The rural areas are dominated by the large "feudal" landowners, whom Gazdar 2000 classifies as belonging to a high “caste” (Easterly, 2001: 22). “Landowners have been prominent in virtually all Pakistani government coalitions. Their power is so great that they were long able to block direct taxation of agricultural income, depriving the state of an important revenue source” (Easterly, 2001). This theory correlates with the finding that rural/urban inequalities and gender gaps are much less in Punjab, which is thought to be less "feudal" (Easterly, 2001: 22). Rural areas in Pakistan are disadvantaged in almost all respects of basic services and much poorer than urban areas despite the decline in poverty indicators the urban-rural gap remains high (Ahmed, 2018).

The idea that “landowners oppose human capital accumulation” (Easterly, 2001: 22) is underpinned by a survey by Gazdar in 2000. In a number of surprise visits in rural primary schools, he found that a quarter of the schools were not open at the time of the visit. In several cases the teacher was a relative of the landowner and, under his protection, did not show up for

class. Sometimes the schools were used as personal storage or building by the landowner. Further, only half of the schools had latrines and only a quarter had electricity. Only 38 percent of the schools were classified “as “functional”, according to a minimalist criterion” (Easterly, 2001: 23). As stated by the research team, in one village, none of the tenant children would go to school, while the children of the landlord were driven to a private school nearby (Easterly, 2001).

Another, more general applicable theory of Easterly is, that more ethnically diverse cities and countries “devote less resources to education and other public goods than more ethnically homogenous cities and countries” (Easterly, 2001: 4). Scholars have argued that “high inequality and high ethnic diversity both predict poor quality institutions and Pakistan “has both elite domination and ethnic diversity” (Easterly, 2001: 5). Pakistan is the poster child for the hypothesis that a society polarized by class, gender, and ethnic group does poorly at providing public services (Easterly, 2001).

Easterly concludes that “Pakistan grew much more than other low-income countries (which in itself is an impressive accomplishment), but unfortunately achieved the same or less social progress” (Easterly, 2001: 13). In his opinion “it is not so much that "social action" failed, as it was that it was never really tried” (Easterly, 2001: 17). According to Easterly, Pakistan had a relatively low Gini coefficient, yet, “all country level analyses of Pakistan stress the great divide between the elite and the poor majority” (Easterly, 2001: 29). “It may be that the concentration of power and social status ("high caste") among the elite is more important than the actual material divide between the elite and the masses” or the education gap between elite and poor majority is “a more important dimension of inequality than income” (Easterly, 2001: 30).

Maddison book “Class structure and economic growth: India and Pakistan since the Moghuls” adds to this discussion, that Pakistan “never pretended to be a welfare state”

(Maddison, 2006: 136). He explains that Islamic socialism is rather about the creation of equal opportunity than equal distribution of wealth. He is citing: “We cannot distribute poverty. Growth is vital before income distribution can improve” (Maddison, 2006: 136) and concludes that Pakistan’s policy of “putting growth before equity has proved catastrophic” (Maddison, 2006: 11). According to Maddison Pakistan was practising a ‘functional inequality’, in which “inequality has been regarded as a positive virtue” (Maddison, 2006: 85). This can be seen as a further explanation for ‘growth without development’.

2.9.6 Gender Inequality and Economic Growth

As stated by Boserup, women’s position in economic development is likely to improve within some stages and it may deteriorate within others. Further, it may improve the lives of certain groups of women while it worsens it for other groups. These changes are especially likely if there is increasing economic inequality or a shift of power relations within national and ethnic groups (Boserup in Thicker 1990: 22). In the analysis of the study “Gender inequality in Education and Economic Growth: Case Study of Pakistan” by Imran Sharif Chaudhry we can furtherly examine and specify the relation between gender and economic growth. The study seeks to investigate the link between gender inequality in education and its effects on economic growth. Education has the potential to lead the economy towards a stable path, since it can be seen as human capital formation, that will raise productivity and efficiency within a society (Chaudhry, 2007). The opportunities for women in education can therefore no longer be neglected when talking about economic growth. According to Chaudhry, the role of women in development is closely related to the goal of comprehensive socio-economic progress, they need to be incorporated in every development strategy. The status of women in the society can be seen as important determinants of progress (Chaudhry, 2007).

The status of Women in Pakistan is quite different than in Western societies. They have been seen as “the weaker and vulnerable section of Pakistani society in terms of education, health, employment and business opportunities, livelihood conditions, legislation, decision making, media, and communication” (Chaudhry, 2007: 81). The patriarchal society in Pakistan generally makes women suffer on many different levels and fields of their life (Chaudhry, 2007). The various forms of discrimination have far reaching consequences. Employment and education opportunities differ greatly by gender in many development regions, particularly in South Asia (Chaudhry, 2007). Discrimination is also visible in the sex ratio (females per male). The term ‘missing women’ used by Amartya Sen’ refers to the elevated mortality rates of women. While there are 106 women per 100 men in North America and Europe, there are only 97 women per men in Least Developed Countries (LDCs) (Sen in Tinker, 1990: 124). Africa has a sex ratio of 1.01, and therefore the closest to Europe and North America, Asia as a whole has a sex ratio of only 0.95, with strong regional variances. While Southeast Asia has a ratio of 1.01 (much lower in China, India and Bangladesh), West Asia has a ratio of 0.94 and Pakistan has an extremely low sex ratio of 0.90 (Sen in Tinker, 1990: 124).

Gender inequality in education can be measured in different ways, Chaudhry has been investigating the correlation “among literacy rate, ratio of literate females to males, ratio of enrolment rates of females to males at the primary level, public expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP, growth rate of labour force, ratio of female-male participation and total investment as a percentage of GDP” (Chaudhry, 2007: 90). But it is important to bear in mind that not all numbers can reflect the reality. Some estimates suggest that in Pakistan two thirds of female economic activities go unreported compared with just one quarter of male activities (Chaudhry, 2007). Chaudhry findings state that gender inequality in education has a strong and significant impact on economic growth in Pakistan. The researcher suggests that women need

to be provided with “better educational opportunities, better health care, and better nutrition in order to improve their economic capacity and participation” (Chaudhry, 2007: 91).

2.10 Conclusion of Chapter Two

This chapter aims at investigating the history of gender inequality in Pakistan from out the conceptual framework of Gender and Development. The gender aspect within development had long been neglected or misinterpreted. The different ideas of the gender in development are expressed in the various approaches described in 2.1. Today we know that gender is a important development issue (Momsen, 2010). Pakistan is a developing country with great gender inequality. Its history, which has been separated into three parts within this thesis, depicts the political streams that influenced women’s rights, since its creation. Especially the Zia regime and devastating and long-lasting consequences for the status and rights of women in the society. Legal legislations in Pakistan belonged to the most hostile against women in the world, as Pakistan was one of the rare countries where a woman could be stoned to death for being raped and where female testimony was counted less than male testimony (Imran, 2005). But also, recent struggles with religious militant groups and extreme conservative notions contribute to the wide gender gap in the society. Gender discrimination in education and labour and general restricted freedom and capabilities are still prevalent. Especially women in rural areas and women from low-income families struggle under the consequences (Alavi, 1991). Powerful women’s movements and women’s NGOs have been formed in resistance, but agency remains a difficult task in a patriarchal society, where resisting women are often seen as vulgar or indoctrinated by the West. The last part of the chapter explores a phenomenon that was called ‘growth without development’ by William Easterly. Although Pakistan had tripled its per capita income in the last half of the 20th century, it underscored in human development, struggling with gender inequality, poor health indications, education failures, political

instability, corruption and violence (Easterly, 2001). The causes for this phenomenon are Pakistan's feudalistic structures and a strong male elite that exploits labour and keeps marginalized groups (e.g. women) dependent.

Gender is an important development issue, that cannot be neglected. It is undeniable that women play an important role in the economic development of any country and depict enormous potential for economic growth, especially in developing countries. This chapter illustrates that gender inequalities pose a great threat to the economic development, and vice versa. Economic development affects women and marginalized groups differently, depending on the level of inequality within a society. As laid out by Chaudhry, education constitutes not only a great way to measure inequalities, but it is also the starting point to eliminate them. Easterly and Maddison provide some very interesting theories on Pakistan's 'growth without development'. Both bring forward some valid points, however, seem to miss cultural sensitivity at some points and use quite heavy allocations of blame towards Pakistan's role in its 'growth without development'. Looking at it from an anthropological background, I think developmental strategies cannot be imposed and cultural differences need to be taken into account. Issues like gender inequality are very complex and usually "rooted very deep in history, culture and traditions of societies" (Pervaiz, 2011: 11). Tackling these issues therefore needs a holistic and culturally sensitive approach.

Chapter 3: Patriarchy as a Form of Violence

3.1 Introduction Chapter Three

This chapter aims at examining the relation between patriarchy and gender-based violence. In order to do so, both concepts will be elaborated through different scholarly approaches and frames. The Oxford Dictionary defines patriarchy as “A system of society or government in which the father or eldest male is head of the family and descent is reckoned through the male line” and “A system of society or government in which men hold the power and women are largely excluded from it” (Oxford-Living Dictionaries, 2017). The latter definition of patriarchy seems accurate to me, as it clearly indicates a power imbalance and injustice through exclusion. However, the first definition in the Oxford dictionary seems to describe patrilineage, not patriarchy. Within anthropology, the line of descent is referred to as patrilineage, respectively matrilineage. A differentiation of the terms patriarchy and patrilineage is important, in my opinion, as patrilineage does not necessarily point to a power relation that is oppressive or harmful; and as there are many patriarchal societies who trace descent through bilateral (two-sided) or matrilineal lines. Another important distinction needs to be made for the terms patrilocal and matrilocal, which indicates where a newlywed couple will likely move to, close to the family of the groom, or respectively to the family of the bride. Also, these traditions are not necessarily harmful within a society. However, the implementation of the systems and the traditions that have been attached to them, can have the potential to be harmful and violent, especially in countries that are patriarchal, patrilocal, and patrilineal, which is synonymous with a strong accumulation of a one-sided gender-based power. This is the case for Pakistan, where many individuals suffer under gender-based violence and harmful traditions. It is however important to note here that this is not true or representative for all women (and men) in the society, as big parts of the female population

enjoy respect, freedom and capabilities on the same level as their male counterparts. In order to understand the complexity of the relation between the concepts better, the different spheres of patriarchy and different forms of violence will be examined next. We will start with the theorization of patriarchy.

3.2 Theorizing Patriarchy

Sylvia Walby's book 'Theorizing Patriarchy' from 1990 is focusing on patriarchal structures of Britain at the time. Interesting insights into the manifestation of patriarchal structures can be gained from her book, irrespective of the time, class and ethnic group she has been focusing on. Walby states that the analysis of gender inequality is indispensable from the concept of patriarchy. An analysis of patriarchy is important in order to capture the depth, pervasiveness and interconnectedness of different spheres of women's subordination. Within her definition patriarchy is the "system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women" (Walby, 1990: 20). The degree (intensity of subordination) and forms (different types, that are defined by relations between patriarchal structures) of patriarchy need to be distinguished. Different ethnic groups might have different forms of patriarchy. According to Sylvia Walby, patriarchy can be defined through the analysis of seven areas: Paid Employment, Household Production, Culture, Sexuality, Violence, State and the Relation between Private and Public Patriarchy. Based on her model, all these areas will be discussed related to gender inequality in Pakistan, except for Violence, which will be elaborated more thoroughly in Chapter 3.3.

3.2.1 Feminist Approaches to Patriarchy

Feminist discourses are inseparably from the analysis of patriarchy. The theoretical debate of feminist analysis offers different perspectives, opinions and responses to patriarchal

structures. The four main approaches in Western Societies are: Radical feminism, Marxist feminism, Liberalism and Dual-system theory. In order to look at patriarchy in Pakistan it is also important to look at Islamic feminism and anthropological feminism. An elaboration of all six schools will follow, with the justification of why an approach through anthropological feminism fits best for this thesis (Walby 1990).

3.2.1.1 Radical Feminism

Radical feminism considers the core of the issue in the domination of men, as a group, over women, as a group. Men perpetuate the system, as they are the main beneficiaries of the subordination of women. This domination is not seen as a by-product of other forms of social inequalities, e.g. capitalism, class inequality or racism. The relations to these inequalities with patriarchy are addressed differently by the writers of radical feminism. Radical feminism brought new topics and perspectives to the field of social sciences and incorporated the personal sphere into the analysis, as seen in the famous slogan ‘the personal is political’ (Walby, 1990:3). Getting interrupted while speaking and the bigger share of the household work are considered as forms of expression of male dominance. Appropriation of women’s bodies and sexuality and male violence are often seen as the root cause and basis of male supremacy. Within radical feminism, sexual practice is believed to be constructed around male notions of desire, not female. Heterosexuality is socially institutionalized and organizes gender relations in the society. Men impose their version of femininity on women. Male violence is seen as a way of controlling women, rape and abuse are therefore part of the system of dominance. Radical feminists often concluded that progress in one area of gender equality leads to a patriarchal backlash in another area. The main criticism of radical feminism is that it has a false universalism, that fails to analyse different times, classes and ethnicities (Walby, 1990). Although it has interesting approaches, it might therefore not be the right tool to analyse patriarchy in Pakistan.

3.2.1.2 Marxist Feminism

Marxist feminism on the contrary, argues that gender inequality derives from capitalism. Men's domination over women is a by-product of capital's domination over labour (Walby, 1990). Gender relations are therefore influenced by class relations, economic exploitation, and the social structure. The system, in which the woman stays home for domestic wage-free labour, is considered a way of exploiting cheap labour, in order to provide the day-to-day care for male workers, regarding food, clean clothes and fostering the next generation of workers. Therefore, capital benefits from the unequal sexual division of labour. Another approach to Marxist feminism, as found in Janet Momsen's book "Gender and Anthropology", views domestic labour of women in a different light. According to Engels, a communist household implies the supremacy of women in the house. Women are seen as equal and productive members of society, performing necessary housework, that ensures the functioning and survival of the society, which in turn assures them political and social equality (Mascia-Lees and Johnson Black, 2000). The critique of this approach is that it is too narrowly focused on capitalism as the root cause of gender inequality and fails to analyse pre- and post-capitalistic societies and independent gender dynamics (Walby, 1990). Since Pakistan's economy is more feudal than capitalistic, this approach does not really fit for the analysis of Pakistan. Nonetheless, economy and labour do seem to play an important role in the gender inequality of Pakistan (Alavi, 1991; Durrani, 1995; Khan, 2007). Marxist feminism can set incentives to analyse how the transformation of local economies to wider national and international markets creates unequal opportunities for men and women and fosters new forms of oppression of women (Tinker, 1990).

3.2.1.3 Liberalism

Liberalism conceives the causes of women's subordination in the summation of many small-scale deprivations, rather than in overarching social structures. Basis of analysis within

this approach are the denial of equal rights to women, especially in education and employment opportunities, as well as prejudices against women, combined with sexist attitudes which act to sustain the status quo. Attitudes towards gender relations (and power relations) are often perceived as traditional and unresponsive to recent changes (Walby, 1990). Liberalism is criticised for its failure to analyse the deep-rootedness and interconnectedness of gender inequality in its various forms. The reasons for patriarchal attitudes are not systematically addressed. As large parts of the Pakistani population have a rather traditional interpretation of women's rights, I argue that liberal feminism should not be applied in this context. The concept of 'liberalism' is perceived negatively in vast parts of the Pakistani society (Shah, 2012), and might therefore not constitute the right frame of analysis for Pakistan's gender inequality, although it theoretically provides interesting incentives and frames. ²

3.2.1.4 Dual-System Theory

The Dual-system theory is a synthesis of the radical feminist theory and Marxist feminism and conceives capitalism as well as patriarchy as present and important factors in the structuring of gender relations and inequalities. While some authors argue that the two concepts are so interrelated that they have fused into one system, capitalist patriarchy, others view them as empirically interacting, however analytical distinct concepts.

While patriarchy provides control and law and order, capitalism provides an economic system in the pursuit of profit (Walby, 1990). The exploitation of women by men are found in housework as well as wage labour. In the field of paid work, occupational segregation is used to restrain access to the best jobs for men. Within the household, women do more labour than

² It is for similar reasons that the approaches of neoliberal feminism and postfeminism can not grasp the struggles of Pakistani women, and will therefore be omit in the thesis.

men, even if they also have paid work. These two systems reinforce each other, since the disadvantaged position of women in the labour market makes them vulnerable in making marriage arrangements, therefore maintaining the system, which in turn, disadvantages them in the paid market, due to their role in the family (Walby, 1990). The critique of this approach is that it does not cover the full range of patriarchal structures, for example, sexuality and violence are not given enough space in the analysis.

Sylvia Walby argues that a proper analysis includes: waged work, housework, sexuality, culture, violence and the state (Walby, 1990). For above mentioned reasons the synthesis of Marxist and radical feminist theory does not properly fit for the analysis of gender inequality in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The socio-religious factors need to be incorporated as well.

3.2.1 5 Islamic Feminism

Since the emergence of the term in the 1990s, 'Islamic feminism' has been the topic of many heated debates. An exclusive definition of the term is seen as problematic for the various ways of conceptualizing both, Islam and Feminism (Kynsilehto, 2008). The approach is challenging patriarchal readings of the Quran, whose interpretations allow patriarchal traditions to persist. Writers on this approach state that the Quran contains principles of gender equality and social justice and can be used as a way of challenging patriarchal systems (Kynsilehto, 2008). One of the main objectives within this approach is, therefore, the un-reading of patriarchal interpretations of the Quran. The approach wants to engage with traditions by applying contextual approaches, expand methodologies of exegesis, rather than undermining foundations and traditions (Kynsilehto, 2008). The concept holds some controversy around the word feminism. For one, because some authors view the label 'Feminism' as having ethnocentric and racist undertones and does not represent non-white women. Others restrain

from calling themselves feminists, as their aim is rather the acquisition of knowledge, due to a sense of responsibility as a believing person. Although some authors point out the importance of the participation of both, Muslims and non-Muslims, in the debates, others are more sceptical on the question of who is entitled to speak as, or in the name of, an 'Islamic feminist'. Many wish that feminist debates related to Islam are led and owned by Muslim women. Although the approach can provide powerful methodologies for the analysis of resistance against gender inequality, I will not use it as my theoretical framework, as I did not grow up with an Islamic context. The concept of feminist anthropology whereas, allows me to take tradition, culture and religion into account, through the lens of an 'outsider' that is personally strongly connected to the culture and actively concerned for equality.

3.2.1.6 Feminist Anthropology

Feminist Anthropology is interested in how power is constituted in gender differences, by analysing the relationship between structure and agency. Although some authors claim that the two concepts cannot co-exist, Lynn Walter argues that feminist anthropology is not only possible, but already being performed. She argues that the field should firstly "ask questions about how differences in power and knowledge have been constructed over time as gender differences" (Walter, 1995:272). Secondly, it should look at how people resist, change, or accommodate to oppressive structures. Thirdly, it should be a claim for justice, which demands "an ethic of engagement" (Walter, 1995:273). She also highlights that the anthropologist needs to place his/her words about another culture in ongoing communication with its practitioners (Walter, 1995). Feminist anthropology is a contribution in rethinking traditional anthropology, as it is viewing culture as an intersubjective political process. Its foundation is the politics of culture, which examines the politics of the question asked, taking responsibility for its practice and drawing theories of others knowledge of power (Walter, 1995). It is an approach as well

as a field of study, since its questions and the approach to answer them are intertwined. As a field of study anthropology uses feminism as a critique of culture and a reflection of feminist concerns. With ethnographic questions it asks, “how power is related to gender, how gendered structuring is promoted, enacted, accommodated, and resisted in everyday practice, and how it is sometimes overturned by political practice” (Walter, 1995: 276). As an approach, it conceptualizes culture as contested, emerged, and practical. Feminist anthropology is different from traditional anthropology, as the traditional form assumes that “culture is the collective representation of a society” while feminist anthropology “disputes the coherence of culture in society by pointing to the alternative, subversive, and radical challenges to construct them” (Walter, 1995:278). Secondly, feminist anthropology violates the traditional principle in anthropology of giving an authoritative representation of the other culture from out the perspective of an outsider, that has no interest in the outcome of the communicative practice of that community, as the feminist anthropologist is interested in overcoming gender struggles here (Walter, 1995). Traditional anthropology is based on cultural diversity and its ethical stance is to preserve the culture and to defend its interests, without changing its core. The interests of the anthropologist may not interfere with the interests of the studies subjects. That is difficult to covenant with the agency of feminist anthropology. The traditional form is more and more questioned. Gorelick states that “although knowledge is interested, situated and partial, one who seeks knowledge can adequately represent other, less powerful people” (Walter, 1995: 282). Feminist anthropology attempts to empower those who are being studied and does not “negate conflicts of interest between the anthropologist and the other” (Walter, 1995: 282). The anthropologist is also strongly shaped by those they study, the “more they communicate and the longer the anthropologist participates in the culture, the more her situation, partialities, and project will be shaped by that culture”, and they engage with each other as equals (Walter, 1995: 282). I strongly feel that feminist anthropology fits extremely

well, not only as a field of study for the topic of gender differences experienced by women in Pakistan, but it will also provide the approach in form of the theoretical framework.

3.2.2 Spheres of Patriarchy

3.2.2.1 Paid Employment

According to Sylvia Walby there are three main questions in analysing gender relations in paid employment. Why do women earn less than men, why do they engage less in paid jobs and why do women do different jobs? For Pakistan, all three statements are certainly true (Shah, 2018). After a general assessment of patriarchal manifestations in paid labour, I will look deeper into women in paid employment in Pakistan and find out in how far access to jobs (and schooling) is gender biased.

Men and women typically don't work in the same industries (Walby, 1990). Nearly all societies have developed a clear-cut division of labour by sex. Better paid jobs, which usually involve new technologies, often go to men. However, male income is less likely to be spend on the family (Momsen, 2010). Until today, in every country of the world, the jobs done predominantly by women are paid less and have a lower status. What is considered a task for women, or a task for men, differs cross-culturally, the status of work within a society may change according to shifts in the sex ratio of that task. Everywhere in the world women work longer hours than men, as they often carry double or triple burden of housework, childcare and food production as well as an expanding involvement in paid employment (Momsen, 2010).

Research on women doing paid jobs in Pakistan revealed that they “work out of economic need, face a hostile environment of limited employment options, unequal wages, bad work conditions, and a double burden of labour due to unremitting domestic responsibilities at home” (Khan, 2007: 07). This is accurate for rural as well as urban regions and occurs in

agricultural wage, piece rate work, and even in the formal sector, women are not safe from discrimination and sexual harassment. Whether or not a woman is able to engage in paid work is dependent on many factors. As suggested in research, region, more than religion, determines the degree to which a woman can exercise autonomy (Khan, 2007). In a study of home-based female workers in Lahore most of the workers were in the age group 15-20. Their main reason to work was to amass a dowry, other households stated that they wanted to keep girls busy after they reached puberty, as female education is often perceived with negative attitudes, or the need to earn money for their families (Khan, 2007). Women who are younger, poorly educated and from larger families often enter the labour market upon instruction from other family members and have little say in this, while older women, who are better educated, or women from smaller and better off urban families, are usually free to make this choice themselves.

The restriction to the home sphere (*purdah*) and the severely limited mobility of women affects their job and educational opportunities (Niaz, 2004). *Purdah* is one of the main reasons for women to be working from their homes and probably one of the reasons why home-based work, along with the informal sector, is having the greatest growth and concentration of female workers (Khan, 2007). The formal sector based in the urban areas has a concentration on socially acceptable lines, like teaching and medicine. Jobs as secretary or in sales have a lower social status, as they involve personal contact with men (Khan, 2007). There is little research on how caste and social hierarchy affects women's opportunities on the job market. Research suggests that, for some women, opportunities do not exceed begging, brick-kiln work, indebted wage labour in the agricultural sector, sex work and domestic work (Khan, 2007).

Paid work outside the house is considered socially undesirable, especially in rural areas, but most rural women work on their own farms and stay unrecognized members of the productive labour force (Khan, 2007). Ayesha Khan suggests that *purdah* is a political economy itself, the pattern of segregation keeps women inside the house in order to “ensure

that the political economy of the household remains intact so that women's unpaid work within the home continues to be exploited" (Khan, 2007: 9). This theory can be connected to the notion of the dual system theory, which states that the submission of women is due to patriarchal structures and economic reasons. Exploitation of women by men are found in housework, as well as wage labour. This would also explain, why women's household work sometimes actually increases with income levels, in certain context, e.g. while rich peasant men work less than men of any other class, rich female peasants are working more (Khan, 2007). A research on *purdah* norms among home based female workers revealed that more than half of them did not mind whether their daughters would work at home or outside and 21% would prefer their daughters to work outside. Most of the women stated that *purdah* was impractical, a hindrance to their work and independence. In the World Values Survey of 1995 and 2000 a survey states that almost 60 percent of men (59,1 percent) and 76.2 percent of the women agreed with the statement that both, men and wife should contribute to the household income. However, 65 percent of males and 38 percent of women felt that it would be a problem if women have more income than husbands and even more males and females feel that men should have more right to a job than women (Khan, 2007). There has been little long- term research yet on how paid employment effects lives of women and their children, how it reduces stigma against women and helps foster gender equality in the next generation of the workforce. Negative effects come along with the double burden that many women face due to paid employment, daughters of poor urban female workers face the risk of being taken out of school in order to help cope with the workload. While rise in self-esteem and greater economic securities are reported for working women, these effects are mitigated by continued limited decision making at home, mental distress and increased violence against women (Khan, 2007). Other women however report that they gained more say in family decisions, were economically more independent, were more respected by family and husband and increased a relaxed atmosphere at home.

Conclusions of these researches state that work is “simultaneously empowering and disempowering due to the conflicting findings” (Khan, 2007: 14). Although work can have some positive effects on the autonomy of women, it is rather poverty than autonomous decision-making that drives women into the job market, which can therefore not count as an indicator of empowerment (Khan, 2007). Paid employment of women did not lead to changes in notions about gender ideologies or roles, however, gender discrimination in sending children to school is lower among women working outside the home and they do not appear to practice gender discrimination in other spheres (Khan, 2007). In my opinion, patriarchal thinking is deeply installed and manifested in the sphere of paid work and impairs a positive development of empowerment. I believe in the positive long-term effects of female contribution to the household economy. Negative follow-ups must be tackled individually and through other channels and can be seen as rearing of suppressive patriarchal structures.

3.2.2.2 Household Production and Family Sphere

The household and family sphere seem particularly sensitive and susceptible to patriarchal structures. As Mona Eltahawy, a women’s rights activist, explained in a conference that I attended on the 2nd of April this year in Valencia in reference to feminism in the Egyptian revolution of 2011: ‘they left the revolution outside the front door with their shoes’ (Eltahawy, 2019). Feminism often does not reach the privacy of the home. Within this part, I will look at gender inequality and abuse within the household, marriage practices, labour share, female foeticide and status and roles within the family. The concepts of household and family must be differentiated, as not the entire family must live in one household and not everyone in one household must belong to the same family. The size and make-up of the household usually determines the degree of the work burden on women. Women around the world have less leisure time than men within a household (Walby, 1990). In extended and female-headed

households, the share of tasks is usually more equal, as the mother has more autonomy (Momsen, 2010). It is usually assumed that households are male-headed, and that the male allocates household labour and organises distribution of consumption goods. Men usually have more control over personal consumption of resources, while women are associated with the collective aspect of family consumption (Momsen, 2010).

In most parts of the world women are considered to have three main roles, reproduction, production, and community management (Momsen, 2010). It has been argued that reproduction is embedded in the term production, since reproduction is work, from child labour, to nursing, to food provision, cleaning and childcare (Walby, 1990).

Family is often considered as a social institution, that performs essential functions in the society. The concept of family can have multiple meanings in one society. Family is “conventionally considered to be central to women’s lives and to the determination of gender inequality” (Walby, 1990). Several practices embedded in the systems of kinship and marriage have been defined as gender violence by the ‘international violence against women movement’. They are typically understood as ‘cultural’ practices and are usually supported normatively within a society. Often, they are perceived as “socially desirable acts that constitute moral and modest behaviour for women” in order to “safeguard, restrict, and control women’s sexuality” and reproductive lives (Merry, 2011: 127). Examples of violent practices in the private or family sphere include: early and forced marriage, female genital cutting, female foeticide or sex selective abortion, honour killing, widow immolation or burning, rituals around widowhood that entail humiliation of the widow or mandatory sexual actions with male relatives or the village head, the now eliminated foot-binding mainly practiced in China, pledging of a daughter to temples as sex workers or handmaidens of god, eating disorders and cosmetic surgeries, and also certain imposed dress regulations for women (Merry, 2011).

In Pakistan, the extended family system and the role of the in-laws in the daily life of women play an important role in the well-being of women and often constitute major issues and stressors (Niaz, 2004). Female autonomy is not only hindered by gender differences, but also by age and hierarchy in the household (Khan, 2007: 15). For example, mothers-in-law often have a say in family planning and might have influence on how many children a couple wants to have. They might also affect the low contraceptive prevalence rate of 24% in Pakistan and should be taken into consideration in family planning campaigns.

A common issue on the family level is the preference for sons over daughters. The birth of a baby boy is often rejoiced and celebrated, while a baby girl is mourned and perceived as a source of guilt and despair in many families. Boys are given priority over girls for better food, care, and education. Subservient behaviour is promoted in females. Many women experience immense pressure from the society, husbands and in-laws to have a son, and are frequently blamed or even punished for bearing a daughter. Doctors reported that many parents insist on unnecessary C-sections if they are expecting a boy, in order to avoid any risks; and tend to refuse C-sections for girls, even if it would be appropriate. In other cases, the life of the unborn male child is held more important than the health of the mother, putting her life at risk in order to have an heir (Hassan, 2017). Sons enjoy “pre-eminence as they are economic resources, support for elderly parents and, most importantly, prolong the family’s patrilineal lineage” (Hassan, 2017). Additionally, daughters constitute a financial burden due to the dowry system. According to Population Research Institute, it is estimated that between 2000 and 2014, 1.2 million sex-selective abortions were performed in Pakistan, referred to as female foeticide (Population Research Institute, 2019). Female infanticide, the deliberate abandoning, neglect or starvation of a female child, constitutes another pressing issue. 90-95 percent of abandoned infants recovering at relief organisations are girls, and for every new-born boy in the Edhi cradle, there are 7 infant girls. A new unsettling trend is the selling of girls for further adoption.

The mafia lures parents into selling their daughters instead of giving them to shelters. Combined with other discriminations, it is not surprising that Pakistan's sex ratio is 109.9, close to India's infamous sex ratio. A usual sex ratio would be 105 males born for 100 female births (Hassan, 2017).

A study of 2012 by the New York- based Population Council estimated that abortion rates in Pakistan are among the highest in the world (Hadidi, 2018). A recent study revealed that in 2012 estimated 2,25 million abortion were conducted in Pakistan, a number that had doubled within 10 years (Junaidi 2015).

Although abortion is illegal in Pakistan and can be penalized with punishments, even in the case of rape, 'necessary treatments' are allowed, if the women's health is in danger. The regulations are rather 'vague' in terminology. As a result of the low use of modern contraceptives, which is estimated to be used by only 30 percent of fertile-aged women, 48 percent of all pregnancies are estimated to be unintended, from which 54 percent are finally aborted. The post-abortion complication rate lays at 30 percent, as women either self-inflict the abortion or have to recourse to the help of traditional birth attendants or lady health visitors to perform a so called 'unsafe abortion'. Only 10 percent of all abortions are done by a gynaecologist (Ebrahim 2017). It is believed, that family planning organisations were the worst affected by the cutting of US assistance, under the Trump administration, which were supporting health organisations in Pakistan (Ebrahim, 2017). Access to legal and safe abortion remains a ongoing struggle around the world for many women, latest examples include the so called heartbeat bills, that prohibit almost all abortions in 8 states of the United States. From out a feminist perspective, limited access to contraception and abortion bans, have devastating consequences for women and their families.

Many marriage practices disadvantage women and are still common in different regions, for example early marriage (child brides), bride price (*Walwar*), *Watta Satta* and

dowry (Niaz, 2004). *Watta Satta* is an exchange marriage, mostly in the Sindh and Punjab region, where a sister and a brother are married to another sister and brother pair (respectively), in order to ensure that if one wife is mistreated by her husband, her brother can revenge this by mistreating his own wife, in this case the sister of the initial abuser (Weiss, 2014). In other cases, women are exchanged and married off to their sister-in-law's brother as a form of redemption for her brother's violent behaviour towards his own wife (Niaz, 2004). The tradition was intended to ensure good treatment of wives, however, has been criticised by human right activists, as women are often divorced or victimized for what is happening in another martial unit (Weiss, 2014). In Sindh, marriage to the Quran is a common custom, where girls remain unmarried in order to retain family property within the family. Dowry has become an increasingly expected part of marriage, before and after the wedding, and developed a growing tendency to escalate into harassment, physical and emotional violence. In extreme cases, forced suicide or wife burning are used to pursue another marriage and more dowry (Niaz, 2004).

Girl child marriage is prevalent in Pakistan, especially in rural, low income and low education households (Nasrullah, Muazzam, et al, 2014). Nasrullah's and Muazzam's study suggests that "half of ever-married women aged 20–24 years in Pakistan were married before the age of 18 years; nearly quarter of these women married before the legal age of 16 years" (Nasrullah, Muazzam, et al, 2014: 537). This increases not only risks of high fertility, in the sense of rapid repeat childbirth, pregnancy terminations, but also poor fertility health, as many girls give birth, when they are way too young for it (Nasrullah, Muazzam, et al, 2014). Child brides are also more vulnerable to rape and domestic abuse (Dawn Editorial 2019). Pakistan just passed two bills against child marriage, which both agree on increasing the minimum age to get married to 18 years, however, they differ in the suggested punishment of violations. As the bill was passed in the Senate, many vocally opposed or refrained from the vote, especially

members of the religious parties, but also government members. Still many endorse the practice under the guise of religion (Dawn Editorial 2019) .

Being divorced or widowed constitutes another issue in the family sphere. Especially in villages, divorcees and widows are excluded and considered as ‘bad omens’, from both men and women. Women often experience an atmosphere of fear in their homes and their lives are guaranteed in exchange for obedience to traditions and social norms (Gull Tarar and Pulla, 2014). Women often lack the ability to escape abusive relationships, due to social, cultural and economic pressures. Out of fear of stigmatization and other social consequences parents usually do not encourage their daughters to leave abusive husbands. This is aggravated by the custom of compensating a son-in-law, in case the daughter decides to leave her husband, in order to repay his loss (Niaz, 2004).

Patriarchy seems to have a fast grip on the family sphere and the household production in large parts of Pakistan’s society, which is especially visible in harmful marriage practices, female foeticide and abortion rates.

3.2.2.3 Culture

Patriarchy is expressed within culture in the ideas about masculinity and femininity that can be found in all areas of social relations. How gender is represented within a culture and to what extent individuals must adopt determined concepts of masculinity and femininity can strongly contribute to the intensity of patriarchal structures (Walby, 1990). The most traditional approach to sexual differences is based on biological structures, e.g. bodies, hormones, muscles and genes, in order to determine masculine and feminine identities, suggesting that gender differences are biologically inherent. This approach has been strongly criticised (Walby, 1990). A more conventional position argues that masculine and feminine identities are a result of a socialization process, which starts from early childhood. Boys and girls learn early on what is the right behaviour according to their sex. While some authors argue that masculinity and

femininity often constitute mirror opposites in a society, others doubt whether opposing sexes are restricted in equal and opposite ways or whether masculinity is the mode of the oppressor and femininity constitutes the oppressed. Femininity is often understood in a way that excludes notions of resistance (Walby, 1990). Gender inequality is also manifested in education, where the curriculum and the studied subjects often differ according to gender (Walby, 1990).

Although Pakistan is culturally and ethnically very diverse, Pakistani women live in a strikingly similar systems of feudal, agricultural-based, clan-systems and kinship networks (Durani et al., 1995; Gull Tarar and Pulla, 2014). The concept of honour is very interwoven with the idea of masculinity and femininity, in the sense that a woman is the carrier of the family's honour while men are the protectors and guardians of honour and therefore the women. Also, religion plays a part in the transfer of patriarchal beliefs. According to Sylvia Walby, "patriarchal beliefs and practices are at the core of all the world religions", since they perpetuate a tradition of domination of women by men (Walby, 1990: 101). Sado rituals are often practiced against women in a religious context, which are justified with the notion, that they are good for women, so that she can marry, be healthy and pure (Walby, 1990). [Some cross-historical, cross-cultural examples include, foot-binding in ancient China, widow-burning in India, Witch burning in medieval Europe, female genital mutilation and breast burning.] Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Judaism are united in their patriarchal assumptions and the repression of resisting voices (Gilligan and Richards, 2008).

In Pakistan religion is often falsely misused as powerful instrument of control and legitimation of women's human rights abuses (Gull Tarar and Pulla, 2014). "Cultural attitudes towards female chastity and male honour serve to justify violence against women" (Niaz, 2004: 60).

According to Maleeha Aslam, "men use Islamism and its variants as means of self-actualization and directly in service of matters associated with personhood, masculinity, and

particularly honor” (Aslam, 2014: 135). In Pakistan, this can be attributed to three elements, which will be laid out shortly. Firstly, the postcolonial baggage in correlation with a rise of Muslim nationalism; secondly, western interference and domination into Pakistan’s social, economic and political domains; and thirdly, decades of weak democratic governments taking turn with authoritarian rules (Aslam, 2014) (see Chapter 1). Masculinity can be seen as a practice, performance or a normative construct, but it remains negotiable and transformable. Changes of the concept within the society are gradual and not sudden. The male archetype in Muslim cultures is not so far off from Western ideas of masculinity, e.g. the western ‘knight in the shining armour’, ‘the warrior king’ and ‘the rebel leader’. Anything that involves action, war, militancy, and rebellion has a charm for most Pakistani men (Aslam, 2014). Pakistan’s historical and contemporary living context (social, economic, political) and its ethnic normative, contributes to a militant masculinity, that can cause escalation of militant or jihadist Islamism, and vice versa (Aslam, 2014).

Globalisation also plays a role here. As it often only offers exploitative work conditions in factories or forced migration due to unemployment, people tend towards religious-based ultra-conservatism, fundamentalism, and orthodoxy. As described by one participant in Aslam’s field research:

On becoming hopeless people try to find spiritual contentment through a source. [...] And then one notices sudden changes in people [...] becoming more and more inclined to religion. Basically, he is trying to assign some value to himself by becoming very religious [...] so that people respect them
(Anonymous participant in Aslam, 2014: 143).

This, in my opinion, fitting description is concerning, as it draws desperate men into extremist religious thoughts, in which they find value and justification for their own interpretations of religious norms, which in turn will be applied and transferred to moderate parts of the society. It may also force men into attempts of regaining the appropriate gender

position, in regard to, for example, economic responsibility and honour, by conducting violent acts, that are perceived as normative performances of masculinity. We can think here of domestic violence, but also terrorism, organised crime, and honour killing. Therefore, the effects of globalisation on the economy and labor market are partly responsible for the fragmentation and division of societies, and the emergence of marginalized parts (Aslam, 2014). It is important to understand the background of these notions of masculinity before antagonizing, alienating, or demonizing men. A good tool, for a positive transformation and the development of new gender norms, are plays in theatre and television (Niaz, 2004)³. As suggested by studies in India, exposure of rural women to television soap operas, that feature the lifestyle of urban women, contribute to a reduction of domestic violence, the number of births and the notion of female autonomy (Bano, 2018).

Honour is more of a normative than cultural ideal, and an integral component of the Pakistani personhood, especially for tribal and feudal cultures. In Aslam's study, honour was identified as "a masculine imperative mainly consisting of fearlessness, bravery, courage, independence, pride and arrogance, and the ability to take action and then stand by it regardless of the circumstances" (Aslam, 2014: 137). Honour politics are frequently played out through direct or political violence in the name of honour in order to preserve or regain family/clan/national 'honour'. One example is the Pashtunwali, the honour code of conduct, for customs and living of the ethnic Pukhtuns (or Pashtuns). Pukhtuns reside in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Central Asia and draw their identity from the Pakhtunwali which is "principally masculine, egocentric, and orientate towards revenge, and hospitality" (Aslam, 2014: 137). Manhood ideologies force men to defend their identity and often revenge or war is used to protect personal, family or tribal honour. Manhood and Masculinity is always connected to

³ I believe it is extremely important here to foster female producers in this regard. Unfortunately, also in Hollywood, which lately has been criticised for gender inequality, has only 7% female directors (Lauzen, 2016).

honour and respect as central themes. Culture and society demand from men to be the financial providers and safeguards of collective and individual honour, which can put immense pressure on men. They are the custodians (*qawwam*) of women and usually control women's movement and behaviour whether they are fathers, husbands or brothers (Gull Tarar and Pulla, 2014). Men and women are considered to have different standards and concepts of honour and women's sexuality needs to be controlled in order to ensure families' honour (Gull Tarar and Pulla, 2014)

At the same time, according to the Quran, women are not described as weak, with a reference to the trials of childbirth. Also, reproduction is not an assigned feminine task for women within the Quran. Women have special rights and privileges over men, so that some claim, that if the Quran is in any way gender-biased, it would be against men (Aslam, 2016). We can therefore see that the implications of culture and religion on violence must be separated. Religion has high degrees of interpretational matters. Culture on the other hand is fluid, momentarily and hard to grasp. At this point, I would like to state that generalised statements about society, culture, and religion never apply to every individual.

3.2.2.4 Sexuality

Sexuality can be seen a source of pleasure that we seek throughout our lives, but it can also constitute the foundation of men's control over women (Walby, 1990). Within some analysis, sexuality is seen as a natural instinct that we biologically inherit, while other analysis argues that sexuality is socially constructed. Sexuality has been increasingly controlled in many societies but can never be totally repressed (Walby,1990). As argued by Sylvia Walby, women are often defined as sexual objects by men in all aspects of life. According to her, men are not able to see women outside a pornographic frame of reference (Walby, 1990).

Some authors argue that heterosexuality is compulsory for women in patriarchal societies, the knowledge of the possibility of lesbianism is withheld from women, so that it cannot be

perceived as an option. Within heterosexual relationships, women are supposed to service men, emotional, material, and sexual. As suggested by clinical research, the centre of a women's orgasm was never the vagina, but always the clitoris. Therefore, women are less likely than men to enjoy conventional modes of intercourse. Their sexuality is further denied and punished in many societies through different harmful practices, while male sexuality is forced on women through rape, prostitution, pornography and other cultural practices (Walby, 1990). Sexual liberalization and its consequences for women are perceived differently. While some argue that sexual liberalization is beneficial for women, more conservative perceptions say that it is not in women's advantage, as women need to be protected within marriage. Radical feminist views argue, that there has been liberalization in some aspects of sexuality, that have been negative for women. In more and more societies, non-marital sexuality is no longer harshly sanctioned, and the double-standards for trespassing a conventional sexual code between women and men is less extreme than it has been in many countries (Walby, 1990).

In Pakistan, the control of women's sexuality remains one of the most powerful weapons of patriarchy, utilized in complex mechanisms of social, political, economic, and cultural manipulation (Gull Tarar and Pulla, 2014).

Since marriages are often used as a form of exchange between kin groups, women are often perceived as precious gifts. Families with low income, view the sexuality of their daughters as valuable assets, that can be sold to the highest bidder. This is often used as a method to pay off debts or sustain alcohol or drug addictions of male relatives (Gull Tarar and Pulla, 2014). According to Unaiza Niaz, sexual harassment, at home, in the public and at work has reached its peak (Niaz, 2004). At the same time, women are prescribed with an extremely narrow code of modesty. The picture down below displays this paradox.



Source: Facebook (Feminism Pakistan)

Sexuality is also influencing the dress codes. In recent years, more people have adopted Saudi Wahhabi styles, which means for women wearing long cloaks (abaya) and face veils (niqab); men wear long beards and skullcaps (Aslam, 2014). Mona Eltahawy, an Egyptian feminist, makes an important differentiation between face veils and head scarfs. She argues that the face veil can be a dangerous eradication of the woman, as it renders the face and the individual invisible, especially if it is obliged. In her book “Headscarves and Hymen’ she states that women are often compared to objects “that are precious but devalued by exposure, objects that need to be hidden, protected, secured” (Eltahawy, 2015). The reasons for veiling, however, might be religious or cultural. Some women want to be visibly identified as Muslim, as a central part of their identity, want to be left alone and able to move more freely in a male dominated public sphere or maybe just want to avoid expensive fashion trends and frequent visits to the hair salon (Eltahawy, 2015).

The confusing mix of high demands of modesty and repressed sexual urges might contribute to misogynous notions among men. In extreme cases some men have developed sadistic urges to humiliate and disfiguring their wives, e.g nose-cutting or acid throwing. This

particular form of violence is especially used against young and attractive women (Niaz, 2004). The latest case of Asma Aziz sparked international attention. The young woman was tortured by her husband and his two employers over refusing to dance for them. As she has reported to the police on 26th March 2019, they stripped her naked, shaved her head, bound her to a pipe and hung her from the fan, she was also threatened to be hanged. Her husband and one of the employers were arrested and are likely to be “punished severely under the law”. Aziz has also complained against Kahna Police station in Lahore, as they had asked money from her instead of providing her with information or conducting a medical exam (Riaz, 2019). These allegations are under investigation. In the meantime, apparently, an old video of Aziz dancing has leaked, which gave some people the incentive to mitigate or justify the violence the woman had to endure. These attempts provoked backlashes from many women, including famous personalities, who wanted to protect Aziz name (Fem Positive, 2019).

3.2.2.5 State

The state is either defined as a “specific set of social institutions, for instance, as that body which has the monopoly over legitimate coercion in given territory, or in terms of its functions, for instance, that body which maintains social cohesion in a class society” (Walby, 1990: 150). Within the first definition of state, the problem in relation to gender is, that this would mean that “men are able to utilize considerable amounts of violence against women with impunity. In practice this violence is legitimated by the state, since it takes no effective measure against it” (Walby, 1990:150). The second definition is problematic, since it acknowledges only mediations between social classes and not gendered and racialized groups.

Women are often relatively absent from powerful positions in the state and other central areas of decision-making (Walby, 1990). This absence is explained by some authors through four main types of constraints which restrain women from entering politics: physiological,

cultural, the gender roles and male conspiracy. Some authors argue that female politicians are exceptional and enter due to specific circumstances, such as being born into a political environment or being a substitute for a male relative (Walby, 1990). As we have seen in chapter 2, state legislations, laws and campaigns are extremely important in protecting women's rights. The state bears a lot of responsibility for providing capacities for gender equality. In order to do so, it also needs to make sure that women are properly represented (by other women) in the political sphere.

3.2.2.6 Public and Private Forms of Patriarchy

In early classic analysis of women's subordination, the confinement to the private sphere is often mentioned, since women are responsible for bearing and rearing children. Women's work is not as highly valued as men's work. Some theories state, that the clearer the split between private and public sphere, the lower the status of women, and the more women are isolated from each other. Ester Boserup provides a rich account of different forms of sexual division in labour and distinguishes two main forms in agricultural societies. The first occurs in most of Africa, where women do most of the farming, while men have restricted fields of jobs. The second occurs in places of plough agriculture, for example Asia, where men usually do most of the field work. This form can further be distinguished into variants where women are veiled and secluded, variants of women doing domestic labour, and variants where both men and women perform agricultural labour. Finally, there is a complex system, where different variants, differ according to caste, class, and ethnicity. Wives of ruling men are domesticated, while the women of poorer or socially lower categories engage in public labour (Boserup in Walby, 1990). European colonialism disrupted these patterns and created even more complex systems of division of labour. As elaborated in Chapter 1, these complex systems are most accurate for rural Pakistan, where women either endure the double burden of domestic

and public labour, are veiled and secluded in '*purdah*', or live under both circumstances, exploited by cheap labour which they need to perform in the seclusion of their home (see Chapter 1). An important aspect within this is the concept of 'patriarchal appropriation', which often influences all aspects of women's lives, from labour to sexuality to psychological care. We can distinguish collective and private appropriation of women, "the latter being a restrictive expression of the former" (Walby, 1990: 175). Within the theory of public and private patriarchy it is stated, that, if women reduce their dependence on husbands and male family members (private patriarchy), they increase their dependence on the welfare state (public patriarchy). Private and public patriarchy differ, as the former works with exclusion and the latter with segregation. Private patriarchy is based on household production, so the husband or father constitutes the oppressor and beneficiary of the oppression of women, whom are excluded from the public life (Walby, 1990). Public patriarchy, whereas, gives women access to public and private areas, they are not formally excluded, however, women stay subordinated and often segregated within them. Subordination is perpetuated and performed more collectively within the society (Walby, 1990). Within both forms, all six structures, paid employment, household production, culture, sexuality, state (and violence), are present, however their relation and intensity may vary. Sylvia Walby argues that within all areas one can observe a shift from private to public patriarchy, she argues that a patriarchal strategy is starting from the exclusion to the segregation to subordination.

In Pakistan women experience patriarchy in public and private domain and remain a lower status in social, economic and political sphere compared to men (Gull Tarar and Pulla, 2014). As mentioned before, *Purdah*, the seclusion of women into the home sphere is a powerful example for patriarchal structures in the private sphere. But also, in the public sphere, segregation of men and women is growing. Interesting examples can be found in the infrastructure systems of Pakistan. In March 2017, 'Paxi', a female only taxi launched in the

city of Karachi. The taxis are driven by women, with pink scarves, who are trained in self-defence and first-aid. Naturally, the service is more expensive than busses or rickshaws but will only allow female passengers. Two years later, in KP in Mardan and Abbottabad, two big cities of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), the government launched a similar concept, the 'Pink Bus Service' (Ali, 2019), alongside the inauguration of a women university. The pink busses will be in service between 7am to 10pm and will contain applications to track its location. Both projects were extremely welcomed among many women, especially students, who called the project empowering and a safe way of traveling without facing male harassment. They felt that this was a way to commute in freedom. It has also been argued that as a result of sexual harassment in public transport, many women do not work or pursue higher education, as they feel unsafe traveling (Muslimgirl, 2017).

These are powerful arguments in favour of the projects, however, a few critical voices within Pakistan argue that it is a promotion of rape culture, as it is segregating women from men, instead of teaching men how to behave. Although the initiative might sound good, it was perceived as another way of telling women that they "belong in pink and in homes" (facebook page: Feminism Pakistan). Apparently, and ridiculously, also some male students voiced their opinion and stated that they believed this was discriminatory, since there are no male only busses in Mardan (Ali, 2019).

As an outsider, who was not raised in the environment, it is difficult for me to form an opinion about the projects. I believe that both sides have strong arguments and that the safety of women is extremely important. At the same time, I think that the long-term effects of public segregation of men and women will have negative implications on gender equality. I could also imagine that the results of freedom, mobility, and safety are pseudo results, as they are only

provided within a limited artificial space and only to the women who can afford it. ⁴

3.3 Gender and Violence

Within this part of the chapter, I will theorize violence and provide different examples from realities of the lives of women living in Pakistan. I will start with a general definition of violence provided by the World Health Organisation and Johan Galtung, continue with gender-based violence, a concept which is extremely important within the context of the patriarchal structures in Pakistan, provided mostly by Janet Momsen. Janet Momsen, as well as Johan Galtung divide the concept of violence into three spheres. Janet Momsen's concept of gender-based violence is divided into social, political and economic violence, while Galtung divides violence into direct, structural, and cultural violence. Both concepts are very meaningful and important within the analysis of violence faced by women in Pakistan, and partly overlap in their notions. I will therefore analyse both frameworks and provide ethnographic examples. The examples provided from out the Pakistani context might fit into multiple categories of forms of violence, for example, dowry can be seen as cultural, structural, and sometimes even direct violence. Further, the correlation between violence and health (violence as a public health issue) and violence and poverty will be analysed.

3.3.1 Defining Violence

The World Health Organisation defines violence as:

The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high

⁴ I experienced travelling in a female only train compartment in Iran and have to say that it personally did not make me feel safer or more comfortable, but I understand why women choose this option.

likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation (Momsen, 2010:95).

This definition is strong since it differentiates between physical and psychological abuse and self-directed (suicide), interpersonal (e.g. Family and partner violence), community and collective violence (social, economic and political violence). The lines between these distinctions can however be blurry in reality. Galtung's definition of violence with its distinction between direct, structural, and cultural violence, is of great importance within the peace philosophy context. Galtung defines violence as "avoidable insults to basic human needs, and more generally to life, lowering the real level of needs satisfaction below what is potentially possible" (Galtung, 1990: 292). Also threats of violence are a form of violence.

Direct violence refers to a direct violent act, e.g., attacks, rape, murder, but also self-inflicting behaviour. Structural violence is more complex, it refers to a state of suffering caused by an oppressive system. It impacts the everyday life of people, but often remains invisible and normalized, e.g. poverty, social inequality, racism, pollution, hunger, and displacement (Merry, 2011). It can be described as an institutionalized process of exploitation (Galtung, 1990). Cultural violence, whereas, can be described as one of the above forms of violence within a cultural setting, in which the violent act is legitimized because of cultural customs and beliefs within a society. Examples can be female genital cutting, child marriage, or honour killing.

Direct, structural and cultural violence can be pictures as a triangle, violence starting in any corner can be transmitted to another corner. According to Galtung, peace can only be obtained by focusing on all three corners simultaneously, as change in only one sphere will not automatically affect the others (Galtung, 1990).

Generally, violence is shaped by cultural meanings. For instance, forms of pain can be erotic, heroic or abusive, depending on the social and cultural context of the event (Merry,

2011). The same act might be perceived as violent within one context. but not in another (Merry, 2011).

From an anthropological perspective, violence “cannot be understood outside of the social and cultural systems which give it meaning” (Merry, 2011: 5). Within anthropology violence is distinguished into two levels (Zuckerhut in Ennaji and Sadiqi, 2011). The inward, or emic view on violence by a group or society and the outward or etic view on violence which is culture-crossing. There is also an emphasis on the legitimization of violence, as this is very influenced by the cultural context. Violence can be understood as being ambivalent, it has destructive as well as constructive aspects, as it helps building solidarity within a group, which is however often targeted towards another group or individuals. Male violence against women is often used to establish rank and hierarchy and to communicate devaluating messages to women. It is never without meaning or sense, in a cultural, social or subjective way and can even be described as a ‘cultural performance’ (Zuckerhut in Ennaji and Sadiqi, 2011).

3.3.2 Gendered Violence

Violence against women in Pakistan is very common. A United Nations research study indicates that 50% of females in Pakistan have been physically battered and 90% have been mentally and verbally abused by their husbands. Another study of the Women’s Division suggests that domestic violence occurs in 80% of the households. There are, however, significant differences in the occurrence regarding the region, with 57 percent of women in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 43 percent in Balochistan, 29 percent in Punjab, 25 percent in Sindh, and 12 percent in Gilgit Baltistan (Weiss, 2014). The Human Rights Commission states that 400 cases of domestic violence are reported each year, half of the victims die, due to the incidents (Niaz, 2004).

In order to understand gendered violence, we will have to understand the term gender. Gender is a concept which was adopted by Anthropologists in order to refer to the social dimensions and spectrums of sex differences. It expresses the idea that “differences between men and women are the product primarily of cultural processes of learning and socialization rather than of innate biological differences” (Merry, 2011: 9). Sex, therefore, refers to genitalia, while gender (roles) mean the social aspects of how men and women are expected to act sociocultural systems.

Gender violence refers to violence on the basis of gender, often with the side effect of reinforcing inequalities between men and women. But it is also an interpretation of violence through gender. Therefore, the meaning of violence depends on gender contexts in which it is embedded, violence is often explained and justified by gender relations and its ascribed responsibilities and entitlements (Merry, 2011).

Gender violence can be both, physical and sexual and is often “a jealous desire to control another’s sexual life” (Merry, 2011: 4). Also, emotional violence - insulting, humiliating, name-calling, threats, harassment, stalking - are a form of gender violence and it should be emphasized that this includes “assaults on personhood, dignity, and the sense of worth and value of a person” (Merry, 2011: 4).

The Beijing Platform for Action which formed after the fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, named violence against women as one of the 12 critical areas of concern and declared it an “obstacle to the achievement of equality, development, and peace” (Momsen, 2010:96). It identified the low status of women as a cause and consequence of violence against women and defined it as:

any kind of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life

(Momsen, 2010:96).

It further states that:

Violence against women throughout the life cycle derives essentially from cultural patterns, in particular the harmful effects of certain traditional or customary practices and all acts of extremism linked to race, sex, language or religion that perpetuate the lower status accorded to women in family, the workplace, the community and the society (Momsen, 2010:96).

Gender violence is not a new problem, it is an issue in probably all societies around the world. However, only in the past thirty to forty years it became a topic as major social issue. Since the 1990s, gender violence is defined as an important human rights violation and until today it remains one of the most widespread human rights abuses and public health threats. Impunity of violators contribute in important ways to the prevalence of gender-based violence, which is why policies and trials are inevitable (Merry, 2011). Within the next section an analysis of Janet Momsen's distinction between forms of violence will follow.

3.4 Forms of Violence by Janet Momsen

3.4.1 Gendered Violence in Public and Private Sphere

Historically, violence within the family was taken less seriously than violence in a public sphere. Recent feminism, however, tries to draw attention to the issues in private sphere and is "directed toward reformulating the legal and cultural notion of the private sphere of the family, in part to foster societal and legal intervention into the families" (Merry, 2011: 1). "Violence against women in the home is shaped by patterns of marriage and the availability of divorce, by conception of male authority and female submission, and by the family's

vulnerability to racism, poverty, or marginalization” (Merry, 2011: 1). Violence against women and girls within the home sphere is often tolerated and unreported. Women are in many cases emotionally involved and economically dependent on their perpetrators. Most common reasons for domestic violence against women, for example in India, are stated to be neglect of housekeeping and child-rearing duties, showing disrespect to in-laws, going out without the permission of the husband or arousing the suspicion of infidelity. The tradition of dowry and bride prices often perpetuate violence as they give women the status of property (Momsen, 2010). Wife-burning and killing is thought to be related to the custom of dowries, if relatives or husbands feel that their demands for gold, cash and consumer goods is not fulfilled by the bride. Stove accidents in rural areas are not uncommon, as people often use cheap kerosene stoves, but it is suggested that they can be the result of hidden domestic violence in many cases (Momsen, 2010). The Beijing +5 Review developed strategies for reducing violence against women in 2000, which focused especially on the role of men, male gender roles, and masculinities. They intend to help men understand and control their aggressive behaviour towards women and developed actions to break the circle of violence. Within the sphere of violence against women three types have been identified by Janet Momsen, social, economic, and political violence, as seen in the image below (Momsen, 2010). But also, its relation to health and poverty is important, which will be explored in the next section, before turning to social, economic and political violence.

Table 4.2 *Types of violence*

<i>Type</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Social	Killing or rape to protect family or group 'honour', especially in societies following a narrow view of Islam High rates of suicide as among rural women in China because of their low social status Disfigurement by throwing acid at young women who reject a suitor Female infanticide because of son preference Female genital cutting
Economic	Dowry deaths where the husband's family considers the dowry inadequate Trafficking in women and sale of poor women and young boys into prostitution and as slaves Female infanticide in order to save the natal family the costs of raising a girl Backlash against women who receive microcredit loans not available to men or who are able to get jobs in female-dominated industries
Political	Rape as ethnic cleansing in war Sexual slavery Forced adoptions

Source; Momsen, 2010: 98

3.4.2 Violence and Health

Violence needs to be understood as a health problem with economic, social, and political causes and consequences (Momsen, 2010). Protection against violence is a human right. Gendered health problems are an increasingly complex issue around the world. Especially developing countries often experience the double burden of fighting against communicable diseases, e.g. HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria and non-communicable diseases, such as depression, drug addiction.

In Pakistan, gender inequality and gender-based violence are not just social issues, but they also became major health issues. A survey conducted on 1000 women admitted in the hospitals in Punjab showed that 35% of them reported being beaten by their husbands (Ali & Gavino, 2008). The survey revealed further that “on an average, at least two women were burned every day in domestic violence incidents and approximately 70 to 90% of women experience spousal abuse” (Ali & Gavino, 2008: 198). “Official figures show that more than

4000 people including 2800 women have died during 1998 to 2004” related to Honour killing (Ali & Gavino, 2008: 199). Although these numbers are not up to date (in regard to the new women protection laws that came into place after 2006) they reflect that this is an enormous problem in the Pakistani society that needs further attention.

Cultural practices and social attitudes and norms also play an important role in the mental health of women. The Jinnah Postgraduate Medical Centre in Karachi undertook a large study in the 1990s which revealed that twice as many women sought psychological help than men, most women were between 20-45 years old (Niaz, 2004). Another survey from the Agha Khan University/Hospital in Karachi between 1992-1996 showed that out of 212 psychotherapy patients, 65% were women and 72% married, most stated reasons for consultation were conflicts with partners and in-laws (Niaz, 2004). Fifty percent of the women in therapy were labelled ‘distressed women’ and had no psychiatric diagnosis. According to the author, 28% women suffered from depression or anxiety, 5-7% from personality or adjustment disorders and 17% with other disorders (Niaz, 2004). Again, in this study, most women were between the age of 20-24, had 2-3 children, and most of them worked outside home. Their symptoms included palpitations, headaches, choking feelings, sinking heart, hearing weakness and numb feet (Niaz, 2004). Within another study in the North West Frontier Province (current Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) of Pakistan depression and anxiety were prevalent in 46% women compared to only 15% in men, a study on suicidal patients showed that most of the patients were married women, who suffered from conflict with the husband (80%) or with in-laws (43%) (Niaz, 2004). Also, within the category of Parasuicide (suicidal gesture) females showed a predominance with 185 females to 129 males, with a higher proportion of married females (33%) compared to males (18%). Housewives (55%) and students (32%) represented the biggest group among women (Niaz, 2004). A four-year survey at a private clinic in Karachi revealed that two thirds of the patients were females and 60% of these females had a ‘mood

disorder'. 70% of them were victims of violence (domestic violence, assault, sexual harassment and rape) and 80% had marital or family conflicts. The psychological effects of abuse can be worse than the physical effects. The experience of abuse damages the self-esteem of women and increases the risk of several mental disorders like depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, suicide, alcohol and drug abuse. Children who witness marital violence face "increased risk for emotional and behavioural problems, including anxiety, depression, poor school performance, low- self-esteem, nightmares and disobedience" (Niaz, 2004: 61). Boys tend to use drugs while girls tilt towards depression and sometimes become scared of the idea of getting married. Learning difficulties and emotional or behavioural problems are 6-7 more likely for children of abusive parents under the age of 12, compared to children of non-abusive parents. Unaiza Niaz highlights the important role of health care providers in recognizing and preventing abuse; and referring to legal aid, counsellors and non-governmental organizations. She criticizes that many doctors and nurses "do not ask women about the experience with violence and are not prepared to respond to the needs of the victims" (Niaz, 2004: 61).

3.4.3 Violence and Poverty

As study suggests inequality and rapid social changes often increase the level of interpersonal violence. In a study of 23 transitional and developing countries only 9 percent of respondents from poor households reported that domestic violence against women is rare, 30 percent reported a decrease and 21 an increase, while the rest felt that there was little change in domestic violence (Naranyan et al. 2000 in Momsen, 2010: 95). Men and women in Pakistan are affected differently by poverty. Women are often extremely dependent on male relatives in financial matters or must turn to organisations in times of crisis or poverty. Women constitute 53 percent of the Pakistani population and a great majority of women live under the poverty line (Gull Tarar and Pulla, 2014). Poverty also contributes to violent gender-power relations.

Especially in low-income families, violence is used as a tool to control women (Gull Tarar and Pulla, 2014). Men, on the other hand, suffer from other pressures through poverty. They have the assigned gender role of the financial provider for their nuclear and extended family. Poverty puts masculinity in crisis. Maleeha Aslam collected some relevant quotes from participants in her field research on masculinity, which are important in the context of effects of poverty in Pakistan:

A man is upset about everything: employment, expenses, poverty and domestic environment. He suffers in times of poverty, when life is unaffordable. Men have to put on a façade and keep that illusion of financial stability alive [...] even if they are not stable, particularly if they are displaced. Relatives target unemployed men. We know that the whole [governance] system has failed in this country [...] but it is one individual man who is made answerable and accountable for failing to earn. A man feels totally victimized under such circumstances, and he is helpless. They are offered huge sums of money and given access to a wide range of resources [...]. This is how they become terrorists. We can blame the outside elements or forces for misguiding our youth into terrorism, but the fact of the matter is that [pause] what environment has Pakistan provided them? Poverty, illiteracy, hunger, joblessness - what else? Poverty [...] curtains people's sense of judgment. Unemployment is a huge pressure and that makes individuals join so-called jihadi organizations. Most men accept offers of jihad as the organizations take responsibility for their families and welfare. They are given money. Men say [...] why not take this money for food?"

(Aslam, 2016: 145).

3.4.4 Socio-cultural Violence

In many societies the honour of the family relies on the virginity and chastity of daughters. Women and girls need to be prevented from bringing shame to the family through their public behaviour. They are expected to cover themselves and must not be seen by unrelated men, unless they are accompanied by a male or older female relative (Momsen,

2010). These attitudes were taken to the extreme under the Taliban rule in Afghanistan, but also in Pakistan and northern Nigeria the implementation of the Sharia Law was taken to extreme extends, in the sense, that women who had been raped can be stoned to death (Momsen, 2010). Women are often not allowed to work outside their home, at least as long it is in their own country. Many Muslim families from Sri Lanka send their daughters to work in the Middle East, although the women work under horrible circumstances, since this is not visible in their own society and the women are sent to the land of Allah. Wife- beating is often culturally and religiously justifies in traditional societies. Acid throwing became a growing problem in Bangalore, Bangladesh, but also Iran and Pakistan, encouraged by easy access to acid. Acid attacks are often used in order to silence women, whenever they demonstrate signs of independence (Momsen, 2010). Women who are abused, are more likely to suffer from depression, attempt suicide, earn less, experience pregnancy loss and the death of children (Momsen, 2010).

The restriction of mobility and the confinement to the sanctity of the home (*pardah*) adds to the violence against women and hinders pursuance of education and jobs, thereby lowering prospects of women's empowerment (Niaz, 2004).

In the context of Pakistan, I would like to name the concept of modesty as a socio-cultural form of violence, although it might seem controversial. Modesty has not per se a negative meaning, as it can be defined as humble, moderate or unpretentious. In the Oxford Dictionary it has two definitions. Firstly, it can mean "Unassuming in the estimation of one's abilities or achievements." And secondly, it is defined as "(of a woman) dressing or behaving so as to avoid impropriety or indecency, especially to avoid attracting sexual attention." The high demands of modest behaviour, especially towards women, have not only led to extremely damaging patterns in the society, e.g. *pardah*, but also suffocate critical thinking, resistance against harmful practices and tolerance towards dissidents. These thinking patterns are the

reason why marching women are called vulgar, why they are victim-blamed and why many women cannot pursue their dreams.

3.4.5 Economic Violence

One example of violence against women related to economics is the violence against female factory workers. It has been stated that 80 percent of the factory workers in export-processing zones are females and they often transgress social norms in their societies. This allows male co-workers to justify sexual harassment of female workers. Additionally, the women might earn more than local men within their jobs, which can foster jealousy and undermines patriarchal household relations, which in turn perpetuates gender-based violence.

Another topic related to economic violence is trafficking of women and children, which is a lucrative business, as they can be sold many times, unlike drugs and weapons (Momsen, 2010). The UN estimated in 1997 that the trade is worth 7 billion US\$ every year and the number of women trafficked lays between 700,000 and four million annually (Momsen, 2010). Trafficking occurs within and between countries. While Pakistan, along with Thailand, Malaysia, Japan and India is one of the main destination- and transit countries of human trafficking, main countries of origin are Thailand, Bangladesh, Vietnam, Cambodia, China, the Philippines, Myanmar and Nepal. In rural Bangladesh some villages are impacted by men who marry multiple women from poor families to sell them in Pakistan, India or the Middle East. Generally, the purpose is commercial sex work, but also domestic service or other types of labour and marriage. Trafficking to Western countries also often includes mail-order brides (women who are ordered from a catalogue for marriage) and illicit adoption. Victims of trafficking rarely know what will happen to them and sometimes are sold by poor parents who have been told that their children will be given good jobs. In the new country they are vulnerable, as they might not speak the language, are strongly controlled by their panderer and are often exposed to violent treatment. They rarely have access to medical treatment and might

get infected with STDs and HIV/AIDS. If they can escape, they are treated as illegal immigrants and often sent back into the poverty, they hoped they would escape. Re-socialization constitutes another issue as they might experience stigmatisation and suffer from trauma. Many stay within the circle or become traffickers themselves.

Marriage practices can disadvantage women, especially when customs such as dowry and bride's price, *Watta Satta* and marriage to the Quran (a custom in Sindh where girls remain unmarried like nuns to retain family property in the family) exist. In recent years dowry has become an expected part of marriage. This increasing demand for dowry, both before and after marriage, can escalate into harassment, physical violence, and emotional abuse. In extreme cases homicide or "stove-burns" and suicides can provide husbands with an opportunity to pursue another marriage and consequently more dowry (Niaz, 2004).

3.4.6 Political Violence

With the emergence of new types of war in the post-Cold War era the new victims of war are women and children, ninety percent of those killed in conflict are non-combatants (Momsen, 2010). Women are particularly at risk of human rights abuses in war times due to their lower social status in most societies. They are also strongly affected and excluded from access to basic services, such as medical attention, nutrition, sanitation and shelter. Rape as a weapon of war and ethnic cleansing is now recognized by the United Nations as a crime against humanity.

In Pakistan, the religious and ethnic conflicts, along with the dehumanizing attitudes towards women have created a political society which is very poisoning for women, especially for women from the minority communities, such as forced conversions and forced marriages of Hindu and Christian girls (Ispahani, 2013). Another important aspect of political violence is violence by the police. Police brutality has been reported to be a countrywide problem, e.g. violence against protestors and the usage of torture in dealing with suspects, but also serious

misconduct is an issue (DAWN Editorial, 2017). A recent case of a ten year old girl, Farishta Nabi, who was abducted, tortured, raped, and murdered sparked outrage in May 2019, as her father accused the police of victim-blaming his daughter and posing insensitive questions to her family instead of taking actions after he had instantly reported her missing (Qarar, 2019). The family had approached the police multiple times to seek help, before her body was discovered, but the police did not initiate a search and instead made the family “clean the police station” and “told them she must have run away with someone” (Qarar, 2019). A case against the inspector and other police officials has been registered and they are partly suspended from duty (Qarar, 2019). Also rape by police officials still seems to constitute an issue. One woman was raped by a police official in February 2019, after she had tried to seek justice by reporting an earlier gang rape (The Newspaper’s Correspondent, 2019). In Rawalpindi, three police officials are accused of abducting and sexually assaulting a woman in May 2019. They are also accused of stealing money from her. They are dismissed from service and await trial (The Newspaper’s Staff Reporter, 2019). In Abbottabad, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, eleven police officials are suspended as they allegedly refused to lodge an abduction and rape case. The victim was told to go to another police station 12 kilometres away and then handed her over to a truck driver who sexually assaulted her. When she finally arrived at the destined police station, she was turned away again. A committee is investigating the case and officials from both stations are suspended (Javed, 2018). The next section provides Johan Galtung’s distinction between direct, structural, and cultural violence.

3.5 Forms of Violence by Johan Galtung

3.5.1 Direct Violence on the Example of ‘Honour’ Killing

Within Johan Galtung’s category of direct violence, the example of ‘honour killing’ seems very relevant in the context of Pakistan, although it can be also understood as a form of

cultural violence. Honour killing is a practise which usually occurs in patrilineal and patrilocal kinship systems that create patriarchal families, which tend to maximize male power over women. Often, great importance is attached to the warrant that the children women bear, belong to their husband, which often leads to substantial surveillance of women's sexual behaviour. This can lead to practices, as, marrying a young girl off early to ensure her virginity, diminishing her sexual pleasure and desire through female genital cutting and secluding women at the house or veiling her body to restrict access to sexual partners. If a woman's sexual behaviour reflects on the honour of her male relatives, strict control over her sexual and bodily expression and freedoms aggravate. Modest behaviour, a women's reputation, and virtue reflects directly on her family. Threats to kill her once she steps out of the inflicted boundaries, serve as a control mechanism. Within some settings, women must be killed in order to protect the honour of the whole family.

Honour killing can be defined as murder of a woman by her father, brother, or other close male (blood) relative, if she does something, that is believed to stain the honour of the family. The honour of the family depends on the bravery and courage of the men and the sexual modesty of the women. The usage of the term 'honour' has been much debated, since it takes on the perspective of the persecutor about honourable behaviour. In Pakistan honour killing is referred to as 'Karo Kari', a woman accused of immorality or infidelity is declared a 'Kari' and the men declared to be her lover as 'Karo' (Niaz, 2004). Also, men, mostly the alleged lover of a woman, can become victims of honour killing.

Reasons for honour killings range on a spectrum, but circulate around women's sexuality and virginity, e.g. for sex outside the marriage (including consensual as well as rape), disobedient or demeaning uninhibited behaviour or even just for being suspected of doing something like this. This is part of a larger category of crimes of honour, including "assault, confinement, or interference with choice in marriage" (Merry, 2011: 129). "A woman accused

of an honour violation is not necessarily killed immediately but may live under a constant threat of death” which is itself “a form of woman-killing, or ‘femicide’” (Merry, 2011: 129).

Honour killings can be differentiated from domestic violence with several factors. Although they are not supported in Islam, honour killings mainly occur within Muslim families. While domestic violence, or so called ‘crimes of passion’, usually is spontaneous and unplanned, honour killing is well planned and often involves precedent death threats and multiple family members or community members, who have knowledge and/or valorise the act. The act is therefore seen as normative and perpetrators are not condemned by their family and community, while abuser in domestic violence cases are often condemned by the society, seen as mentally ill or evil. Victims of honour killings are, to a great extent, young women or teenagers, while domestic violence is usually directed towards adult women. Executors of honour killings often do not show remorse and see themselves as victims of the improper behaviour of the woman/girl within their task to restore the family's honour. They may find it very “painful and difficult yet feel driven to do so in order to preserve their honour from the slurs and assaults of others”, “desperate to recover the family’s honour” (Merry, 2011: 130). It is a common belief that only blood cleans honour (Hadi, 2017). It is important to note here, that stereotypical associations of honour with the ‘East’ and passion with the ‘West’, or associations of ‘reason’ with the global north and “irrational male violence against passive females” should not be adopted in this context (Merry, 2011: 133). Islam cannot be seen as a root cause of honour killings. Sexual control and violence against women have had a long history in Europe, the Middle East, and South Asia and can be seen as the expression of patriarchal kinship systems, in which power and resources flow over the males while women stay fragile and vulnerable.

In Pakistan, honour killing is still a major issue in the society. In Balochistan and Sindh provinces honour killing is practiced openly (Niaz, 2004). The Human Rights Commission of

Pakistan has reported an annual 650 cases of honour killings in Pakistan over the last decade. But since many cases go unreported, the actual number is likely to be much higher (Rasmussen, 2017). They are often related to marriage outside their own community, or with someone the family disapproves. Typically, such dishonour is handled by informal all-male community-based adjudicatory systems, for example *Jirga* and *Panchayat* system (a South Asian political system found mainly in India and Pakistan, where the Village *Panchayat* or council members selected by the community, have judicial powers in an informal way). Usually the police, government officials, and local politicians refuse to get involved in their decisions, since there is a widespread belief that social issues should be handled by community/tribal elders rather than by the state law (Merry, 2011). Although sexual intercourse outside marriage (*zina*) and unchastity of women is still considered a crime with horrendous legal consequences in Pakistan, honour killings are increasingly rejected by courts. This might reflect the significant effect of campaigns by women's groups and human rights activists such as, the late Asma Jahangir (Merry, 2011). However, impunity is still extremely widespread in many countries and courts often try to find ways to not hold perpetrators responsible. Punishments are often mitigated or eliminated, and prosecutors have been observed to "spent little effort trying to collect evidence and were more sympathetic to the perpetrator than the victim" (Merry, 2011: 133). Also, in Western countries policies and courts might position cultural differences and minority rights over the protection of women by overseeing forced and arranged marriages and taking criminal's cultural background into account in dealing with violence against women or honour killing. They therefore constitute a double standard (Mojab, 2003).

3.5.2 Structural Violence on the Example of Domestic Violence

Structural violence is, in my opinion, one of the most dangerous forms of violence, as it is often so deeply institutionalized that it sits almost hidden and invisible within the structures of societies. It is therefore often tolerated, accepted and perceived as natural or given in the

society and difficult to fight. According to Patricia Zuckerhut, structural violence “-the violence of poverty, hunger, social exclusion, and humiliation - inevitably translates into intimidate and domestic violence” (Ennaji and Sadiqi, 2011: 21).

Many women in Pakistan are at risk of various forms of domestic violence on a daily basis. It has become one of the greatest threats to security, health and well-being of women in Pakistan. However, until now, the government has failed in establishing a commission for a national-level study to determine the extent of prevalence (Khan and Hussain, 2008). Especially wife-abuse is an endemic and intractable social problem. Women are often reluctant to speak about the abuse, also out of fear of sully the families honour. Types of violence include, physical, sexual, emotional, psychological and financial abuse. The study of Adeel Khan and Rafat Hussain of a group of 11 multi-ethnic, multi-religious women from Karachi in 2002-2003, found very little difference in occurrence regarding religion (e.g Christian and Muslim women in Pakistan) and ethnicity (Khan and Hussain, 2008). However, what is perceived as domestic violence varied according to age, education and social class of participants of the study. For example, some participants did not regard slapping, during an argument, as domestic violence. Many young participants were particularly annoyed by the double standards within the society. While violence against women seems culturally acceptable, even a retaliatory slap from a woman “could be considered as violating male honour” and a good enough reason to divorce her (Khan and Hussain, 2008: 244). Participants mentioned the obsession about the possibility of infidelity that many men foster towards their wives, even polite behaviour towards young male in-laws, reportedly, can arouse suspicion, jealousy and in response violence. Many participants stated that they “were indoctrinated into accepting male superiority from a very early age. They recounted how they were told that their male siblings had more rights” (Participant in Khan and Hussain, 2008: 245-246). Also, mothers-in-law’s are mentioned as a source of trouble and suppression: “if they don’t like the

person [daughter-in-law] the mother-in-law is constantly involved in *bharkana* [provoking] and *kan bharna* [metaphor for instigating trouble]” (Participant in Khan and Hussain, 2008: 245). At the same time, older participants blamed younger generations of lack of respect towards cultural norms, which they believed was a source of domestic violence: “Most of the time it is the woman’s fault. If she would only follow the instructions of her husband and do things accordingly there would be no domestic conflict [...] many women do not understand that it is their “duty” to keep their husbands happy” (Participant in Khan and Hussain, 2008: 245). Another woman states: “The bigger pain and torture is the mental stress and anguish” (Participant in Khan and Hussain, 2008: 246) and some women report contemplated or attempted suicide. Divorce does not seem to be an option, as there is a strong stigma to a divorced woman that could lead to minimal support from their own families: “few women avail this option because their children’s lives are ruined – there would either be custody battles and they would lose their children or they have to bring their children up without fathers and expect the brothers to play the fatherly role” (Participant in Khan and Hussain, 2008: 248).

The Dawn news (Dawn news is a famous mainstream English language newspaper) article “These women stayed in abusive marriages because Pakistan failed them” by Luavut Zahid tells the stories of three women and their experiences with domestic violence. The first account is by Dania, who was sent back to her abusive husband repeatedly (Zahid, 2017). She reports that the abuses started shortly after her marriage and even during her pregnancies with her children. Each incident of violence was followed by the same chronology, Dania would rush to her mother’s house, only to be persuaded to go back to her husband, by the community and its elders. In the six years of her marriage, four and a half, were spent in her mother’s house. She had addressed the village council (*panchayat*) about her issues, but they had decided that it would be better for her to return to her husband, as “these things are not unusual”. Also, her parents were against a divorce, as they believed that respectable people do not have

divorced daughters. The violence increased and peaked into an incident in which her husband forced Dania to drink bleach. Dania was hospitalized, efforts to hold her husband accountable at the local police remained without success, as the crime “did not seem like one to warrant punishment” according to the police (Zahid, 2017). Dania is not living with her husband, but her demands for a divorce are not accepted and it is likely that her family will push her to return to her husband, once the dust has settled. Her frequent stays at home have already damaged the families honour and one of Dania’s sisters got divorced after the police proceedings had started, as her sister’s in-laws felt, that her family “attacks in-laws”. Her brother lays his trust in God and hopes that “He will make them more human”, he adds “For us, her getting divorced would be much worse than her dying” (Zahid, 2017).

The next account is from a woman called Akifa, who holds a master’s degree and comes from a family that is well off (Zahid, 2017). However, her father has died and her relationship with her siblings became estranged. Her abuse started a week after her marriage with emotional abuse, her husband then started hitting her, and finally did not allow her to work. When she started working from home, he took her earnings from her. Her husband did not care whether they were in public, while he abused her and no one intervened, until her daughter finally stepped up for her one day. Since then, her relationship to her husband has changed, he has stopped beating her and her daughter helped her breaking her financial dependency. Nevertheless, Akifa is not able to leave her husband and stays with him in what she refers to ‘scam relationship’, which is only existing out of social pressure (Zahid, 2017). The last account stems from Fatima, who escaped her abusive marriage, but started experiencing violence in her brother’s house, instead (Zahid, 2017). She ended her marriage after 4 years in 1993 and moved back to her own family with her daughter. After her brother returned from abroad, he started hitting her and breaking into her room, later he started choking her and even run her over with his car. Her father remained “a passive observer (Zahid, 2017)”.

When she tried to report to the police that her brother had tried to kill her, they did nothing. “He hasn’t killed you yet [...] You are still alive, aren’t you?” was the reply she got from one policeman. For four years, Fatima lives in constant fear in her home, she feels isolated and alone in her battle. “Sometimes she feels nothing more than a living corpse” she states (Zahid, 2017).

3.4.3 Cultural Violence on the Example of Dowry

Although dowry also fits into the frame of economic violence, I wanted to place the example under cultural violence. The traditional custom of dowry, a gift that goes with the bride at the time of her marriage, is increasingly considered dangerous as it is reported to perpetuate violence against women (Davids and van Driel, 2007). One of the reasons why it is considered dangerous, is that it is increasingly difficult to afford, which makes daughters even less welcome in societies which are already male dominated and tend to prefer male children over female children. Raising daughters has become increasingly expensive. In patrilocal societies, a son will bring a bride into the house along with a dowry, while the daughter will be raised and when she marries, she will leave the house and the parents will have to pay. Unmarried daughters are socially unacceptable and will shame the honour of the house. The dowry system seems to be the “source of unhappiness in married life, of young girls’ fears, suicides and violence against women” (Davids and van Driel, 2007: 143). It further seems to be the main force behind “increased incidents of neglect of girls, female feticide, female infanticide and the killing of married women, so called-bride-burning, in order to marry a new wife who will bring a new dowry” (Davids and van Driel, 2007: 143). The intensification of the custom can again be related to increasing foreign influences in countries as India and Pakistan, which are often experienced as threatening and results in a “revitalization of cultural and religious practices and values” (Davids and van Driel, 2007: 144). We can assume that the custom of dowry has changed its form and meaning through globalisation, which transformed

it into a greedy tradition. A custom that used to have a positive value for women became a harmful practice (Davids and van Driel, 2007).

Dowry is not an Islamic custom but rooted in the religious tradition of patrilineal and patrilocal Hindu culture. Instead of asking for a bride price, the bride is considered as a gift which is accompanied by other gifts, for herself and the groom. It is believed that the tradition is a pre-mortual inheritance, as women in patrilocal patrilineal societies usually are not entitled to their father's properties and live with their husbands. The tradition therefore ensured a daughter her part of the inheritance, which she could take into her new family. During the 19th century the amount of dowry started to increase. Within the last 60 years, it grew into scandalous proportions, especially for men with a good education, social, and economic position. While traditional dowry used to be on a voluntarily basis and under the bride's control, 'modern dowry' is often given on demand and includes huge sums of cash, jewellery, clothing, and furniture. The jewellery that women receive for their marriage is also considered an insurance in case her husband dies or leaves (Davids and van Driel, 2007). The modern form of dowry, which is described as a monstrosity that came out of a respected ancient custom, started to spread in India from higher castes to lower castes and from Hindus to other religious groups, like Christians, Muslims, and Buddhists. Dowry is described as having "cannibalised all other rituals and gift-taking relationships, thereby precipitating and intensifying gender inequalities" (Davids and van Driel, 2007).

It has been described, that in societies, where males compete for women, bride price can be found, while in systems where women compete for men, dowry can be found. The bride price can be seen as a compensation of the loss of the daughter, who will bear children for another lineage, while dowry is a system of female competition (Davids and van Driel, 2007).

“Through ‘dowry’, men are able to generate both new wealth and new social superiority for themselves vis-à-vis women, because ‘dowry’ generates a new class hierarchy between the sexes as well as a sex-based status hierarchy” (Davids and van Driel, 2007: 156). For a poor family the dowry system often means marrying a daughter off to a less-than-ideal match, as the man might agree to less dowry (Weiss, 2014). In Pakistan, dowry is called *jahez* and common in parts of Sindh and Punjab, but much less common in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan. Despite the Pakistani government's attempts to ban dowry and limit marriage expenses, not only dowry is prevalent in the society, but also often a demand for a wedding that is way over the expenses that the couple or in-laws could afford. Marriage and dowry are therefore often a big stressor in parents and girls' lives. The tradition runs deep, no one wants to be accused of not properly providing for a daughter at the time of her marriage (Weiss, 2014). Although the Dowry and Bridal Gifts Restriction Act of 1976 made the custom practically illegal it is still prevalent in almost all parts of the society. The dowry system does not occur in all regions, but it is present in love as well as arranged marriages, among educated and illiterate people and all social classes, especially the middle class (Gulzar *et al.*, 2012). Unmarried girls are discriminated as their value is calculated according to the dowry they can muster. The main disadvantages of the greedy system are: Poor families often have to beg at mosques, stores and relatives, which has strong effects on the self-esteem, in order to be able to come up with the dowry; women who cannot meet the expectations of in-laws are often mentally and physically tortured for years; for some women from poor backgrounds suicide is the only resort, if they cannot afford the dowry, as staying unmarried is socially unacceptable; other girls from lower class backgrounds try to earn enough money for the dowry through unethical or humiliating ways (Gulzar *et al.*, 2012). If in-laws are not satisfied with the amount that has been given to them, the bride is likely to face a lifetime of taunts and torments, in worst cases, women are also beaten, tortured and even murdered because of dowry disputes. The practice perpetuates

the idea of women as a burden. Further, the lifelong commitment that a marriage constitutes should not be based on the amount of money a bride can contribute (Zakaria, 2018).

3.6 Conclusion Chapter Three

This chapter explores the connection between the patriarchal structures and different forms of violence. It begins with an examination of different approaches of feminism, from the West and from our Islamic and anthropological perspectives and justifies why feminist anthropology is suited best within the thesis. Thereafter, patriarchy is theorized by examining its different spheres of occurrence in societies, also in connection to Pakistan. The definition of patriarchy needs to be differentiated from the concepts of patrilineage and patrilocality. The kinship system of male heritage through the father, in which women move in with their in-laws, is not inherently violent, but may contribute under certain circumstances to female suppression. The second part attempts to define violence, gender-based violence, and different forms of violence. Johan Galtung has divided violence into direct, structural, and cultural violence, while Janet Momsen identified Socio-cultural, political, and economic forms of gender-based violence. As I regard both differentiations as important and partly overlapping, the approaches of both scholars have been included in this chapter and are provided with examples from our Pakistani society. The sub-categories of violence and health and violence and poverty have been created, as I regard them important. The examples from our society include, honour killing, dowry system, domestic abuse, *purdah*, child marriage and other harmful marriage practices and many more. Although most examples are gruesome and have been emotionally challenging for me, it is important for me to note here that I do not want to feed into the victim/agent dichotomy. I believe we should be in a sphere between the two concepts. Most women experience both in their life, agency and victimization. Victims can be agents and agents can be victims.

The conclusion of this chapter is that gender-based violence and misogynous attitudes can be understood as effects and damages of patriarchy. They constitute each other. It is important to note that not only women suffer under patriarchal structures, patriarchy is damaging for all human beings. The answer of the research question is therefore, patriarchy in general, and especially in the case of Pakistan, can be categorised as structural, cultural, and in many cases also direct violence.

Chapter 4: Approaches that challenge Patriarchy

4.1 Introduction

The remaining question is, how can we approach violations of women's rights and atrocities of gender-based violence? The agency and capabilities of women in Pakistan need further strengthening on a political, social and individual level. I believe that academic research, especially in the political, sociological sphere, should not only focus on issues, but also need to work on solutions. Within this chapter, I want to introduce the capability approach, which provides an academic frame, that can be applied to the common issues that occur within the gender and development sphere. I also want to introduce an example from non-violent resistance within Pakistan, with the case of Malala's fight for female education in Pakistan. I will start with introducing the capability approach.

4.2 The Capability Approach - Genealogy, Definitions, Advocates

4.2.1 Beginnings of Development Studies

In order to understand the genealogy of the capability approach, we should look at the history of development studies. The process of the development idea started in the late 1940s with a speech by former US President Truman, who recognized the West's responsibility to bring development to the 'underdeveloped areas' of the world (Potter et al., 2008). Back then, development was very much associated with bringing Western values and ideologies and transforming 'traditional' countries into modern, westernised nations (Potter et al., 2008). Theories and strategies were very much coined by growth models and planning systems with

the ultimate goal of repeating the growth stages of the First World in the Third World i.e., Rostow's five stages of economic growth⁵.

The term development was synonymous with economic growth. This was also very visible in the ways of measuring poverty and development. The next paragraph will examine how the measurement of development shifted from the Gross National Product to the Human Development Index.

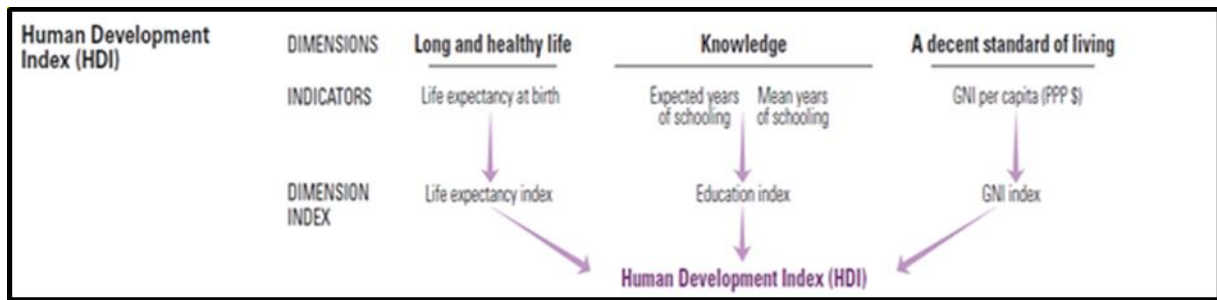
4.2.1.1 From GNP to HDI

In the course of development studies, the approach to measure development has changed much. As development was merely understood in terms of economic growth, the *Gross National Product* (GNP) per capita, used to be popularly understood as the adequate index for measuring development. The GNP per capita measures the total domestic and foreign value added by one country, divided by its total population, but fails to give information about the distribution of wealth and other important aspects in the measurement of well-being. New measurement techniques take a much more multi-dimensional approach, however, measuring the income of the population per head remains a strong indicator for growth and an easy way to compare countries' development.

Since the end of the 1960s, concerns arose whether development should be only defined in terms of economic growth. Because, the strong focus on economic growth failed to produce a convergence of income indicators and trickle-down economics had not worked (Potter et al., 2008). Other aspects, such as poverty, unemployment, and inequality increasingly came into the centre of debates and hence in the 1980s the focus on growth as an end shifted to growth as means (Alkire, 2002).

⁵ Rostow's five stage model of development: traditional society, pre-conditions for take off phase, take-off, drive to maturity, age of high mass consumption (Potter et al., 2008)

Critics rightfully argued that the GNP per capita can demonstrate the development gaps between countries, but it fails to indicate distribution of wealth and inequalities within one country. By the 1990s, the United Nations had developed a new index called, Human Development Index, which is based on three dimensions of human development - longevity of life span, knowledge and a decent standard of living. In detail, it draws upon people-centred data that measures “health, education, nutrition, work, political freedoms, security, the environment and many other aspects of people’s lives” (Alkire in Deneulin, 2009: 24). The roots of the Human Development Index or HDI are found in the annual Human Development Reports, created by the Human Development Reports Office of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). These reports were designed and launched by a Pakistani economist Mahbub ul Haq in 1990 and had the clear purpose "to shift the focus of development economics from national income accounting to people-centred policies" (Ul Haq, 1992). He identified four principles of human development: equity (justice), efficiency (resources), participation (agency) and sustainability (durability) (Alkire in Deneulin, 2009). In order to produce the Human Development Report, a group of development economist was established by Mahbub ul Haq, including Keith Griffin, Paul Streeten, Gustav Ranis, Frances Stewart, Sudhir Anand, Farhan C.M, and Meghnad Desai. Haq’s work was later utilized by Nobel laureate Amartya Sen in his own work on human capabilities. Haq believed that a simple way to measure human development was needed to convince politicians, public and academia that development should not only be gauged by economic advances, but also betterment in human well-being.



Source: charterforcompassion.org

In 1999 Amartya Sen, the Nobel Prize laureate for Economic Science, published his book ‘Development as Freedom’ and introduced his notion of the capability approach. Within his studies he has been writing widely on different developmental issues in developing economies, such as public policies, social choice, democracies, inequality, poverty and famine. As described by Robert Potter, Sen argued that development should be about the “removal of various types of unfreedom that leave people with little choice and little opportunity for exercising their reasoned agency” (Potter et al., 2008: 12). He believed that economic and political freedoms reinforce one another. Social opportunity, for example health care and education, complement individual opportunity for economic and political participation. Because of these reinforcing linkages he emphasized the importance of human freedoms. Since then many authors have furtherly developed the notion of the capability approach. Martha Nussbaum, Sabina Alkire and Enrica Martinetti, are some of the most famous ones. Also, cross-culturally we can observe a focus on human development and on freedom of people, e.g. the notion of ubuntu in South Africa, systemic alternatives by Pablo Solon (Alkire in Deneulin, 2009). We can therefore observe an important shift in the thinking about ‘successful’ development, from the economy to the human. A healthy economy is defined here as one that enables people “to enjoy a long and healthy life, a good education, a meaningful job, physical safety, democratic debate” (Alkire in Deneulin, 2009: 23). Within the next paragraphs we will look at the definitions and further developments of the approach.

4.2.2 Defining the Capability Approach

The capability approach can be described as a new moral framework that constitutes the “leading alternative to standard economic frameworks for thinking about poverty, inequality and human development” (Clark: 2005, 2). It is a “normative framework for the evaluation and assessment of individual well-being and social arrangements, the design of policies, and proposals about social change in society” (Robeyns, 2005: 93). It is interdisciplinary, plural and able to grasp the multidimensional aspects of well-being, as well-being cannot be reduced to one single thing, e.g. income, or happiness (Alkire in Deneulin, 2009). As it is focused on many different aspects of life, from policies to health to environment to gender etc., it can be subsumed under different academic disciplines. Although the core idea appears to be quite simple, it has been discussed within academia on a complex, profound and philosophical level. The approach can also be used in applied and empirical studies and advises and application in policies and public debates (Alkire in Deneulin, 2009). It does not intend to explain inequality, poverty or well-being, but it gives a tool and framework to conceptualize and evaluate these phenomenon (Robeyns, 2005). It can also be seen as an alternative to the Human Rights Declaration, as it analyses and defines the rights of humans on a deeper, more philosophical level. As I will discuss later, some notions of the approach go back to the ideas of Aristotle, Adam Smith and Karl Marx. As mentioned above, its pioneer is the Indian economist and philosopher Amartya Sen and it has been further developed by the American philosopher Martha Nussbaum and other scholars. The key idea is that social arrangements should expand people’s capabilities. Its central concepts are functionings, capabilities, and agency (Alkire in Deneulin, 2009).

4.2.2.1 Functionings

Functionings can be defined as the various things a person may value and have reason to value doing or being (Sen in Alkire, 2002). This definition needs to be looked at in depth. Firstly, activities only count as functionings, if the individual values it. This is important in the aspect of freedom and choice. Secondly, the definition suggests value judgements, in the sense that harmful activities have no reason to be valued. Together they constitute what makes a life valuable. Functionings include working, resting, being literate and educated, being healthy and safe, being part of a community, being respected etc. (Robeyns, 2005). The notion goes back to an Aristotelian origin, in which functions are described as constitutive parts of human being (Alkire: 2005, 118) and his theory of ‘political distribution and ‘human flourishing’ (*eudaimonia*) (Clark, 2005: 2). In Alkire’s definition functions “represent multiple diverse aspects of life that people value” such as “being nourished, being confident, being able to travel, or taking part in political decisions” but also knowledge, health, and relationships (Alkire: 2005, 118-119). They also relate to goods and income, but more in the sense of what people are able to do with it. Sen once suggested to differentiate between ‘material’ functionings, e.g., nourishment, from others, such as wisdom and content, but later he reversed that and put an emphasis on all valued functionings, therefore those functionings an individual sees as most valuable. Therefore, functionings relate to many different dimensions of life - survival, culture, health work etc. (Alkire in Deneulin, 2009). The uniqueness of the capability approach is that, as functionings are not limited, it can analyse rich and poor people and countries and will consider whatever changes in a person's quality of life seems to be most valuable to her/him. This will also be visible in the measurement of indicators, as proposed in Alkire’s seminar, in which ‘times per week to consume an egg’ were present as an example of measurement, if that is something a person values in their life (Alkire, 2002). The mandate of development and policies is here to give people the freedom to combine functionings in a way that allows them to expand their capabilities. However, focusing on functionings alone will not provide

successful development. Most basic functions are provided even in prison. At the same time, a fasting person is not deprived of the function of nutrition but chooses not to eat. The focus on freedom draws attention to “empowerment, responsibility and informed public action” (Alkire in Deneulin, 2009: 36).

4.2.2.2 Freedoms/Capabilities

Freedoms can be defined as “the real opportunity that we have to accomplish what we value” (Alkire,2002). Capabilities are someone’s freedom to enjoy various functionings - to be or to do something that contributes to a person’s well-being. The concepts are therefore very intertwined. Sen defines a good life as a life with choices, and “not one in which the person is forced into a particular life - however rich it might be in other respects” (Alkire: 2005, 121). Therefore, freedoms can be seen as “the ability to shape one’s own destiny as a person and a part of various communities” and being able to “choose from possible livings” (Alkire: 2005, 121). Freedoms can be separated in intrinsic as well as instrumental value. Instrumental freedoms can be summarized as freedoms that “allow us to life free of starvation, undernourishment, escapable morbidity, premature mortality, illiteracy and innumeracy” as well as political participation and free speech (Potter et al., 2008:13). We can also think about the right to vote, economic opportunities, social facilities, transparency within society (trust and openness) as well as protective security (Potter et al., 2008).

As stated by Alkire there are some common misperceptions about Sen’s concept of freedom. She notes that freedom does not refer to ‘paper’ freedom, but to real effective possibilities. It should also not be understood in terms of maximization of choices, it refers to freedom in choices that matter to an individual and enhances their own quality and value of life. Also, it is not necessarily direct control by an individual, group or state (Alkire,2002). A good measurement of development is therefore to see if people’s freedoms have expanded

and for inequality whether or not people's capability sets are equal or unequal (Alkire in Deneulin, 2009) .

The term capability is synonymous with a capability set, which consists of a combination of potential functionings (which can be potential or achieved) that enables a person to pursue a variety of different life paths (Robeyns, 2005). Sen differentiates between basic capabilities as those that are necessary for survival and avoiding or escaping poverty. People with similar capability sets are likely to end up with different achieved functionings, as they make different choices and value different things. Our idea of well-being is hereby also strongly influenced by family, tribes, religion, community and cultural norms and ties. However, it is important to question to what extent people really have access to the capabilities in their capability set, or whether their choices about the kind of life they value are punished by community or family (Robeyns, 2005).

4.2.2.3 Agency

Another important aspect within the capability approach is the concept of agency, as it is the central goal of human development to enable people to become agents of their lives and within their communities (Alkire in Deneulin, 2009). Agency is a person's "ability to pursue and realize goals she values and has reason to value" (Alkire in Deneulin, 2009: 22), it is a personal process of freedom (Alkire in Deneulin, 2009). The opposite of agency is a person who is oppressed, forced or passive. Someone who harms or humiliates others is not exerting agency within the capability approach (Alkire in Deneulin, 2009).

Sen argued that people have to be seen in development programs, they need to be actively involved and have the opportunity to shape their own destiny, instead of being passive receivers of development activities. Therefore, development relies on people's freedom and choices, they decide what they want to achieve and what are the best means for it. The concept

is related to other approaches that stress autonomy, empowerment, voice self-reliance, self-determination and authentic self-direction. There is a strong collective desire for agency, that shows the importance to incorporate it in development processes, which foster democratic practice, public debate and participation (Alkire in Deneulin, 2009).

However, the concept of agency is also very complex. Many decisions are made by groups within a social context and not by individuals, and the ability of individuals to change these decisions are limited in different contexts. For this reason, agency and freedom go hand in hand. People need to have the freedom to be educated and speak openly in public without fear in order to become agents, and vice versa, they need to be agents to build an environment in which they can express themselves freely. Agency can bring radical social change and improve social organisation and well-being (Alkire in Deneulin, 2009).

4.2.2.4 Ends and Means

A key distinction is between means, such as goods and services and between functionings and capabilities (ends) (Robeyns, 2005). Only the ends have intrinsic importance while means are instrumental to obtain more well-being, justice and development. As argued by Aristotle, wealth and income has limited value, as it can only useful for the sake of something else. It is not what makes a life worthwhile. (Alkire in Deneulin, 2009). Ends should be conceptualized in people's capabilities to function, which means being engaged in actions and activities they want to be engaged in. A good has certain characteristics that makes it interesting to people (or not). For example, we are not interested in a bicycle because of its material or shape, but because it can take us somewhere quicker than walking. The characteristic of the good enables a functioning. This relation is influenced by three groups, personal conversion factors (e.g. physical condition, sex, literacy, intelligence, skills), social conversion factors (e.g. social norms, public policies, inequality/discrimination, gender and

power roles, social hierarchies) and environmental conversion factors (climate, geographical circumstances). These factors influence the conversion from characteristics of the good into individual functioning. Therefore, knowing only the goods a person has access to is not enough, we need to know much more about the person and the circumstances. However, as stressed by Sen working in the capability approach does not exclude an analysis of resources and other goods. In conclusion, all means of well-being are important, but the capability approach stresses that they are not the ultimate ends of well-being (Robeyns, 2005). Nussbaum adds to the concepts, that it is the mission of politics, to support each person as an end in itself, as “a source of agency and worth in their own right” (Nussbaum, 2001: 58). Individuals should not be treated as supporters or agents of others, as everyone has the right for to make own plans for their own lives. Equal opportunities to be such an agent must be ensured (Nussbaum, 2001).

4.2.3 Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum- Literature Review of Respective Approaches

Amartya Sen’s book ‘Development as Freedom’ proposes the notion of development “as a process of expanding real freedoms that people enjoy” (Sen, 1999: 3). In order to expand the freedom of deprived people, they should have access to necessary positive resources and be able to make choices that matter to them (Alkire: 2005, 117). Therefore, he argues that our “evaluations and policies should focus on what people are able to do and be, on the quality of their life, and on removing obstacles in their lives so that they have more freedom to live the kind of life that, upon reflection, they have reason to value” (Robeyns, 2005: 94).

His notion goes back to Adam Smith’s analysis of ‘necessities’ and living conditions in 1776 and Karl Marx’s concern with human freedom and emancipation in 1844 (Clark, 2005). Sen was also inspired by Aristotle’s theory of *eudaimonia*, which can be translated as ‘favoured by the gods’ and refers to happiness, success, and flourishing. For Aristotle this ethical approach is a practical science that aims to achieve success through action (Vella, 2008: 116).

Whether Sen's approach has a similar emphasis on action, will be discussed later. Likewise, Martha Nussbaum described within her book 'Upheaval of Thought' a set of central human capabilities that every society should guarantee its citizens. Her own version of the approach derived from a collaboration with Amartya Sen in 1986, when they discovered that Nussbaum's ideas had a striking resemblance with what Sen had been pursuing for some years in an economic context (Nussbaum, 2001). Her understanding of the approach is slightly different as she uses it more towards a direction of a foundation for a partial theory of justice. She therefore enters the approach from a moral-legal-political philosophy and proves a list of principles that need to be guaranteed to citizens (Robeyns, 2005). The list comprises the opportunity to live a life of normal length, bodily health and integrity (including e.g. reproductive health, the freedom to move freely and sexual satisfaction), senses, imagination, thought and expression of emotions (e.g. the right on knowledge, education, affection), practical reason and affiliation (agency over one's life, dignity in social relations), concern for other species and control over one's environment (political and material) and being able to play, laugh and enjoy recreational activities (Nussbaum, 2001: 416-417). She argued that such a list is necessary to avoid omission and power (Alkire in Deneulin, 2009). Sen did not have such a clear objective in his notion of the capability approach. He did more applied work in the 1980s on poverty and destitution in developing countries and focused on alternative economic measurements, which focused on what people can do and could be. He also focused mathematical reasoning within social choice (Robeyns, 2005). Sen's primary use of the approach is to indicate a space within which quality of life can be compared and questions about social equality and inequality can be raised best. Instead of asking about the satisfaction of people, the approach asks what they are actually able to do and be (Nussbaum, 2001). Nussbaum's approach goes further, she does not only want to articulate a space for merely comparative use but provide a basis for central constitutional principles that citizens can

righteously demand from their governments. She therefore provides a list of central human functional capabilities that must be provided to every individual, on a political, social and individual level. The list will be elaborated more extensively down below. She worked much closer to traditions of humanities and uses narratives and poetry to better understand people's hopes, desires, and decisions. Therefore, while Sen's focus was on real and effective opportunity within social choice theory, Nussbaum paid attention to people's skills and personalities as aspects of capabilities. Some authors argue therefore that Nussbaum's approach has better potential to understand action, meaning and motivations. Economic scholars are however often more drawn towards Sen's notion and also the UNDP's Human Development Reports are based on Sen's version (Robeyns, 2005).

Despite the differences, both scholars agree on the important role of political liberty. Nussbaum argues that all capabilities are equally fundamental and both state that economic needs should not be met by denying liberty (Nussbaum, 2001). Further, both scholars argue that the capabilities we should strive for need to be valuable for every person, and that the capability of each should be considered, when measuring a nation's well-being. However, Sen, contrary to Nussbaum, never made a list of central capabilities. Nussbaum also differentiated between three types of capabilities, basic, internal and combined. While basic capabilities can be understood as the innate abilities (e.g. intelligence), internal capabilities are the state of a person that enables him/her to exercise a capability, if the circumstances allow it (e.g. disabilities), and combined capabilities are internal capabilities combined with external provisions that enable a person to exercise a capability (Robeyns, 2005).

Sen on the other hand draws a distinction between well-being and agency, which Nussbaum regards as unnecessary, as all important distinctions can be captured in the capability/functionings distinction and the well-being/agency distinction will not provide more clarity (Nussbaum, 2001). Ingrid Robeyns argues that a differentiation between the concept is

useful and explains the difference between the two concepts. While well-being refers to the personal standard of living and personal well-being, agency can be described as a commitment (Robeyns, 2005), for example in helping someone without own benefits. This means that “agency expands the horizons of concern beyond a person’s own well-being to include concerns such as solidarity with the extreme poor” (Alkire in Deneulin, 2009: 37).

Both scholars have paid much attention to social norms and traditions, especially in the context of women and how it shapes their preferences, aspirations and effective choices (Robeyns, 2005).

The probably biggest difference between the two notions is that Sen never endorsed a specific defined list of capabilities. Nussbaum, on the one hand, argues that such a list is necessary, since otherwise any capability could be argued to be valuable, for example in using one’s power to abuse someone or harmful overconsumption. Also, because structures of inequality and discrimination can influence a person’s notion of what is valuable and relevant for them. The list can ensure that equal freedom for all is respected.

On the other hand, Sen argues that a list is not the task of the theorist and must develop in a democratic process. Nussbaum notes in response that her list is very general and needs to become specific through local people. Other scholars feel that this question got too much attention and that the focus should lay on the democratic institutions the approach would require in practice and on methodologies that can guide social scientist in empirically assessing capabilities and functionings (Robeyns, 2005).

I personally am much more drawn towards Nussbaum’s interpretation of the approach, not only because she worked much closer to the gender sphere, but also because I value her empathic interpretation of narratives and her emphasis on the need for a clearly defined list of capabilities that can be understood as extended human rights.

4.2.3.1 Further Scholars

Many authors have enhanced the capability approach or contributed by summarizing in a collective piece that makes it easy to understand. Ingrid Robeyns work has helped me a lot in conceptualizing the approach. Also, Sabina Alkire is known for her work on the capability approach. She defines it as a moral framework, which proposes that social arrangements should be primarily evaluated according to the extent of freedom people have to promote or achieve functionings they value (Alkire,2002). She argues that the capability approach and its further development has a value independently from its practical outworking, how it can be 'operationalized' and put into practise should not be considered as the only contribution of the approach (Alkire: 2005, 115). The general idea is that the 'end' should be the flourishing of human beings, rather than only the increase of economic growth. The capability approach hereby addresses all relevant concerns and objectives, since individuals determine on their own what is valuable for them. According to her, the approach consists of two formulations, functionings (valuable beings and doings) and capabilities (freedom).

4.2.4 Criticism and Common Misunderstanding

The capability approach has been criticised during seminars and debates because of various claims. The first claim states that the approach is too individualistic and fails to consider individuals as parts of their social environment. Robeyns argues that this is not true, as the capability approach recognizes social relations and constraints in two ways. Firstly, by recognizing societal structures and environmental factors as functionings and secondly, by distinguishing functionings from capabilities. The second claim states that the approach does not pay sufficient attention to groups. Also, this claim is identified as false by Robeyns, who argues that the importance of groups for personal well-being has been noted and also that there has been much research that compares capabilities of groups, for example between men and women. However, there is still a need to combine the capability approach with other disciplines like sociology, anthropology, history and gender studies. The third claim says that

the capability approach does not pay enough attention to social structures. Robeyns argues that this is false, as the capability approach does include social structures in its conceptual framework, however, with the clear recognition that these are means and not ends of well-being (Robeyns, 2005). Robeyns own criticism is that the approach is difficult to grasp for many students and newcomers, as it is not neatly presented in one work but scattered in different articles during the years since its emergence. She concludes that it should not be understood as a “panacea for research on development, poverty, justice, and social policies, but it can provide an important framework for such analyses” (Robeyns, 2005: 109). I agree with her criticism and have to admit that the approach was challenging at times, due to the philosophical depth and dissemination of publications of it. I also often wondered how the approach can be applied in the reality of women living in a patriarchal society. I know understand and value the approach as a political tool and strategy that needs to be promoted within political spheres, as suggested by Nussbaum (Nussbaum, 2001).

4.2.5 Anthropological Perspective on the Capability Approach

There are a common beliefs that cultural and religious indoctrinations can affect women in a way that makes them opt for choices that actually restrict their well-being and empowerment (Nussbaum, 2001). Naila Kabeer is arguing in her article “Resources, Agency, Achievement: Reflections on the Measurement of Women’s Empowerment”, that we cannot measure empowerment at the freedom of choices, but we also have to make sure that the choice is objectively optimal (Bano, 2018). She is therefore in line with Martha Nussbaum’s concern that women in conservative religious societies accept sub-optimal choices and norms as normal (Nussbaum, 2001). Nussbaum has been defending her list of 10 human capabilities, that must be endorsed, with this argument, in order to ensure that universal human rights are met,

independent from cultural beliefs or practices. Cultural relativists⁶ however, have argued since a long time that “the liberal doctrine of human rights does not resonate with people’s views of the world and of social relations, and that notions of rights will continue to vary from one culture to another (Schech and Haggis, 2000).

For this reason, Amartya Sen has stayed reluctant in defining such a set, in order to stay open for democratic processes (Bano, 2018). The question remains, if we question women’s ability to make a good choice for their well-being, are we not limiting their agency? This issue also becomes apparent in donor-funded programs that often purely target the change in gender roles, as it is assumed that women’s well-being is influenced by religious and cultural norms (Bano, 2018). Programs that are designed to change these norms and ignore the need for creation of socio-economic opportunities, might appear colonial and lack understanding for non-Western cultures and femininity. I personally believe in universal human rights and cannot see issues in Nussbaum's universal human capability set, as she had made clear that her set can be adjusted locally. However, I think it is important to question Nussbaum’s approach in order to avoid ethnocentric notions.

4.3 Operationalization for Women in Pakistan

As indicated by the World Bank, Pakistan is a country with a high incidence of poverty (Hammad and Singal, 2018). Pakistan currently ranks 150th out of 189 countries on the Human Development Index with an HDI of 0.562. The life expectancy at birth is currently at 66.6 years and expected years of schooling are 8.6. The Gross National Income per capita is 5.311. As mentioned before, it is a country, which scores second worst in the Gender Gap Index out of 144 other countries with a score of 0.546 (Gender Gap Index 2018, 264). The sex ratio, the

⁶ Cultural relativism: The idea that values, beliefs and practices should be understood based on culture and the rejection of universal validities (Schech and Haggis, 2000)

proportion of women and men in the population, which is often used as the first indicator for gender inequality, is relatively low with 0.920. Gender discrimination is a big issue in the Pakistani society (Momsen, 2010: 232). Just as inequality in general, gender inequality means huge loss of human potential and has high costs for the society and development in general. Consequences are seen in more poverty, slower growth and lower quality of life (Momsen, 2010: 8-9).

It is obvious, that Pakistan needs further development. But is the capability the right approach to lead to successful development? The approach can sometimes seem reasonable, but at the same time rather simple and individualistic. Can it constitute the right approach for such a complex, collectivistic and feudal society? Within the next section I will examine in how far the approach can be applied in Pakistan.

4.3.1 Case study: Capability approach and young Women with Disabilities in Pakistan

I was wondering in how far the capability approach can be operationalized for women in Pakistan. Tehmina Hammad and Nidhi Singal from the University of Cambridge had a similar question and conducted a very interesting research about the “extent to which the capability approach captures the complexity of lives of young women with disabilities in Pakistan, particularly in relation to their education” (Hammad and Singal, 2018: 2). Female participation in education is generally very low in Pakistan and especially problematic for females with disabilities, since they are facing ‘double discrimination’ through to “socio-cultural biases arising from both one’s gender and disability” and sometimes ‘triple discrimination’ if they are affected by poverty as well (Hammad and Singal, 2018: 3-4). Hammad and Singal chose the capability approach, since it is a powerful tool and framework to examine disabilities, gender and poverty and puts a special emphasis on the aspect of agency.

As stated in the article, current research either takes a broad view on the capability approach or selects a few variables to work with. In my opinion, the aspects of education, gender and disability provide an ideal ground for the capability approach. Disability can be understood within the capability approach in terms of human heterogeneity, characterised by diversity and needs of individuals. Likewise, gender is an interesting factor in the interplay of aspects. For example, previous study in Bangladesh has found that parents educate their daughters in order to increase their earning potential and therefore enhancing their marriage opportunities (Hammad and Singal, 2018). In this case, education has the potential to increase women's capabilities and freedoms, but at the same time, the ultimate goal of getting married could be interpreted as a limitation in life choices and agency.

Education enhances freedom and human agency by enlarging opportunities and choices of things that people can be and do. As argued by Sen, education will bring an expansion of other capabilities, for example the “strive for greater economic, social, and political freedom” and allows people to make informed decisions about their life (Hammad and Singal, 2018: 5).

The value of education can be differentiated between instrumental value, in the sense of “better career opportunities, standard of living and life prospects” and intrinsic value, which “includes people’s engagement and participation in social and civic life” (Hammad and Singal, 2018: 5). All six young women in Hammad and Singal’s case study had very high levels of education and all of them had equal or higher education levels as their siblings. In the context of their disabilities, this had very positive effects on their individual agency, self-confidence, independence and awareness of rights. Within the research the educational outcomes were examined on the levels of “individual agency (self-confidence, aspirations, and enhanced status), sense of activism (participation in civic activities), labour market participation (employment) and the relational world (friendships and marriage)” (Hammad and Singal, 2018: 7). Naturally, the women had different views and notions about their impairment, and it was

concluded that this could be an influencing factor in the achievement of their functions and expansion of their capabilities. For me this is an indication that the success of the capability approach is also very much dependent on individual circumstances and separate factors.

Often the women would refer to issues that they had in mainstream schools related to infrastructure and lack of representation in the curriculum, nevertheless most of them were not in favour of special education, since they felt that “special schools remained limited in preparing them for later life” (Hammad and Singal, 2018: 12). The metaphor of the bicycle, that is often used within the capability approach seems fitting here. It is better to teach how to ride a bicycle than it is to give a bicycle. As Ela Bhatt says: “Women don’t just want a piece of the pie; they want to choose its flavour themselves and to know how to make it themselves” (Nussbaum, 2001: 67). Although the special schools fitted the learning needs of the girls better, they were not fulfilling enough for them. The women did not just want to own the bicycle, they also wanted to learn how to ride it properly, metaphorically speaking. The women were striving for integration and representation in the society, all of them had appeared in the media in order to raise awareness for their rights.

We can therefore conclude that all women displayed “much heightened sense of agency and belief in advocacy” with the help of their high levels of education (Hammad and Singal, 2018: 18). Also, in regard of their employment possibilities, their education has been of great help. All of the women are employed and usually even within jobs that are not considered ‘traditional’ for women (Hammad and Singal, 2018). This has improved their status within the household, broadened their social networks and improved their sense of worth. However, none of the women are married, which they naturally perceive with different views and opinions. While some “reconciled with society’s expectations regarding a women’s marital status, others did not necessarily perceive marriage as a necessary and ultimate marker of how they defined themselves” (Hammad and Singal, 2018: 21).

4.3.1.1 Conclusion /Personal Assessment

Within the case example, we can note that, as argued by Sen, the achieved functionings of the women led to an expansion of other capabilities in social, economic and even political participation spheres. But, as argued by Hammad and Singal the translation into valuable outcomes had its limits. Due to the way their disabilities were perceived in society, their “capabilities created real choices for them in certain domains, but not in the others” (Hammad and Singal, 2018: 23). The value of freedom of choice should not be disregarded, but approaching aspirations exclusively from our capabilities, is too unilateral, since individual capabilities are intimately linked with capabilities of others in society (Hammad and Singal, 2018). The point of critique of the authors is therefore, that the capability approach “remains reluctant to take a normative position on an individual in relation to society” (Hammad and Singal, 2018: 23-24). Evaluation needs to take socio-cultural realities into account, since the expansion of capabilities is strongly bounded through them (Hammad and Singal, 2018).

I agree with Sabina Alkire in her point that the capability approach has a value in itself. As a moral framework I highly appreciate its rudiments. At the same time, I think that the approach needs to be applicable and I do see some limitations here. As argued by Aristotle success requires some sort of action. As I perceive the capability approach as a very philosophical approach, I wonder if it can provide enough incentive and plan for action. It does capture the realities of people, but does it have the power for a positive change in the lives of people?

I think that the approach is celebrating individual freedom, but how can this be translated into highly collectivistic societies like Pakistan? Enlarging freedom, capabilities and agency within the society, and especially for women, seems very important to me. But the factors of complex interplay of traditional, religious and societal rules cannot be left out. I

therefore conclude that I am still not convinced about the operationalization of the capability approach for women in Pakistan. The approach needs further development to be applicable. Nevertheless, I believe in the powerful frame of the capability approach and I value its contribution to human development and the transformational incentives it gave to the measurement of poverty, agency and individual values. The approach also encouraged my personal philosophical thinking, especially the question of defining freedom in different cultural contexts.

4.3.2 The Capability Approach applied on the Example of ‘Honour’ Killing

Some harmful cultural practices and traditions are deeply entrenched in the society. I argue that the capability approach can give us tools and lenses to approach these atrocities on women. The capability approach can be applied on the phenomenon of honour killing, in order to analyse in which ways victims of honour killings are deprived of human capabilities within an oppressive system. I argue that the practice is damaging to the society and interferes with the development of fundamental human capabilities. It is oppressive, as it denies autonomous choice and personal expression. It enforces obedience and appoints women to be the bearer of a distorted notion of honourable behaviour. It therefore cuts off women from activities that define what it is to be human, on the basis of their membership to the female sex (Alavi, 2003). The physical and psychological pain that is inflicted not just to the victim, but also to its family, can be seen as an oppression within the society that is of the most egregious kind. The destruction of basic human capabilities cannot be traded with the maintenance of social status or honour.

It is very disturbing within this context, that those females who fight for their capabilities are killed for this demand. In the case of honour killing, the freedom/capabilities of the victim have been strongly suppressed. Females within this system are forced to live their

lives according to the often strongly conservative and traditional perception of their family. This in turn strongly tarnishes functionings.

In order to analyse this further, I will provide Martha Nussbaum's set of basic principles and describe in how far victims of honour killing are deprived of them. These central human capabilities, which were described Nussbaum's book 'Upheaval of Thought', should be guaranteed for every individual within their society, family and surrounding. According to Nussbaum they are separate components, all are of central importance and distinct in quality. A person needs to be able to decide in how far they want to develop these capabilities. For instance, a person in a wheelchair might be constricted in her/his bodily integrity. That does not mean that the person is oppressed or unhappy, as they have the chance to develop other important capabilities. However, the threat of violence, as it is constituted by honour killing, limits women's choices

1. Life. Being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length; not dying prematurely, or before one's life is so reduced as to be not worth living.

2. Bodily Health. Being able to have good health, including reproductive health; to be adequately nourished; to have adequate shelter.

3. Bodily Integrity. Being able to move freely from place to place; to be secure against violent assault, including sexual assault and domestic violence; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction (Nussbaum, 2001: 78).

These first three sets of rights are severely violated in communities that do not condemn honour killing. We can allocate this to the level of direct violence. Victims are denied the right to live, if they are unable to stay within the strict and narrow frame of what is allowed to them. The bodily integrity of the victim is often severely violated, as women are often threatened, assaulted, raped and tortured before their death.

4. Senses, Imagination, and Thought. Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think, and reason—and to do these things in a "truly human" way, a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training. Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing works and events of one's own choice, religious, literary, musical, and so forth. Being able to use one's mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom of religious exercise. Being able to have pleasurable experiences and to avoid non-beneficial pain.

5. Emotions. Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us, to grieve at their absence; in general, to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude, and justified anger. Not having one's emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety. (Supporting this capability means supporting forms of human association that can be shown to be crucial in their development.)

6. Practical Reason. Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life. (This entails protection for the liberty of conscience and religious observance.) (Nussbaum, 2001: 78-79).

These principles are severely circumscribed in societies that leave no freedoms to young girls and women to form a mind on their own, make decisions over their body, clothes, live plans and who they love. It should also be mentioned in this regard, that many women are persuaded to commit suicide due to their alleged defilement of the family's honour, in order to avoid convictions of family members, which forms the highest violation of the above-mentioned capabilities.

7. Affiliation. Being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other humans, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another. (Protecting this capability means protecting institutions that constitute and nourish such forms of affiliation, and also protecting the freedom of assembly and political speech.) Having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that

of others. This entails provisions of non-discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion, national origin and species.

8. Other Species. Being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature (Nussbaum, 2001: 79-80).

These principles are strongly impaired on the part of the perpetrators. Affection, care and love are very natural feelings towards the own family, especially towards blood relatives. The social dependence and pressure for prestige and reputation must be incredible high in order to disturb this natural inclination. These social factors must be taken into account in order to bring social change and solution approaches for these crimes.

9. Play. Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities.

10. Control over one's Environment. Political: Being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation, protections of free speech and association.

Material: Being able to hold property (both land and movable goods) and having property rights on an equal basis with others; having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others; having the freedom from unwarranted search and seizure. In work, being able to work as a human, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers (Nussbaum, 2001).

It has been argued that honour killings are based upon the belief of some members of societies, that women are objects and commodities, the property of the men to whom they 'belong'. Their bodies became the repositories of the family honour, and they are not acknowledged as human beings with dignity and rights (Mayell, 2002). They live within oppressive systems, because it" suppresses, destroys, and unjustifiably interferes with development of fundamental human capabilities" (Alavi, 2003:1).

4.3.2.1 Conclusion/ Personal assessment

Coming from out an anthropological background, I am well aware of the dangers of ethnocentric views on other cultures and their practices. Ethnocentrism is the idea that one's own way of life is natural or correct and the only way of being fully human. The others way of life is reduced to a distorted version of one's own and their truth is, at best, distorted truth, at worst, outright falsehood. Of course, this goes both ways and one's own way of life seems to be a distortion within the perspective of others. Some members of society might conclude that the members of the other group need to be converted to their own way of doing things. If they are unwilling to change their behaviours, this can lead to an active dualism: we versus them, civilized versus savage, good versus evil (Schultz, 2005). However, as a strong advocate for human rights and the capability approach, I believe that some norms and values are universal. Especially within the gender sphere, we can find extremely harmful, unjust and counterproductive practices that scream for social change. Since they are often deeply rooted in the belief systems and cultures of communities, this is a very complex and long-lasting process. In order to change the patriarchy and eliminate violence against women, the social, political, and economic position of women must be strengthened around the world.

4.4 Non-Violent Approaches in the Islamic World and the Example of Malala

This sub-chapter investigates Malala Yousafzai's agency and accomplishments in her fight for the right for education for girls. It also examines the policies and images of the Taliban, in order to find out in how far Non-violent approaches can tackle a repressive regime. Non-violence is mainly associated with ethical and religious traditions, especially originated in Buddhism, Hinduism, Christian pacifism, but also, in the early days of Islam i.e., the treaty of Hudaibiya and the conquer of Mecca. Nonviolence is not only a goal, but also as a practical

strategy in the striving for both, negative- and positive-peace⁷ (Barash & Webel, 2013). Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King are considered the most revered practitioners of non-violence in the Western academia. But also, the Islamic world provides interesting examples of non-violent philosophies and personalities, e.g., Sufism as a method of Islam which promotes compassion and peace (Shafak, 2011). It may surprise even the Muslim youth that the Islamic history is full of events and role models as examples for non-violence and peace. Important activists in the context of Pakistan go back to pre-partition India era, and will be introduced here shortly.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, locally known as Bacha Khan and in the Sub-continent known as the Frontier Gandhi, was the Pashtun leader of the first ever non-violent resistance movement in the British India, known as Khudai Khidmatgar Tehreek (The Servants of God Movement) in the 1920s. He led the resistance of thousands of Pashtuns of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan against the British Raj, who have divided his community by drawing an arbitrary border called Durand Line between the Pashtuns of Afghanistan and the then India. He led hundreds of Pashtuns activists for their basic human rights and faced the cruellest response from the Britishers by killing dozens of their peaceful demonstrators one day on the streets of Peshawar. The oath of this movement was structured on the non-violent principles of Islam and its every possible deed and word was a commitment to non-violence and pledged to not spill one single drop of British blood (Shah, 2007; Shank 2011). Khan's campaign was responded by the Britishers with violence, and the world as of now was quizzically calling the connection of Islam and non-violence to which the Khan replied "There is nothing surprising in a Muslim or a Pathan [Pashtun] like me subscribing to the creed of

⁷ Negative Peace, as the absence of war or physical violence and Positive Peace as a state of the presence of just and non-exploitative relationships (Martínez-Guzmán, 2006)

nonviolence. It is not a new creed. It was followed fourteen hundred years ago by the Prophet all the time he was in Mecca” (Shank 2011).

Other examples are Akhtar Hameed Khan and Sima Samar. Akhtar Hameed Khan was born in Agra, British India, in 1914, but had Urdu as a mother tongue and later developed a Pakistani identity. He was a development activist and social scientist, recognized for his pioneering initiatives related to microcredit and microfinance. His social innovation initiative to provide low-cost sanitation and healthcare facilities, housing and microfinance brought him international recognition and the highest honours in Pakistan.

Sima Samar was born in 1957 in Afghanistan and was the first Hazara woman to receive a degree in medicine from the University of Kabul. During the Soviet invasion, she fled to Pakistan in 1984, and offered medical service to Afghan refugees. Between 1987 and 1989 she set up the Shuhada clinic and organisation in Pakistan dedicated to healthcare and training of medical and teaching personnel. Today she heads the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC) (Samar, 2004).

Not to forget is Fahmida Riaz, an eminent poet and feminist, born in 1946. Her poetry sparked much controversy as it involved powerful and open depictions of female sexuality and desire, but also honest examinations of Pakistani politics, culture, and religion and its effects on women (Shah, 2019). Riaz had lived in India for a while, and when she returned, she was offered various government posts, but she was also accused of being a spy for India (as she had been accused of being a Pakistani spy in India) (Shah, 2019). She passed away in 2018 but will be remembered by many for her voice against intolerance, gender-based violence, and aggression between India and Pakistan as well as for her fight for tolerance, progressivism, and women’s rights (Shah, 2019). An excerpt of her poem “She is a woman impure” can be found in the powerful collection of poets addressing patriarchy in Pakistan “Shameless women: Repression and resistance in We sinful women: Contemporary Urdu feminist poetry”:

No veil of shame conceals her body
No trace it bears of sanctity.
No prayer crosses her lips
No humility touches her brow
(Riaz in Silva, 2003).

There are many more influential figures in the context of the development of Pakistan such as, Fatima Jinnah, Benazir Bhutto, Abdul Sattar Edhi, Asma Jehangir, Sabeen Mehmud, and many more. However, in the following part, I want to look at one of the most famous and youngest figures of non-violent resistance in the Islamic world, in the recent history, Malala Yousafzai, a girl from Pakistan, who was fighting the Taliban's rhetoric of 'no education for women' and hence, became an important advocate for promoting female education and social justice.

4.4.1 Taliban

In order to understand Malala's story, we need to look at policies, history, context and the imagery of the Taliban. Taliban, the plural of the word 'Talib', are the religious pupils studying in Madrassas (religious seminaries) in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Talib therefore does not have a negative meaning as it is the Arabic word for student. Nowadays it's confined not only to the pupils studying in Madrassas but also those students from these Madrassas who went for Jihad in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union. Those Taliban that set the Islamic state in Afghanistan from 1996 till 2001, were extremely conservative, fanatical and puritanical (Rashid, 2010). They came into power due to the vacuum created by the civil war in Afghanistan against the Soviets supported regime, with the support of the United States and West, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates (Murphy & Malik, 2009). Taliban were initially welcomed and seen as the ones who will bring peace to the war-torn Afghanistan

because of their successful role in defeating the Soviets in the country. Pakistan also looked at Taliban as a friendly regime because they were created and trained in Pakistan with the help of United States. Pakistan supported them further because of economic and strategic interests of having a friendly neighbour in the West and hence side-tracking the Dari-speaking other half population of Afghanistan. Taliban are ethnically Pashtuns and speak Pashto language, which is also spoken in the northwest of Pakistan. Pakistan looks towards the Pashtuns of Afghanistan as culturally close.

Many religious people in Pakistan perceived the imposition of the Sharia in Afghanistan as a very 'divine' act by these Taliban. The news of Taliban coming to power in Afghanistan sent positive vibes to the hundreds of thousands of students learning in the religious seminaries of Pakistan. All over Afghanistan and in the frontier region of Pakistan bordering Afghanistan fundamentalist activities started.

Al Qaeda looked at this environment as very friendly and started funding the Taliban and allied itself with them in the very start. Osama bin Laden and many of his Arab African friends started creating sanctuaries in Afghanistan (Stern, 2000). The new relationship of Taliban and al Qaeda broadened the scope of their activities i.e. against the West; to support Chechnya against Russia, supporting the people of Indian occupied Kashmir for getting independence and destabilizing pro-West Muslim regimes.

Despite Pakistan being a democratic country, the ruling elite as well as the religious parties had very little ideological obligations to the Taliban. The ruling junta supported the Taliban regime in Afghanistan for strategic benefits to be achieved with and jeopardizing the long-term peace within Pakistan and in the region, specifically Afghanistan. Hence, it proved to be disastrous; Pakistan saw a dangerous religious radicalisation of its society, especially in the areas bordering Afghanistan such as FATA and Swat (Stern, 2000).

4.4.2 The Story of Swat

The Swat Valley in Pakistan, a place that is often considered to be one of the most idyllic, scenic places in the world, saw a nightmarish period, which started with a damaging earthquake in 2005. In 2007 and 2008 the religious militancy in the Afghanistan bordering regions of Pakistan was at its peak and made its way to a settled educated society of Swat district in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. The Taliban group, under the leadership of Maulvi Fazlullah, became a movement for the implementation of sharia, known as: Tehrik-i-Nifaz Sharia (TSNM) or Swat Taliban. The group started broadcasting FM radio programs on Islam and 'how do be a good Muslim', which largely targeted women's rights and started attacking police stations and other official offices (Weiss, 2014). It used tactics as exploiting the citizens' anger against state neglect from its duty of bringing development and justice in the society. As according to the locals of Swat statements, due to the state failure of not providing quality education and good governance; the illiterate, unemployed, and dejected people looked at Fazlullah as a 'messiah'. He used the quick justice system as a source of public legitimacy for his campaign along with many others. Taking advantage of the government, wait and see policy, and not realizing the severe outcomes for the citizens to act proactively, the Taliban were in complete control of Swat, as they created an atmosphere of fear. Beheadings, school bombings, closing of most bazaars and targeting of influential local leaders and elders led to paralyzed locals, fearful of attracting attention from the Taliban (Weiss, 2014). Mobility was constricted in such a way that livelihoods, businesses and industry became destroyed. The main electricity station and gas plant were bombed. As a result, most many people from Swat, who had education and skills had to leave, also because, for example, schoolteachers, policemen and healthcare practitioners were exposed to much psychological pressure from the Taliban (Weiss, 2014).

After severe public atrocities, the backlash from the local community and mounting U.S. pressure, the Pakistani military opted for tackling Fazlullah. The operation was called Rah-e-Raast (the Right Path), which came into its deciding phase in July 2008. Swatis were told to leave and over 1.5 million people departed for refugee camps, virtually overnight. The Swat Taliban were pushed out of the region after an intense fight, with artillery attacks and helicopter onslaughts. The destruction of the onslaught was considered to be even more devastating than the destruction launched earlier by the Taliban (Weiss, 2014). As a result, thousands of homes and more than 150 (mostly girl) schools were destroyed, and 1.8 million people had to flee Swat (Rana, 2008). Taliban's control vanished, but, due to the absence of economic opportunities, the frustrated youth of the province, especially areas bordering FATA were vulnerable to join militancy (Abbas, 2014).

4.4.3 Policies of the Taliban

The Taliban are known for their harsh use of punishment, which they ascribe to the Sharia law. The extreme forms of punishment include e.g. stoning of adulterers or amputation for theft. Taliban leaders defend these practices by arguing, that they are the only way to enforce stability and peace and by their notion that these laws are made by God (Marsden, 2002).

Further, they enforced strict dress codes, for men and women, the obligation to pray five times a day, a ban on music, games, pictures and any other visual presentation of the human beings or animals. It must be noted here, that in the case of Afghanistan, these regulations were mostly implemented on the uneducated society, since most academics and upper class citizens had already left Afghanistan before the Taliban era and that these actions concentrated more on the urban areas than on rural ones, where people lived relatively unaffected from the Taliban regime (Marsden, 2002). It also needs to be highlighted that the ranks of the Taliban held great

diversity in the degree of radical notions towards gender, the relationship with the West and other issues, ranging from hard-line to relatively moderate (Marsden, 2002).

4.4.3.1 Gender Policies of the Taliban

The Taliban behaved in an extremely oppressive way towards women (Marsden, 2002). There was a prevalent fear that the education of women would increase the influence of Western values, e.g. secularism, and that these would be passed on to the new generation through the women (Marsden, 2002). Peter Marsden identifies four main elements in their policy towards women:

- 1) A ban on employment, except in the health sector (in order to provide healthcare to women)
- 2) A halt on female education before an appropriate curriculum was developed for them (many schools had to close, because female teachers were not allowed to work anymore)
- 3) A strict dress code requires women to wear burqas (and men to wear beards, turbans and *shalwar kameez*)
- 4) strict control on the movement of women outside their home, they need to be attended by a male relative and need to be separated from male strangers (Marsden, 2002).

The implementation of such kind of policies and codes of conduct is not unusual in any religious setting, but the degree of the enforcement of the Taliban, was on the extreme end. The harsh punishment of the religious police installed a great fear in the population and affected female mobility tremendously, especially in Afghanistan. Women did not dare to leave the house until it was absolutely necessary. The access to health facilities was therefore strongly affected as well. This had horrible consequences for the mental as well as physical health of females and children (Marsden, 2002).

Many families were dependent on female family members working as e.g. domestic help and came under strong financial strain, through the prohibition of female employment and

education. As a result, the scope of child labour increased tremendously and 50,000 people had to flee to Pakistan (Marsden, 2002).

In Pakistan, the Taliban had a great impact on the Pashtun areas and its population, the power base of the radical Islamic parties increased within its borders (Marsden, 2002). Until today the effects of the Taliban are present, as women right remain under siege, in part because of the partial ongoing presence of the Swat Taliban, in part because of the reaffirmation of cultural patriarchy and control over women during the peak (Weiss, 2014). The propagandistic radio programs which broadcasted sermons and speeches by Fazlullah had strong influence on women, who often became enthusiastic supporters, who would donate their jewellery and gold in the belief of serving a good Islamic cause. It is important to note here that they were promised “justice and due status in the so-called true Islamic society and state” (Wagha, 2014: 126). Rehana Wagha argues that there is a misconception about Pashtun women as being passive subjects, but that they actually had a strong desire to desist male domination. They initially believed that the Taliban would restore and raise their autonomy and status (Wagha, 2014). Unfortunately, they were the first target of the regime.

Women were encouraged to follow a strict form of *purdah*, e.g. not going outside, not even to visit neighbours as they customarily had done (Weiss, 2014). Women were also forced to switch from their traditional cover to a stricter burqa, one woman recounts:

We four teachers were in a rickshaw. I was in a burqa, the other three women were in chadors. The Taliban made the other three girls get off the rickshaw and said, “if your husbands can’t afford to buy burqas, we’ll give you the money.” And then they beat the rickshaw driver, why did he pick up women not in burqas? “If we see you drive women not in burqas in the future, we’ll cut off your head (Weiss, 2014:142).

The radio was also used to discourage girls from being send to school. This period was however short-lived, in 2009 the Swat Taliban started to destroy girl schools altogether. This led to

phenomenon that today, grandmothers in Swat are often better educated than their granddaughters, as women used to enjoy higher levels of education and integration into the economic force a century before the emergence of the Swat Taliban. Not only girls were affected, there are many accounts of young boys being kidnapped. A woman reports: They closed the schools and kidnapped children, up to 15-year-old boys, for their training. They came and took my brother's son" (Weiss, 2014: 144). As a result, many people would lock their children inside for security. It needs to be noted here that the level of extremism and the way people were affected differed. As accounted by a widow, who had been working as domestic help since the decease of her husband, had a difficult time finding employers as people were scared the Taliban would not approve of her going to other people's houses. She turned to a Taliban commander who said: "we won't hurt you; go with izzat (respect), in *pardah*" (Weiss, 2014: 145). He also made her rich employees buy a new door for her, as hers was falling apart. She described him as a respectful, helpful neighbour. At the same time, there were also some forms of resistance, although this was extremely difficult, due to the installed fear and lack of support from official offices (like the police who had been targeted and driven out first). Some people would hide things, like books from the Taliban, so they would not be able to take or destroy them. The young Pashtun writer, Gul Pasha Ulfat described her feelings in the following poem:

Women's Complaint

Autumn winds do not let buds laugh
Cruel hunters keep the nightingales from the flowers
My will is not mine; I belong to the religion of force
My father does not let do what I wish
Who can I complain to, where can I cry
These evil traditions do not let me speak the truth
How long will I remain in the darkness of ignorance?

They deny me the light of science, knowledge, art
It is wrong to expect me to educate sane children
When school is forbidden to me (Ulfat in Wagha, 2014: 128-129).

Thousands of other women resisted the regime in different forms, but Malala Yousafzai, a Pashtun girl, who experienced all this first-hand, might be the most famous example of peaceful resistance. However, her individual way of raising her voice against injustice, draw much hate and scepticism from various sides.



Source: cinedivers.org

“We realize the importance of our voices only when we are silenced” Quote Malala Yousafzai (Yousafzai, 2013).

4.4.4 “I am Malala”

Malala Yousafzai is one of the most central modern figures of Pakistan. The activist is very engaged in promoting the right to education, especially for girls, and should be named in the context of gender inequality and nonviolent female resistance. She was born in 1997 in Mingora, the biggest city in the Swat Valley, Pakistan. Although she always emphasizes, that she is just a regular girl, like any other, she does have a unique story. Malala always had a very

close relationship with her father, Ziauddin. He founded his own school before Malala was born, and passed on his passion for education, equality and activism to Malala (Yousafzai, 2013). When the Taliban gained control over her region in 2008 and shut down all the schools for girls, Malala publicly started to promote female education and social justice, alongside her father. She anonymously started blogging about her life under the Taliban regime for the BBC, spoke frequently on the Radio in order to promote her goal of female education, met many Pakistani politicians, was featured in a documentary by the *New York Times*, and received Pakistan's first National Youth Peace Prize in 2011 (Ryder, 2015). Her action did not go unnoticed by the occupying regime and she and her female friends were attacked and shot by two Taliban boys in 2012, while they were traveling in their school bus. The girls survived but Malala had to be transported to England for further treatment, where she lives with her family since then. Despite the violent attack Malala kept her philosophy towards peace and nonviolence. She continued her fight for education and justice, has met numerous politicians and talk show hosts to promote her goals, advocates for the rights of refugees and girls, gave a speech at the UN Assembly on her 16th Birthday and became the youngest person to receive the Nobel Peace prize in 2014.

Malala always had a strong sense for injustice. As described in her book, one fundamental experience for her was, when she discovered some children working in a dump close to her house, recycling and sorting rubbish. She brought her father there and asked him why the children were not in school like her. It was then, she was realizing what her life might be like without education and she decided to fight injustice and make the world a better place (Yousafzai, 2013).

4.4.5 The Image Context of Taliban

The Western vision of Islam contains an “almost paranoid fear of Islam as something wild, mindless and potentially overwhelming” (Marsden, 2002). We, therefore, must be careful

not to tap into the trap of negative stereotyping, when discussing the Taliban. (Marsden, 2002)

This is difficult, since most of what the Taliban say and do is reinforcing these stereotypes of holy warriors, who are willing to martyr themselves for their cause. When they took control of Kabul at the end of September 1996, they represented a simple but stark image. They hanged the ex-president Najibullah and his brother publicly and enforced declarations on the ban of female access to education and deployment and strict dress codes for men and women. However, they were not unwelcomed or unpopular in the southern provinces of Afghanistan and had no shortage in recruitment, which is not too remarkable, since their initial goal was to ensure peace, security and the purification of Afghanistan (Marsden, 2002). They were backed by tribal and village elders and those who felt that they were an improvement to what had been before (Marsden, 2002). The local support that they received, might also be connected to the theory, that religious movements of a radical or fundamentalist nature, often correlate with chronic civil conflict and major crises in the society. These movements can be described as a response to chaos and destructive forces; as an attempt to reinforce order. There have been many examples in Christianity and Islam, where so called ‘complex emergencies’, produce religious revivalist movements, in order to return to the true, pure religion. The aim is to eradicate anything that can weaken the religious belief. Strict codes of conduct and dress codes aim at restoring order and provide security in a chaotic, overwhelming world (Marsden, 2002).

The development of this religious extremism might be further strengthened by the dominant role of the West, which is creating a fear in the Islamic world of being overrun by Western values. Secularism, and Western notions of democracy might therefore experience strong rejections from parts of the society. The pendulum that swings between modern and traditional interpretations of Islam might be disrupted by Western interference. Fundamental movements certainly reject any adaptation of Western values and reinforce negative

stereotyping of the West for their part. These negative stereotypes mutually provoke and reinforce each other. Also, we must not forget, that Western interventions, bombings, occupation and drone attacks, did their part in reinforcing terrorism (Ryder, 2015).

4.4.6 Criticism on Malala/ Malala - “Re-written by the West”?

Malala’s persona had to endure much criticism over the time. From out Pakistan some people accused her of “portraying a wrong image of Pakistan as a violent and anti-women society” (Ryder, 2015: 175) and various other voices reproached her as the “darling of the western media”, which was used as a tool of political propaganda by war advocates (Ryder, 2015: 175). At the same time, as described in Phyllis Mentzell Ryder article ‘Beyond critique: global activism and the case of Malala Yousafzai’, Malala's story was used to justify “military intervention in Afghanistan, drone strikes in Pakistan, continued antipathy for all Muslims, pity for Muslim women, and a belief that Pakistan would be better off if the country adopted Western ideals of secularism, capitalism, and liberal democracy” (Ryder, 2015:176). These notions have been fought by scholars and activists of postcolonial studies, which examines how control and oppression is enforced by the dominant culture. They brought in question the story portrayal of a native girl, who is “saved by the white man from the savages in her home country” (Ryder, 2015: 176). Ryder appreciates this criticism, but questions at the same time whether this undermines Malala’s own agency. This means that, critics who argue that Malala has been misused by the media, because she is a “good, pathetic figure who fits the story well” are simultaneously neglecting Malala’s voice, which she had used many times, even before the attack (Ryder, 2015: 176). She had spoken out, met politicians, wrote a blog for the BBC and received Pakistan’s National Youth Peace Prize (Ryder, 2015). Often, she is portrayed as the ‘good Native’, who does not criticize the West. But as a matter of fact she does “implicate the West in the rise of the Taliban”, she spoke out against drone attacks, who only “fuel terrorism” in a conversation with former President Obama and she refuses to portray the Taliban as

Muslim savages (Ryder, 2015: 179). During her speech in front of the UN, she said: “I am not against anyone. I’m not here to speak in revenge of the Taliban or any terrorist group. I want education for the sons and daughters of the Taliban” (Yousafzai in Ryder, 2015: 179) and she continues: “This is the philosophy of nonviolence that I have learnt from Gandhi Jee, Bacha Khan, and Mother Teresa. And this is the forgiveness that I have learnt from my mother and father. This is what my soul is telling me, be peaceful and love everyone” (Yousafzai in Ryder, 2015: 180). Often, she adds that she would not even “raise a shoe” against her attackers (Yousafzai in Ryder, 2015: 179).

There are many examples in which Malala humanizes and even feminizes the Taliban. When an interviewer referred to her attackers as the “man”, she gently corrects: “We may call him a boy” (Yousafzai in Ryder, 2015: 180). Instead of portraying the Taliban as monstrous men, she views them as “misguided boys in a network of caring women” (Yousafzai in Ryder, 2015: 180). She turns the “patriarchal reading upside down” by highlighting the role and feelings of mothers, sisters and daughters, a web of women around the assailant, who do not want to be protected from “cruelty by being cruel” (Ryder, 2015: 180). She encourages us to take another look at what we have been taught about the humanity of the Taliban (Ryder, 2015). At the same time, she never defended the actions of the Taliban and was not afraid to vocalize her feelings about them. She does however contextualize them “within broader historical international, national, and cultural conflicts” and does not forget the significant role of international forces (Yousafzai in Ryder, 2015: 180).

As Ryder summarizes correctly: “Malala admits that the Taliban are bad guys. But as much as Malala decries their brutality, she resists attempts to use her story to justify drones or wars. From her perspective, Western military intervention is the exact wrong response. The right response, she insists, is education” (Ryder, 2015: 181).

4.4.7 Education and Empowerment

According to the UNESCO Global Monitor Report from 2014 Pakistan has globally the second largest number of children not attending school, 5.5 million children (Bano, 2018). The state is not only struggling to respond to severe education access and quality struggles, but also has to fight increasing assertiveness of religious militant groups that directly target female education (Bano, 2018). As a 2005 doctoral study by Samina Malik suggests, female participation in higher education has great influence on economic independence, increased status within family and society and direct impact on a number of discriminatory practices against women (Malik and Courtney, 2011). Education therefore remains a key in female empowerment.

4.4.8 Prospects for Nonviolence

To answer violence with nonviolence seems like a difficult task and many people might think sceptical about this approach. However, on a long term, “nonviolence offers hope for the survival of humankind, whereas violence does not” (Barash, 2013: 474). Nonviolence does not only aim at the protection of people, but wants to overthrow systems of violence, oppression and exploitation. It can therefore help in “the establishment of social justice, environmental protection, and the defence of human rights” (Barash, 2013). Malala has always been an advocate for the power of education and the female role in this power. The attack on her by the Taliban did not restrict her agency. To the contrary, she was able to utilize the controversial media attention and channel it into a positive form of agency and activism. She therefore is an important figure in the context of gender inequality in Pakistan, female agency and nonviolent resistance.

4.5 Conclusion Chapter Four

The fourth chapter attempts to create a solution space, in which different approaches that can challenge patriarchy and gender-based violence and discrimination are discussed. The capability approach is introduced as an alternative approach to development and enlarging female capabilities. The beginnings of development studies are displayed in order to explain the creation of human centred development approaches, e.g. the capability approach. The approach is defined by exploring its main parts, functionings, freedoms/capabilities, agency and ends/means. A literature review follows that compares the influences of Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum on the approach, the similarities and differences in their notions. Common criticism and misunderstandings are elaborated next. The notion of further scholars and an anthropological interpretation of the approach finish the first part of the chapter. The second part examines in how far the approach can be operationalized in the realities of women in the Pakistani context. The case study of women with disabilities shows that the capability approach has valuable and powerful notions, but still some limitations in its application. The reasons for that need further research. The following segment is an attempt to apply the capability approach on the example of 'honour' killing, in order to understand what perspectives and analysis it can offer. In order to do so, the violation of Nussbaum's list of 10 human capabilities, that honour killing poses, are displayed.

The third part investigates nonviolent forms of resistance. It provides a few short introductions to influential figures in the Pakistani context, within spheres as microfinance to health care providence and poetic resistance. It then goes on with the example of Malala Yousafzai, the young women who is internationally known for her brave resistance against the Taliban regime in Swat, Pakistan and her fight for female education. In order to tell her story, the Swat region, which was occupied by the so-called Swat-Taliban and their harmful policies and general image are examined. The conclusion of this chapter is that non-violent peaceful resistance is

possible and necessary. In order to change gender inequality, female discrimination needs to be tackled, especially through education and political reforms.

5. Conclusion

This thesis aims at understanding the different expressions of gender inequality in the Pakistani context. Feminist and anthropological lenses are applied in the process. The thesis suggests, both notions go very well together. However, the common clash within anthropology between the opposing concepts of universalism and cultural relativism also became a question within the analysis of this thesis. Based on my background studies in anthropology, I am aware of the paradox and tried to steer through it, while acknowledging both notions without judgement. The topic of gender inequality could be set in any part of the world, as it is an ongoing global issue. However, the recent statistics on the gender gap in Pakistan (Thomas Reuters Foundation, World Economic Forum), add relevance to the context. Pakistan scored second worst in gender equality in the Global Gender Gap Index 2018, which measures economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment (Gender Gap Index, 2018). The Thomas Reuters Foundation Poll 2018 ranked Pakistan as the 6th most dangerous place for women. The country scored especially bad in the categories culture and religion, in terms of cultural, tribal and religious traditions or customary practices (for example, measuring, acid attacks, child marriage, forced marriage, punishment/retribution through stoning, physical abuse or mutilation and female infanticide/foeticide) and the category discrimination (including job discrimination, inability to make a livelihood, discriminatory land, property or inheritance rights, lack of access to education and lack of access to adequate nutrition) (Thomas Reuters Foundation Poll 2018). The objectives of this thesis aimed at explaining the background of these circumstances. In order to do so, Pakistan's recent economic development and social inequalities are discussed. The phenomenon of 'Growth without Development' is examined, which depicts that despite Pakistan's per capita growth, its Human Development, stagnates. The policy makers should

assign more resources for health care, education and social services. The social, political and economic challenges that many Pakistani women face are visualized throughout the thesis, but especially in relation to different forms of gender-based violence. Aspects as different as honour killing, harmful marriage practices, domestic abuse, acid attacks, female foeticide, exploitation of labour, *purdah*, the dowry system and discrimination in labour and education are examined in the context. The conclusion is that gender-based violence and discrimination are prevalent in the realities of many Pakistani women. Patriarchal structures in the country have led to a wider gender gap. Patriarchy continues to be expressed in different forms of violence, especially against women, but also against the whole society. In order to tackle this issue, different approaches for female empowerment in Pakistan have been discussed with their limitations and extensions in the society. In this regard, education is of importance and has been examined on the example of Malala Yousafzai's nonviolent fight for female education under the Taliban regime. In addition, the capability approach is analysed as a powerful tool of universal human rights. However, its application showed limitations within some studies. Scholars like Tehmina Hammad and Nidhi Singal questioned the capability approach's ability to capture the complexity of disabled women living in Pakistan. Hence it leads to an uncertainty, whether this individualistic approach could be translated to a collectivistic society like Pakistan's? However, the capability approach appeared convincing while applying it on the phenomenon of honour killing as a simple yet powerful tool of analysis.

The concept of agency was very important in the thesis, as I wanted to show that the women who become victims of gender-based violence and patriarchal injustices, still have agency. Female poetry is incorporated in order to portray different forms of agency. Women demonstrate to be self-determined agents, who know well what is best for them. At the same time, I also want to suggest that the power of indoctrination of patriarchy still has a strong grip on societies around the globe. Patriarchy needs to be critically questioned, especially in

countries where patriarchal structures are deeply entrenched in culture and society. Misogynist perceptions, beliefs, and practices must be challenged from not only within the society, but also through political implementations. Education, female agency, and resistance appear to be the strongest tools in the struggle for equality.

The following segments highlight the structure of the thesis and give recommendations and ideas for further research.

5.1 Review of the Chapters

In order not to repeat myself at this point, I would like to highlight the structure that I had in mind while writing this thesis. As I have studied Anthropology and Development during my Bachelor, it was essential to me to include these concepts within the thesis. They are highlighted in detail within the first two chapters. The field of Peace and Conflict that I studied in this Master is especially recurrent in the third and fourth chapter. All concepts are connected to Gender in the Pakistani context.

The first chapter gives not only an introduction to the topic, the research questions and methodologies, but it also introduces the notion of Gender and Anthropology. This was very important to me, since my main methodology and epistemological approach is feminist anthropology. Therefore, before I start digging into the gender issues that Pakistan is facing, I wanted to make sure that the reader gets an understanding about the two merged concepts. The second chapter looks at Pakistan's history in relation to gender, the state's legislations, female activism, but also economic development. The notion that I wanted to transfer to the reader in this chapter, was Gender and Development. Within the third chapter I am examining harmful traditions that are connected to patriarchy and gender-based violence in Pakistan. My research was based on many gruesome acts and injustices against women that were emotionally challenging sometimes. It was important to me to stay culturally sensitive and prevent

generalisations. This chapter can be connected to the notion of Gender and Conflict. The concept of peace philosophy reemerges in the fourth chapter by examining the Gender and Peace notion. Within this chapter, I seek for solutions and non-violent approaches for the gender dilemma in Pakistan. On the one hand, Malala Yousafzai's non-violent activism is a beautiful example to me in this context. On the other hand, the capability approach provides this miraculously simple but effective notion of universal human rights, that has the potential to transform the world into a better place, if applied properly throughout the world in politics, developmental thinking, and individual utilisation. Hence, I feel that this thesis is quite round in the sense that all the academic notions are applied that I am trained in and that are so important to study the gender inequality in Pakistan: Gender and Anthropology, Gender and Development, Gender and Conflict, and Gender and Peace studies.

5.2 Recommendations and Implications

Pakistan since its inception has been going through challenges, whether it was its disputed partition from the British India, the influx of refugees, economic challenges, territorial disputes, the confluence of state and religion, its multi-ethnic and traditional society, political instability, or human rights (Jalal, 2014). Cultural conflicts are manifested in the beliefs of different groups as being “the proprietors of culture and interpreters of religion” (Weiss, 2014: 151). This also led to very different interpretations of women's rights and roles in the society. Violence, especially against women, became an everyday phenomenon. Giving recommendations after so much work seems easy, but it is actually very difficult. What can be done? This is a very important yet difficult question. I believe, that the political sphere bears a great responsibility in diminishing gender inequalities, especially in diminishing discrimination against women in education and the work sphere. It has become visible that the head of the state strongly affects the future path, the actions taken, and provided resources. Future

legislations are of utmost importance in creating more gender balance and giving justice and protection to women. There is a need for police training in appropriately responding to gender-based violence. Impunity of perpetrators is very harmful for the society. The state needs to claim political leadership and take on the perpetrators independent from social class, political affiliation, and community ties. Female based activism needs political acknowledgement. Human rights movements and women rights NGOs do a monumental work and need the required support and recognition. The acceptance towards women's rights must start from within the society, and the political leadership will have to work hard for this goal.

5.3 Further Research

The topic of gender inequality in Pakistan is very dear and important to me. I believe that it requires much more research and activism. I am hopeful that I will have the chance in the future to extend my research through ethnographic studies. I would be happy to extend this theoretical research into an empirical one, by conducting interviews, observations, and fieldwork in Pakistan. The feminist anthropological approach of this thesis would therefore continue to be very appropriate and important for further research.

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