

**IMPACT OF PUBLIC POLICY ON
HORIZONTAL INEQUALITIES
ACROSS GENDER IN PAKISTAN
(1999-2012)**



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INEQUALITIES
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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of PhD in
Politics and International Relations at the Faculty of Social Sciences
International Islamic University,
Islamabad**

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October, 2017

Dedication

This study is dedicated to my beloved father (Late) and loving mother who passed on a love of reading and respect for education.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis, neither as a whole nor as a part thereof, has been copied out from any source. It is further declared that I have prepared this thesis entirely on the basis of my personal effort made under the guidance of my supervisor.

No portion of the work, presented in this thesis, has been submitted in support of any application for any degree or qualification of this or any other university or institute of learning.

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Certification

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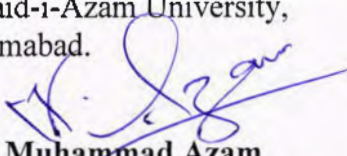
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Asifa Marium

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Abstract

Gender inequality is recognized as a serious problem over the globe. Many of the states give importance to this issue while making their public policies. The purpose of this research is to discuss political, social, economic and cultural dimensions of horizontal inequalities across gender in Pakistan. Women face social insecurity, disrespectful environment, negligence in decision making, etc. This study focuses on social, cultural, political and economic constraints in women's empowerment. The study analyses interrelationship between public policy interface and the gender order of society. This study considers legal feminist theory as a theoretical approach to decrease gender inequality in society. According to the theoretical underpinning strong legislation, smooth implementation of laws and effective execution of policies are required for women empowerment and gender equality.

In the short history of Pakistan, the Musharraf government (1999-2008) and successor parliaments have taken many positive steps to bring women in mainstream; yet the state falls short of achieving the set targets. The study concludes that stereotypical gender divisions of labour, societal attitude towards women and flawed policy implementation are primarily to blame for gender inequality. The study finds that long term transformation of Pakistan as horizontally gender-balanced state needs efficient policy formulation, effective implementation and strong political will.

List of Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AI	Amnesty International.
ANP	Awami National Party
APWLD	Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law, and Development
APWLD A	Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law, and Development ()
BHUs	Basic Health Units
CEDAW	Convention for Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CFR	Council on Foreign Affairs
COP	Combined Opposition Parties
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
EmOC	Emergency Obstetric Care
FAO	food and Agricultural Organization
GAD	Gender and Development
HRCP	Human Rights Commission of Pakistan
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPPF	International Planned Parenthood Federation
IPPF	International Planned Parenthood Federation
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
KPK	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
KSA	Kingdom Of Saudi Arabia

MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MQM	Mutihada Qourni Maahz
NA	National Assembly
NCSW	National Commission on the Status of Women
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NHRC	National Human Rights Commission
NPA	National Plan of Action
NPAW	National Plan of Action for Women
OBGY	Obstetricians & Gynaecologists
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
PCSW	Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women
PDHS	Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey
PILDAT	Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz
PML-Q	Pakistan Muslim League Quaid e Azam
PNWG	Pakistan Women's National Guard
PPI	Philippines Peasant Institute
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PTI	Pakistan Tehreeq e Insaf
RHCs	Rural Health Centers
RVF	Rectovaginal Fistula
SDPI	Sustainable Development Policy Institute
SOGP	Society of Obstetricians & Gynaecologists of Pakistan
UN	United Nations

UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNGEI	United Nations Girls' Education Initiative
UNHD	United Nations Human Development
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VVF	Vesicovaginal Fistula
WHO	World Health Organization
WID	Women in Development
WPF	World Population Foundation
WVS	Women's Voluntary Service

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The word Gender refers to both men and women. They are born equal, but social construction differentiates them on the basis of their stereotype roles. Gender inequality is the unequal distribution of finance, power, and privilege between men and women. It is common scene that majority of women are under the domination of men. This clash between the oppressed and the oppressor has been common throughout history in all societies. In the west and Europe, laws were made from time to time to give sufficient protection, freedom and equality to women. Women rights have been linked with human rights. Gender inequality and women discrimination in developing countries still exist. In Pakistan, women experience gender inequality in different environments, stereotypes, and occupations. Just take a small example of a family where parents have children (girls and boys); Parents prefer sons over daughters for better opportunities in higher education or all other facilities for future roles.

There are two dimension of inequalities; horizontal inequality and vertical inequality. Vertical inequality is measured on the basis of individual income, assets,

and consumption, while horizontal inequality is based on group discrimination that is an important feature which needs to be addressed with reference to peoples' well-being. Horizontal inequalities may be defined as differences between groups, where one group feel discriminated on the bases of different attributes of identity such as race, ethnicity, religion, language, gender and regions in a society. These unequal social, economic or political treatments could lead to conflict.

According to well-known scholar Stewart (2007), development is mostly focused on vertical inequality while ignoring horizontal inequality. Human beings live in a society; they are connected with different networks and have associations and attachments with different groups. If people affiliated to a certain group faced problems and obstacles in access to education, health or economic opportunities, or they feel a threat to their identity by other group or state, then negative implications will trickle down the generations. Ultimately, poverty and development gap will widen which will cause conflict in society and develop hatred and dissatisfaction in different groups. Therefore, it is important to consider priorities of all primary groups of state while developing public policies and development practices.

There are two basic types of inequality; one is constructive and the other is destructive. Constructive inequality refers to income inequalities and equal opportunities for all individuals of society. Existence of this inequality develops a positive environment for development as people enjoy social mobility and economic growth. On the other hand, destructive inequality refers to discriminated treatment to a certain group where people of some specific group have no access to social, political and economic opportunities. This type of inequality creates greater income and development disparities. Destructive inequality is also associated with horizontal

inequalities. This situation is mostly generated due to institutional and policies failures (Stewart & Langer, 2007).

As defined above, horizontal inequalities are inequalities among different groups. People can be affiliated with or join a group in different ways. Often, people become members of many groups same time. This affiliation is sometime permanent and sometime temporary. Some group affiliations are by choice like religious, ethnic and some affiliations are without choice like, gender. In some situations the categorization emerges largely from self-identification, and in some situations it is because of legal aspects. Aaffiliation with some groups are clearly more important than others. Group affiliation matters both instrumentally and for well-being. A group has following characteristics:

First, Group knots are relatively tight, so people cannot move from one group to another like gender, race.

Second, being a member of a group leads to different behaviour by others. For example, there is gender discrimination at many levels which may begin from birth or even before it. In Africans and Asian societies, gender discrimination exists from cradle to grave in the contexts of political, social and economic dimensions. Civil rights and privileges for a specific groups also increase the importance of group affiliation.

Third, people affiliated to a specific group feel that being member of the group define a substantial feature of their identity and enhance their personality. So it can be said that group successes directly contribute to peoples and well-being (Stewart, 2007).

Horizontal inequality of a group can be important as a way of achieving economic, political and social objectives. The direct impact on members' well-being is one of the most vital aspect. The people's well-being, individual situations and vertical development play important roles, but treatment of other group members and state also matters. Because affiliation of a group is part of a person's own identity and personality, so deprivation of the group increases the discernments of members that they are likely to be trapped permanently in a low position (Stewart & Brown, 2005).

In Pakistan, different strategies and techniques have emerged at different times for advancement of women. Each government addressed empowerment of women and gender equality as important part of its public policy. The formulations of public policies across gender are in conformity with global agenda. Each succeeding policy has tried to deal differently with the issues of previous strategies, but impacts of all gender equality approaches on society have remained dissatisfactory.

1.1.1 State of Gender Inequalities in Pakistan

Gender discrimination and women deprivation exists in all classes and provinces of Pakistan. Different government organizations and NGOs conducted surveys and published reports on gender issues and women empowerment. They show that few people are much aware about what factors are involved in extending gender gaps and how policy makers address gender inequality issues to reduce gender gap. These gender inequality problems have roots in Pakistan's sociocultural environment. Economic constraints, restriction on women's mobility and freedom also give boost to these gender inequalities, which varies in different parts and

provinces of the country. Restrictions on women's movements results in women's seclusion from society. This seclusion is actually one of the major reasons to extend gender gaps in society.

Pakistan has very poor gender indicators. It ranks 115 on the UN Development Programs. Women's literacy is just 38%. Pakistani women face exclusion from access to social services, economic opportunities and decision making (UNDP, 2011). Some urban, middle-class women do play a role in public life. However, most women are severely constrained by discriminatory patriarchal norms which are being reinforced by the spread of extremism. It is a reality that attitudes to deny women's fundamental rights exist in society. Their rights and interests are overlooked by their male decision makers. This situation is the main point of thought in academia and non-academia. Gender inequality and women exclusion must, therefore, be an integral part of the government's public policy.

Gender exclusion is also a key driver of Pakistan's population-related instability. Evidence demonstrates that fertility rates fall where women are educated, empowered, aware and economically independent (SDPI, 2008). However, Pakistan's population programs, recently devolved at the provincial level, are focused on a technical approach to family planning (Sather & Zaidi, 2010). Such efforts to promote birth control must be supported by a broader agenda to empower women. Particular attention should be paid to address women's exclusion in Pakistan's conflict-affected regions like Swat, FATA and Waziristan.

Pakistan is rigidly patriarchal and male-dominated society. Women, whether they belong to remote village or developed cities, face more or less same problems

as subordinate or inferior creatures. In Pakistani society, very few women can express their choice for their partner; otherwise partner is decided by family's male elders without consent of girl. If any girl raises her voice or tells her choice, she is declared as symbol of shame for not only family or surrounding but for coming generations. Mostly marriages are decided within family, **tribe or biraderies** (lineages). In some cases, decision power is handed over to a *biraderi panchayat* or tribal *Jirga* that is also headed by a male who decides fate of a girl. This is a type of organizational kinship. The situation in cities is a little better where women have chances to get education and employment, but no woman can setup career or live alone without the protection of husband, father, brother or son. If a woman is divorced or a widow and have small kids, she will be returned to her father or brother until her son is grown-up. Her son can protect her but she is not able to protect herself or her home.

Pakistan is one of those countries where women are in lower number as compared to men in the population. According to population census of 1998, there are 98 women for every 102 men as against a world average of 111 women to every 100 men. Death rate of 15 to 40 years young women is 75% more than men. (Zia, 2006). The above demographic statistics show discrimination against women in society. Lower number of women in population is because of malnutrition, anaemia, shortage of food, negligence of girl child and unavailability of health facilities. In Pakistani society, mostly people are considered fortunate who has sons instead of daughters. The parents consider it a bad fortune to have daughters only. Often in Pakistani rural and conservative families, women eat left-overs. Due to malnutrition, female has low immunity and resistance against killer diseases like

malaria, gastro-enteritis and respiratory diseases, especially tuberculosis. Continues pregnancies also reduce resistance to disease.

Pakistan is a developing country, the living conditions in villages are very poor, place of women and division of labor is differing region to region. Unpaid labour of women is too much in rural areas. In villages, mostly men move to cities or abroad for jobs. All burden of family came on the shoulders of women. Pothohar region is located very near to Islamabad, consisting little developed villages. A large number of men belonging to this belt had left their villages and went to cities or abroad. Their incomes are defiantly low because of low education so they cannot afford to bring their families at job stations. Old men, women and children stayed at home. In this situation women have to take all burden of family, children's health and education, elders care, domestic tasks. Even she look after land and livestock.

1.1.2 Public Policy regarding Gender Inequalities (1999-2012)

In October 1999, General Pervaiz Musharraf came to power in Pakistan. He gave a doctrine of Enlightened Moderation. The formulation of public policies during his regime are reflection of enlightened moderation. Women development and gender equality was a major agenda of his policies. His government took many solid steps to reduce gender gaps in society. Pakistan did a number of efforts in his stay to address gender inequalities at social, legal and political fronts. Parliament increased number of reserved seats for women in national and provincial legislatures. Parliament made laws for women protection, at community and work place.

Musharraf and his successor governments have done legislation for women development and gender equality. But despite all efforts, women are not empower as

expectations of policy makers and rulers. The gender discriminatory practices are still exist in society. It is a reality that today women are living a better life; they are to some extent, aware of their rights. But still they have no courage to come forward for their rights. Government, media and some NGOs are doing efforts for reducing gender inequality. They are trying to give voices to women rights but still situation is far from satisfactory.

In Pakistani society, this is more than an academic issue where political groups demand religious authority to define the limits of social behaviour while the public policies seem reflection of global environment. In any country, social justice is prerequisite of gender equality and human welfare. Amartya Sen, a renowned scholar presents a theory for human welfare as capability approach. Gender inequalities refer to differences in men and women's access to social justice, political identity and economic opportunities. It also requires freedom and liberty to utilize their capabilities (Sen, 1999). Capability approach could bring gender equality and human welfare in society.

Gender inequality and women disparities are interconnected with the country's progressive road map. In contemporary global environment, no state can progress without bringing all groups in mainstream. Balanced gender policies are prerequisites of development of a country. Provision of universal education and health facilities in all parts of the country may lessen gender gaps. Access to education not only gives self-identification to a women, it also leads towards other development milestones. Women education could help to control population. Educated women can become more productive within walls and outside walls. Within walls, educated mother can bring up their children in a better way so that

coming generation become good citizens and beneficial for state. Outside walls, women's education increases her productivity. She can participate in economic, political and social activities as an aware and active participant. Gender friendly policies would develop a safe environment where women feel free to participate in the country's development.

1.2 Thesis Argument

Governments of Pakistan, during last decade, designed policies to reduce horizontal inequalities across gender just to achieve their political interests. So these policies failed to decrease inequalities between sexes and bring about real change for women in society.

1.3 Central Research Question

How the governments' policies addressed horizontal inequalities of gender in Pakistani society during 1999 to 2012?

1.4 Specific Research Questions

The research analyzes key questions, such as:

- What are the various horizontal inequalities across gender in Pakistan?
- How did horizontal inequalities in Pakistan translate into discourses of grievance and relative deprivation and with what outcomes during 1999 to 2012?
- In what ways are gender inequalities embedded in political, social and legal institutions and with what consequences?

- How the governance, public policy, national politics and other socio-economic variables from 1999 to 2012 impacted women empowerment in Pakistan?

1.5 Objectives of the Study

The aims of study are:

- To analyses the gender discrimination scenario and socio cultural environment of Pakistan.
- To explore and discuss public policies addressing gender issue in Pakistan during 1999 – 2012.
- To explore the socio-economic development which impact the well-being of women.
- To observe the changing behavior and attitudes having visible effects on women.
- To find the reasons of governments' failure to address horizontal inequalities across gender in their true essence.
- To fetch out the ways in which gender inequalities are embedded in political, social and legal institutions and their consequences.
- To assess the level of change taking place in men and women's perceptions regarding their stereotype roles and perceptions towards women and men's roles, duties.

1.6 Key Concepts

The purpose of conceptual framework is to give a brief overview of some key terms which are going to be mentioned repeatedly throughout this study of existing gender inequalities in the distribution of resources, responsibilities, and power in Pakistani society.

Gender:

Every society institutes a set of customary behaviours to which male and female are expected to conform. Both men and women are expected to act in their respective domains. There are standards of femininity and masculinity and defined patterns of behaviour which differ from society to society. These socially and culturally determined differences constitute Gender (Siddiqui, 2004). Gender is defined on the basis of social norms, behaviours, activities, relationship, responsibilities which are assigned by the society as appropriate for male and female (WHO, 2010). It also refers to the social differences and relations between male and female, which are cultured, changeable over time, and have wide distinction between both. These differences and relationships are erudite through socialization process so, these vary in different races, nations, castes, ethnic groups, and religions.

Sex:

The biological and physiological differences between males and females are represented by sex such as reproductive organs, chromosomes and hormones and distinguish men and women, boys and girls (WHO, 2010). It can be defined as the

property by which organisms are classified as males or females based on reproductive organs and functions.

Gender Inequality:

The term 'gender inequality' means an unequal visibility, empowerment and participation of both men and women in various parts of public and private life (Declaration on Equality of Women and Men, 1988). It could be taken as socially constructed differences between men and women, which are developed through traditional roles of masculinity and femininity, by which women continue to experience unequal treatment. Social structure favours one group and opposes other which in turn lead to differences and inequities between men and women in social, political and economic dimensions.

Gender inequality manifests as hierarchical genders relations, with men's control over women, and women being considered as inferior and less valuable merely by virtue of their sex. Inequalities are expressed in family relationships, inheritance laws and customs; valuations of women's work; the power and freedom to take decisions in society, the family, work place, religious and other cultural institutions. These are actually opportunities and freedom available to women and girls for development, education, health and nutrition and in the pattern of violence between the sexes (Nelson & England, 2002).

Gender Equality:

Gender equality refers to equality under the law, equality of opportunity including equality of rewards for work and equality in access to human capital and

other productive resources that enable opportunity, and equality of voice which is the ability to influence and contribute to the development and political process (World Bank, 1995). The term means that both men and women, as human beings, have equal rights and opportunities irrespective of gender. It also refers that all people (men and women) must have equal right to develop their personal abilities and free to make personal choices. State or society will not discriminate between men and women on the basis of gender. Gender equality is expressed in attitudes, beliefs, behaviours and policies that reflect an equal valuing and provision of opportunities for both genders. All members of both groups hold a similar level of power and treat other people with respect and consideration, irrespective of their sex (Nelson and England, 2002).

Discrimination against Women:

Any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on the basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field."(UN Convention, 1995).

Gender Mainstreaming:

The process used to ensure that women's and men's concerns and experiences are integral to the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all legislation, policies and programmes. This leads to equal benefits for women and men, and ends the perpetuation of existing inequality in a society (DFID, 2002).

Public Policy

Public policy is a set of intended course of actions and strategies that governments design and implement for the wider public good. Public policy precedes legislation, which is often considered simply the legal cover for the more substantive policy. Public policies related to gender and public welfare have mostly been designed under international commitments. (UNDP, 2008).

1.7 Justification of the Study

This study has three basic objectives. **Firstly**, it focuses to understand the concept of horizontal inequalities and its impacts on gender mainstreaming and women deprivation in the Pakistani society. **Secondly**, it emphasizes on political, social, economic and cultural aspects of discrimination against women. Despite the fact that women constitute half of the population, they continue to be under represented as inferior gender in family and society. There are many organizations which are working on gender issue and different studies have addressed this topic. Current study focuses on how women are discriminated as a group. It also gives an analytical view on public policies relating to women development, like Hudood Laws, Family laws and women's notable participation in Parliament and politics. It will also analyze the performance of government institutions for women development and lessen the gender gap. This study gives policy recommendations to increase horizontal gender equality in whole society.

Thirdly, Pakistani society has patriarchal culture that transmits from generation to generation. Women's basic decisions are taken by men. These

decisions can extend or reduce gender gaps. The study will discuss discrimination in above mentioned four aspects which women face within family and outside family.

1.8 Literature Review

Male and female have different needs, preferences and interests in their lives. Both are equally important to construct a family and society, so equal chances must have been given to both genders in every sphere of life. Whereas inequality could be seen throughout in human history, globally attentions have focused on discrimination of women since twentieth century (Arnesen, 2006).

A glimpse at the socio- cultural scenario of Pakistan exposes that gender-based violence is deep-rooted in society irrespective of language and ethnicity. Women are not given their due role, rights and respect. They are treated as possessions. Patriarchal social structure, women-discriminated norms and practices and violence against women are very serious issues. Pakistani society considers women of less wisdom and it is thought that they are socially immature (Heinz & Renate, 1992).

The condition of socio-political factors is still alarming in many states around the globe, especially related to women discrimination and gender inequality. In developing and third world countries like Pakistan, low women literacy rate, women exclusion from economic and political activities, poor health facilities and social injustice widen gender gap in society. Amartya Sen, a renowned scholar, presents a theory that millions of women are missing from the society on the basis of social exclusion and inequality (Croll, 2001). Sen's thesis of "missing women" is based on facts and population census of birth and death rates of women. This argument points

out gender inequality in society. Researcher wanted to replicate this claim in Pakistan's case. In Pakistan, the case of missing women is acute as there are 100 women for every 108 men. It is due to poor health facilities, high mortality rate and social desire for boy child.

The main objective of review of literature is to find the gap in the available literature and prospective study in the selected topic so that the present research can fill that space in horizontal inequality across gender in Pakistan. There have been many studies concerning the gender inequality and women discrimination in Pakistan and few researches also touched some issues and hurdles in the way of horizontal inequality across gender. But none of them discussed details about the public policy addressing different dimensions of horizontal inequality across gender in Pakistan.

Most of the studies on gender inequality across the globe, and specifically Pakistan, cover and emphasize on economic empowerment and inequality. It has been debated that public policies which favours economic development has ultimately positive impact on women's status and rights in the society (Doepke & Tertilt, 2009, Duflo, 2011, Forsythe, 2000, Rives and Yousefi, 1997, Sajjad, 2014, Isran, 2012). These studies discuss only economic dimension of gender inequality across the globe and Pakistan but ignore social, cultural and political dimensions.

Freedom of choice and decision-making is one of the primary attributes to define women status in family and society. They also include freedom of movement, access to financial and non-financial resources, and equality in her relationship with her life partner as debatably important factors (Kazi, Sathar, 1996). Multi-

dimensional women discrimination tells us about the paths through which women's status operates on demographic outcomes (Mason, 1998). None of them discusses cultural and political aspects of gender inequality.

That's why need was felt to work on this subject to attempt filling of gap, recognizing the hurdles in women's way forward in political, economic, social and cultural ground. Most of the existing literature just explains the existing laws and policies without any solid and objective analysis of their applicability. Disappointingly, few authors took the pain to mention societal pressures to participate in government, but they too failed to cover all the main aspects. Very limited literature exists or was gone through to talk about hurdles faced by women in Pakistan in cultural and political fields. That is why need was felt to highlight the pressures and hurdles faced by women of Pakistan participating in every spheres of life even in the presence of public policy about gender inequality issues.

Theoretical and empirical literature supports the concept that women's position in a society is multidimensional in nature because there are multiple characters of woman which she performs in her relationship with others. It is very difficult to apprehend the influence of gender discrimination in whole society and understand the position of women through observing single dimension. Some scholars felt that economic empowerment of women is one of the prominent dimensions which define the status and role of women in society.

John Stuart Mill (1789) was against the argument that women are less capable than men, as in fact men are unaware of women capabilities because they do not permit women to perform in full capacity to their abilities. On this assumption, one cannot

restrict women's certain activities that they might not be capable of performing it. Hence this becomes a speculation. Windecker (2010) uses this idea in her study. She argues that women's emancipation carry multiple benefits, but two of them are significant; one is for the betterment of society and other is for personal benefit of women. In her view, the existing gender relations in the world are nothing but just legitimate demotion of one sex to the other. This subjugation is the key obstacle to human development, and it should be replaced by perfect equality between both sexes. The author further argues that education has the power to mold and change this prevalent inequality and can develop the independent thoughts in women. She also supported the idea of women's inclusion in every career as that of men. Current study also analyses the policies to reduce gender inequality in society. It also emphasizes that legislation to empower women and its true implementation will definitely reduce gender inequality.

The book *Dimensions of the Gender Problems, Policies and Prospects*, argued that despite constitutional and legal guarantee, women are treated unequal and inhumanly in most parts of the globe. They are suffering from gender inequality in all fields. Throughout their lives, women suffer gender discrimination even sometime before the birth in the womb, at home and at the place of work. The practice of female negligence and preferential treatment to boys for food, education and health care has been obvious in most of the societies of the world. Pakistani women are facing all inequalities mentioned in the study (Deepk, 2007).

A study done on the gender inequality in middle income countries explains inequality as a multi-dimensional term but a primary division can be made between inequality in significances and outputs, and inequality in opportunities. It defined

inequality in outcomes that include variances in education attainment, health and income, while factors limiting opportunities include discrimination of social exclusion which is not limited to individual but also encompasses gender or ethnic lines. The drivers of inequality also include prevention of individuals or groups from exercising their rights and opportunities on equal basis. Inequality and dominance can be categorized; formally it included legislations, regulations and public policies that are officially allowed; and informally, it can be observed in public and private spheres, although it is based on perceptions. These perception often develop of reality and lack of opportunities to limit equal access to social services, employment and choices. It distinguishes political, social and economic factors of inequality which means the underlying processes that cause intensities of inequality to decrease or to continue over time (Anderson, et al., 2012). This study favours the argument that in order to address inequality, appropriate policies need to be formulated and implemented on the one hand and ignoring cultural dimension in major categories on the other hand.

Social structure differs depending on socio-cultural environment, geographical zone, and socio-economic class. The prevailing tribal, feudal and patriarchal structures are the basic factors behind the biased behaviours against women. Islam being a religion has given equal rights to both sexes and does not discriminate on the basis of gender. Instead, females because of some biological differences are given certain privileges over males (Siddiqui, 2004). Being an Islamic republic, the Islamic teachings and laws are negated in discriminating against women on every step. Depriving them of education is the basic cause of the gender

discrimination. Media, besides government, should also play role in creating awareness and educating masses to curb this nuisance of gender discrimination.

Pakistani fiction writers have effectively portrayed the psychological and behavioural changes women undergo to achieve empowerment and emancipation. The Pakistani women fiction writers have taken women from every section of society including rich, poor, educated, uneducated, rural, urban etc. They highlighted different dimensions of inequality across gender. This literature gave awareness of inequalities and legal rights because of media boom (Ahmed, 2009). These fiction writers have become a source to guide the Pakistani Feminist Movements almost in the same way as the western fiction writers and critics. Such writers have made a good comparison of the suffering of women belonging to different classes of society by writing different fictions. This is helpful to fetch out social and cultural inequalities, but the political empowerment that the women have achieved in the last few decades is not discussed.

An article “Western Feminist Movement and Women Protection Bill 2006” argued that in Pakistan, women’s issues cannot be seen in isolation from global issues. It has seen women autonomy and development in the context of developments made in the last three decades on the governmental level. A number of religious scholars and activist groups demanded to amend Hudood Ordinance through Protection of Women Bill- 2006 which despite controversy was enacted in 1979. . Resultantly, NGOs and enlightened political parties opposed that too (Lakhvi & Suhaib, 2012) as it explored and addressed only political dimensions. The study has not revealed the covert purposes of using feminists as a political tool for last three decades. Feminism almost lay behind every legislation regarding gender issues

A research report on “Impact of Gender Mainstreaming in Rural Development and Millennium Development Goals” explored that women’s participation in political arena and governance has been quite slow due to lack of any structured governmental policy. It believes that once the women entered in the political arena, they will be able to improve females’ economic and social conditions. In the rural areas they will be a driving force in women’s mainstreaming by promoting community development through improved rural infrastructure. All this can be achieved through sound policy processes, government commitment, and the understanding of goals and benefits by the community members (Grigorian, 2010). If the above report is analysed, it can be found that conditions required for mainstreaming women are lacking in Pakistan. In this regard, we can hardly find any policy process and government commitment. The governments make short term policies to achieve short term political interests for sustainability of its power. In this way, they ignore the real policies beneficial for the women or that lead them to empowerment.

A longitudinal study on gender issues explored that women were embracing international careers. The findings of research showed that there was a clear evidence that more women were still in junior management positions when compared to men, which means that there was a solid glass ceiling in the international context too. Women were less entrusted with major projects in new markets. However, more and well-educated and highly motivated younger females opted for international assignments, considering it as fast track promotions to senior positions in organizations. However, they were concentrated in junior and middle management positions (Nick, 1999). The study explored gender discrimination in

labour force and economic activities around the world. Economic aspect is one of the prominent dimensions of horizontal inequality across gender.

A study on the importance of female education and its role in the development of a nation explored some important obstacles to the female education and women in social inclusion in Pakistan. Reasons of low investment and minor portion of GDP reserved for education are at the top of issues. It also examined the effects of female contributions in the work force and identified the existing opportunities for female in Pakistan (Fatima, 2010). Education and health are major indicators of social development and gender inequality. The study favours the argument that without taking step to reduce gender inequality in education, a society or state never step forward on the road of development. The research covers only social aspect of gender inequality in Pakistan which is an important dimension of current study.

In the developing countries, gender differentials in employment and pay are narrowing down much faster as compared to industrialized countries. A research paper examines the level of, and change in, female and male participation rates, employment, segregation and wages ratio across the world economy. The paper supports the argument of current study that economic growth benefits women at large. Inequalities can have significantly adverse effects on welfare; inequalities between the sexes can hardly be reduced just through the market based economy. To remove this sort of economic inequalities, women should be given better access to education and training. It also suggested that some more steps in legislation, equal employment opportunities, taxation etc. can be helpful to eradicate the inequalities (Tzannatos, 1999). The above study has given valid suggestions to remove gender

discrimination. Current study also emphasizes legal reforms and public policy in labour market to reduce gender inequalities.

An article discusses role of Pakistani women according to Muslim Feminist's perspective. It analyses overall public policies of different governments about gender inequality and women empowerment. But it has special emphasis on the Hudood Ordinance. Zia government decided to enhance the quota of women to 20% in the National Assembly in 1985, and 20 women were given representation in the Federal Advisory Council. He also established Women's Division in the cabinet Secretariat and appointed another commission on the status and betterment of women. But simultaneously, he introduced the controversial Hudood Ordinance-1983 and Prevention Law-1984. In Benazir Bhutto's era, though women police stations, courts and banks were established, but she was unable to repeal the controversial Hudood Ordinance. Nawaz Sharif enacted *Qisas* and *Diyat* Ordinance which was later kept in force through the Presidential Order after four months expiry period. He also established Fatima Jinnah Women University. In Musharraf's era, Mukhtaran Mai's famous rape case appeared in the Western media and was highlighted a lot.

In 2006, Pakistan's Parliament repealed some parts of Hudood Ordinance and passed Women Protection Bill. Seats for women in Pakistan's lower and upper houses were enhanced to 33%. In 2006, for women empowerment cabinet approved 10% increase from 5 % reserved quota seats for women in central superior services (Rehman, 2012). For the last thirty years, Pakistani women have been making a rapid progress in all the fields of life shattering the western image of oppressed victims. The study raises the question that in spite of so many developments, it is unjust that the western media portrays the oppressed image of the Pakistani women.

A study conducted on women economic independence and self-esteem shows that as the females enter the workforce, the ego of their spouses is hurt and it brings multiple tensions in their marital relationship. With education and occupation in their hands, these women do not need to rely on men for economic support, thus marriage is not immediate concern for them. Such women expect greater level of intimacy, emotional support, companionship and sexual gratification which eventually lead to discord and disappointment. Women belonging to high socio-economic status believe that men think that they are taking overall professional roles. This threatens men's sense of patriarchal power, and leads to marital disharmony (Zeenat et al., 2006).

The research has also shown that working wives, who are superior to their husbands in education and income levels, are likely to suffer more tension and dissatisfaction in their married life. This means, the more a working wife is successful in her job, the more she loses her success as a wife. Government should develop policies that develop an environment where men encourage working and educated women.

A study criticizes the Zia ul Haq public policy regarding gender inequality. Zia ul Haq, in order to sustain his undemocratic military rule, got support of the United States on the international level through participation in Afghan war against the Soviet Russia on the one hand, on the other hand he also won *Ulema's* support for his regime at internal level. In order to please *Ulema*, he misused judiciary and got few of the laws passed in the name of Islamization against women. The study has not ignored women's struggle against those repressive laws. For this, they adopted various strategies, articulating their demands in secular terms in shape of demand for

separation between religion and the state. In the Islamic terms, they critiqued what they saw as patriarchal and inauthentic understandings of Islam used by the state, the *ulema* and the Islamists. They also raise against the MMA government that was in power in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and had made few discriminatory laws against women (Rouse, 2004). The writer has analysed women status in the context of the United States' policies towards the Muslim world, Saudi factor and Pakistan's policies towards Afghanistan and Kashmir. The impact of global events cannot be ignored as gender policies were formulated for the sake of personal and government interests that ignored public good of women.

A study found out that identity is given by society, environment and parents. It is a two dimensional process; one is how people view you; and the other is how you view yourself. Behaviour of parents with their children shape their identity. Mostly, parents consider their daughters as weak, timid, and too vulnerable; they need to be protected by the male members of the family. Because of this phenomenon, women cannot decide or protest. This is the first step of subjugation, suppression and discrimination. Another finding of this study is that the income of the women is not considered supplementary financial source for the family. This trend might not apply to upper and advanced classes, where complete freedom is given to women (Shoukat, 2004). It favours the current study in the sense that in Pakistan, social system is male dominated. A girl child from her birth is considered inferior due to social attitudes, and she spends whole life to make her identity. The above study focuses on social behaviour towards women. It ignores other factors and policies of discrimination.

A research analysed Musharraf's public policy and found that although all government and specially Musharraf government has taken many initiatives to bring women in social and political mainstream but despite all efforts to bring women in decision making and political forum, their participation is low due to male-dominated cultural norms and illiteracy (Jabeen , 2008). This research favours the argument of current study that efforts to bring gender equality in society could not succeed without strong political will and policies implementations. The above study addresses only political aspect of gender inequality.

A study identifies the national and international commitments of governments to improve gender equity and equality in Pakistan. It gives a detailed analysis of Gender Reform Action Plan, and government policies to implement it in order to achieve the standards of the plan. It also critically views the government's employment policy in public sector. That policy has impact on gender inequality. The researcher discusses the implication on gender and health sector only (Zahid, 2007). Health and education are two core sectors to analyse a government's will and commitment to reduce gender gap in society.

A known scholar has elaborated the discourse on women's rights in Pakistan since its independence. Historically, women's rights have been subject to the needs of the nation as interpreted by its leaders. She said that even when the state was positive and encouraging towards women's inclusion in the public sector, it was based on the consideration that educated women made better wives and mothers. As Kandiyoti points out, women's rights were constructed to fit the needs of the nation. Despite the rhetoric on the issue of women's rights, little actual progress has been made, especially for the vast majority of Pakistani women.

Though there were notable women leaders in the short history of Pakistan, there has yet to be a strong movement across classes for change in women's status. Jalal does not attribute the growing environment of freedom for women to Bhutto's policies. Rather she says that Bhutto's populist policies were based primarily on class rather than gender, though many did benefit women as well. Bhutto's populist ideals encompassed women in the project of nation-building and his rhetoric in support of women's rights was part of his larger populist strategy. She focuses her argument on the need for change in the entire social structure in Pakistan. She argues that women will never achieve gender equity until they address the class contradictions of the system as well as the gender imbalances. Gender equity must be connected with various levels of social stratification in Pakistan (Jalal, 1991).

A study found out that males were given preference in acquiring higher education as compared to females. Females were mostly preferred for religious education. Boys were preferred to join any field, especially the technical fields such as engineering, medical, computer, IT, business, banking and commerce, whereas girls were restricted only to teaching and medical careers. It was also revealed that there was discrimination in providing food to both males and females; females were provided with lesser food as compared to males (Anwar, 2004). This is because women are not considered as much human as men are, and for this reason necessities of life are thought to be lesser for women than men. Hence less means are allowed to them to fulfil these needs. Women are considered suitable only for the domestic work, whereas men have decisive control in all matters. His findings have shown that highest degree of discrimination is found in women's rights to participate in politics, and lowest level of discrimination is found in the provision of medical treatment.

After going through literature, it is very clear that government is trying to lessen the gap between men and women in society. However, they are still under-represented in government, politics and economic activities in the patriarchal societies in the world, particularly in Pakistan. The recognition of their fundamental rights can help women challenge established stereotypes in the society. The tendency of unfairness is changing, however women in different areas of Pakistan still risk with gender discrimination.

The above-mentioned literature gives detail about status of women in Pakistani society and vertical inequality. Most of the studies have examined how vertical inequalities, such as income inequalities between individuals or simple inequality between rich and poor, are related to conflict. Although those studies have found little relationship, but group dimensions of inequality have been neglected in these studies. However, some evidence now suggests that discrimination and inequalities between culturally or socially defined groups or horizontal inequalities make conflicts more likely. Horizontal inequalities are defined as inequalities among groups which perceive themselves as differentiated. The researches in above literature neither has directly addressed the issues or reasons for horizontal inequality in Pakistani society nor analyses multidimensional impacts of public policy on gender equality in Pakistan. The available literature on rising gender inequality has identified various factors that promote gender equality (Inglehart & Norris, 2003). However, the literature does not clearly analyze the impact of public policy on political, economic, social and cultural dimensions of gender inequality in Pakistan.

1.9 Research Methodology

Women have indeed struggled hard to equalize their status with that of men. No doubt they were partially successful to achieve civil and political rights, such as the right to vote, contesting election, freedom of expression, life and liberty, equality before the law, and social, economic and cultural rights, the right to food, the right to work, and the right to education, but yet they are not enjoying equal rights as that of man.

Several strategies and approaches have emerged in the past; like WID, GAD, women empowerment and gender mainstreaming which aimed to fulfil the requirement and demands of the women in different segments of societies under the influence of dominant public policy paradigms in each era. It is claimed in every era that the new strategies would be more productive as they did not possess the problems of previous strategies but in fact the results of all the strategies have been a replication of the previous strategies.

Present research is conducted to analyse gender policies using the horizontal inequality model and capability approach. These are strategic tools to enhance lobbying activities for better implementation of gender equality and women empowerment. The study has been used LFT (Legal Feminist Theory) as theoretical base. The LFT emphasis on Equal treatment of women and men under the law. It attempts to provide equal opportunity for men and women; like equal pay, same status in society, job opportunities, voting rights, participating in politics and government affairs. It emphasis on proper legislation for women empowerment and

gender equality. A society cannot transform as gender balanced society without effective formulation and execution of public policies.

1.9.1 Horizontal Inequalities Model

Horizontal inequality model consists of four main variables; economic, political, social and cultural. The purpose of horizontal inequality and capability approach analysis is to produce arguments which can be used to motivate policies that improve women status and gender inequality. As a method, it is based on a women rights framework to help make a direct link between public policy, relevant women rights and gender issues. It also gives better understanding of the current situation.

The horizontal inequality model views the issue of discrimination and subordination of a group within a complex socio-political, economic, and cultural contexts. The gender inequality is not a very complex phenomenon; it is intended to involve that group of society in decision making process which is ignored because of their lack of power to act and respond such as women. It is bringing people who are outside the decision-making process into it (Rowlands, 1995).

A public policy analysis rests heavily on review of secondary data including policy documents and previous studies. Public policy or legislation is not a document only; it impacts human lives and this impact can vary with the people who are given the responsibility to implement it, and for whom the policy was formulated.

Some prerequisites must be fulfilled by the policy makers in order to get productive results. These include a strong political will to create a consensus for a

culture of gender equality, equal prospects for women, reliable statistics comprising data that are relevant for both women and men, research and training on gender equality issues, legislation and anti-discrimination laws, awareness raising about gender equality, context-specific and comprehensive knowledge of gender relations in the society, awareness of various policy process aspects; like what actors are mostly involved, which steps should be taken, who is mostly responsible. Participation of women in political and public life and in decision-making processes, funds and human resources necessary for sustaining a long-term commitment to gender equity are also part of this consensus. The list seems never-ending, and so are the practical challenges to gender inequality (Hefner, 2002).

This study traces out the impacts of public policy across four aspects of gender equality; cultural, social, political and economic equality. It is going to analyse women's basic living conditions, participation in civic actions, positional empowerment and political representation in Pakistan's social structure.

The model of horizontal inequality is given by famous scholar Frances Stewart to analyse inequalities of a group in the society. Horizontal inequalities are defined as inequalities between groups based on race, religion, ethnicity, gender, regions and language in society that could lead to conflict because of unequal social, political and economic treatment. Horizontal inequality is in contrast to vertical inequality which is measured on the basis of individual income, consumption and assets. Development focuses more on vertical inequality keeping horizontal inequality aside, which is an important element in the factors while referring to people's well-being as humans being are connected to group affiliations and networks (Stewart, 2008).

The term horizontal inequality is used in a variety of ways in different subjects such as in sociology where it denotes forced inequality between various subcultures living in the same society. In economics, horizontal inequality refers to people of similar origin. Intelligence does not always mean equal success in achieving status, income and wealth.

Horizontal inequalities are multidimensional; it has political, social and economic dimensions along with a range of elements in each of these dimensions. There is a perception that mostly inequalities persist over long period of time. For example, indigenous and Ladino differentials in Latin America or black and white differentials in the US have been in existence for centuries (Stewart & Langer, 2007). Horizontal inequalities occur between different ethnic, regional or religious groups. Stewart argues that most studies, while finding a link between inequalities and conflict, consider distribution of income among the population of the entire countries which is referred as vertical inequalities. Stewart finds that inequalities between different groups are quite crucial as coincidence of cultural differences with that of political and economic ones can arouse resentment between groups leading them to violent struggles (Stewart & Brown, 2007).

The horizontal inequality across gender has very little prospects of violent struggle because, in most of the societies like Pakistan, women are not considered as part of a group who struggled for equality of gender in all spheres of life. A conservative group of women considers themselves safe and sound within the four walls of home. That group is even against the liberal group which is struggling for horizontal gender equality in the society. However in reality, the issue of gender and women discrimination is a high profiled agenda on national and global politics.

Horizontal inequality is actually an economic and social concept that analyses that how a group is discriminated socially, economically, and politically. If a group is discriminated against on the basis of above mentioned categories continuously, at the end the deprived group will start struggle for equal rights as the privileged groups is enjoying. Women are a deprived group all over the world. So, Horizontal inequalities in the context of gender can be categorized into four types:

- **Economic** inequalities refer to discrimination in incomes, ownership of assets and opportunities.
- **Political** inequalities denote distribution of power, political voice, political opportunities and participation.
- **Social** inequalities refer to access to services such as health and education.
- **Cultural** inequalities mean differences in the recognition and hierarchical status of groups.

This study analyses all the above types of inequalities across gender in Pakistan. Economic dimensions include inequalities in access to economic opportunities and ownership of human, financial, and natural resource-based assets. Moreover they also include inequalities in income levels and employment opportunities which depend on the above mentioned assets and the general conditions of the economy. Social dimensions include inequalities in access to a range of services, such as education, health care etc. Political dimensions include inequalities in the distribution of political power and opportunities among groups, including control over the cabinet, the bureaucracy, parliamentary assemblies and local and regional governments. They also

comprise of inequalities in people's capabilities to express their needs and participate in political activities. Cultural dimension include disparities in the recognition and standing of different groups' languages, norms, customs, as well as practices (Langer & Brown, 2008).

The different dimensions of horizontal inequalities are interconnected with each other; such as political power often lead to economic and social inequalities. Similarly, there also exists some causal connections between educational access and income. Lack of access to education hampers one from availing better economic opportunities, and low income leads to poor educational access. In this way, vicious cycle of deprivation keeps on moving.

For this study, the selection of indicators and variables is based on research findings in the literature on gender mainstreaming in the world and the status of women in Pakistan. Most of the studies that have focused on the relationship between inequality and conflict have examined vertical inequalities such as income inequalities between individuals, or simple inequality between rich and poor, as related to conflict. Although such studies have found little to no relationship between inequality and conflict, group dimensions of inequality have been neglected in these studies. Some evidence now suggests that conflict is likely to happen if there exist inequalities and discrimination between culturally or socially defined groups or where horizontal inequalities exist.

1.9.2 Capability Approach

Amartya Sen is one of the famous economist, she presented the thesis of capability approach in 1980s while tackling the topics of inequality and quality of

life. Capability approach is a method of thinking about people's wellbeing which is a clear deviation from utilitarian approach. Capability approach is a theory and framework that can be used for economic, social and political analysis. It also holds that the wellbeing of a person must be assessed in terms of capabilities and freedom of choice. Sen's capability approach emphasis on living well by human beings. Sen's Capability Approach expands individual freedom as primary objective of societal development (Sen, 1992). This is a broad framework for the assessment and evaluation of wellbeing of individual as well as countries, social arrangements and present socio-economic situation in order to implement correct policies.

The capability approach contains three main concepts: functioning, agency and capabilities (Robeyns, 2005).

Functioning is the valuable activities and things which are necessary for a person's wellbeing. These can include a person's easy access to health, education, security and economic facilities and opportunities. People's free mobility and meeting with desired people. Sen defines functioning as the various things a person may value doing or being (Sen, 1999).

Capabilities refer to the freedoms and choice to perform valuable activities to achieve the objective of well-being. The concept of capabilities are the substantive freedoms which allow a person to spend life that he or she reason to value according to his own criterion. (Sen, 1999). The concept of capability is closely related to Sen's notion of freedom, which he defines as the real opportunity that we have to accomplish something that we value (Sen, 1990).

Agency as a crucial element is connected to the quality of life, but it also includes other goals and a deep commitment to actions that do not benefit the very agent himself. Sen understood human well-being in a broad sense that goes beyond utility of human agency. Although human agency demands freedom, freedom is functioning which Sen elaborates as capabilities of performing some actions. This functioning is meant to compose a good life. Sen gives more importance to Capabilities than utility or income while assessing well-being (Sen, 1993)

In the Capability approach, capability of an individual means what he is able or capable of doing something. Robeyns believes that the major feature of the capability approach is its focus on capability and ability of people to do and to be able to do things that he or she wish to do. Sen argues that we should focus on what people are able to do regarding the quality of their life as well as on removing obstructions in their lives with a purpose to achieve more freedom to live the kind of life they have reason to value (Robeyns 2005). There is little difference between Capability and functioning. According to Sen, functioning is whatever is achieved, whereas capability denotes the ability to achieve something we value. As there are various aspects of living conditions, so functioning is closely related to living conditions. Capabilities are quite contrasting notions of freedom in a positive way as they allow that what real opportunities you have regarding the life you may lead (Sen 1992).

Robeyns mentioned the difference between capabilities and functioning as between the realized and the effectively possible. It can be further elaborated on the one hand as achievements, and on the other hand freedoms or valuable options that exist as opportunity to choose. (Robeyns 2005). Sen's classical example of two people

staying away from eating shows the difference in a better way. According to him, one person is religious and is fasting while the second one is poor and due to famine does not have any alternatives. In a sense both have same condition of being hungry and malnourished. Sen says that the person who is fasting has the capability to achieve the functioning as he chooses the condition himself while the second lacks capability as he has no other alternative available except from being hungry against his will (Sen, 1990).

The Capability Approach addresses feminist concerns and questions in a better way. Ever since its inception, the women's movement has not been confined to just financial welfare; rather it vies to address a wide range of issues such as reproductive health, political power, and domestic violence, voting rights, women's social status and education. (Robeyns 2005). I agree with the views of Robeyns that Sen's Capability approach does not provide a readymade recipe that we can apply to the study of gender inequality. It only provides a general framework and not a fully fleshed-out theory. This study will try to examine and analyze the horizontal inequalities across gender in the context of capability approach of Amartya Sen because gender equality does not mean women stand exactly side by side to men in every field of life. Gender equality refers to freedom of decisions. Society and state should develop such environment where women feel free and have full control over their bodies and minds. In a country like Pakistan, women are not free politically, economically and culturally. Women are dependent on men in every decision, even in the decision directly concerned to their lives. This social attitude leads them to discrimination in different spheres of life.

Poor and impoverished women who are victims of discrimination, violence and abuse in their isolation are specifically vulnerable as they have less access to institutions and freedom. Gender equality and social development approaches have hardly portrayed the realities of poor women, particularly those who become victims of discrimination and violence. A large number of women are living in poverty and they are vulnerable to violence and other inequalities that intensify their vulnerabilities. The capabilities approach offers a social development framework that can incorporate these realities.

1.10 Collection of Data

This study relies on books, newspapers articles, online and published journals, policy papers, reports, government documents and other published and unpublished material to deal with the public policy regarding gender inequality and women empowerment in Pakistan during 1999 to 2012.

The study will follow Mathew Greg's qualitative research approach which included "verity (intellectual authenticity), integrity (structural soundness), rigor (depth of intellect), utility (professional usefulness), vitality (meaningfulness) aesthetics (enrichment), ethics (consideration of dignity and privacy of participants), and verisimilitude (sufficient detail to warrant transferability)" (Mathew, 1988).

In order to achieve trustworthiness, triangulation of the multiple data sources will be done to clarify meaning, verify data or interpretations. The research encompass all the evidence keeping in view all the rival interpretations and will discuss the important aspect of the study. Researcher will also use prior knowledge and information to maintain quality of the research.

According to Feminist political theory, both group of gender men and women are born equal, so society should treat them in every field equally. There is no need to give special protection to women and exclude them from society. (Tong, 2009). These ideas are actually result of the insistent assumption of male dominance. Women desired such type of freedom where they can take independent decisions. In the fulfilment of this desire, series of things are demanded through public policies for universal changes. For this social change, eradication and amendments in existing laws was the first step to increase freedom and importance of women in society. A number of social, cultural, moral and political steps need to be taken yet further.

1.11 Detailed Plan of the Study

The thesis comprises of following chapters:-

Chapter 1: Introduction

First chapter gives a brief summary of thesis and detail concept of Horizontal Inequality and Gender. It also briefly discusses the gender inequality prevailing in Pakistani society. It consist of Introduction of topic, justification and objectives of the study. Literature Review, Research Question, Research Methods, Conceptual frame work and a plan of study.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Frame Work

Theoretical framework is considered as one of the key element in the research process. It provides a solid base for explaining a specific phenomenon in research. This chapter discusses the concept of horizontal inequalities across gender in the context of theoretical approach. Present study of horizontal inequalities across gender in Pakistan

has its roots in feminist theories because those link various explanations of the study to the status and position of women in society. Liberal, Socialist, Marxist, Radical, and development feminisms' viewpoints are discussed briefly in this section. These are different phases and schools of thought to discuss feminism according to their own perspectives. Legal feminist theory has been discussed in detail because it is taken as theoretical framework of current study.

Chapter 3: Violence against Women in Pakistan

This chapter critically analyses and portrays the picture of women in Pakistani social structure. It explains the status of women with a special emphasis on discrimination in different segments of Pakistani society. It also analyses the some prominent hurdles on the way of women empowerment and being an equal to men in society. Furthermore, it explains women's rights from an Islamic perspective, since this is sometimes used as a justification or a defence, in case of violation of women's rights. It discusses different forms and causes of violence against women prevailing in Pakistani society like Honour killings, Dowry system Bride burning, Acid Throwing etc.

Chapter 4: Public Policy Dealing with Gender Inequalities (1999- 2012)

This chapter gives a detailed account of public policy and legislative steps taken by different regimes of Pakistan to bring horizontally gender equality in the society for the development of country. Special emphasis is on the measures and initiatives taken by Musharraf and his successor government. It gives a detail of legislations passed in the Parliament during 1999 -2012 to deal gender inequalities in political, social, economic and cultural dimensions in Pakistani society. It includes policies such as

National Policy for Development and Empowerment of Women, The Gender Reform Actions Plans, Criminal Law Amendment Act-I of 2005, Criminal Law Amendment (Protection of Women) Act 2006, Criminal Amendment Act 2011, The Protection against Harassment of Women at Work Place Act, 2010 and The National Commission on the Status of Women Act 2012. It also discusses Women Protection under Sharia Law.

Chapter 5: Impact of Public Policy on Political Horizontal Inequalities

Fifth chapter of this research discusses political aspect of gender inequality in Pakistan. It discusses the access of political opportunities, chances to participate in political activities and gain power. It also evaluate women share in national politics and the actions taken by the Governments of Pakistan during the last decade. This chapter include participation and quota of women in national politics since 1947. It discuss the public policy of Musharraf (1999 -2008) regarding gender equality in political context. This chapter gives a statistical evolution of Women's representation in National and provincial Assemblies Representation of Women in Local Government, Representation of Women in Ministries/ Divisions, Women Participation in Pakistan as compare to South Asian Countries and Representation of women in Political Parties.

Chapter 6: Impact of Public Policy on Economic Horizontal Inequalities

This chapter clears the economic aspect of gender inequality. It evaluates economic variables like gender discrimination in ownership of assets, incomes and opportunities. It discusses the state policy to address gender inequality issues in economic dimension. The comfortable working environment may enhance opportunities and motivation for advancement of women to come into employment.

This chapter discuss the concept of unpaid work done by women and dominance of men over women economically. It evaluate Steps of Musharraf and successor government for Women Economic Empowerment and reduce Gender discrimination in employment sector. It analyse the legislation of Harassment at work place. This chapter also discusses the problems faced by women in public life and at workplace.

Chapter 7: Impact of Public Policy on Social Horizontal Inequalities

Seventh chapter clears the concept of social inequality regarding gender. This study analyzes the role and importance of women in society, their access to social facilities such as education and health. Both education and health are responsibility of state. It analyzes education and health outcomes from public policy of the state during last decade. Women in Pakistan are living in critical social scenario and struggling to gain equal position, role and rights in social life. This chapter is consists of two parts, one is addressing inequality in education and other is addressing inequality in health sector. In first part researcher discusses different factors involved in widening the gender gap in education in Pakistan such as patriarch and tribal culture, mixed schools, Co-education, Safety Concerns, Early Marriage System etc. Second part of this chapter highlights gender inequality in health. It discusses Negligence of girl child, Early Marriages of Girls and poor health, Poor Health Care during Pregnancy and Higher Female Mortality Rate. It analyses education and health public policies and their impacts on society.

Chapter 8: Impact of Public Policy on Cultural Horizontal Inequalities

The Last chapter explore the concept of cultural dimension of gender inequality. This chapter finds the cultural disparities that women face in the society; such as gap in

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Women and girls in Pakistan confront shocking levels of violence and gender inequalities in their lives. Their exploitation starts from the family as inferior sex and goes till labour market as less paid and unpaid labour force. In Pakistan, men play a key role in productive sphere while women role is confined mostly within the reproductive sphere. Such type of labour division results in overall control of women's fate by their men which leads to an asymmetric evaluation of male and female stereotype gender roles. The economic value of women's activities in the reproductive sphere is unpaid household work, which is not recognized as productive. Men are accountable for the economic needs of their women and children. Women are encouraged to remain in reproductive sphere depending absolutely upon their men which in turn results in their dependent status.

Gender inequality is not a new phenomenon of the human life. Men treated women as a lower creature. Feminist theories remind us that the experiences of women are historically and culturally situated. Throughout history hunter-gather, agrarian, medieval, caste-based and industrial societies all had structures that advantaged one group and disadvantaged others. Individuals and groups of

individuals had different access to economic, political, cultural, social and civic assets (Yukongdi, 2005). Feminism is considered as women studies. There are different phases and school of thoughts to discuss feminism according to their own perspectives. Feminist movement, since beginning, is struggling to eradicate gender inequality from society but it did not have much concern to theoretical concept of gender inequality. In the contemporary era, women are fighting more actively for their equal rights (Chamallas, 1999).

Theoretical framework is considered as an important factor in the research process. It provides a solid base for explaining a specific phenomenon in research. Present study of horizontal inequalities across gender in Pakistan has its roots in feminist theories because they link various explanations of the study to the status of women. Liberal, Socialist, Marxist, Radical, and Legal feminist viewpoints are discussed in this section.

2.1 Feminist Theory

Feminism is a theory which proposes that men and women should be equal politically, economically and socially. It is a collection of movements and ideologies aimed at defining, establishing, and defending equal political, economic, and social rights for women. Feminist objectives include communicating the importance of women and revealing the historic subordination of women to men and stress to bring gender equality in the world. Simply, feminists fight for equal share of women in resources and opportunities.

Feminism as a subject emphasizes on the importance of gender and the societal inequality resulting from values, customs and assumptions based on gender. Being a

group, feminists focus on the implications of historic and contemporary exploitation of women within society. They are seeking the empowerment of women in all fields. They also want the transformation of institutions dominated by men. Most of the feminists use specific feminist methods to bring women's experiences to the foreground, such as consciousness raising or storytelling (Chamallas, 1999). Such methods recognize the importance of women's experiences in society. These experiences provide ground to feminist theory and research. Feminists also put stress on the integration of practice and theory.

Historian Linda Gordon defined feminism as "an analysis of women's subordination for the purpose of figuring out how to change it (Madsen, 2000; Eisenstein, 1979)." This definition gave a practical approach to feminists. They considered law and legal reform as objects of study and action. They have had many successes within law.

Women started the Feminist Movement in order to get equal status with men as citizens of a particular political community and in this struggle some liberal men have also joined them. Time to time, modifications have been included in feminism agendas in different societies. A number of cultural, social and political movements, theories and moral philosophies concerned with discrimination against women and gender inequalities emerged in twentieth century in different countries (Shaikh, 2013). These are called feminism or feminist movements. Feminism is described as an ideology or doctrine focusing on equality of the genders (Webster, 1998).

The primary objective of all feminist movements attained the right of suffrage for women which was recommended in the United States at Seneca Falls Convention

New York on July 19, 1848, in a general declaration of the rights of women prepared by a group of women leaders. The first movement of feminism focused entirely on absolute political rights; second phase of the movement addressed other issues of equality such as ending discrimination (Gordan, 2014). The third phase of the movement largely focused on micro politics and challenged the second phase of paradigm as to what is, or is not, good for women (Gills, 2007). Although women have achieved much of their rights as a result of the historical struggle, yet the transformation of societies is uneven across the world.

The contemporary feminist movement was initiated in the 1960's. There are many feminist theories that define and explain different aspects of women's life. Among different branches of feminism, some of them closely follow the political inclination of the larger society or has focus on the political environment of the society (Martin, 1982).

2.1.1 Liberal Feminism

Liberal feminism has its roots in liberal political philosophy. All human beings are seen as equal and they are essentially rational, and based on self-interest. Rationality is a mental state of which men and women have the same capacity, and since women and men have the equal capacity for rational thinking, they are equally human (Fischer, 2011). Liberal feminists believe that men and women are created equal and should not be denied equal opportunity on the basis of gender. Hence sexism becomes the primary obstacle in equality of rights (Larber, 2012).

Liberal feminists lead civil rights movement and struggle for anti-discrimination legislation and affirmative action. They fight against gender

inequality, especially in the labour market. Liberal feminism has been criticized for closing their eyes to other forms of injustices like class discrimination. They are not really arguing for the improvement of conditions for all women in all spheres of life (Rutherford, 2011). Liberal feminist think that gender equality is achievable through legal and political reforms in the existing social practices. Politics is an important tool to ensure equality and empowerment through non-discriminatory legislation. Thus liberal feminism sees all people as equal; therefore there should be equality for all in practice.

2.1.2 Socialist Feminism

Socialist feminism is influenced by Marxist theory. The patriarchal structure in which men have control over women's work and reproduction is taken by Marxist feminists as part of capitalist system. In their early stages, they thought that patriarchy would die out with the disappearance of capitalism. Feminist struggle would thus equate with class struggle. Socialist feminist argued that women should not fight for their issues separately, but rather they should stand united with the men in the class struggle.

Socialist feminism assumed that women should not compete with men for jobs who wanted to keep the women labour force out of the job market (Roach & Randall, 1991). Marxist feminists believe that division of labour is related to potential gender roles where females play reproductive role, males support family, thus men are controller 'bourgeoisie and women are proletariat,' the oppressed class, just as Marxist economic class structure understood. Socialist feminist analyses that women's oppression emerges from their share of work in family and economy that

precipitate women's inferior position in the class based capitalism. They link women's oppression to the class structure (Cliff, 1994). Socialist feminists see that patriarchy and capitalism has relationship with each other; Patriarchy precedes capitalism. The division of men's productive and paid work and women's unpaid reproductive work made women dependent on their breadwinner, which was seen as the base of patriarchy in the capitalistic system (Enloe, 2004).

2.1.3 Radical Feminism

Radical feminism at its beginnings was a small group. The objective of this group was to arouse consciousness in women. They talked about women's daily lives problems such as housework, emotional and sexual needs, menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, menopause etc. These discussions gave birth to a theory of gender inequality that was beyond discrimination and a gender politics of confrontation against the dominant gender order (MacKinnon & Catherine, 1989). Radical feminist theoretical motto was patriarchy, or men's pervasive oppression and exploitation of women, which can be found wherever women and men are in contact with each other, in private as well as in public life. Radical feminism argues that patriarchy is very hard to eradicate because its root is deeply embedded in most of men's consciousness (Lerbor, 2010).

Radical feminism considers women's oppression as most basic form of oppression. This suppression causes most of the suffering and provide conceptual model for understanding of all other forms of women oppression. All other forms of oppression emerge from male dominance. The purpose of this oppression is to obtain psychological ego satisfaction, strength and self-esteem. Men keep women

oppressed by the basic tool of sexism. Men control the norms of sexual behaviour and women had to speak against all men-created social structures (Threllfall, 2010).

2.1.4 Development Feminism

Development feminists have main focus on gender analyses of the global economy. They addressed the economic exploitation of women in post-colonial countries on the way to industrialization. Women workers in developing countries in Central and Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa have low wages as compared to men workers, whether they work in factories or at home. Women in rural areas grow food, keep house, and earn money to support their families but lived at a bare survival level (Marchand, 1995).

Development feminists made an important theoretical contribution in linking women's status with control of economic resources. In developed societies, women control enough economic resources and so have a high status. In contrast, in societies with patriarchal social structures where anything women produce, including children, belongs to the husband; women and girls have a low status. According to Development feminism theory, in any society if women have control over distribution of surplus they produce, women have power and self-esteem otherwise men are powerful (Devic & Trebilcock, 1999). Theoretically, development feminists have more emphasis on girl education, maternity and child healthcare and strategies to raise women status in society to bring gender equality in society (Larber, 2010).

2.2 Feminist Legal Theory

Feminist legal philosophy has been employed as a theoretical framework for present study. Feminism's primary focus was on gender equality and equal rights of all human beings. But with the passage of time it highlighted women's rights and domination. The reason behind this is women's subjection to widespread deprivation in every sphere of human life. Feminism basically was a political movement, having a range of thoughts, stressing the repression and inferior status of women, and to devise laws and policies in order to liberate women out of this situation. In this regard, legal feminism has been accepted to justify the problem discussed in the current research. The public policies to reduce horizontal gender inequalities in Pakistan have short term objectives, which need more legislations and political will to bring change in society.

Legal feminist theory took birth as a result of culture of enlightenment. Legal feminists express that women may claim equality with men. It also argues that gender inequality is a result of patriarchal and sexist patterning of division of labour. Legal feminists stress that gender inequality is not an individual matter but it is deep-rooted in the social structure, build into the matrimonial and family matters, work, economy, politics and cultural practices. Thus to reach at the gender equality goal, it requires social and collective actions rather than individual ones (Evans & Judith, 1995). It suggested that gender equality can be shaped by transforming division of labour through revising the policies of key institutions like law, work, family, education, health and media. The legal philosophy claims that equality of men and women is achievable through political and legal reforms (Suhaila, 2013).

Feminist Legal Theory has developed through years. All believers of feminism stress recognizing women as equals to men before the law; it also discover that

women are made vulnerable by unfair distribution of economic opportunities. Legal theorists are united against the central belief of patriarchal nature of society, dominated and shaped by men. Legal Feminists critically analyse women's position, observe the level of women's subordination in a patriarchal society, and investigate the role of law in maintaining patriarchy. It also explores the methods of eliminating patriarchy through reforms in law, for equal treatment towards both genders (Weisberg, 1993).

The Feminist Legal Theory had brought the huge influx of women into law schools beginning in the 1970s (American Bar Association, 1998). The number of women have increased significantly during this time in the legal profession at all levels. In the first wave of women to attend law school, many were explicitly interested in a feminist political agenda. They came to law schools with the slogan that "the personal is the political" (Mackinnon, 1989). These early feminists were optimistic about using law to attain gender equality. Clougherty mentioned that legal feminists expressed doubts about dominant traditional legal methods and criticize them for representing male power structures, considering only a male point of view, and ignoring the female view (Clougherty, 1996).

According to Lacey feminist legal theory' is a set of heterogeneous approaches. He fetched out two foundational claims; first, at an analytic and indeed sociological level, a wide range of research in a number of disciplines, feminist legal theorists take gender to be one important social structure or discourse. They claim that gender characterizes the shape of law as one important social institution. Secondly, at a normative or political level, feminist legal theorists claim that the ways in which gender has shaped the legal jurisdiction are presumptively politically and ethically

problematic, in that gender is an axis not merely of differentiation but also of discrimination, domination or oppression (Lacey , 1995).

At a methodological level, feminist legal theorists are almost universally committed to a social constructionist stance; in other words, they are committed to the idea that power and meaning of sex/gender is a product not of nature, but of culture. Feminist legal theorists are of the view that gender relations are open to revision through the modification of powerful social institutions such as law (Lacey, 1995). Feminism has its own discourse and methodology by which it maintains its distinctiveness and exposes those features of law that disadvantage women.

As Clougherty mentions, feminists use feminist legal methods in three ways:

- to expose bias against women in traditional legal methods,
- to rebuild decision making by including the woman's point of view,
- to convince decision makers to employ feminist legal methods as a means to identify (and perhaps to legitimately justify) bias inherent in their decision-making (Lacey, 1995).

The strategies to deal gender inequalities adopted by early legal feminist reformers were varied and their perspectives were not always compatible. One basic divide that emerged early in the formulation of a legal approach to feminist theory is still significant and debatable today; it is the issue of gender difference. They raise the questions that what were the differences between women and men? How were they to be addressed? The majority of early feminist legal theorists adopted a discrimination model to the issue of gender. Their objective was to outlaw biased treatment and provide laws that allowed women equal opportunities with men (Reed,

1971). The LFT feminists criticized discriminatory laws that denied women full participation in public institutions such as the jury and the military (Goldberg, 1981).

2.3 Feminist Legal Theory and Gender Inequality

Feminist Legal Theory was established in late 1970s. Catharine A. MacKinnon considered as the foremother of Feminist Legal Theory. In her first book, "Sexual Harassment of Working Women: A Case of Sex Discrimination," 1979, she added to the theory of sexual harassment along with legal theory. Sexual harassment is the situation where women feel uncomfortable because of any verbal or physical act by men attitude at workplace. Mackinnon demonstrated that Feminist Legal Theory has strength to change women lives and recognize new opportunities and entitlements for women's entry into public life (Mackinnon , 1979). She discovers the linkage between feminist theory, practice and law. It proved instrumental in development of her theory (Fineman, 1984).

MacKinnon's book provides evidences that Feminist Legal Theory has changed the course of law with deep rooted implications; she described sexual harassment a discriminatory attitude towards women, and it limits women's activities outside homes. Women face inequality on two fronts; one based on social status and the other on sex differences. She concluded that sexual harassment must be recognized an illegal activity as it would support upsurge in women's economic equality and self-determination linked to both sexes (Fineman, 1984)). Another work of MacKinnon explained social and legal harm to women which reveals that violence involved subjugation and subordination, hindering the women's way to success and

equal representation in decision making process. Her work thus proved fundamental in the development of legal theory (Mackinnon, 1997).

Feminist Legal Theory argues further that law is male centered, sexist, and gendered because lawmakers were men (Dawson, 1993). Law differentiate between men and women and put the later at disadvantaged position while also discriminating them in opportunities and resources. The law is gendered because of an assumption that law serves men and exploits women (Pendey, 2002). In most of the countries, key positions are being held by men because law and practice both encourage men for those places. In the case of Pakistan, on May 2nd, 2016 a bill was rejected by standing committee of parliament that proposed to make women eligible to become chief justice of Pakistan Supreme court.

Nicola Lacey broadly discusses FLT in a research “The Feminist Legal Theory and the Rights of Women”. She discovers that human rights are a vehicle to secure justice, autonomy or equality for women; law has been involved in women’s historic subjugation. Lacey pointed out that while other theories of feminism are of particular relevance to American and European societies, the Feminist Legal Theory is predominantly relevant to the third world and developing countries’ feminist approaches. This hold true for Pakistan as well where the gender specific legislation has been started to empower women after a long struggle and delays (Lacey 2001).

Lacey explained that gender equality is essential for social change and to uplift women’s status. Feminist legal theory seeks to transform legal practices to ensure gender equality and women’s share in decision making process and at key positions, which has been historically denied to them. She appears to criticize law as a

gendered construct, ranging across fields including criminal law, public law and anti-discrimination law. It is essential that law has to be unbiased, fair and treat all human equals irrespective of the sex or gender (Lacey, 1998, 2001).

Feminist Legal Theory attempts to provide equal opportunity for men and women; like equal pay, job opportunities, voting rights, participating in politics and government affairs. The scope of theory has gone beyond the issues of equal status and sexual crimes in the societies where human rights have gained high standards in present times. It is even more concerned towards the traditions and attitudes of society where human rights standards are low. Pakistan is a developing country and has not reached high standards of human rights yet. Gender gap in different aspects of life is prominent here in Pakistan, but it is at a steady declining trend. Thus women are fighting for equal status, rights, and representation. In Pakistan women specific laws are being formulated, and had been initiated since independence, but at a low pace. Hence Feminist Legal Theory is precisely applicable to Pakistan's case in search of women's equal representation.

Women's subordinated status and unequal treatment in every aspect of Pakistani society is the product of patriarchy. Women's economic dependence on men favours power to males. Women face denial in equal social, political and economic opportunities. Law has failed to give protection from domestic violence and sexual harassment (Maria, 2013).

Emerging social, political, economic and environmental events are generating new challenges for national and international policies. Women's equal representation on the basis of women's proportion in population is a big challenge to dominant

policies. Equality of gender has played an important role in solving policy problems globally. Feminist legal theory is considered the best tool to achieve social justice in a society (Maria, 2013). Feminist legal theory could be taken as suitable option to modify traditional and existing legal principles (Alkan, 2002). The idea of eliminating gender discrimination and promotion of equal rights in legal practices will strengthen the Feminist Legal Theory. Feminist Legal Theory has the capacity to bring about horizontal equality in Pakistani society.

The direct impact of the legislation on women's welfare has been to close the gap in women's representation. More female representation in parliament will help to introduce gender friendly policies. Female leaders introduce policies that better address the policy preferences of the female constituents (Chattopadhyay & Duflo, 2004). Gender reform has begun to reshape attitudes toward women in society and raised the aspirations of and long-term investments in girls (Beaman et al., 2012).

Analysis of the situation does not give a pleasant picture regarding women's protection and promotion of rights. The explanations for discrimination range from social, cultural, religious and economic grounds; women are not recognized as human capital resource. Women are considered under private sphere in Pakistan; powerful actors do not stress on women's equality because either it is private or it would create instability for power pillars when the conservative Islamists call for women's rights suppression.

Feminist Legal Theory would be helpful in understanding and implementing social, political and economic gender parity. Harmony and peace of society would be ensured with equal share and representation of both genders. The basic substance

of feminism is that both sexes are equal in their status as human beings. They are entitled to the same social, political, civil, economic and legal rights and privileges regardless of their gender. So, women's rights and human rights are one and the same and not separate things.

Equal treatment of women and men under the law and public policies is necessary for women and girls to realize their potentials and enjoy equal rights and opportunities with men. Laws that discriminate against women not only impede gender equality but also send a message that the state considers women to be on a lower position than men. Thus without strict implementation of every law, just amending discriminatory laws may not eliminate discrimination and passing laws that promote gender equality may not automatically create equality.

However, without laws, lack of governmental support and legal standards for equality, women remain vulnerable. Equality at present stands for the repeal of all discriminatory laws against women as per international human rights standards, and for women's access to justice at all levels. Pakistan's women empowerment history begun right after the emergence of Pakistan and it continued through various governments in the past with a noticeable emphasis in the last decade and will continue to flourish in the future.

Though political elites of Pakistan have not paid much attention to the women's political right and legal equality, but there has been a gradual progress in this arena. Musharraf continued the uncompromising political and social actions on women empowerment and the subsequent governments in Pakistan followed the tendency and put forth pro-women legislation, which changed the historical and

cultural preferences of Pakistani politics. Thus Fineman, MacKinnon and Lacey's explanation of FLT creates a direct relevance for both the study of women's political empowerment and hurdles attached to it in Pakistan.

Conclusion

Legal Feminist theory is committed to the concept that power and labour division on the bases of sex is a product of culture not of nature. Gender inequality is a result of patriarchal and sexist patterning of division of labour. Feminist legal theory emphasis on the provision of equal prospects for men and women in every aspect of life ; like equal pay, job opportunities, voting rights, participating in politics and government affairs. It is found in the study that gender inequality is not an individual matter but it is deep-rooted in the social structure, build into the matrimonial and family matters, work, economy, politics and cultural practices.

Emerging social, political, economic and environmental events are generating new challenges for national and international policies. Women's equal representation on the basis of women's proportion in population is a big challenge to dominant policies. Feminist legal theory is considered the best tool to achieve social justice and gender equality in a society. The goal of eliminating gender discrimination and promotion of equal rights in all spheres of life is possible through intelligent legislation and effective implementation of laws in Pakistan. Feminist Legal Theory has the capacity to bring about horizontal equality in Pakistani society.

Although Musharraf and successor government took many solid steps for women empowerment and gender equality; yet change in society is not so visible. Gender reform has begun to reshape attitudes toward women in society and raised

the aspirations of and long-term investments in girls. This study comes out on a conclusion that legal feminist theory is a suitable theoretical approach to lessen gender inequality in society. Without intelligent legislation and effective execution of policies, Pakistan cannot transform as gender balanced state.

CHAPTER 3

STATE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN PAKISTAN

This chapter portrays a picture of problems faced by women in Pakistan. It explains the status of women with a special emphasis on discrimination in different segments of Pakistani society. It also analyses the main obstacles in the way of women empowerment and gender equality. Furthermore, it explains women's rights from an Islamic perspective, since this is sometimes used as a justification or a defence, in case of violation of women's rights.

Pakistan's constitution has given equal rights to women as inspired by international conventions; yet there are some legal analogies which promotes inequalities such as Qanoon e Shahdat, inheritance property rights. Women got freedom and equality, more than what they had during the colonial period; however intolerance, social taboos, and traditional gender-biased thoughts of state and society have not changed yet (Azra, 2004). There is a diversified status of women across

classes, regions, and the rural/urban set-up due to uneven socio-economic development in Pakistan (ADB, 2001).

3.1 Position of Women in Pakistani Society

Protection of women's rights is an important indicator to comprehend the global well-being. A society can never function truthfully without half segment of its population. Aristotle the father of political science had said that the state is a union of families and villages (Sharma, 1996). Family plays a very crucial role in the formation and progression of society, and makes a strong base of the state. Jubilant families construct vigorous and dynamic societies and these contented societies are prerequisites of strong political order in democratic states (Beck, 1992).

In Pakistani social structure, a man is the chief of family with absolute powers of decision making, and the woman normally follow the orders of the male members of the family he is providing her basic necessities of life such as food, shelter and clothes. In other words, in Pakistani culture, woman is dependent upon man for her physical, social and economic survival. According to traditional and religious schools of thoughts, women have no alternative but to obey the orders of her family men (Laborde, 2006). There is a traditional set-up in economic terms whereby a male counterpart is believed to be the liable person for the nourishment and development of a family. Usually, men take decisions and women have to pursue those decisions even about their own selves. Most of the time, male family members of woman decide how the woman has to spend her life.

In Pakistan, girls are told to be obedient to their male loved ones. Since their childhood, their activities are critically observed, controlled and restricted so that they

might not do anything abusive or disgracing against the nobility of family or male relations. The safeguarding of family reputation is also another serious matter to be faced by women. To preserve and maintain the centuries old traditions of honour and decorum concerning women's restrictions within the home sphere, families restrict women's mobility and activities in the society (Bhopal, 1997). In this sophisticated environment women are allowed only limited access to education and health, so that they do not take action contrary to their family and society's values. According to Human rights lawyer Hina Jilani (1998), women's right of freedom in Pakistan is bounded in the name of modesty, protection and prevention of wicked activity. All this is done in the name of social morality. This kind of attitude, apparently tending towards protection of women, finally results in the form of oppression of even basic human rights of women.

Forced marriages of young girls continue to occur. Though slavery is illegal in Pakistan but girls and women are being used to settle down family conflicts. Law enforcement agencies are always reluctant to take actions against the powerful tribes who follow different kinds of inhuman traditions in order to dehumanize women such as honour killing, blood money (in which a woman is paid as compensation for murder), bride buying etc. Tribal leaders run tribal councils which is a parallel judicial system in Pakistan. These tribal councils are main supporters and promoters of honour killings (Gill, 2006).

Women in Pakistan live in a world that is structured by strict religious believes and tribal norms. They are subjected to discrimination and violence on regular basis. In Pakistan conservative interpretation of Islam has pretended women as dependent and weak members of family and society who needs protection and safety. This perception

ultimately results in their oppression physically, mentally and emotionally (Gill, 2006). Women in Pakistan are facing various forms of violence, discrimination and inequality in almost every aspect of life. Ferocity against women in many fields is often not considered as a violation of human rights but rather as a normal attitude and practice of Pakistani people. A woman lives in an atmosphere of fear, and her life is guaranteed in exchange for obedience to social norms and customs. Because of this fear and sense of being inferior imposed by the traditional thoughts of a male dominated society, women suffer immensely not only within the four walls of their homes but also outside their homes (Bhapol, 1997).

Women are 48% of the total population in Pakistan. A huge number inhabits in rural areas where essential facilities are deficient along with maltreating of women's rights. In these areas, girls are kept away from education; they do not have easy access to schools and colleges. They usually became victims of honour killings, rape, early marriages and gender discrimination. In these remote areas, women are treated as slaves and remains under their men's control only as a labour force. Customarily, their fate is decided by their husbands, fathers and brothers (Haeri, 2002).

They do not have the right to make a decision concerning important aspects of their lives. For instance, marriage is also a kind of business among rich and poor families; this tradition exists both in the villages and cities, which is extremely infringing on their rights to exist. In some of the areas the customary act of *Swara* is largely prevalent especially in the provinces of Khyber Pakhtun Khwa and Balochistan, by the virtue of which, instead of giving blood money as *badl-e-sulha* (retribute) an accused family gives their girl or girls in marriage to an aggrieved family as compensation to settle down the blood feud between them (Kidwai, 2001).

In rural areas, women have to perform double duties of domestic and outside work. Usually, they get up early as the first to everyone and last to bed. They are the only ones to prepare breakfast, clean the house and wash the utensils before setting out for work in fields. Although in urban areas the conditions of women are better than those of the rural, yet the old traditions and religious restraints have hindered the independent and free movement of women (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987).

3.2 Violence against Women in Pakistan

Tomaseveski (1993) highlighted violence against women as:

Violence against women comprises any act, omission or conduct by means of which physical, sexual or mental distress is caused, directly or indirectly through deceit, seduction, threat harassment. Pressure, force or any other means on any woman with the purpose or effect of threatening, punishing or humiliating her or of denying her human dignity, sexual self- determination, physical, mental or moral integrity or of undermining the security of her person, her self-respect or her personality or of diminishing her physical or mental capacities.

The definition of gender-based violence was discussed in detail at the Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law, and Development (APWLD) in 1990 and participants concluded that the definition of gender-based violence is "any act involving use of force or coercion with intent of perpetuating or promoting hierarchical gender relations" (Schular, 1992).

The United Nations General Assembly passed resolution 48/104 on 20 December 1993, which binds member states to eliminate violence against women. It

defined violence against women as: "Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life" (Symonides & Volodin, 2002).

According to the International Planned Parenthood Federation (2000), gender-based violence is defined as physical, psychological and economic abuse of a woman by her spouse or by another person within home or family. Physical violence includes physical torture ranging from beating to extreme forms of violence such as burning and assassination of woman. Psychological violence normally includes verbal aggression, humiliation, denial of freedom and rights, etc. Whereas, in economic violence, the man does not permit woman to work so that he might have full control over the income of family.

In Pakistani society, women are normally considered subordinates to men because of economic interdependence. Due to this norm, working women are not adored or respected by most of the people. Usually men do not prefer to marry them. In short, working ladies are not considered good-character human beings; because, to some extent, working women have become free from the dependence of males and they have become able to make decisions for themselves (Hassan, 1995).

According to Jilani (1998), women are not considered as trust worthy and normally they are not included in the process of decision-making at family, community or tribe level. The reason behind this is that many men strongly accept it true that women have less awareness as compared to men. Unfortunately, it is the traditional set-up of Pakistani society, whereby a man is believed a committed person as bread winner

for the family. Due to this cultural belief, men try for good jobs, and women, who are dependent on men, like to marry the man who is economically settled. On the other hand, in Western societies, women and men both work and participate for the betterment of family and society (Hassan, 1995). This is also an important reason for the economic non progression of Pakistani society, where half of the population does not work and remains dependent on the working half of the population. Many women also think like this: Why should we work outside home, it is not our duty. Rather, God has made man for this purpose.

Hassan (1995) described that few women of the larger cities have much hope of financial independence. Although in big cities, women are faced with fewer problems in the field but they are still dependent on male counterpart. It is a common theory in Pakistani society, when men give them food, home, clothes, they should spend their lives according to the orders and will of their men, whether he is a father, brother or husband. It would be difficult for a woman to think unconventionally, unless she gets economic independence. How will she get this? It remains a challenge in this patriarchal society, where most women working in public offices are harassed in different ways by their male colleagues. Less income, more work, lack of proper transport and health facilities, and rude behaviour from people are some major issues being faced by the working women in Pakistan (Gill, 2006). No doubt public policies of last decade addresses many issues related to women progress and protection, due to those legislations and government policies, working and office environment for women has become a little bit safer now.

Women have strong restrictions regarding their thinking and activities in Pakistani society. When she wears any dress, she kept the perceptions of her close male

relations such as brother, husbands and fathers in view. Excluding some educated and urbanized families, almost every woman in Pakistan goes outside the home with the permission of male member. She gets education according to the dictations and decisions of her male family elders. She cannot marry by herself without the approval of her male family members (Shaheed, 1990).

According to Bunch and Reilly (1994), violence against women has narrowed women's options in almost every sphere of life; public and private at home, in school, in workplace and in most community places. It limits their choices directly by deteriorating their health, disrupting their lives and compressing the scope of their activity and indirectly by eroding their self-esteem and self-confidence. In all of these ways, violence obstructs women's full participation in society, including participation in the full spectrum of development. Heise, Ellsberg and Gottemoeller (1992) highlighted that violence against women is not about sex, it is not about conflict, it is about control. It is an extension of the ideology that gives men the right to control women's behaviour, their mobility, their access to material resources and their labour, both productive and reproductive.

3.3 Forms of Violence against Women

The numerous issues related to women deprivation including violence, discrimination, inequality, denial of economic rights and lack of control over their bodies and lives continues unchanged. Far too many incidents of violence against women and young girls including rape, murder and often burning of victim's bodies were reported during the years.

Table No. 1: Cases of Violence against Women in Pakistan (2008–2011)

Categories of Crime	Year 2008	Year 2009	Year 2010	Year 2011
Abduction/ Kidnapping	1784	1987	2236	2089
Murder	1422	1384	1436	1575
Domestic Violence	281	608	486	610
Suicide	599	683	633	758
Honor Killing	475	604	557	705
Rape/ Gang Rape	778	928	928	827
Sexual Assault	172	274	74	110
Acid Throwing	29	53	32	44
Burning	61	50	38	29
Miscellaneous	1970	1977	1580	1792
Total	7551	8548	8000	8539

Source: Violence against Women Watch Group, Islamabad, Aurat Foundation Islamabad (2012).

The statistics show that there various type of violence against women has been taken place in Pakistan. The crime rate is increasig day by day. the crime rate in terms of abduction and kidnapping was around 1,784 however in it rose to 2,236 in year 2010. Like wise, the cases of murder remained at same rate i.e from 1,422 to 1,436. Over all, the number of cases increased from 7,571 to 8,000 in year 2008 and 2010 respectively.

3.3.1 Direct Violence

In Pakistan, women are mostly victims of direct violence due to deep-seated cultural and traditional practices and insufficient responses of society and government. Women are humiliated and considered as second class in family matters and decisions. In most of the cases, they are killed mercilessly in the name of honour, customs, and compensation of crimes or bringing insufficient dowry in marriage (Kidwai, 2001). Direct violence can be divided into different levels. It can be said that when a husband or male family member murders or harms physically his female relative in response to suspicion of dishonoring activity or any other reason, it is called direct violence. When the majority of men follow the same practice of killing women, it can be called structural violence, which is rooted in patriarchal setup of society and when society does not give adequate attention towards this inhuman practice, it can be said to be a manifestation of cultural violence, which is legitimizing structural and direct violence (Hague, 2005).

It is unfortunate that Pakistani society is not reacting against this nasty circle of violence to a considerable extent because of illiteracy and an overall biased gender-based approach, ranging from government institutions to mass population. Violence against women in Pakistan not only brings physical injuries to women but also puts psychological pressure on their thoughts and behaviours. This violence leaves a deep-seated trauma with no proper healing (Gill, 2006). Furthermore it brings depressions to woman, especially in cases of rape when, according to Hadood laws, the victim of rape has to provide four male witnesses in order to prove her rape. Now amended policy to deal rape and harassment cases has given protection and lenience to victim women.

According to NHRC, the year 2013 saw the surfacing of quite a few harrowing cases of violence against women. A woman of Bhokan village in Okara had gone to see a doctor when a man kidnapped her on gunpoint and handed her over to four unidentified men. The culprits took her to Rahim Yar Khan and sold her for Rs 250,000 (\$2,500) to another man who detained and raped her for two months. She was subsequently sold and raped by her new buyer for another two months. She was sold six times in all and was raped and ill-treated by all the men who paid for her. She managed to escape on January 4, 2014 and shared details of her ordeal with the media. According to Punjab police crime statistics, 2,576 cases of rape of women were registered in that province alone in 2013. According to official crime statistics in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 127 cases of rape and three cases of gang rape were registered. In Sindh, 27 cases of gang-rape were reported. Society and courts consider women responsible for adultery and in some cases, women are killed by their relatives because she has lost her honour after being raped.

3.3.2 Honour killings

Honour killing is one of the worst forms of violence against women. It is an extreme form of direct physical violence, which is marked by unlimited pain (Marcus, 1993). In recent years, Pakistan has been criticized because of the dramatic rise in the incidents of honour killings in the country. In year 2013, 869 women were killed in the name of honour (*gherat*) in Pakistan while as many as 359 were killed in the cases of Karo Kari. Such crimes are continuously occurring because of the impunity and freedom enjoyed by the killers. The law of *Diyat* has allowed the family of the victim to forgive the guilty party. In honour crimes, this matter is often dealt by marriage with any young female belonging to the perpetrator's family (NHRC, 2013).

Here it is important to know about the concept and actual causes behind inhuman killings of woman in the name of honour. The definition of honour killings is the "unlawful killing of a woman for her actual or perceived morally or mentally unclean and impure behaviour" (Hassan, 1995).

Honour killings can also be described as extra-judicial sentence of a female relative for assumed sexual and marriage violations (Amnesty International, 1999). These violations, which are considered as a misdeed or insult, include sexual dishonesty, marrying without the will of parents and family elders or having a relationship that the family considers to be wrong and rebelling against the tribal and social wedded customs. These acts of killing women are justified on the basis that the offence has become reason of dishonor and shame to family or tribe (Charsley, 2007).

Pakistan is an Islamic state. Therefore, it is important to know the Islamic point of view about honour killing. This will also clarify whether honour killings are occurring due to religion or traditional tribal customs. There is no concept of honour killing in Islam (Kutty, 2000). Ignorant people, holding outworn or traditional ideas or principles try to prove this act to be just, right or reasonable in Islam. But the reality is that it is totally against the true spirit of Islam (Fadel, 2004). Ahmad (1992) mentioned that according to Islam, no one can be killed for adultery unless there are four male witnesses of the act of adultery.

The Quran also makes clear: "Do not kill a soul which Allah has made sacred except through the due process of law" (6:151).

Furthermore, to make it clear, honour killings are forbidden by Islam. Honour killing is murder and must be punished accordingly (Al-Munaqabah, 2004). Islam

keeps every soul in a certain position of high regard. Islam does not allow people to take the law into their own hands because this would lead to complete social disorder and lawlessness. As discussed before, honour killing has no real basis in religion but is cheered and favoured by traditions and misinterpretation of religion. Hekmat (1998) explained that unfortunately, most religions of the world developed in patriarchal cultures, which were male centered, male dominated, and gave men a sort of complete authority to interpret the texts and assume exclusive rights in some cases over the lives of women.

According to Amnesty international (1999), in a tribal setting an honour killing is not considered as crime. Rather, it is viewed as an appropriate act. In many cases, tribal council has been approves honour killings. Like in famous case of Mukhtaran Mai, in many cases, man has approval and sympathies of his family and community as well because he kills a 'bad' woman.

Amnesty International (1999) further highlights that in recent years the 'honour killing industry' has been developed by the people of Pakistan mainly in rural areas. This is a new trend troubling the lives of women. In these fake killings, men accuse their wives, sisters and daughters of having illegal (*na jaiz*) relations with wealthy men. Then the woman is declared as *kari*, a bad woman who become reason of shame and dishonor to family and is killed. The *Karo* (suspected lover) is pressurized to give compensation to the woman's family and then he is forgiven. This is because of compensation and *Diyat* laws, part of controversial Hudood ordinance enforced by former President Zia-ul-Haq, which permits murders to be compensated for by the murderer involved. It means the executioner gives money to the victim's family to

forgive him. And this inhuman tradition provides many prospects to make money for tribesmen, policemen and tribal mediators (Metlo, 2004).

Here the question arises about the origin of honour killings. In the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and in Baluchistan provinces, roots of honour killings can be found. In these parts of the country, women are normally considered as commodities (Mayell, 2002). At the time of marriage, the bride's father asks the groom to pay a certain amount of money. In other words he sells his daughter. She is sold based on her socio-economic status, age, and beauty. Then, her husband becomes the owner of her body and life.

If someone damages this commodity, his owner has a right to compensation. If a husband kills his wife for alleged sexual behaviour and the suspected lover runs away, which normally happens in the majority of cases, the suspected lover has to pay compensation to the husband. Often, the dead woman's purported lover gives his own sister to the husband as a part of compensation (Amnesty International, 1999). This is the face of greediness and brutality of this patriarchal society, which reflects in these traditions of honour. Women are traded and bartered as commodities in this regard (Gill, 2006).

Many cases surfaced involving the embarrassment and dishonor of women being not considering them equal human being in the name of honour by *jirgas* and *panchayats*. This type of brutality has happened in big cities also. A mother in Lahore was stripped naked, tortured and dragged through the streets in March 2012. She was punished just for trying to protect her son from a local gangster. Though a case was registered, the offenders were out on an interim bail. (NHRC, 2013)

3.3.3 Common Reasons behind Honour Killings

There are many reasons for the increasing incidents of honour killings. Because of the involvement of Pakistan in Afghan war that has been going on since 1979, almost in every part of the country, illegal weapons are easily available. This has influenced the behaviour of people as well. Now, people in Pakistan are generally brutal and aggressive in their actions and thoughts. Poverty, unemployment and lack of economic prosperity have strengthened the aggressiveness. Tribalization of society is also an important factor in this concern. People show triviality towards honour killings, viewing it as an ancient tribal custom. (Khan, 2001). Newspapers are full of miserable stories of honour killings, showing bias and considering women as responsible for this, because newspapers are also being influenced by the male-dominated society (Haeri, 2002).

Expressing a desire to choose a partner, in a society where the majority of marriages are arranged by parents and family elders, is considered a major act of disobedience. With these actions, people bring shame to their family. Frequently, family male members put charges of (*zina*) sex without marriage against their daughters who have married of their own choice. Some men try to bring private justice in the name of honour killings (Human Rights Watch, 2004). In Pakistan, marriages are traditionally arranged, and in many cases, forced marriages take place as well. Normally, parents select partners for their children, and in many cases even without their will and consent. Women for example, seeking to make their own decision about whom they will marry, can be accused of undermining family honour. Surprisingly, according to the decision of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, an eighteen year old Pakistani girl can marry a man of her own choice (Mooraj, 2004). However, law enforcement agencies are corrupt and

people do not care about the decisions of court. Marriage without the consent of parents or relatives is taken as a vulgar act against the honour of the family (Charsley, 2007).

In some cases, murders are committed for other motives but later termed as honour killings. Seeking divorce, bringing less amount or low standard of dowries, or refusing to give property shares to women, men kill women and colour these killings as honour killings. They first kill the women and then accuse that murdered wife, or daughter in law, as a bad woman (Amnesty International, 1999). Some men camouflage their murder by killing a woman of their own family. They then say that they killed the woman and the person who had been murdered because they were bad and having illegal sexual relations. By projecting murder as honour killing, the murderer has chances to escape from the death penalty. The desire to obtain land may also be a lie behind some fake honour killings. If a woman has some property, her brother may kill her to get it, declaring her as bad woman. Also, raped women are killed because they have lost their honour and brought shame upon the family (Metlo, 2004).

As four male witnesses have to be present, in many cases rape is not proven in court, and people think that the victim had consensual sex (Najam, 2006). The lure of monetary gain appears to have motivated many men to accuse their mothers, wives or female relatives of dishonoring their families. They kill them in order to extract compensation from the alleged *karo*, or lover, who escaped from the killing (Najam, 2006). The painful aspect of this behaviour is that women who are suspected are rarely given any chance to defend themselves. In many cases, women or their honour are given as compensation.

In 2002, in Southern Punjab, the famous incident of Mukhtarah Mai happened in which the tribal council raped her in front of the village. The reason was that there were suspicions that her brother had illicit sexual relations with a girl from another tribe. Her brother was 12 years old. She was raped and then forced to walk nude from the place where the tribal council was being held to her house (Human Rights Watch Report, 2004).

Young girls are sometimes given in marriage to aggressive families as compensation for a male relative's crime in a practice called *Swara* in Pashtun populated areas of KPK, and *vanni* in the Punjab. According to this custom, women are paid in form of forced marriages to the rival party as a part of compensation of criminalities, done by their male relatives (Ebrahim, 2007). According to the annual report of Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (2003), *Swara* is a virtual death penalty for young women who become victims of the tradition. Even in cases where they are not physically killed, the humiliation and misery they face, sometimes for an entire lifetime, is a terrible punishment. It is made all the worse by the fact that the women concerned are of course not guilty of any crime. Even seeking divorce from an abusive husband, which is a right of a woman as defined by Islam, is considered to be against the honour of the family (Barlas, 2002).

One of the most well-known honour killings in recent years occurred in April, 1999 when Samia Sarwar, a young married woman was killed by her family openly in the office of her lawyer who was also a human rights activist. She was killed mercilessly because she was seeking divorce from her husband, who tortured her physically. For her own family, seeking divorce was considered against their family's honour, so her own driver killed her in front of her mother (Gauhar, 2014). The most unfortunate side

of this event is that when lawyers and human rights organization agitated against this killing, the members of parliament and religious leaders threatened them. Not a single political leader condemned this brutal act of killing (Saxakali, 1999).

According to a research study by Rutgers World Population Foundation (WPF),(2014) in Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Jacobabad, Kashmore, Jaffarabad, and Naseerabad districts, 66% of total interviewed women said that they had experienced sexual violence, whereas 93% said that they had been subjected to marital rape, a form of violence which figures nowhere in the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC). The survey also found that 77% of marriages were settled under some kind of customary practices like *vani*, *watta satta*, etc. Also, three fourths of women interviewed said that they had been subjected to physical violence.

3.3.4 Dowry System

Dowry system is another form of social and traditional practices whose consequences become bases of direct violence against women. There is hardly any family in Pakistan in which this dowry system is not followed. Not a single day passes without physical and mental torture of women because of bringing little amount or low standard of dowry (Kidwai, 2001). Newspapers are full of stories of torture of women who bring insufficient dowry. Sometime extreme mental torture forced a bride to commit suicide by herself and some are burnt alive under the cover of stove deaths, which is also called bride burning in which women are burnt alive after being covered with kerosene oil (Veena, 2002).

In Pakistan, dowry practice is very common in arranged marriages in all parts of the country as it is widely recognized as a traditional and compulsory ritual of

marriage. Apparently, dowry is an amount of money or valuable things given by the bride's family to the groom at the time of their marriage. Dowry can also be termed as a marriage portion, which is money or property, which a bride contributes to the couple's joint holdings" (Veena, 2002). Dowry is defined as "movable or immovable property that the bride's father or guardian gives to the bridegroom, his parents, or his relatives as a condition to the marriage and often under duress, coercion, or pressure" (Nangia, 1997).

Most of the people have defended the custom of dowry under the shelter of religion. So it seemed necessary to find answer to the question that what Islam says about the dowry system (Gupta,2003) . As in Pakistan, ignorant people try to justify everything according to the teachings of Islam in order to avoid opposition or rejection. Therefore, it is also necessary to know the Islamic point of view regarding dowry. This practice of dowry does in fact violate Islamic Law. "In Islam it is the man who pays the *mahr* to the woman. Rather, dowry is the right of the woman" (Engineer, 1992). The following verse in the Qur'an prove that it is the man who is obligated to pay the *mahr* to the woman, unless the woman chooses not to take it.

Holy Quran clearly mentioned: "And give women their dower as a free gift, but if they of themselves be pleased to give up to you a portion of it, then eat it with enjoyment and with wholesome result" (4:4).

According to Islam, groom has to give *mahr* to bride. And this dower money must be paid or fixed before a marriage. It is completely a right of bride to determine the amount. This *mahr* is what is given purely for love, not for any return. It is a right

of bride and the husband can enjoy it only if the wife permits it, not otherwise (Engineer, 1992).

Dowry is a social evil and many people are compelled to give or to take a dowry. In Pakistan, it is common to ask oneself, 'What will people say or think?' Therefore, in order to maintain their assumed honour in front of society and relatives, mostly people are not willing to give up the dowry system. Some grooms also justify taking a dowry with arguments that they do not want to take dowry but do not want to see their parents angry. Ironically, in rich and established families, a new trend is also being promoted, that brides try to bring more and more dowry in order to impress the groom's family psychologically (Gulzar, 2012). Basically, in Pakistan in recent years, a new culture of trying to impress others with wealth has been flourishing because of the increasing trend of rich-poor gap. So, the display of wealth in marriages, including expensive dresses, expensive cars, houses, heavy dowry, or jewelry are all related to this culture of trying to impress others.

If asked from them why they did like this, parents would say we wanted our daughter to be happy in her husband's home that is why we gave a dowry even if we had to borrow money. So, it can be said that the main idea behind parents giving a dowry to their daughters is to make sure that they would be happy or treated with respect in the husband's home (Gupta, 2003). In Pakistan, practically women are not usually given any property share. Commonly, after the death of their father, brothers do not give a share to their own sister and claim that the share has been given in the form of a dowry. Unfortunately, the bridegroom and his family have greater bargaining power and usually they determine the dowry rules (Gulzar, 2012).

In many cases, before marriage a list consisting of things to be brought by bride is given to bride's family. This list is made with the mutual consultation of the future mother-in-law of bride. If the bride's family does not fulfil the required demands of the groom's family then in many cases marriage does not take place. The whole system of dowry is based on the concept that men own their wives (Pardee, 1996). Pakistani society essentially views a woman as being owned by her father and brothers before marriage and her husband after marriage. Similarly, according to Pakistani law, "Husbands are the legal guardians of women" (Pakistan Legal Decisions Booklet, 1971), so whatsoever the parents of bride and groom have decided regarding dowry and whatsoever are the demands of groom's family, the bride will have to comply because of family and societal pressure and traditional customs (Gulzar, 2012).

3.3.5 Bride Burning

Bride burning is another form of brutal domestic violence within the four walls of the home. In bride burning, it is alleged that a husband or the family of the husband douses the man's wife with kerosene or gasoline oil and sets the woman alight, leading to death by burning her alive (Barlas, 2002). This is one of the most worse situation and abuse of human rights. Furthermore, Bride burning is often described as a kitchen accident or suicide attempts (Human Rights Watch, 2003). According to HRC annual report (2013), 389 incidents of domestic violence were reported in the media; husbands were the most common perpetrators. More than 800 women committed suicide in 2013, mostly owing to domestic issues.

There are several reasons for bride burning and one of the major reason is the failure of the wife's family to provide a sufficient dowry (Gondal, 2015). Here the

question has arisen that why do husbands adopt to go for this inhuman option and burn their wives alive? Generally, husbands who participate in these crimes are greedy and criminal by nature and believe that burning their wives is a good way to remove her without evidence and might be labelled a suicide. This might provide for an opportunity to marry again and thus get a large amount of dowry. It is actually the greediness and dirty thinking of the husband and his relatives that incites them to kill the wife in this way (Gondal, 2015). A surprising element in these kitchen accidents or stove deaths is that many more daughters-in-law die than any other female member of the family, like the sister or mother of the groom. No doubt, the bride burning is violence against women and serious violation of human rights (Human Rights Watch, 2003). It is a serious crime against humanity and reflection of a doomed society as well. Unfortunately, this is being practiced in Pakistan, which is an Islamic country.

3.3.6 Acid Throwing

Acid throwing is another inhuman abuse imposed on women. The purpose of criminals behind this is to teach a lesson to victim woman. In many incidents, men throw acids on women because she brings insufficient dowry (Gondal, 2015). But in many cases, besides dowry there are many other reasons behind acid throwing on women. In some cases when a person had proposed a woman for marriage and if the woman refused his proposal, then they became aggressive and did it as a revenge by throwing acid on the woman's face and body to make pain and suffering certain and destroy whole life on the victim because she dishonored him by rejecting his proposal (Burney, 2005).

In some instances, religious fundamentalists who considered themselves as protector of religion, throw acids at women who are complete strangers to them, standing or sitting at public places, because they felt the women were too modern, westernized and furthermore, anti-Islam. Even if all the women had done is wear jeans instead of the Pakistani dress. In front of these religious fundamentalists, acid throwing can also be a kind of available punishment for those women whose living styles are not according to their version of Islam (Burney, 2005). Now after different military operation and public policy to deal these fundamentalist, occurrences of these types of incidents have reduced day by day.

Nearly 280 women were killed and 750 were injured in 2002 from acid attacks. Despite protests of Human rights activists against open sale of acid, it is still easily available (Human Rights Watch, 2003). Also, according to human rights commission of Pakistan (2006), at least 42 cases of acid throwing had been reported in 2004. But unfortunately only in four cases the accused were arrested. According to HRCP, during 2013 a total of 150 women were burned in acid attacks, incidents of gas leakage and stove burning. Forty-four of them died. Human rights organization also indicates that every year, almost 400 women all over the country become the victim of acid throwing mainly by their husbands and family members. It was a miserable situation as in last ten years, more than 1500 cases of acid attacks were registered in police stations and courts. It should be remembered that many cases go unreported as well.

Conclusion

The chapter explored that feminine role of a women entirely contributes to the building of a complete family, perfect society and an ideal state. In Pakistani society

violence is common in society. Violence is an extension of the ideology that gives men the right to control women's behaviour, their mobility, their access to material resources and their labour, both productive and reproductive. It also limits women's options in every sphere of life, public and private at home, in school, in workplace and in most community places. It limits their choices directly by destroying their health, disrupting their lives and damaging their self-esteem and self-confidence. In fact violence impedes women's full participation in every walk of society.

The study found that in context to Pakistan's situation, as mentioned earlier that Pakistan is a male dominated society where violence against women is common practice, the gender inequality of a society is embedded in social and cultural norms. But, there is not a single public policy which directly addresses issues of domestic violence.

It is investigated in this study that Women's right of freedom in Pakistan is associated with the name of modern and liberal attitude. Conservatives families considered adoption of modesty as threat to their traditions. This kind of attitude in society results in violation of basic human rights of women. It is common theory in Pakistani society that when men give them food, home, clothes, they should spend their lives according to the orders and will of their men, whether he is a father, brother or husband. It would be difficult for women to think independently, unless they get economic and speech independence.

CHAPTER 4

PUBLIC POLICY DEALING WITH GENDER INEQUALITIES (1999- 2012)

This chapter gives a detailed account of public policy designed by different governments to bring gender equality in the whole society for the development of Pakistan. Special emphasis is on the measures and initiatives taken by Musharraf and his successor government during 1999 to 2012. It also analyzes effects of those policies on women development and empowerment. It tries to find main causes which became hurdles in the way of economic, political, social and cultural horizontal equality in Pakistani society.

4.1 Public Policy: Inequality across Gender (Historical Perspective)

The history of gender equality reforms in Pakistan has its origins in the colonial period. Colonialism led liberal nationalists to introduce reforms in centuries old conservative structure of the society (Mumtaz, 1987). According to 1935 Act, all women of Sub-Continent were given the right to vote and seats had been reserved for women in legislative bodies. In 1937, the Central Legislative Council of British India passed the Muslim Personal Law, which gave Muslim women the rights of inheritance of property, especially after the death of their parents (Walid, 1997).

The founder of Pakistan Muhammad Ali Jinnah said; *"No nation can ever be worthy of its existence that cannot take its women along with the men. No struggle can ever succeed without women participating side by side with men"*(Batool, 2012). Muslims have fought for women rights even before Pakistan's independence; Sir Syed Ahmed Khan appeared as a reformer, introduced reforms in education as a source of women's empowerment (Noreen, 2014). When the movement for creation of Pakistan gained momentum, Muslim women came out on the streets and were active in the demonstrations and agitations that took place for independence (Saiyaid, 2001).

Quaid-e-Azam always emphasized on women as human capital with a positive and liberal attitude towards them. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan has the same point of view regarding women population. Quaid's sister fully participated with her brother in Pakistan movement. After the creation of Pakistan, she struggled for eradicating socio-economic disparities against women (Shabbir, 2012).

In the early history of Pakistan, two women organizations, the Pakistan Women's National Guard (PNWG founded in 1949) organized by Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan and the Women's Voluntary Service (WVS founded in 1948) were formed. There were millions of refugees' especially young girls and married women facing numerous problems after Pakistan came into being and the WVS played a major role in their rehabilitation. The PNWG was under the administration of the army and the PWNR was under the navy. Begum Raana Liaquat Ali was the chief controller (Ahmad, 1975). Women were given different training i.e. to learn use of guns, marksmanship and signaling as well as first aid, typing, social welfare work, in a very short period of time. National Guard corps trained three battalions with 2,400 women which had been formed for the whole country including Karachi. According to political and administrative

survey in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (2004), this organization later became the All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA, on 22nd of February, 1949 in Karachi,) and raised issues of health, education, and family laws largely within the framework of welfare and social reforms (Bennett, 2007).

The personal attention and devotion of Begum Raana Liaquat Ali Khan along with her official status helped out APWA in developing a well-coordinated network of women welfare that further extended and become internationally recognized with category B consultative status with UN Economic and Social council (ECOSOC). APWA operated with a notable number of social welfare outlets which registered sound and stable growth. In the following years, APWA's struggle for the rights of women inspired other women's groups to come forward and take part for the development of country and women rights (Mumtaz, 1987).

Pakistani women got the right to vote in 1947 (Lewis, 2013). Soon after the independence of Pakistan, they were reassured this voting in national elections in 1956 under the interim Constitution of Pakistan. The provision of seat reservation for women in Parliament had been decided throughout the constitutional history of Pakistan from 1956 to 1973 (PILDAT, 2012).

4.1.1 Women in Ayub Era (1958-1969)

Presence and interest of women in politics was not much appreciated in Ayub Khan's era. Women had few reserved seats and even six women representatives remain symbolic with having no role at all (Naz et al, 2012). The Constitution of 1962 had given the right to cast vote and participate in election to women. So the women candidates contested Basic Democracies Elections in town constituencies in large

numbers (Williams, 1962). In addition, six seats were reserved for women in the National legislature and five seats in the provincial legislatures according to article 20 of the Constitution (The Constitution of Pakistan, 1962).

Ayub Khan's government provided more basic rights to Pakistani women as compared to Muslim women in any other state (Weiner & Banuazizi, 1994). In Ayub's period, many reforms were introduced about women's rights. Government introduced family laws ordinance in 1961 which was to discourage polygamy and to legalize the divorce procedure for both male and female (Naz, 2011). The above mentioned ordinance said that if a man wants to have more than one wife, he must be obliged to obtain the approval of his first wife and that he shall have solid reasons for the second marriage. In case of divorce, he must be bound to send a written form of divorce to the chairman of the local council and a copy to his wife, instead of saying *Talaq* thrice. The ordinance also made the registration of the marriage compulsory in local union council. A standard marriage contract *Nikah Nama* was also introduced, which gave protection to women. The *nikah nama* include in writing the right of divorce to women. If the right of divorce was given to her, then she could use the right of divorce. (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). The ordinance was welcomed by women organizations as it has secured the status of women socially to a larger extent. Although there were some weak points in the ordinance, it still served as a ray of hope towards horizontal gender equality. This Ordinance was appreciated by women activists on one side, while it was resisted and criticized by the *ulema* and conservatives on the other side (Naz, 2011).

4.1.2 Women in Bhutto Era (1970 – 1977)

The position of women in first democratic government, in Bhutto's period (1970-1977) got strong to some extent, women gained opportunities to push for more progressive measures. Pakistan Peoples Party's manifesto was anti-Ayub as it was the opening doors of democracy in Pakistan. This period was famous for new and dynamic approach towards the uplift of suppressed section of society that was women. During that period there was a noticeable increase in feminist consciousness ((Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). His government adopted a liberal attitude towards women, encouraging their presence in public sphere. Involvement of women increased in social work, political activities and trade unions during this regime and an overall empowering attitude towards women was observed.

Gender equality was assured in the Constitution of Pakistan implemented in 1973. The Constitution states that there shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone. It also encouraged full participation of women in all spheres of national life (Weiner & Banuazizi, 1994). The PPP strategy had promised women of equal opportunities for excelling as that of men. Begum Naseem Jehan, one of the founder members of PPP, prepared women to visit door to door and deliver the message of the party about women program to them (Naz, 2011). During that period, women were appointed on key positions in different institutions. Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan was chosen the Governor of Sindh and Begum Kaneez Yousaf was selected as the Vice-Chancellor of the Quaid-e- Azam University. At the same time Foreign and District Management posts were opened to women through the civil services (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987).

During that era, two organization, the Women's Front, and Shirkat Gah, were formed in 1975 for the cause of women. Their basic purpose of establishment was to

encourage those women who were interested to play their roles in national politics and country's development (Saigol, 1995). Women's Front was formed by a group of female students of Punjab University. This front started its struggles for equal rights of women in society and at their work place. During 1976-77 another women's organization called Aurat Foundation was established by university teachers, students, and employed women (Saigol, 1995).

4.1.3 Women in Zia Era (1977 – 1988)

Zia Era (1977 -1988) is taken as the most critical time for Pakistani women folk. The government of General Zia-ul-Haq introduced the so-called Shariah Laws under the transformation of secularism to Islamization. Constitution of Pakistan was rebranded first time which said that men and women have different legal rights. Such laws reduced women's participation and power in social matters (Bennett, 2007). The UN had issued a declaration in 1975 calling on all member countries to make efforts for uplifting women's status worldwide, whereas Zia's Islamization and reforms came up as contradiction and compromise to the promise of women rights. In the Islamization period, women's role was imagined as restricted to *Chador aur Char diwari*, whereas in contrast, the situation was going opposite and actually women's inclusion was increasing in public sphere (Weiner and Banuazizi, 1994).

Amendments in three areas of law were made in Zia's period, (a) The Hudood Ordinance of 1979, (b) The 1984 Law of Evidence, and (c) Qisas and Diyat law. These modifications intensely affected women's status and lives (Bennett, 2007). The Hudood Ordinance proposed fixed punishment and laws against theft, fornication, consumption of alcohol, robbery, illegal sexual intercourse, rebellion and apostasy. The Law of

Evidence required that in the case of rape, four Muslim adult honest male eye-witnesses must testify that the act of rape has occurred. *Qisas* was the law of revenge and *Diyat* laws deals with paying compensation to the victim's beneficiary. In case of *Diyat*, the blood money for a woman was decreased to half of a man (Khan, 2005).

The Hudood Ordinance and the Law of Evidence were considered to block women's attempts for equal rights. Under the Hudood Ordinances, 1979 that was concerning to adultery, rape, and theft, a woman's evidence was ignored, and only the male witness was valid and acceptable. The Qanoon-e- Shahadat, or the Law of Evidence, 1984, visibly violates women's constitutional rights as equal citizens before the law, by taking a woman's evidence to half that of a man's and by excluding it absolutely in the absence of a male witness (Jhangir & Jillani , 2003). Women considered this as the most threatening period for the development and equality of Pakistani women. Under the Zia period (1977 -1988), the so-called *Shariah* Laws were taken as a reversal of the legal rights women achieved over a long period of struggle (Noreen & Musarat, 2013). During that period, efforts were made to prove women secondary citizens under the Islamic law.

It was the period of reversal of struggle for equal rights of women. During that difficult time there was large number of women joining the movement from the middle classes to be curious about the effects of the religious campaign being used to shut the doors of economic, political and social opportunities to women (Saigol, 2016). Women's Action Forum (WAF) was formed during Zia Era and the exclusive feature of WAF was to raise a voice not only for women's rights but also against military dictatorship and demand the restoration of democracy. WAF demanded that the Constitution of 1973 should be restored and emphasized that only elected parliament

had the right to make laws. In 1983, WAF opposed strict censorship on media and restrictions on the freedom of speech and public demonstrations. The politics of women's movement received a new energy from these actions taken by government (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987).

The growing influence of the WAF movement threatened the establishment of Zia-ul-Haq. Government announced that the leaders of the movement were mostly western educated women demonstrating alien ideals and should not be followed. WAF, however, continued to raise its voice against government actions. In spite of all struggles, according to Haroon, (1995) WAF did not achieve much of its objectives in real terms like the reversal of unjust laws and other discriminatory measures. Yet, WAF was successful in creating and raising a voice against martial law, raising political awareness among women (Jhangir & Jillani, 2003).

Zia's Military regime received a lot of criticism on national and international levels due to formulating unequal and unjust policies towards women. So, the government realized to take few steps in favour of women to balance out the previous anti women actions; it initiated establishment of Women's Division in Cabinet Secretariat. This was converted into a full-fledged Ministry of Women Development and Youth Affairs in 1989. Later on this ministry held and directed discussions for signing the CEDAW (Hellum, Henriette& Aasen , 2013).

In 1983, Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women (PCSW) was established for a limited period. Objective of PCSW was to expose both rights and obligations of women in an Islamic society and to give recommendations to protect those rights, and investigate how women could help in eradicating unawareness, social evils, poverty

and disease from the society (Noreen & Musarat, 2013). It also proposed strategic measures for women's empowerment and horizontally gender equality. A resolution was passed by PCSW which stated that every law concerning women must be discussed with the commission before adopting it for legislation. This commission recommended to remove polygamy, amend Hudood ordinance, *Qisas and Diyat* law (Jahangir & Jilani, 1990). Although those recommendations were not acceptable to the government, so the report's findings presented in 1986 was thrown to the dust bin. The report was reopened with the revival of democracy in 1988 when Benazir Bhutto came to power (Siddiqui, 2013) Realizing the significance of women in the development of a country, for the first time a chapter on women in development was included in Pakistan's five year development plan which resulted in women's integration in every field particularly in development sector under Zia government (Rizvi 2000).

Majlis-e-Shoora carried out induction of 20 women as members in 1981 by Zia, but this Shoora had no powers over the executive branch. The National Assembly was elected through non-party elections that doubled women's quota from 10 to 20 percent in 1985 (Ibrahim & Saddiqui, 2013).

4.1.4 Women in Benazir Era (1988 -90, 1992-96)

Women again got rights to contest elections for the legislative assemblies with the restoration of multiparty democracy in Pakistan with the end of long military regime in 1988. They not only participated in elections but also reached to the highest level of government (Patel, 2010).

Banazeer Bhuto contested elections being head of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and became first ever elected female Prime Minister of a Muslim country. That

was a real gesture to show the world about the progressive democracy in Pakistan as well as indicate the equal participation of women in Pakistani politics. Turkey and Bangladesh also followed the lead afterwards. She raised voice in her election campaign against women's social issues and discrimination in every field; health, education, economy and politics. She ensured implementation of pledges for eradication of all types of gender discrimination. Benazir Bhutto took practical steps to fulfil her promise of reforming women's police stations, courts and established women's development bank (Weiss, 2012). The people of Pakistan once again voted Mrs. Bhutto into power in 1992, her second tenure as Prime Minister, after her first government had been dismissed on charges of gross corruption. It is important to note that Benazir Bhutto's government was not able to repeal even one of the anti-women laws of General Zia-ul-Haq. Although she promised to abolish contradictory Hudood laws, yet she was unable to cancel any part of Hudood ordinance in her two incomplete terms. She did not initiate any legislation to improve women's social status in Pakistan (Gender Review, 2004).

4.1.5 Women in Nawaz Sharif Era (1990- 92, 1996-99)

The government of Muslim league under the headship of Nawaz Sharif was formed in 1990 first time. While in second term Nawaz Sharif came into power in 1997, with two thirds majority. Government had brought changes in the controversial Eighth Amendment, it was hoped that the government with its two-third majority would be able to finally repeal the Hudood Ordinances. However, the two governments of Nawaz Sharif were unable to make any progress in this area, while 'honour' crimes against women continued to mount (Jhangir & Jillani, 2003). Women organizations were demanded Hudood ordinance to be abolished due to their incompatible nature with women's fundamental rights. Nawaz Sharif government was also unable to remove or

amend the Hudood ordinance in his two incomplete tenures and did not get significant success towards women empowerment and gender equality (Weiss, 2012). Present government of Nawaz Sharif has been taken some positive step towards gender equality yet destination is so far.

4.2 Constitutional Safeguard to Women

The constitutional safeguard to women is provided in the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan in which it is specifically provided that:

1. Article 25 of the Constitution of Pakistan seeks equality of citizen before law that "All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law. There shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone."
2. Article 27 seeks to safeguard against the gender discrimination in services that "No citizen otherwise qualified for appointment in the service of Pakistan shall be discriminated against in respect of any such appointment on the ground only of ... sex ..."
3. Article 34 stipulates that steps should be taken to ensure a full participation of women in all spheres of national life.

4.2.1 CEDAW Convention

Pakistan became signatory of CEDAW in 1995 and ratified on March 11, 1996. Pakistan submitted its first implementation report in 1998. CEDAW has 16 articles and two general recommendations which cover all aspects of life related women development and equality, such as education, employment, and equal access to health care. The two recommendations deal with violence against women.

Article I of CEDAW defines discrimination as:

Any distinction, exclusion, or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on the basis of equality of men and women, human rights, and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.

CEDAW stipulates the urgency of eliminating stereotypes, customs, and norms that gave rise to the many legal, political and economic constraints on women (Naveeda & Musarat, 2013). Discrimination contributes to reduction of horizontal inequalities across gender. For instance, when women do not equally participate in decision-making positions, their rights and freedoms may be violated. It is to be noted that equality relates to the dignity, rights, opportunities and worth of men and women to participate in different spheres of life (Mbote, 2002).

Empowerment demands political participation, civil rights and reproductive rights for all women. To achieve this a review of constitution, laws, policies that inhibit equality would be necessary. Equally, enactment of women friendly statutes and policies would be a prerequisite for gender equality (Mirza, 2011).

Pakistan is also a signatory to the declaration of human rights commission. The declaration was serious effort to give equal status to women in all spheres of life, which stipulates that;

- All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.
- Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind.
- All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law.

- Men and women of full age ... are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution. Marriage should be entered into with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
- Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country. Mother and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance.

(Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 1, 2, 7, 16, 21(2), 25(2))

4.2.2 The National Plan of Action (NPA) for Women

Pakistan made commitment at the United Nations Fourth World Conference for Women in Beijing to empower the women and take solid measures to bring gender equality horizontally in the country (Patel, 2010). Pakistan prepared the National Plan of Action for Women (NPA) with a 15 years perspective and launched it in August 1998 covering the following 12 critical areas of concern identified in the Beijing declaration 1995: Women and Poverty; Education and Training of Women; Women and Health; Violence against Women; Women and Armed Conflict; Women and the Economy; Women in Power and Decision-Making; Institutional Mechanism for the Advancement of Women; Human Rights of Women; Women and the Media; Women and the Environment; Girl Child Rights (na.gov.pk).

4.3 Public Policy During 1999 to 2012

In October 1999, General Pervez Musharraf, Chief of Army Staff came to power through a military coup overthrowing elected government of Nawaz Sharif. Ironically, at the time, a great deal of metaphorical concentration was paid to gender subject in the public discussions. He had a liberal attitude towards women's empowerment introducing the doctrine of Enlightened Moderation (Patel, 2010). Though, he became President of Pakistan without popular mandate, he realized women's importance as

human resource and equal partner in development. Government initiated steps to bring women in mainstream encouraging their participation in various sectors of social, political and economic development (Naveeda & Musarat, 2013). Comparing public policy of this government with previous governments' policies, there seems a clear difference in outputs. Musharraf's policy concerning women's inclusion in development is broader, more liberal, moderate and positive in approach. He took some solid steps to guarantee active participation of women in all socio-cultural, economic and political fields (Weiss, 2012).

Quota for women seats was increased in the political bodies for political advancement of women, both at national and local levels. In the plan for devolution of power to the grass root level, the government introduced 33 percent seats reserved for women in local government bodies and 17 percent in the parliament (Marie, 2008). In 2004, an autonomous ministry named as 'The Ministry of Women Development' (MWD) was established for women rights protection and welfare.

The Musharraf government has taken various steps to beef up the legal framework dealing with women rights, Following are some important pieces of legislation that addressed women and gender issues during Musharraf period.

The Constitution of Pakistan provides legal guarantees, safeguarding the rights of both genders under Articles 4, 8, 14, 25, 26, 27, 34, 35, 37 and 38. In 2004, the Criminal Law Act was enacted. Section 310(A) of this Act prohibits *Badal-e-Sulh*, under which girls or women cannot be given in marriage as compensation for someone else's crime (Gauhar, 2014). It directly deals with all forms of "marriage as compensation" carried out under different names, such as *swara*, *wani*, *sang chatt* and

irjaee. Under this Section, punishment for giving a female in marriage or otherwise, in *Badal-e-Sulh* is given as follows:

Whoever gives a female in marriage or otherwise in *Badal-e-Sulh* shall be punished with rigorous imprisonment which may extend to 10 years but shall not be less than three years. Moreover, an Act entitled Prevention of Anti-Women Practices (Criminal Law Amendment) Act, 2011 outlines strong punishments for social practices like *wani*, *swara* and *Badal-e-Sulh*, wherein women are traded to settle personal, family or tribal disputes (Gauhar, 2014).

The Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendment) Act, 2006, which was publicized as a legal verdict on December 01, 2006. It was one of the very bold step taken by the government. It was an amendment in the Zia's controversial Hudood Ordinances (Zina and Qazf ordinances) of 1979 and 1984. Since the Haddood ordinance was implemented in 1979, hundreds of women were suffering prisons (Khan, 2007).

Gender policy of previous government was kept continued by the successor government of PPP after 2008 elections. In this context, reformation of discriminatory laws against women was a high priority of the government (Mirza, 2011). Legislative measures taken to ensure women rights protection includes Protection against Harassment of Women at Workplace Act 2010, Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, Acid Control and Acid Crime Act and Prevention of Anti Women Practices Act, The National Commission for Human Rights Act 2012 authorized the overall monitoring of human rights situation "(Shoaib,2012). The Women in Distress and Detention Fund Act 2011 promulgated to provide financial and legal assistance to deserving and poor women. To provide immediate relief for female victims of violence 'Shaheed Benazir Bhutto

Centers' for women have been established in various districts across Pakistan. Benazir Income Support Program (BISP) was initiated to help the poor and needy women. The PPP government increased the representation of women in judiciary by appointing female judges (Shoaib, 2012).

During the five years tenure (2008 – 2013) of PPP government, it made serious efforts to take social, economic, legal and constitutional actions for women's empowerment in Pakistan in all significant fields. Women have been struggling to gain equality in every field, and gradually entering into every field of national activity, previously thought to be "no go area" for women (Momina, 2012).

4.3.1 National Policy for Development and Empowerment of Women

The National Policy for Development and Empowerment of Women was approved on 6th March 2002 by the Cabinet and announced by the President of Pakistan at the National Convention for Women held on 7th March 2002. The policy suggests a number of different activities in three intervention areas:

- Social empowerment of women (education, health, law and access to justice, violence against women, women in the family and community, and protection of girl child)
- Economic empowerment of women (poverty, access to credit, remunerated work, women in the rural economy and informal sector, and sustainable development)
- Political empowerment of women (power and decision making, Planning Commission). (Ministry of Women and Child Development, 2001)

4.3.2 The Gender Reform Actions Plans

The federal and all provincial governments have approved Gender Reform Action Plans (GRAPs) during 2004-05 that suggests the following intervention areas:

- Women's employment in the public sector
- Policies and fiscal reforms
- Capacity development interventions
- Women's political participation
- Institutional restructuring for more effective gender mainstreaming
- Support actions to create an enabling environment (UNDP,2005)

4.3.3 Criminal Law Amendment Act-I of 2005

Through this piece of legislation various sections of Pakistan Penal Code 1860 have been amended. The primary aim behind these amendments is provide protection and effective means of prosecution to women who are victim of honour killing. Accordingly in clause II inserted in section 299 of Pakistan Penal Code 1860 (PPC) defines honour killing as an "*offence committed in the name or on the pretext of honour means an offence committed in the name or on the pretext of karokari, siyahkari or similar other customs or practices*"(HRCP, 2011).

Moreover, under section 302 the punishment for honor killing is restricted to *qisas* or death or life imprisonment, the latter two being *tazir* punishments. Section 305 of PPC excludes from the ambit of *wali* a person who is accused or convict in the case of *qatl-i-amd* if committed in the name or on the pretext of honour. This section is particular important as at times the accused himself being the only wali of the victim becomes a bar for the execution of *qatl-i-amd* (Bennett, 2007).

Similarly section 310 has been amended to the tune that the no female can be given as a *badl-i-sulh* in marriage in cases of *qatl-i-amd*. Moreover, section 311 makes it mandatory that in case of *qatl-i-amd* on the pretext of honor killing, the punishment on the grounds of *fasad-fil-arz* shall be less than ten years.

Section 324 of the PPC states that for the offence of attempt to commit *qatl-i-amd* punishment of imprisonment shall not be less than five years (HRCP, 2011).

4.3.4 Criminal Law Amendment (Protection of Women) Act 2006

The above law separated the Hadd and Tazir offences/punishments. It separated rape (*zina-bil-jabr*) from fornication/adultery. According to this law the offence of fornication included in the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC) as separate sections (496B & 496C) with imprisonment up to five years and fine up to ten thousand Pakistani rupees (Mirza, 2011).

Under section 365B, if any person abducts or induces any women with intent to marriage shall be imprisoned for life. Section 366A makes procuring a minor girl to illicit intercourse makes an offence and provides a punishment of imprisonment for ten years.

Section 371 A prohibits selling a person for the purpose of prostitution and accordingly provides imprisonment for a term that may extend to twenty five years. Similarly, section 496-A makes enticing or taking away or detaining with criminal intent a woman an offence and can be punished with imprisonment up to seven years (HRCP, 2011).

4.3.5 The Protection against Harassment of Women at Work Place Act, 2010

This enactment was long awaited due to anti women behavior prevalent in our society at large. The title of the Act gives the impression that protection against harassment is provided only to women. However, the perusal of the Act nullifies this impression as the protection of harassment is provided to men as well.

Section 2 (h) of the Act defines harassment as any unwelcome sexual advance, request for sexual favors or other verbal or written communication or physical conduct of a sexual nature or sexually demeaning attitudes, causing interference with work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile or offensive work environment, or the attempt to punish the complainant for refusal to comply to such a request or is made a condition for employment (NA, 2010).

After giving a vast definition to term “harassment”, the Act envisions that every organization shall establish inquiry committees that shall look into complaints of harassment at workplace. The inquiry committee shall be comprised of three members out of whom one member shall be women. On recommendations of the inquiry committee, under section 4 of the Act the competent authority of the respective organization can award minor and major penalties to the person who has committed the act of harassment. Appeal against penalty can be made to the Ombudsman appointed under section 7 of the Act both at provincial and federal level.

4.3.6 Criminal Amendment Act 2011

Under this amendment a new chapter has been added in the constitution chapter titled as Offences against Women. This chapter enables a woman to get her basic rights

such as inheritance, marriage with free will and prohibits marriage with the Quran. Under section 498A, prohibiting a woman from inheriting property shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend up to ten years (NA, 2011).

Similarly under section 498B, whoever coerces a woman for forced marriage shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term that may extend to seven years. Marriage with the Holy Quran is prohibited under section 498C of the PPC and the punishment provided is three years imprisonment.

Acid throwing on women has got momentum at an unprecedented pace. To address the situation, section 332 of PPC was amended and acid throwing was made an offence (NA, 2011).

4.3.7 The National Commission on the Status of Women Act 2012

National Commission on the Status of Women was established under the National Commission on the Status of Women Act 2012. The Commission was the first forum established under a statute to ensure that issues faced by women in Pakistan may be addressed in a systematic manner. Under the Act, the Federal Government is empowered to appoint the Commission's Chairperson and members from all over Pakistan. The major functions of the commission is to examine the policies and programs initiated by the Federal Government for gender equality and women empowerment, to examine all Federal laws and rules that are against interests of women and make recommendations to the concerned quarters (NCSW,2012).

4.4 Women Protection under Sharia Law

In Arabic sharia means, path. It is a position which guides all aspects of Muslim life including daily routines, familial and religious obligations and financial matters. It is primarily derived from the Quran and Sunna; the practices, sayings and teachings of the prophet Muhammad (PBUH) (Hallaq, 2009). It is a position which covers every corner of life for both men and women .The Shariah code gives equal roles to men and women. As mentioned in the Quran “ *And women shall have equal rights to the rights against them, according to what is equitable*” (Al Quran : 2.28).

However the task assigned to both of them is not same. They have been given different capabilities by their creator, and the task assigned to them is based on their capabilities. This distinction is natural and not an error which has to be corrected; this is only for the purpose to build a healthy and prosperous society. In different verses in the Quran, Allah has discussed women as well as men's rights;

Allah says, for Muslim women and Men, for believing men and women, for women and men who are patient and constant, for true men and women, for men and women who humble themselves, for men and women who guard their charity, for men and women who fast, for men and women who engaged in best practices, for them God have forgiveness and great reward. (Al Quran: 33.35).

Any kind of discrimination based on gender is severe offenses and is against the teaching of Quran. The sayings of the Prophet (PBUH) teach the lesson of equal rights of men and women. Islam does not consider women as subordinate to men who should just follow men without any reason. Women have full freedom as individuals and will be asked about their practices/deeds. (Badawi, 2007). As we have discussed earlier Pakistan is a country where culture and traditions have great influence on peoples' lives, they follow it without even caring for sharia laws.

4.5 Pro Women Legislation and Women Empowerment

Musharraf government actions proved helpful and outstanding in uplifting women's status, equality and empowerment in society. Numerous women worked in the local and national government across the country. The 33 percent quota reserved for women in politics by the government in Pakistan, has proved effective both in generating debates on women's election to decision-making roles at lower levels and to generating conditions to support women political representatives through training and ongoing monitoring and inclusion (Chris, 2004).

As a result of Musharraf's progressive public policy, there came 213 women to parliament after 2008 elections; 139 were members of Provincial Assemblies, 128 were elected on reserved seats and 11 elected on general seats and 74 members were in the NA and the Senate (Naz 2008). After the 2013 elections, there are a total of 228 women in parliament; 221 came in parliament on reserved seats while 21 came through contesting general elections (Aurat Foundation, 2013).

After going through the above pro-women legislation, it seems that women in Pakistan have been empowered and offences specific against women are on decline (Mirza, 2011). However, the situation on ground is different; offences against women go unreported due to social taboos. Moreover, majority of the population of Pakistan is rural and illiterate. Due to illiteracy, women are unaware of their rights. The tribal and feudal social traditions are major hurdles in seeking recourse to legal system for redressal of their grievances (Shami, 2009).

Gender Equality and Women Empowerment in a country like Pakistan has great importance. In this regard, Aurat Foundation and Shirkat Gaah along with some other

non-governmental organizations, are working for the betterment of Pakistani women. However the overall status of women in Pakistan is quite deplorable due to non-implementation of CEDAW principles. In order to promote peace and prosperity in society, safeguards of women rights must be ensured theoretically as well as practically (Mirza, 2011).

Women's empowerment is a pluralist concept, interlinked with every field, which includes access to and control over material resources like land, money, credit or income, access to and availability of employment opportunities that consists of fair working conditions, access to power and share in decision making through political representation, freedom to make choice of life, career and enjoyment of basic rights given under the constitution and international frameworks. Women can be empowered through equal access to quality education, health facilities, mobility necessary to get all basic facilities and control over one's body (Tong, 2009).

The first step is framing of laws and implementation towards reformation of society that might clear out anti-women practices. There is a need of continuous efforts from every segment of society; public needs to condemn the vicious traditions and spread awareness about their rights. Taking a stand against established norms is significant, but the formation of laws that have been initiated to strengthen women is admirable (Patel, 2010).

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Civil Society Organizations (CSO), both are main social sectors for development (Sadruddin , 2012). Their role is vital in promoting civil rights for social and economic development of society all over

the world. Several NGOs and CSOs are working for development in multiple sectors like girl education, empowering women and healthcare.

Conclusion

Pakistan came into being as an ideological state on the map of world. Its policy regarding gender equality remained under umbrella of Islam and global trends; it underwent changes from time to time according to the nature of the respective governments. Pakistan has made numerous commitments at national and international levels to guarantee gender equality at home. Nevertheless, there is a huge gap between promises and actions.

It is found in the study that Women's role has undergone notable changes in contemporary era due to a combination of several national and international factors. It is need of hour to include women in the process of development and decision making. No society can make viable progress unless women are permitted and facilitated with equal opportunities to participate in the overall development. Peaceful democratic and harmonious society needs equal participation of women in development process.

In recent past, pro-women legislation and bills have been passed along with amendments in existing laws, but they need to be implemented with high spirit to ensure women's empowerment and gender equality. The demands for strict implementation of laws by the women's groups have a great weight as various laws were there in the past but they lacked implementation. Government needs to create an implementation mechanism that may help in implementing the laws, to eliminate the discriminatory practices from the society. Policies addressing gender issues require to be made more applicable and feasible through planning and political will. It is concluded that long-

term regular activities, programs and projects as well as proper allocation of budget are necessary to decrease gender inequality in the society.

CHAPTER 5

IMPACT OF PUBLIC POLICY ON POLITICAL HORIZONTAL INEQUALITIES

Equality in political participation is one of the major priorities for the advancement of women across the globe. This chapter discusses the distribution of political opportunities and authority, political voice, participation and women share in national legislations and society. Women are a primary group of a society, civilization, and country development. Political inequalities refer to the dissemination of political opportunities and power, political voice and involvement.

The constitution of Pakistan and public policy of different government awards fundamental rights to women on given of equality with men; to vote, to contest for elections, right of association, freedom of speech and right to be elected official in the government at national and local level. However, effects of these policies do not reflect crystal clear on society as a whole. This chapter also critically evaluates the actions taken by the Governments of Pakistan during last decade to reduce the horizontal inequality across gender on political front.

5.1 Political Inequality

Women's political empowerment and equality means the independence of women to cast vote according to their consent, compete in elections, political participation, political voice and political demonstration, power politics, authority, decision-making and implementation regarding their actions, needs and priorities (Ibrahim, 2011). The position of women is horizontally inferior and they do not have their opinion in the economic and political affairs (Naz & Khan, 2011). The employment and political activities are totally stated to gender where women are assigned the inferior positions to that of men. Women do not take interest in the country's politics to make any contribution to it. They have no knowledge about the political parties and the political system of the country (UNDP, 2005).

Women unquestionably played a substantial role in the making of Pakistan. The founder of the Republic, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammed Ali Jinnah, brought Muslim women out of their homes to take part in the freedom movement for Pakistan. Quaid e Azam stated that: *"It is a matter of great happiness that Muslim women are also undergoing a revolutionary change. This change is of great importance. No nation in the world can progress until its women walk side by side with the men."* (Bano, 2008).

It was a social revolution that women of Indian sub-continent participated in political activities, but the culture of Indian Muslims discouraged women from coming out of their homes and political activities of women were considered absurd. Miss. Fatima Jinnah constantly remained present with her brother, it was not accidental, but was a message from a visionary leader as a symbol of giving women equal position and participation in politics, saying that women should not be bound to the four walls and

playing roles of wife and mother. (Saiyaid, 2001) A number of women are present in the legislative bodies, political parties, in local, provincial or national government.

5.2 Musharraf's Public Policy across Gender

Musharraf's public policy towards women development was more liberal, moderate and bold. He took some serious and effective steps for the active participation of women in all the social, economic, cultural and political domains of life. Initiating the political up gradation of women, both at national and local level, various seats were reserved for them in the political bodies (Naz, et al., 2012).

In the local government plan introduced by Musharraf government, 33% seats in local and 17% seats in the parliament were reserved for women, which was a bold and remarkable step throughout of Pakistan's history. At that time, there were now more than 40,000 women in local government across the country. There were also 213 women in parliament, of which 139 are Members of Provincial Assemblies (128 on reserved seats and 11 elected on general seats) and 74 Members of the National Assembly (Naz, 2011)

5.3 Constitutional Quota for Women in Pakistan since 1947-2008

Quota for women's seats was reserved throughout constitutional history of Pakistan from 1956 to 1973. In the 1956 constitution; women quota was approved as 3%. 10 seats for women for a period of 10 years, equally divided between East and West wings was provided under Article 44(2) of the 1956 constitution. According to The second Constitution of 1962 National Assembly was consisting of 156 seats, including

6 reserved seats for women. These seats were equally divided between both wings of the State (PILDAT, 2004).

Twenty women were elected as members in the Majlis-e-Shoora of General Zia in 1981. In 1985 the reserved quota was raised from 10 to 20 percent in National Assembly. This number of women remained the same in 1988 elections (Shahla & Bari, 1999). Musharaf government has brought a prominent change in society through policy related to women. It reserved 60 seats in National assembly. In present a total of 71 women have acquired representation at the national level, 60 on reserved seats and 11 on general seats. Women occupy a total of 18 seats in provincial assemblies. In the NA, 17% and at local government 33% seats, are reserved for women at present.

The below mentioned table demonstrates the number of women elected and participated in politics and decision making since independence to date in various legislative assemblies of Pakistan.

Table 2: Representation of Women in Pakistan's Legislature

Sr. No	Legislatures	Total Seats	Women Elected Directly	Women Elected on reserved seats	Seats Held by Women	Percentage
1	1 st legislature Aug 10, 47– Oct 24, 54	30	-	-	2	6.7%
2	2 nd legislature	80	-	-	0	0%

	May 2,55-Oct 7,58					
3	3 rd legislature Jun 8, 62- june12,65	156	6	-	6	3.8%
4	4 th legislature Jun 12,65- Mar25,69	156	6	-	6	3.8%
5	5 th legislature Apr 14,72- Jan 10,77	144	6	-	6	4.2%
6	6 th legislature Mar20,85- May29,88	210	1	10	11	5.2%
7	7 th legislature Mar20,85- May29,88	217	1	21	22	10.1%
8	8 th legislature Nov30,88- Aug6,90	217	4	20	24	11.1%
9	9 th	217	2	-	2	0.9%

	legislature Nov3,90- Jul17,93					
10	10 th legislature Oct15,93- Nov5,96	217	4	-	4	1.8%
11	11 th legislature Feb15,97- Oct12,99	217	6	-	6	2.8%
12	12 th legislature Nov16,2003	342	13	61	74	21.64%
13	13 th Legislature 2008	342	11	60	71	21%
14	14 th Legislature 2013	342	10	60	70	20%

Source: www.ecp.gov.pk (Pakistan Election Commission website)

In the above table, a clear difference can be seen in different periods of time regarding the participation of women in elections. During the decade of 2000, various solid steps were taken by the Musharraf Government for the active participation of

women folk in politics. As a result of that progressive public policy, a clear and positive effect could be seen on Pakistani women.

5.4 Women's Representation in Legislation (1999 – 2012)

In the October 2002 General Elections, 60 out of 342 seats in NA were allocated to women-. This ratio is three times higher than the previous reservation of 20 seats for women. In the 2002, 2008 and 2013 elections, there has been apparent rise in the number of women contesting for elections on general seats of the NA. A number of women registered themselves to contest for 60 reserved seats in the NA and 128 seats in the provincial assemblies. For the first time, in the history of Pakistan the assembly elected a female speaker Dr. Fehmeeda Mirza in 2008 elections. Women even created the first ever women's caucus in parliament, led by Dr. Fehmeeda Mirza, to make women parliamentarians more effective in solving women's issues and representing women in real sense (Zaidi, 2008).

Table 3. Representation of Women in NA, 2013

Representation of Women in the National Assembly				
Provinces	General seats	Women's seats	Non-Muslim	Total seats
Punjab	148	35	-	183
Sindh	61	14	-	75
KPK	35	8	-	43

Balochistan	14	3	-	17
Fata	12	3	-	12
Non-Muslims	-	-	10	10
Total	272	60	10	342

Source: www.na.gov.pk

5.4.1 Women in Provincial Assemblies

Quota taken as an essential policy action in Pakistan remained successful introducing women in national and local politics. Extension of reserved quota through Musharraf's enlightened Moderation policy is applied to ensure women's inclusion in Provincial Assemblies, to represent women at grass root level of political process. Despite the success attached to it, the increase in number of women is insufficient for representing women's share in decision making process. Number of women increased in parliament but in ministries the ratio of women is not as high (Naveeda & Musarrat, 2013).

Table 4. Women in Provincial Assemblies in 2013

Women's Representation In Provincial Assemblies			
Provinces	Total Seats	Women Seats	Percentage
Punjab	371	66	17.8%

Sindh	168	29	17.3%
KPK	124	22	17.7%
Baluchistan	65	11	16.9%
Total	728	128	17.6%

Source: <http://www.pildat.org>

5.4.2 Representation of Women in Ministries/ Divisions

The following table exhibits the representation of women in federal and state ministries and as parliamentary secretaries that is minimal as compared to total numbers. The policy of increasing women participation in parliament and society has less effects on women participation in ministries and decision making institutions.

Table: 5. Women in Ministries in 2013

Role	Total Number	Women's Representation
Federal Ministers	37	3
State Ministers	18	3
Parliamentary Secretaries	19	3

Source: <http://www.na.gov.pk>

5.4.3 Representation of Women in Local Government

Musharraf government had introduced devolution of power plan to shift the power sharing to grass root level to the concerning stakeholders. In this process, it allocated 33% seats for women in the district, tehsil and union councils through local elections in 2001. The number of seats reserved for women in different councils was as follows.

Table 6: Women in Local Government 2005

Type of Council	Seats Reserved
Union Council (6,022)	36,132
Tehsil Council (305)	1,749
Town Council (30)	161
District Council (96)	1,988
Total	40,028

Source: www.quotaproject.org

The women contested not only against reserved seats but also on general seats at all levels in NA, PA or the local government. However in some areas of KPK, women were prohibited from either voting or running for office or both by religious groups and political parties due to some strict tribal customs. Overall, 36,187 women were elected

out of 40,028 reserved seats for women in the local councils. In 2005 local elections, 3,643 women were elected against reserve seats. (Rayes, 2002).

It is noteworthy that women's active participation during freedom movement was fully supported and encouraged by family's male members. By getting the support of male family members, women of all social classes were highly motivated, and they participated devotedly in all activities related to politics like meetings, and demonstrations either as forefront participant or as supporters (Saigol, 2005). Many prominent women like the Quaid's sister, Ms. Fatima Jinnah, Begum Shahnawaz, Begum Salma Tassaduque, Begum Shaista Ikramullah and many others like them worked day and night to mobilize the Muslim women in British India under the platform of Muslim League, for the political cause to create a separate homeland for the Muslims of Sub-continent (Hashmi, 2001).

Women's political activities could not maintain its momentum after the creation of Pakistan and the worst side of it was, the women belonging to the middle and lower classes could not even get education because restrictions were imposed on their mobility. The women were not allowed to perform their routine work without taking permission from male head of family (Saigol, 2013). Some women belonging to elite families came to the lead and tried to become the representatives of the suppressed group of women. Here these elite women had to bear much more responsibility being the lone source left to keep women's voice alive in parliament. These women became leaders with absolute support of women related NGO's, collectively working for women empowerment by building pressure on the successive governments for the acceptance of social and political demands of the women population (Shafqat, 2007).

5.4.4 Less Number of Women Registered Voters

It is believed in Pakistan that because of strict patriarchal and tribal culture, in rural parts less number of women are participated in political activities and cast votes. Women's representation remained minimal in Baluchistan and FATA region in particular. Female representation is essential, among other things, for developing national policies specific to women's issues in these parts (Bano, 2008).

Table 8. Registered Voters in 2013

Province	Male Voter	Female Voter	Total
Punjab	24,479,668	20,006,958	44,486,626
Sindh	10,894,176	8,612,297	19,506,473
KPK	6,324,182	4,337,030	10,661,212
Balochistan	2,358,971	2,004,639	4,363,610
FATA	985,994	424,332	1,410,326
Islamabad	261,697	221,104	482,801
Grand Total	45,304,688	35,606,360	80,911,048

Source: ECP Website

It was after the intervention of Supreme Court that the decision was made to revert to the old electoral rolls and to update those lists for the 2008 elections. The numbers displayed above reflects on those updated electoral rolls that show an increase of 8 million voters. However, an interesting anomaly that remains is the smaller number of women registered voters even through women constitute about 50% of the

population. With an overall national difference of around 10 million, lesser numbers in the female column for each province and territory speaks volumes about the political participation of women in the elections. The numbers are disappointing, especially in the conservative regions of FATA and KP. The question of women political participation and empowerment needs to acknowledge this issue as a fundamental issue of disenfranchisement that runs against the principle of gender equality and representation.

5.5 Women Participation in Pakistan as Compare to South Asia

It is believed that in South Asia there is slow progress about accepting women in politics, though we can observe women's high integration into national politics over time. Banzair Bhutto from Pakistan, Indira Gandhi in India, Khalida Zia and Hasina Wajid from Bangladesh and Sirivamo Bandranaike and Chandrika Kumaratunga of Sri Lanka are the most prominent women politicians from South Asia. South Asian states have different trends about women's inclusion into politics because of differences in social settings. However women face frequent challenges and obstacles because of the common patriarchal constraints attached to their mobility, access to material resources, social position in decision making and above all low literacy rate which impede their access to information and awareness (Rustagi, 2004).

The following table shows the average representation of women in South Asian countries, with Pakistan taking the lead on the top, after Nepal, in numerical strength.

Table 7. Women in South Asian Politics

Women Representation in South Asian Countries			
Country	Total Seats	Seats Held by Women	Average %
Pakistan	338	76	22.5%
India	541	49	9.1%
Sri Lanka	225	13	5.8%
Nepal	594	197	33.2%
Bangladesh	345	52	15.1%
Bhutan	47	4	8.5%
Maldives	50	6	12.0%

Source: http://issuu.com/south_asian_media_net

According to Inter Parliamentary Union, the percentage of women at minister-level positions in the world increased from 14.2% in 2005 to 16.7% in 2012. Pakistan is at number 69 in the world ranking of countries according to the percentage of women participation in parliament. In the result of Musharraf government policy to increase women participation in parliament, female representation in Pakistan's parliament, although superior to that of other Muslim countries, left a lot to be desired.

5.6 Representation of Women in Political Parties

Pakistani politics revolves around two major political parties, 'the Pakistan People's Party' (PPP) and the 'Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz' (PML-N), though the significance of small parties cannot be overlooked in the democratic system of Pakistan. To explain and judge the role and pledges of all political parties, a comparative analysis about the policies defined for women empowerment and gender inequality in mainstream political parties', the manifestos are helpful to understand how each would add towards equality and greater participation of women in politics.

a. PPP-P. Pakistan had a weak political framework since independence; it went through turmoil and bad circumstances in the form of military coups. Despite numerous hurdles, PPP is the only mainstream party that showed firm commitments and determination to women rights and empowerment since Benazir's times that took numerous initiatives like establishing Women Bank, and up gradation of women's division in cabinet started by Zia. PPP has highest women contestants on general seats. Its evidence is their efforts made till the last government's initiatives taken for women's advancement, since the time of Benazir; some recent efforts include Benazir Income Support Program (BISP) and appointing women to high level decision making positions. PPP Human Rights (women) Wing (PPPHRWW) was introduced as a new concept in 'ICT' Pakistan, in the 90's by Benazir to focus the problems faced by the women in multi-cultural Pakistani society. PPPHRWW is committed to secure legal, political, social and economic equality for women (www.PPPP.org)

b. PML-N. There have been a series of promises made by PML-N in its manifesto; most prominent is to bring improvement in pro-women legislation and new

laws to put an end to discrimination against women including violence against women and children. Party's manifesto claimed that it would attempt to promote women rights and equality and also pledges to protect their rights of inheritance. Inclusion of women in socio-political and economic spheres, banking, financial institution, law, judiciary, health, education and law enforcement institution has also been promised. Preference to appoint women teachers for primary school; special attention on professional and higher education for women; promotion of women's health and welfare; economic empowerment of women through targeted micro-credit and introduction of women entrepreneurship financing scheme are also part and parcel of the party's manifesto (PML-N manifesto).

c. PML-Q. PMLQ proclaims women should have equal rights and they should be provided with equal opportunities. It is observed that women are more productive than men and therefore, they planned to make arrangements to ensure their contribution. They can equally contribute in our economy, politics and society. PML-Q will eliminate gender discrimination. They promised that their policy would be "violence free environment for women" (PML-Q manifesto). All the political parties emphasized on increased political participation of women along with a commitment to ensure protection of women rights. PML-Q's manifesto promises to bring about decrease in the gender gap in education through behavioral change and making education for girls an "acceptable social norm. They fail to provide details about specific ways to bring that change and seem to have no concrete actions plan (Munir, 2012).

d. PTI. PTI developed a "Gender Policy" in its elections manifesto 2013; it promised to allocate special funds for women's health care and highlighted the need to address discriminatory laws hindering women's progress in every sector (PTI

manifesto, 2013). For implementing this policy, they promised to ensure provincial ministries for women, along with provision of training programs, subsidies, and monetary incentives to increase opportunities for women's economic empowerment. In comparison to PML-N, PTI manifesto offers more concrete steps for women's empowerment which mentions greater economic participation of women through provision of micro-credit schemes, day care facilities and increased job quotas in all sectors. PTI also mentions specific actions like restoring the women ministry at provincial and federal levels to deal with women issues, setting up one step "Insaf gahs" at union council level to provide economic and legal aid to women and introducing a 20 percent jobs quota for women.(Munir, 2012)

e. MQM. MQM is the only party with no particular section devoted to women empowerment. Policies concerning women, minorities and children rights are addressed under the section named 'Human Rights'. They emphasize on social justice and elimination of exploitative practices such as karo kari and vani through legislative measures. It fails in setting some concrete steps for promoting education and health care for women (MQM manifesto,2013).

f. ANP. Although ANP belongs to a tribal majority area of Pakistan, ANP has most extensive and concrete agenda on women's inclusion in all affairs including politics and economy. ANP manifesto declares that they wish to eliminate the need for a male guardian for adult women who are applying for national identity cards, which reflects the party's commitment to uplift women as independent decision makers (ANP manifesto, 2013).

g. **Jl. Jamaat Islami**, highlights the significance of education, flexible working conditions, and inheritance and divorce laws in favor of women according to Shariah. JI manifesto has no clear stance on women's political representation which means the party is in favor of the omission of women from politics.

Analyzing critically, the manifestos of major political parties' show that they make strong commitments on women's rights and welfare on paper but they lack in taking practical steps to achieve their claims. Such statements seem plain expressions for attracting more vote bank and political support than essence. These manifestos' lack in providing practical support to ensure gender balance and women's empowerment in different sectors.

The ANP manifesto includes strong progressive statements about equality of rights, but their practical value reduces as there is no clear measure stated to ensure women's political representation. Therefore their approach is traditional regarding women rights.

The PML-N manifesto includes some fine positive general statements about equality of rights for women and minorities and women's representation in central policymaking bodies, but it also lacks in practical and proposed measures to achieve that. PML-N has been, in the past and at present, uncertain in repealing discriminatory laws regarding women rights. Similarly PML-Q also restricted itself to passing statements than taking actual supportive measures regarding women's empowerment and equality (Aziz, 2013). PPP remained consistent as mainstream party on the subject of commitments and concrete action for women's rights and empowerment. PPP has

focus on social development with an increase in education and health sector as essentials of social development on the top of its agenda (www.pmo.gov).

It is observed that the number of women who contested the 2013 elections has remained unchanged or gone down in the case of a few parties. Total 36 female candidates have been awarded tickets for 272 general seats of NA this year, in comparison to the 34 candidates in 2008 and 38 in the 2002 elections. The below mentioned table show comparison of women candidates across party;

Table 9. Women Candidates on General Seats in 2013 Election

Political Party	Percentage of Tickets Awarded to Women
PPP	7.0%
PML (F)	6.9%
APML	4.8%
PML (N)	3.7%
PML (Q)	3.7%
ANP	3.5%
MQM	3.3%
PTI	2.2%

Source: <http://www.ncsw.gov.pk/EC-News-8.php>

Table 10. Women Representation in Political Parties Decision Making

Political Party	Women Representation in Party Decision Making Committees	Percentage of Participation
PPP	2 out of 37	5.4%
PMLN	3 out of 60	5%
MQM	1 out of 12	8.3%
ANP	2 out of 18	11.1%
PTI	5 out of 40	12.5%
PAT	3 out of 30	10%
JWP	2 out of 32	6.2%
BNP	4 out of 55	7.2%

Source: Aurat Foundation

Above facts shows horizontal inequality across gender in political parties' decision making wings. The above ratio showed discriminatory behaviour across gender. Political parties should ensure women's representation at party leadership positions assuming democratic norms within party. Parties should be considered to adopt voluntary targets and quotas to guarantee women to be elected other than constitutional quota. Political Parties must identify issues curtailing women's political participation and their solution on priority basis.

5.7 Hurdles in Women's Political Empowerment

Women's participation in electoral practices includes much more than just voting. It consists of a number of freedoms, as to speak out and stand for something; assemble groups; ability to take part in the achievement of public affairs; opportunity to register as a candidate; to be elected and to hold office at the highest levels of decision making (Phillip, 1998). According to international laws and commitments both men and women possess equal right to participate in all phases of political affairs. However, it is very simple to speak about rights but often hard for women to exercise these rights in practice. There are frequent barriers and challenges for women to choose politics as a career in traditional and cultural societies, and it requires special method to ensure the implement these rights (Phillip, 1998).

In many countries and particularly in Pakistan, the supreme law of land the Constitution granted right of political participation to women. Apart from constitution Islamic law does not restrict women's rights to public activity as well (Adeel, 2010). Thus there are no formal legal barriers for women's entry into politics in theory; however in practice, there are various obstacles to women's political empowerment. These hurdles need to be identified and addressed in order to ensure gender equality and implementation of laws.

Barriers to women's entry into politics are widespread and wide ranging in every society. In the presence of a range of obstacles, it is harder for women to emerge as political leader; those who emerge with the exception of privileged backing; in the presence of small dominant elite group, absence of well-established networking, unstable security situation, harassment issues, and male dominance, undoubtedly are

strong obstacles to women participation. The list does not stop here; women further require overcoming a number of hurdles including gender stereotypes that consign unequal household care giving duty to women, risk of violence in public places, inadequate training and education to compete for good jobs or access global competitive market and poor living condition restricts thinking beyond daily survival needs. Despite a long list of hurdles and challenges, there has been a growing level of awareness, advocacy and women's activism that resulted in increased women political empowerment in Pakistan in the past decade (Bano, 2009).

In the social barriers the gender stereotype role is used as an ideological tool to place women within the private sphere of home as mothers and wives. This is one of known factors that strongly obstruct women's political empowerment globally. The public private divide of women affects women's political influence negatively (Naz, 2012).

Although, the gender role ideology is not limited to one field but it also overlaps economic, social and political systems of any society. Women are defined as ones belonging to private affairs across countries which result in their exclusion from politics. (Bari, 2005).

Traditionally politics has been male dominated, that is unwelcoming and hostile for many women. Pakistan is a patriarchal and traditional society with deep rooted patriarchal values having objection on women's entry into politics. In addition, culture is non-supportive and a hurdle, including scarcity of financial resources, lower levels of education, less access to information, greater family responsibilities and discrimination and deprivation of rights provide them with few opportunities to acquire political

experience. Those women who enter into politics are the close relatives of male politicians, otherwise women generally lack in the political networks necessary for success (Ali & Akhter, 2012).

Male domination of formal political structure is a major factor that hindered women's political empowerment. In addition to this, the socio-cultural dependency of women is one of the key factors to their political participation in public political field. Women's economic dependency and lack of access to ownership of productive resources contribute in limiting the scope of their political work. (Bari, 2005). In such a career, illiteracy and ignorance of women regarding their rights and duties in relation to politics hinder women's political empowerment.

Patriarchy as an ideological system of male domination shapes women relation in politics. It transforms male and female into man and woman and constructs the hierarchy of gender relation where man is privileged and woman is deprived. Thus patriarchy is a familial, social, ideological, political system in which man by force, direct pressure or through rituals, tradition, law, language, customs, education, and the division of labor, determine what part women shall or shall not play in which the female is everywhere considered below the male (Naz, 2012).

Hence patriarchal norms practiced throughout the world and especially in Pakistani society influences other dimensions of social life, because man is more superior to woman, thus power politics is best suited to men than women. Patriarchy affects women decisions related to their career, selection of life partner, vote casting and political affiliation thus making women as second class citizens deprived of

enjoying equal status and decision making power at all levels, confining women to domestic activities of household and child rearing (Saigol, 2013).

Political parties are the most important institutions affecting women's political participation. In most countries, parties determine which candidates are nominated and elected and what issues achieve national standing (Awan, 2016). The role of women in political parties is therefore a key determinant of their prospects for political empowerment, particularly at the national level. Because political parties are very influential in shaping women's political projection, government' and international organizations are working to increase the women's participation in elections and also focus on the role of political parties to that end. Other than parties, women can enlarge their involvement by joining civil society organizations, women's networks, trade unions, NGO's and media which collectively can provide avenues for women's political empowerment (IPU, 2011).

Political factors are enlisted as hurdles to women's entry into politics. The most common route to elected office is through political parties. There is male domination in politics, political parties and the culture of formal political structures is another factor that hinders women's political participation. Often male dominated political parties have a male perspective on issues of national importance that ignore women's perspectives and are not reflected in party politics (Waseem & Mufti, 2012). Women are not elected to high positions of decision making within parties because of gender biases of male leadership. Meetings of councils or parliamentary sessions are held in odd timings conflicting with women's domestic responsibilities (Bari, 2015).

Women's participation can be promoted through proportional system, one of the most effective tools to ensure women being elected. By including certain proportion of women candidates will be helpful in making gender balanced candidate list. This is a legal binding in many countries; however its effectiveness highly depends on its implementation. Further its effectiveness can only be ensured if women are placed on top of candidature list to be elected (Naz, 2012).

Political party law is another form of guarantee for women to be elected. Most countries have law to regulate, to organize and register political parties which can be a fundamental tool in establishing mechanism for women's political advancement. The centralized parties that are controlled by few male leaders may be reluctant or less receptive to such law and reluctant to select large number of women candidates. Transparency in party elections is also a prerequisite to give women better chances to emerge as political leaders. This law may also ensure it with a provision of gender equality within it (Waseem & Mufti, 2012). Pakistan can follow this root by adopting this law to improve women's political participation.

Most of the political parties in the world and in Pakistan have created special wings for women that can contribute to increase women participation in politics. Through this mechanism parties can provide avenues for women to become active, learn political skills, and develop networks within the party (IPU, 2011). Women's wings can influence party positions, especially on issues of special concern to women and may lead to decrease marginalization of women in the party. Parties can provide their platform to address gender equality and other issues of concern to women by increasing their significance to women voters and can provide a greater incentive for women to be involved in the political process. Political parties might encourage women's input by

taking gender-sensitive positions on issues like violence against women, female unemployment, housing, education, and social issues such as family planning and reproductive health (Awan, 2016).

The quota system as a strategy to increase women's representation aims to address the problems of women's under representation. One of the most effective affirmative actions are seen through "Quotas" in increasing women's political representation with positive impact on the number of women represented (Bari, 2015). Though the quota system has increased number of women in the assemblies but it is a temporary measure to reach at the goal of gender balance. It does not facilitate competition and democratic participation of women. Women are considered mere numbers to fill in statistics with a low political and economic power. Although quotas have increased women in politics, but in reality this system is not more than mere symbolic (Saigol, 2013). The above mentioned points are constraints and can be converted into opportunities simultaneously with implementation and commitment. Likewise quota is at the same time a strategy to increase participation and make hurdles for women; it give voice to the unheard, and is a hurdle as it restricts numerical strength of women. (Bari, 2005)

The subordinate status of women to men is a universal phenomenon in socio-cultural setting with slight differences in nature and extent across the world. Gender role not only create duality, but it also places them in hierarchal order, keeping women on lower stage because of reproductive role (Shafqat, 2007). Male domination is ensured through low resource allocation to women's development by family, state and society at large, which is evident in gender disparities in education, health, employment, ownership of productive resources and above all decision making in the government,

resulting in women's dependence on men. Time is also a major constraint to their participation in politics, because of dual roles and responsibilities. Politics required mobility and public exposure with both male and female gatherings, so there are some cultural constraints to their mobility as well as the mechanism of sex segregation and "purdah" is used to restrict their mobility (Ali & Akhtar, 2012)).

Economic factors are important as politics is becoming more and more commercialized; massive amount of money is needed to participate in politics. While women lack access and ownership of productive resource, their scope of entering into politics is minimized. Women also lack social capital and political capacities because they are not often heads of community and it results in absence of means of political participation such as political skills, economic resources, education, training and access to information. (Bari, 2005)

Network of female politicians is necessary as women lack in networking that is vital for politics. It is believed to increase cooperation among women politicians, to share their experiences, to work in coordination, to help newcomers, to learn from the seniors and to negotiate for better environment for women to perform. Thus there is increased need for unity among women politician, as without unity they would be unable to represent women's issues on the policy making level (Mirza & Wagha, 2008).

The world today is interconnected and numerous external factors such as globalization, international trade and economic policies leave deep rooted impact on the developmental policies of nation states at national level. The past decade has witnessed the crisis of 9/11; the beginning of war on terror till present has helped in some

progressive elements in Pakistani society with the increase in the women's representation in politics as result of engendered political system and global trends.

Women's empowerment and participation in politics cannot be observed in isolation within the national boundaries. It has links with global factors. So the responsibility of creating a supportive and secure environment for gender equality and women's advancement equally falls on the national and international community. The gender biases are an interconnected layer which is rooted in the power structures of national and international level. The traditional structures need to be challenged and transformed by creating strong linkages with human rights. (Bari, 2005)

Therefore the goal of gender equality and women's equal participation in politics and development remain impossible to achieve without changing socio-cultural, political and economic barriers at the local, organizational, national and international level. The democratic nature of governance in a society also counts as an important element in creating gender balanced political environment. Because the democratic form of governance produces greater space and opportunity for citizens to participate in the process of governance, and it makes the state and society more interactive (Phillips, 1998). Politicians as human beings are dependent on a number of resources for their effectiveness and productivity such as education, health and economic resources that build and enlarge human capacities. There is a direct link between women's abilities to perform in politics and development and their access to education, health and economic opportunities (Aslam, 2012).

Women at present are more aware of their political rights which are another significant element for women's collective and individual capacity. This political

consciousness is the result of increased awareness through different sources like media, social media, NGO's and civil society organizations, and in this way women's inclusion is possible in the politics and development of Pakistan. Hence civil society and women's specific initiatives are necessary for making women more active in political arena and increase their capacity to turn politics and development into women's favor. Women's overburdened and multiple roles as productive, reproductive and public activity need to be stress-free in order to make women more visible and effective competitors in politics (Bari, 2005).

Although women's ratio in politics can be best increased through political parties and quota system but it is not the only option. One of the best ways to women's entry into politics is through involvement in national women's movement, mobilization and activism; this could provide identification needed to become a political leader (Waseem & Mufti, 2012). On the broader level, NGO's including human rights and community groups, labour unions and other civil society institutions may contribute in various ways for the advancement and political empowerment of women. Thus civil society and NGO's are central in spreading awareness and gender sensitive civic and voter education at global and national levels.

The media apart from civil society and NGO's, particularly electronic media can play a crucial role in shaping gender balanced attitudes in the society, reduce voters biases in choosing women candidates equally capable of performing on the political front. The media can put emphasis on the need of women's inclusion in politics as they can deal better with issues of special concerns to women. This way media can perform in transforming gender biased attitudes and help in reducing barriers to women's entry into politics (Munir, 2012).

The media can itself show non-biasness by giving equal coverage to both male and female candidates. Media is also a hurdle and opportunity at the same time; hurdle in a way that the cost of advertising may be beyond the reach of women candidates already with limited financial resources. Media can provide free airtime to candidates of both gender and can place limits on the paid political stuff. Media as a positive measure can provide incentive of free air time to political parties to nominate and support women candidates (Siraj, 2009).

Another point is important regarding role of media in women's political empowerment, the type of coverage quality in which media can address the stereotypes of women continued in their traditional roles, resulting in conveying a positive image of women as political leaders; focusing more on their professional capabilities and competitiveness than personal qualities (Ansari, 2012). Print media can consign to the women issue a complete section as "women's pages" in the newspapers. Thus positive media coverage, quality of coverage and the portrayal of women as active politicians can greatly boost their political participation, playing positive role in women's political empowerment.

Another hurdle is the discriminatory legislation and consequent inability of government bodies in implementing existing laws and passing context specific laws on women issues. Various ordinances, legislative bills and amendments took place in the constitution since independence, but the legislation remained to theory in law books and did not see light of the day in practice (Naveeda & Mussrat, 2013).

Summing up, women face numerous constraints to indulge into politics for which they pay a price, despite several legislative measures taken by various

governments in Pakistan after independence. Women here have yet to gain broader equality to men in every field with particular emphasis on politics as a career for them.

Women's political empowerment is the prerequisite in achieving sustainable social, cultural, economic and political security among all individuals (Anita, 2010). As Naz (2011) said that the power and politics in the world is in the hands of men, this hold is not restricted to the political chair.

In Pakistani society, women's political empowerment is obstructed by three distinct interconnected categories; socio-economic, societal structure and religious argumentation (Shaheed et.al, 2009). Each of these also prevents women from developing political skills and experiences. At the physical level, the huge burden of children bearing and rearing impedes women's entry to the political arena. Their lack of financial resources negatively effect on decision making powers within both family and community (Aderinwale, 1997). The cultural norms of Pakistani society promote segregation and seclusion of women, often justified through the use of religion. The Council of Islamic Ideology (a constitutionally created body) has been responsible for some of the most retrogressive opinions regarding women's legal and social status that create immense problems in general and political participation in particular.

Conclusion

The chapter concluded that the position of women is inferior as a group in Pakistan's male dominated social structure and they do not have their opinion in the economic and political matters. The policies regarding gender equality in politics during Musharraf and successor government have generated many positive effects on society. Number of women entered into the parliament. Women representation in

Pakistan's parliament, although higher to that of other Muslim and South Asian countries, is not equal in all provinces of the country. Women's representation is minimal in Balochistan and completely absent in the FATA region. Female representation is essential for designing national policies specific to women's issues in these parts. There are also numerous barricades and challenges for women to choose politics as a career in Pakistan's traditional mind-set society. Those women who enter into politics are the close relatives of male politicians, otherwise women are generally far behind in this field. It is duty of political parties to give equal participation to women in parties and decision making and encourage common women party worker to come forward and become part of the parliament

It is also found in this study that reservation of women seats to 33 % has increased presence of women in the parliament but number of women registered voters is smaller even through women constitute about 50% of the population. The question of women political participation and empowerment needs to address this issue as a fundamental problem in disenfranchisement that runs against the principle of gender equality and representation. Though the quota system has increased number of women in the assemblies but it is a temporary measure to reach at the goal of gender balance; it does not facilitate competition and democratic participation of women. Women are considered mere numbers to fill in statistics with a low political and economic power. Political parties should encourage women contestants in general elections.

Transparency in party elections is also pre-requisite to give women better chances to emerge as political leaders. Women's political empowerment needs an extensive approach. Advancing women's political empowerment in Pakistan requires more steady efforts not only by women themselves, but also by governments, the

international community and civil society. Actions of all the actors are important but those of political parties are particularly more significant in this regard.

CHAPTER 6

IMPACT OF PUBLIC POLICY ON ECONOMIC HORIZONTAL INEQUALITIES

Economic development and gender equality engages women more centrally in public life as it expands jobs for women in industry and related services. However, in Pakistan women are portrayed as economically unproductive and as dependent on their husbands, sons and other male members of the family for economic resources and support. This chapter evaluates economic variables like gender discrimination in ownership of assets, incomes and opportunities. It also focuses on public policy of Pakistan to address economic issues of horizontally gender inequality in Pakistan. The comfortable working environment may enhance opportunities and motivation for advancement of female that are not willing to come into employment. Expansion and favorable environment of trade, industry and jobs opportunities increases ratio of women in economic activities by undermining patriarchal structure of society. Promotion of gender equality became extensively known compulsory parameter of enhancing socio economic and human development around the world.

6.1 Economic Inequality

Economic inequality refers to monetary disparity. It is hard to find a society in which everyone is belonging to the same economic class. All members of the society have equal amounts of financial and material resources. It is common, however, to find that there are people with wealth and income differences that result in some living in abject poverty while others live in extreme luxury. The economic inequality normally is measured vertically. The unequal distribution of household and access to economic opportunities in labor market across the various groups is often referred to economic inequality. It is also defined as a gap between poor and rich in a society (Stewart, 1997).

Women are more vulnerable and helpless to economic deprivation and poverty because of gender inequalities in the distribution of income, access to productive inputs such as credit, command over property or control over earned income, as well as gender prejudices in labor markets. Resource allocation is commonly gender influenced within households as well as in public and private market institutions in mostly developing states (Jackson, 1998). It is often said women do not always have full control over their own labor or in the income they earn. Men forbid their women to work outside home (Eric, 2006). Non friendly working environment making it harder for women to utilize their capabilities for raising their incomes or well –being. Economic dimension of gender inequalities reproduce the poverty of to the next. It also has severe effects on growth performance of women and therefore have direct and indirect consequences on poverty and poverty alleviation (Kamat, 2007).

These gender structures of inequality are linked to education; education affects economic dependency. The poor are often offered poor and low quality of education and skills that does little to address gender biases in society (Duflo, 2005). These forms

of gender socialization in educational institutions can become a reason of female economic and social dependency in adult life. Due to lack of confidence in the public sphere, young girls could suppress their employment ambitions by stereotype gender roles. Education reinforces male superiority through greater investment in male schooling, boys' elevated status within schools and failures to act against male harassment of girls (UNGEI, 2010).

According to McNamara's appearance and presentation at the World Bank in 1973, poverty means powerlessness, no capabilities and sustainable livelihoods as well as vulnerability; such as multiple privations, including low incomes, poor living accommodation, little access to health services and education (worldbank.org). In analyzing these specific causes of Pakistani women's economic status and vulnerability to poverty, it may think of three factors;

Firstly; women belonging to developing countries generally and Pakistan particularly have less chance of benefiting from profitable employment choices and available services because of their exclusive responsibility for child rearing, and their concentration in the unregulated sector or very laborious household work (Elson, 1992).

Secondly; women do not feel free to spend their own earned income; when women have different earnings sources, it is too much difficult for them to ensure that these afford them and their decision making capability or enable them to choose what their earnings are spent on. If women take decisions, they do not improve their own welfare but generally decide in line with general family well-being (Elson, 1998). This is not only because of the traditional responsibilities of child care, but because the structure of the feminine identity involves being philanthropic.

Thirdly; assessments of their value and their contribution to the household, the social rules and levels of independence affect their capacity to speak out when decisions are being made at all domestic, national and international levels (Kabeer, 1997).

The role and status of Pakistani women in all walks of life has been highly undermined. However, over the years this scenario has changed and the awareness about woman's capabilities, her rights and her status has reached almost all parts of Pakistan which is an underdeveloped third world country. The majority of Pakistani women belong to the rural areas who work in the fields and in the industrial centres at very low cost. It is a poor and virtually illiterate majority, which leads a life of physical hardship involving long hours at dreary chores for which there is neither compensation nor recognition (Khalid, 2003). Most of these women bear the double burden of domestic work and outside work. Not only do these women have longer days than the rest of the family, but also being the last to eat, they took less nutrition and suffer from anaemia and malnutrition. (Yousafi, 1997).

It is quite recent that common women are coming out of their homes to seek an income oriented work in order to enhance their economic independence as well as social status. They demanded equal rights like men in society and in the family. This is Musharraf's policy to bring women in main stream. However women are now facing new challenges regarding their social status which varies from urban to rural setups and women of the various families in one area.

6.1.1 Poverty and Gender Inequality in Pakistan

Poverty in Pakistan has historically and traditionally been higher in rural areas and lower in the cities as compared to other developing countries. Out of the total 47 million people living below the poverty line, 35 million live in rural areas and absolute

poverty is the major problem of Pakistan (hdr.undp.org). Poverty rose sharply in the rural areas in the 1990s and the gap in income between urban and rural areas of the country became more considerable and this not only leads towards gender inequality, but rather to socio, economic, cultural and political inequality as well (Duflo, 2012). This trend has been ascribed to an unbalanced impact of the financial slowdown in the rural areas caused by low economic growth, decline in public sector development spending and lower worker remunerations. There are also remarkable variations in the different regions of Pakistan that contribute to the country's increasing poverty (Ahmed & Stephen, 1989). In the 1999 economic year, the urban regions of the Sindh province had the lowest levels of poverty, and the rural areas of the KPK had the highest. Punjab also has significant gradients in poverty among the different regions of the province it varies from even district to district and the plight of rural and far-flung areas also very alarming. In addition, the north-western frontier province of Pakistan is among the most impoverished in the country (Sajad et al., 2014). Outside the cities, government investment has been negligible, and social and economic structures remained tribal and backward and this poorly and badly lead towards all types of inequalities.(Gazdar, 2000).

The gender discriminatory and unfair practices and perceptions and attitudes in Pakistani society also cause poverty in the country. Customary gender roles in Pakistan define the woman's place as in the home and not in the workplace, and define the man as the breadwinner which is main point of gender inequality by all means and at all stages (Khalid, 2003). Consequently, the society invests far less in women than men in all regards of life. Women in Pakistan go through and suffer from poverty of opportunities right through their lives. Female literacy in Pakistan is 29% compared to

male literacy at 55%. In legislative bodies, women constitute less than 3% of the legislature elected on general seats in Pakistan (Sajad et. al., 2014).

According to Amnesty International (1995), Female labor rates in Pakistan are exceptionally low and that's why females are considered marginalized sect by all means and at all levels. All this leads to increase in the incidents of honor killings against women in traditional societies, like Pakistan (Khan, 1998). The legal system that is regarded as misogynistic, and the rigid denial of these problems by the Pakistan Government, as well as the institutionalized harassment of women's rights groups operating in the country, also contributes to the worsening situation. Gender discrimination exists in all parts of Pakistan but it is higher in rural areas and particularly in KPK and Baluchistan provinces of Pakistan (Naz, 2012).

The main reason for this trend is illiteracy, patriarchal structure; gender discrimination exists in family, marriage ceremony, children education, physical condition and career development. In economic field and particularly in employment, a woman is working more hours' and earning less as compared to a man. Men are enjoying higher incomes and prestigious jobs while women are usually assistants and having secondary jobs. Women are discriminated in all type of property rights, land property especially. No woman receives property from her father, mother, brothers and husband and it's considered against her self-respect if someone demands property rights (Mirza, 2002).

Education plays a vital role in getting better employment but there are too much obstacles to women in higher education; lesser number of girls are coming to college and university education and thus lesser get jobs in the market. There are a variety of constraints on women in getting higher education and employment; in Pakistan and

especially marginalized regions are Peshawar and KP, main constraints include male domination, early marriages of females, discrimination against women in employment, negative public opinion about women working, *Pardah* (Veiling), and the prerogative of males as decision makers (Bhattacharya, 2013). Thus gender discrimination in education and employment leads to poverty and problems faced in poverty alleviation in the target areas (Gazdar, 2000).

6.1.2 Men Folks Controlled More Resources

Men mainly have more control over land, income, marketing, and other economic resources. They have more access to agricultural credits; enjoy more power in decision making and migration to big cities in search of work. In contrast to this situation, women are socially and economically dependent. In our culture males get preference over the females in all aspect of the life (Manzoor, 2006). They get better food, education, and ownership as compared to females who are committed to the male along with the allocation of the household resources. The sons are educated properly with better skills. However, lack of skill limited the chances for the female in labour market to get a better job. Therefore, the females are restricted to the household chores and labour in the fields depending upon the male community (Pudup, 1990).

Equal rights, ownership of productive resources, land, and credits are not given to women. They have less access to technology for efficient work (MWD, 1995; Harding, 2000 and IFAD, 2004). A woman lived in a village took part in the productive or reproductive work as well, but her correlated productive and reproductive work has been ignored by the agencies responsible for social and national development. It is understood that females are responsible for unpaid household chore by birth. Women are an equally important part of our society as male (Younis, 2000). As a part of the society women have an important role to play in the productive, reproductive and

community management activities. In Pakistan, especially in rural society, all women, literate and illiterate, generally remain engaged in their domestic activities. They performed different kinds of household work except managerial and decision making acts of the family.

6.1.3 Unpaid Work Done by Women

The terms "household work," "housework," and "unpaid labour" are used interchangeably. These terms refer to the wide range of activities required to keep proper home maintenance and care for the family, management of household accounting, and work around the homestead, including gardening and caring for small livestock (Antonopoulos, 2009). The Gross National Product (GNP) is a means by which countries measure their total economic output in forms of goods and services.

Unpaid work is ignored during measurement of GNP. The most important reason for including unpaid work in the GNP would have been to give value to the work itself, and not the gender of the person who does it. In developing countries the GNP had stimulated a lot of interest as it tended to hide increasingly large numbers of work-hours and labor input for which there is no monetary value. Women are considered a burden on the state or the male member of a family (Arshad, 2008). Most of women's work had been invisible, despite the fact that women themselves are all too visible when unpaid services are needed. Men always struggled for their careers while women struggle to find jobs (Antonopoulos, 2009).

Different studies have indicated that the work of women, specifically rural women, remains unrecognised and unpaid (Jain & Chand, 1982; Khan et al., 1983; UNDP, 1995; FAO, 1996; Kasnakoglu and Yuksel, 1997) Even though they contribute the two-third labour force in agricultural work (Garcia, 2004). In terms of their

proportion in the agricultural labour force, women account for 40-80% in different developing countries like Zimbabwe, Afghanistan, Congo and Kenya, respectively (ILO, 2000; NSO, 2002; PPI, 2004).

Like other developing states, in Pakistan rural women contributed a major share in agriculture, livestock and cottage industry. They spend more time in these tasks than their counterparts do. They are engaged in all activities related to agricultural production, from sowing of seed to storage of produce. They performed these responsibilities in addition to their daily home activities. They have very limited access to education and other facilities (Arshad, 2008). Most of the statistics contradict the actual picture of the level of female participation in agriculture related labour activities. In fact, only those engaged in agricultural wage labour are covered and documented under the economically active population. Women's unpaid work regarding the agricultural activities is considered as little addition of their domestic task. Mostly it goes unpaid, unmeasured and undocumented (FAO, 2004).

Due to lack of education their efficiency in their productive and reproductive work is very low. In every aspect of life, women are present to assist the men counterparts. It is a horrible fact that about half of the population in our country are lagging behind in every walk of life. The opportunities to access the economic resources are almost insignificant. In this context, sociologists and researchers have explained the underutilizations of the human resources considering women as bottlenecks for the development of our nation (Garcia, 2004).

Best parts of rural women in Pakistan are engaged in the livestock production practices. Rural women usually performed responsibility of taking care of cattle and livestock. Unluckily, their engagement in livestock management is unvalued, unpaid

and taken as routine housework. Role of women in the household was conventionally leading. The rural woman had a very busy work schedule. She took care of livestock and poultry etc. without anybody's help (Nazli & Hamid, 2007). I

n Pakistan women are ignored in major family decision making process. The work related to farm, poultry and husbandry practices is considered as part of their routine domestic task and it is unnoticed and undocumented in national development (Riaz, 1994). It was reported (PARC, 2004) that majority of the rural women folk are engaged in fodder cutting, milking the animals and its related functions. Manure collection, maintenance of animal sheds and preparing dung cakes are the special activities of rural women. Except grazing, women are involved in all animal husbandry activities from feeding, housing, milking etc. However, the level of taking part diversified from one task to other. Women are certainly doing most of the caring activities of livestock. All the animal husbandry practices were considered the basic duties of rural women. Normally, men took the herds to the pastures and brought them back to their sheds (Khushk & Hisbani, 2004; Ranjha et al., 2009).

Both urban and rural women accomplish a wide variety of tasks. Normally a housewife is working 16 hours a day; this work includes all major and supplemental tasks. Majority of the women have no relaxation time, they even utilize their spare time to finish household activities. Educated mothers generally took whole responsibility for teaching children and helping them in school task. Women recognize that their household activities have value, although they would likely be surprised at the magnitude of their economic worth (Arshad, 2008).

Table 11: Estimated Value of Various Household Tasks

Task	Hours per Month	Urban Wage	Rural Wage
Cooking/Preparing food	210	1200	700
Washing/Ironing	60	1200	500
Dish Washing	30	600	400
House Cleaning	20	600	400
Making and mending cloths	8	400	150
Total per month	328	Rs,4000, US\$ 66.67	2150, US\$ 35.83
Total per Year	3936	Rs.48,000, US\$ 800	25,800, US\$430

Sources: (Arshad, 2008).

As shown in Table 11, if tasks such as cooking, cleaning, and making clothes were outsourced, then a single household in an urban area could be expected to pay Rs. 1,200 per month for cooking, Rs. 1,200 a month for washing and ironing of clothes, Rs. 600 for dishwashing, Rs. 600 for housecleaning, and Rs. 400 for making and mending clothes. For rural women, the figures are Rs. 700. for cooking, Rs. 500 for washing and ironing of clothes, Rs. 400 for dishwashing, Rs. 400 for housecleaning, and Rs. 150 for making a suit of clothes. For comparison, a maid that is hired for only a few hours earns Rs. 600-800 per month per activity; such as for cleaning the house or washing dishes, with the amount variable by area of living, size of house and number of family members. Adding these figures result in a monthly sum for urban 15 households of

4,000 Rs. per month or 48,000 per year, or roughly US\$800. The amount that would be spent by a single rural household is 2,150 Rs. per month, which is Rs. 25,800 per annum, equal to about US\$430. These figures indicate the significant economic value of unpaid work and the important role played by such work in daily life, yet the figures fail to include many other important tasks carried out by women, such as raising and tutoring children, caring for the ill and elderly, maintaining household accounts, preparing meals, and so on. If a nurse is hired to care for sick family members, the family would have to pay Rs. 600-800 per day for the services; similarly, other skilled tasks carried out by women would involve far higher rates of pay than those used in the calculation. The figure is thus likely to be a serious underestimation of the actual value.

The above mentioned facts from the research conducted by Arshad in 2008 showed that if unpaid household tasks as cooking, cleaning, and sewing were subcontracted, it would cost Pak. rupees 4,000/month for a single household in urban areas, equivalent to Pak. rupees 48,000 per year, or US\$800. For a rural household, the figure is Pak rupees 2,150/month, which is Rs. 25,800 per annum, equal to US\$430. Such generalizations fail to take into account that the typical wage rate for each task is different in different geographical areas because of varying levels of poverty and inflation, but one finding is universal: women spend most of their waking hours in work of high value to families and society. The results of the research indicate that women across the country are contributing US\$37.55 billion or 23.3% of GDP (Arshad, 2008).

Although a full-time housewife does a number of tasks at home, her work is not counted as part of the gross national product and, since it is unpaid, is not recognized in the same way that paid work is. The majority of women in Pakistan 79.4% are labelled as housewives. While women who work outside the home receive an average salary of Rs.6, 000/month, the housewife receives nothing and is considered to contribute little

or nothing to her family or society; she is also not entitled to any of the benefits that come with paid employment (Mahmood, 2002).

Women's are generally dependent on the males in their families for their subsistence, due to their relatively lower educational levels and fewer formal job skills, resulting in lack of employment opportunities, and lack of acceptance of women earning a living. Since most women have attained only low levels of formal education, they are not qualified for higher-level jobs. They are restricted both by family and societal expectations that prevent them from reaching a higher level of either education or employment (Laborde, 2006).

6.2 Public Policy regarding Women Economic Rights

The contemporary global order gives equal right to women. There are many conventions which emphasises on gender economic equality. Article [17] of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "everyone has the right to own property alone, as well as in association with others. No one shall arbitrarily be deprived of property." While Article [16] of CEDAW stresses that states need to take appropriate measures to "eliminate discrimination and ensure same rights for both spouses in respect of the ownership, acquisition, management, administration, enjoyment and disposition of property." Article [14] of the same convention, ensure protection to the rights of rural women by calling for their equal treatment in land reforms and land resettlement schemes (International Convention, www.ohchr.org).

The International Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights ask the states to ensure women have full and equal access to economic benefits like the right to inheritance and ownership of credit, technology and land or property. Article [5] of the International Covenant on Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination requires

“State Parties to guarantee the right of everyone, to equality before law, notably in the enjoyment of the right to own property alone as well as in association with others, and the right to inherit.”

The constitution of Pakistan also ensures all citizens can own property. Being a Muslim country, the rules of Shariah regarding property and ownership are implemented within the country. Those laws also stipulate land and ownership rights for women. Thus, international covenants as well as national laws provide for women's land ownership; yet, very few women own land and even fewer effectively control land. (International Convention, www.ohchr.org)

In 2001, ILO convention aimed for equal reward for men and women. Government of Pakistan has ratified this convention. It was responsibility of the ratifying member's states like Pakistan to ensure wages for male and female for work of equal value. According to former Minister of Labor and Manpower and overseas Pakistanis Mr. Omar Khan, *“ratification of these conventions was a commitment of government to improve the workplace environment and to improve their living standards by providing maximum facilities to them.”* (The News: 2001).

It has been concluded in the World Summit September 2005 by the governments that *“progress for women is progress for all.”* The importance of women's empowerment is prominent in the statement of the UN Secretary General who said that *“there is no time to lose if we are to reach the Millennium Development Goals by the target date of 2015. Only by investing in the world's women can we expect to get there.”* (Kofi Annan).

The process of women empowerment and gender equality is a challenge in existing culture of patriarchy. Women's empowerment and gender equality through

microfinance is a good strategy in achieving Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of the United Nations Organization (UNO). There are 1.2 billion people on low poverty line in developing states. The majority of them are poor women (Olinto, 2013). This gives a good reason to focus on poverty alleviation and promoting gender equality in the world. In order to empower women and lessen the poverty, both should be on top priority of states' public policies to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Microfinance can be a proven tool to achieve both of above mentioned targets. Women work two-thirds of the world's working hours while they earn only 10 percent of the world's income. They own less than 1 percent of the world's property (Olinto, 2013). Thus reduction of gender inequality and development or well-being of women is an obvious goal of all signatory states. An effective and applicable strategy is necessary to eradicate poverty, disease and hunger from the world.

6.3 Women Economic Empowerment (1999-2012)

True economic empowerment for women remains indefinable due to lack of attention and budget granted for women's economic empowerment. Women labour force is increasing day by day but their voices are often excluded from national and international debates. The ratio of unemployment of women is many times lower for every age group. They are the last to get jobs and first to lose them. There are no laws that contain open provisions for equal rewards for equal work for women (SDPI, 2008).

Women status has been drastically changed in the General Parvez Mushraf regime. In his period, the National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB) introduced a system of local government that consisted of Nazims, Naib (Assistant) Nazims, and councillors. The objective of that system was delegation of power to the grass root level (Mirza & Wagha, 2008).

The National Assembly recommended the "Protection of Women bill" during November 15, 2006 and it was approved by the Senate. Reserved quota for women in assemblies was increased. The 10% quota was increased for female in Central Superior Services which was approved by the cabinet. It was claimed that Mushraf's government has taken significant steps to eliminate discrimination against women in the country to make them as equal citizens. Women in Pakistan today are adequately represented at all levels of authorities. For the first time, women cadets from the Military Academy Kakul assumed guard duty at the tomb of founder of Pakistan Muhammad Ali Jinnah (Musharraf, 2006).

Women got importance in government public policy regarding women. Women have gradually entered the office sector and have started to work in middle level jobs that were considered as entirely male professions only few years ago. They work as secretaries, receptionists, and telephone operators, as drafts women designers, and computer operators. These women still establish a very small minority among the male workers (Naveeda & Mussrat, 2013).

Today, women are adopting other professions besides teaching and medicine. Entrance of female in labour force has resulted in pronounced effects on the social status of the working women. Public policy also designed by Musharraf government for protection of women from sexual harassment at workplaces. But still there is no proper legislation to address the matters of protection of labour rights for domestic workers and protection of labour rights of home based servants. There are many obstacles in the way of female participation and recognition of their contribution. Women faced difficulties in immobility and movements. They are ignorant about economic, political and legal opportunities. In society, women are perceived as lower

status dependents. The major challenge is to create acceptance of a more public and active role for them that opens the doors for their empowerment (Sheikh, 2009).

In Pakistani society working women have initiated freely or forcibly a process of desegregation of the lives of men and women, which has started at the work place. It might also influence the whole social and gender structure of society. Moreover, the entry of women into the work force has primarily changed the status of women, and it has transformed existing societal concepts of and expectations towards working women concerning their way of life, planning career choices and their status in family as well as in the society (Mirza, 2002).

6.3.1 Harassment at Work Place

Harassment at workplace is a big social evil which promotes unhealthy environment. Sexual harassment is increasing day by day at workplaces in Pakistan. Especially in private offices most of the girls faced this issue. This problem disturbed girls mentally and psychologically. Parents felt fear to send their daughters on job (Shakir, 1984). This unethical attitude by men becomes a main hurdle in the way of women economic development. Unfortunately, confirmed data towards sexual harassment at workplace in Asian states are not well documented but in many Asian nations, harassment is being practiced which can be assessed through the steps taken by many Asian governments to institutionalize ways of dealing with the problem. In 1995, the Philippines passed an Anti-Sexual Harassment law which endorsed zero tolerance for workplace sexual harassment (ILO, 2003.).

A report of the Commission on Inquiry for Women in Pakistan documented that sexual harassment in the workplace does take place in Pakistan (Munir, 2014). According to Human Rights Commission (2010), during 2008-10, a total of 24119 cases

of violence against women were reported in Pakistan. Among them, only 520 workplace harassment cases were filed. Furthermore the print and electronic media also expose few cases of sexual harassment at workplace, which shows that the work environment in Pakistan is not safe for working women. Considering the recent and past incidents, President of Pakistan signed the “The Protection against Harassment of Women at Workplace Act Bill 2010” which was collectively passed by the National Assembly on Jan 21, 2010, and by the Senate on Feb 26, 2010. The Act was aimed to provide safe working environment to females in all Government, Public or Private Sector. Organizations & Educational Institutions were required to implement it, inside the 30 days of circulation. The punishment for the crime of harassment is up to three years in prison and a fine of up to Rs 500,000 (na.gov.pk).

Turning the bill into a law was a big step. It was assumed that a male culprit would think million times before harassing any women, but implementation of law is not so successful. Pakistan is also a signatory to few International documents to advocate women rights at every platform but the element of practical implementation of rights is missing. The trend of gender inequality is very common in South Asian states, where women are mostly marginalized and considered least important figures in decision making process. This gender inequality is deemed as one of the leading factors of violence against women (UNFPA - AFPPD, 2003). Sociologists co-relate sexual harassment in workplace with inequalities or gender inequalities and other kinds of discriminations related to women (Lopez, Hodson, & Roscigno, 2009). Unfortunately, society does not value woman as equal human being. This attitude makes females uncomfortable. Maintaining physical distance comes under the norms and ethics of organization but the culprits do not value these key ethical considerations (Shakir, 1984).

6.3.2 Equality of Economic Rights in Islamic Perspective

Islam has given respectable socio-economic status to women that compel them for obtaining their concessions from society. Islam generated mutual, interrelated advantages between men and women. Islam bestowed empowerment on women also, regarding entering into contracts, running a business and for possessing property independently from her husband or any kinsmen. Islam laid stress on provision of equal opportunities to women so that they can fully utilize their efficiencies. It has also been emphasized that women ought to be allowed to get to the highest post of development materially, intellectually or spiritually (Hekmat, 1998).

Women's empowerment and autonomy has been mentioned in the Quran; , "*O ye who believe! It is not lawful for you to forcibly inherit women*" (Al Quran, 4:19). The empowerment of independent ownership gives women honor and dignity. This involves the right to manage her own money and property independently. She is at liberty to buy, sell, mortgage, lease, borrow or lend, and sign contracts and legal documents. Also, she can donate her money, act as a trustee and set up a business or company. The elite example in Islamic history is Hazrat Khadija (RA); the first wife of Holy Prophet (PBUH), who was among the elite in her nation and leading businesswomen even prior to her marriage. Khadijah (RA) was herself a lady of dignity and opulence. She inherited much wealth and then multiplied her assets by independently managing them (Encyclopedia of Seerah, 1982).

Apart from recognition of women as an independent human being, Islam has given her a share of inheritance; it allows independent status in earning and economic establishment. Women's economic independence has been mentioned in the Quran;

“For men is a portion of what they earn, and for women is a portion of what they earn, Ask Allah for His grace, Allah has knowledge of all things”. (Al Quran, 32:4)

This right cannot be altered whether she is single or married. When she is married, she enjoys a free hand over the dower while she is married and even after divorce. This independent economic position is based on Quranic principles, especially the teaching of Zakat, (Jawad, 1998) which encourages women to own, invest, save and distribute at their own discretion. It also acknowledges and enforces the right of women to participate in various economic activities. In Pakistan, the role of the women is strongly defined by religious and cultural/social norms. Women's lives are determined by the actions and interactions of men in the community to which they belong (Hekmat, 1998).

6.4 Socio-Economic Situation of Working Women in Pakistan

In many states of South Asia including Pakistan, men folks are dominant over decision making processes. However, some improvement has been made in the independence of women in every segment of society. But Women are almost looked over in economic, social, legal and political fields as compared to men. According to Mahbb ul Haq (2002) report, there are only 28 percent women in labour force in Pakistan; where as 42 percent in Bangladesh, 32 percent in India and average of 33 percent in South Asia are engaged in labour force. In Pakistan, female literacy rate is still 25 percent and their share in civil services is 5.4 percent which is very low. Total percentage of female judges in 1999 was 1.5 % only.

Working women, either belonging to rural or urban areas, face numerous challenges and obstacles at work place. For instance, very limited mobility, inappropriate professional training, little or no access to information, credit, and

technology and planning. Non-supportive working environment hardly have control over their incomes. The invisible nature of women's work in the confine is dependent rather than productive (World Bank, 2012).

6.4.1 Gender Discrimination in Employment Sector

Pakistani female have seen discrimination and inequality in employment more than males. There are many factors which are involved in gender inequality and discrimination in labour market; like low literacy rate, marriage, child bearing character and the working environment. Many women and young educated girls are not allowed to do job with a male in Pakistani society, because it is considered against the honour and dignity of family. It is a male dominated patriarchal society and mostly family males do not want their daughters and sisters to work on an equal basis with them (Kabeer, 1997). To provide the safe environment free of harassment, the implementation of law of Protection against harassment of women at workplace would gradually change the mind-set of society.

In the employment sectors, there are fewer females in decision making and there are very few females as compared to males in the higher and policy-making positions. Mostly women are working on lower grades. The group of 2005 federal Government district management group study clearly shows how female are discriminated and very few females reached the highest posts.

Table 12: District Management Group

Basic Pay Scale (BPS) for Government Employees in Pakistan	Male	Female	Total
22	10	00	10
21	47	03	50

20	231	10	241
19	266	14	280
18	88	6	94
17	113	8	121

Source: Posting List Establishment Division, Government of Pakistan 2008

Table 13: % age of Women in Planning Commission

Section	Male	Female	Total	%age of Female Employees
Economic Section	146	15	161	09 %
Technical Section	199	17	216	08 %
Energy Wing	46	02	48	04 %
Project Wing	31	01	32	03 %
Project attached Cell	213	34	246	14 %
Admin	500	35	535	07 %
G-Total	1113	101	1214	08 %

Source: www.pc.gov.p

Table 14: Women Participation Scale wise in Planning Commission

Grade	Male	Female	Total	%age
BS -15 & Below	891	59	950	06 %
BS -16	22	04	26	15 %
BS -17	49	13	62	21 %
BS -18	69	15	84	18 %
BS -19	43	06	49	12 %
BS -20	31	03	34	09 %
BS -21	06	01	07	14 %
BS -22	02	00	02	00 %
Total	1113	101	1214	09 %

Source: www.pc.gov.pk

The Table- 12 shows that maximum strength of female employees is in administration Section i.e. 35, and also in Project/ and attached cell which is 34. It is because of the fact that in Administration, females are employed in lower grades like on the posts of assistant, stenographers, stenos, computer operators but they do not have any career ladder. While high graded and decision making jobs are controlled by male.

Table 13 indicated that maximum no. of women i.e. 59 is found in BS-15 and below. Another critical factor is that although there is one female in BS-21, 15 female in BS-18, and 13 in BS-17 but all these belong to Projects and attached cells where these posts are on

contract basis for a fixed time with fixed pay package. Thus they have no career ladder. They will remain in the same position till their contract ends and their services are terminated.

It may be mentioned that the data of Planning Commission of Pakistan points towards serious gender imbalance. Table-13 indicates that total female representation in Planning Commission is only 8% of the total employees which is lower than 10% of the usual quota for female in Govt. organization.

The other thoughtful indicator is those females do not reach to the higher levels in this organization. This may be because of the reason that either they were not recruited on permanent posts of grade 17 to have a career path or the 50% seats of direct recruitment through Federal Public Service Commission could not be availed by female candidates.

One factor is common in Planning Commission and other Ministries; as the ladder go higher, the number of women decreases and even stops at some point. After reading the above data one starts believing in the theory of Glass ceiling which means that after a certain stage women's career growth stops. For whatever reason but it is something which does not exist in rules and regulation that is why it was called Glass Ceiling. One cannot see it but it stops female from going higher. This phenomenon is not a new but is quite old. That means that the researchers although have been pointing it out since last two decades but this glass ceiling still exist.

In the last decade in Pakistan, there has been little change in the structure of labour market and employment sector. Now doors are open for women to enter into professional employment which was previously regarded as a male domain. Women work is getting recognition as being essential for development of the national economy and for improving their status. Employment laws and policies in the formal sectors do not discriminate men against women; there the equal rules apply in the promotion, and there is also no discrimination of male and female pay scale in same grade (Zaidi, 2008).

6.4.2 Women in Pakistan's Work Force

Pakistan has a very low rate of women participation in workforce. The economic advantages of female employment are clear. More women participation in economic activities increases the country's national development. A working woman is also an important contributor to household income (Jackson, 1998). Moreover, women's and men's relative control of resources has significant and different impacts on household consumption patterns. When women have control over resources, she spend most of those resources on family welfare especially nutrition, education and health, in contrast when men have more control the resources. They spent a portion of income on alcohol and cigarettes. Female control of resources results in a greater positive impact on child survival, nutrition, and school enrollments than does male control of resources. In short, it can be said that women tend to invest more in the human capital of their children than men do. The impact of women economic empowerment on long-term social development is obvious (King & Mason, 2004).

Presently, Pakistan's female formal work force participation rate floats around 15 percent (UNPF & PRB, 2013). While that represents a boosting day by day since

last over 20 years, but female work force participation is still low in an absolute sense and relative to other developing states with similar per capita GDP. In Bangladesh, for example, female labor force participation is 57 percent (UNPF & PRB, 2013). Growing number of women in the workforce is both a challenge and an opportunity for Pakistan.

Pakistan's low rate of girl literacy is a hurdle to workforce participation. But as education standard and percentage rise, labor force participation must also rise for Pakistan. Government should invest more budgets on girl's education to achieve economic goals. Foreign direct investment in export-oriented sectors such as textiles is positively correlated with rises in female labor force participation. While economists are not clear, whether this is cause or effect. Pakistan has largely missed out on foreign investment in light manufacturing and service industries that today employ large numbers of women from Mexico to Bangladesh. These jobs are in fact greater opportunities for middle class female employees and their families (Zaidi, 2008).

Table 15 : Youth Labor Force Participation Rate (%)

Pakistan	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004	2005-2006	2006-2007	Change 1999 -2007
Both sexes	40.5	43.4	43.6	45.9	44.2	3.7
Male	69.3	70.2	70.5	72.2	69.2	-0.2
Female	10.2	14.8	16.1	18.6	18.4	8.2

Source: Pakistan Economic Survey 2007-08

The above table showed the youth force participation during Musharf government. Pro-female policies in economic sectors have positive effect on society. Facts indicated that female participation has been increased 8.2 percent during that period. This is a positive indicator to reduce gender inequality from Pakistani society.

The successor governments has also intensions to design such public polices in economic sector which has capacity to increase female labor force participation rates. It would have to address a number of structural and social constraints. Policies emphasize on women as keepers of the family honor, promotion of gender segregation and institutionalization of gender disparities in country (Bhattacharya, 2013). Pakistan's government is initiating microfinance initiatives in a serious manner, which helps the poor, particularly women who start their own businesses. The government, with a \$150 million loan from the ADB, established the Kushali Bank in 2000. In 2002, Kushali Bank lent \$15 million to 65,000 customers, one-third of whom are women. Other organizations like the Kashf Foundation are focused exclusively on women. Kashf is scaling up quickly and is on target to have 100,000 clients by the end of 2004 (CFR Org, 2012).

6.5 Women's Public Life and Problems

Pakistan lags far behind with regard to existing special spaces for women in the public as compared to other countries of the Islamic world. The participation of women in public life in KSA (Kingdom of Saudi Arabia) clearly gives expressions that a strict enforcement of gender segregation should not be confused with the exclusion of women from public life (Ferdoos, 2005). The existence of so-called women's markets in KSA and some other Gulf countries, in which the customers as well as the traders are all women. The opening of banks, libraries, shopping centres, fitness centres and hospitals

only for women and setting up of separate office hours at some local government offices and during the last years have led to the development of a dual structure of public institutions. Since men and women are not allowed to work together in one office and gathering of male and female are strictly prohibited, all these segregated spaces for women necessarily have female staff only (Ferdoos, 2005).

In Pakistan, such spaces for women in the market and for the use of public institutions do not exist. During recent years, however, and parallel with the increasing presence of women in public life, lots of new spaces for women in public spheres have been created (Mirza, 1999). The provision of spaces for women in the public for economic profit and access of legal protection at work place has definitely opened new avenues for women.

6.5.1 Public Transport System: A Big Problem for Working Women

Women specially working women are faced with public transportation problems daily. The busses in the local and long distance traffic are run privately and only the different routes and fares are laid down by the government (Anjum, 2007). Merely two seats in the whole bus, the ones next to the driver, are reserved for women. Even this space for women is not permanently reserved by the male passengers or by the drivers and conductors. It is a common phenomenon that during the rush hours men just occupy the front seats in order to cut short their waiting period. Women suffer most from the inadequate transport system. No attempts have been made by the department or the transporters, to make any extra provision for women to accommodate their needs. No attention has been paid to the physical and mental harassment of women who ride these means of transport (Ismail, 2010).

The same old system prevails where women have to run for a seat in the bus or van, as do the men and in the rush often get pushed and bumped and more often they do not get a seat and are left standing at the bus stop waiting for the next bus or van. The transporters are not sympathetic to women waiting for the bus or van. For them a passenger is a passenger and in the attempt to earn more, they would much rather have three men than two women sit in the front seat of a van, which is primarily designated for women. Women's spaces are not respected as an intrinsic part of public life, be it for economic or other reasons, and therefore women's spaces in the public always have to be defended against male monopolization (Ishrat, 2013).

6.5.2 Unsafe Working Environment

It is believed that most of girls are not allowed to do job alongside males. Parents/ husbands still feel that teaching/nursing/ and medical are the safer professions meant for girls. There exist stigmas against women who are working in offices. Male as well as female look down on them (Mirza, 1999). It is the result of our male dominated society which does not want to accept working women equal to them. They don't feel that their daughters or wives are safe while working in offices (Khalid, 2003). To clean the environment, the Govt. has developed and implemented the law, Protection against harassment of women, at workplace. If implemented, this law can become a good tool for creating a clear harassment-free environment in Public Organizations which may lead to increased number of women in Public organizations (Naveed & Mussarat, 2013).

Women have specific problems which must be catered for. Not just the question of discrimination in the workplace, lower rates of pay on grounds of sex, lack of rights, issues related to maternity, pregnancy, etc also important. The role of women as child

bearers raises the need for special rights to protect pregnant women and mothers. The introduction of only formal equality does not solve the fundamental problems faced by women. Pulling women into the workforce without protection or regulation has dire consequences for family life and the health of women, who also retained responsibility for bearing children and the performance of the majority of domestic tasks within the home (Ejaz, 2007).

The life of lower middle class women in salaried employment is subject to rather different kinds of pressures. Her working day starts early, for she must feed her husband and children and send them off to school before she herself rushes off to work. In the case of a woman who is the first to be picked up or the last to be dropped home this can add an hour, or even two, to the long day spent at work. She has to finish many chores like preparing dinner for the family, taking care of children, washing etc. after a long day of work (Duflo, 2013). Very few women happen to have particularly enlightened and helpful relatives (e.g. a mother-in-law) or a cooperative husband who is willing to take over some of the chores (Ejaz, 2007).

A working woman gets only half the average man's wage. The married women at a hard day at work return home only to start another job, housework. The sheer physical labour involved in a woman's life was immense (Elson, 1992). She always has a hard time but if a woman is unlucky enough to be divorced or widowed, Pakistani society makes her life absolutely a hell. Apart from this, the social stigma attached to a wife without a husband doing some struggle to make both ends meet, and embarrassment and humiliation at the hand of employers, makes it difficult for such women to lead normal life (khalid, 2003).

Women workers are generally dissatisfied with their professions and their conditions of work. They are unhappy because of the lack of facilities and lack of cooperation. As a matter of fact, a contented worker produces more. For full satisfaction, it is believed that the person should be synchronized with his job, society, standard of living and also with social requirements of the society (Kabeer, 2005).

Sen (2001), and Agarwal (2001, 2002), argue that through employment and other income-generating activities, women's economic position improves and their status strengthens within the household. A society in which women share relative equality with men in accessing economic assets and opportunities are in a better position to bargain for their rights within or outside the households. Although women living in rural or in urban households of Pakistan are not a homogenous group, nor are their status and livelihood strategies same, yet all of them are involved in common roles of production, reproduction and household maintenance. Lack of independent access to and control over the economic and productive resources and resultant weaker position, make their position disadvantageous to bargain for their rightful shares within and outside the household (Bhattacharya, 2012).

Conclusion

This study found that in Pakistan gender system is poised to be unequal in favor of men. This restricts women's reach to education, job, training occasions and societal overhauls. Few economic opportunities, poor educational attainment, and unpaid work isolate women from the public sphere of life. They are discouraged from competing with men. In order to promote women empowerment in society, people have to encourage women at the grass roots level in decision making process so that they can

identify their choices and can make priorities. Women rights at grass roots level are almost in deplorable conditions. They are not aware about their basic fundamental rights. Women should be inducted in all sectors of government in private and government sectors, because a society cannot fully develop until and unless women are brought in mainstream with men by carrying the same responsibilities and roles on their shoulders.

It is concluded that Public policies of Musharraf government addressing economic inequality across gender were taking concrete steps for the equal remuneration of men and women in the country. Due to those policies increasing numbers of women are entering the labour market in Pakistan, yet the quality of their jobs is often below the “threshold of decency”. This often entails long hours of work in addition to women’s unpaid household duties, low pay, job insecurity, unhealthy and dangerous conditions, sexual harassment and lack of social protection, representation and a say in decision-making. However, there is little progress during last decade in society to reduce the gender gap in economic sector. Proper and institutional implementation of public policies would defiantly transform society positively in near future. If economic and financial independence, gender equality in education and economic security are given to women at all levels of society, then the probability of women growth in terms of gender equality and women empowerment will be increased.

CHAPTER 7

IMPACT OF PUBLIC POLICY ON SOCIAL HORIZONTAL INEQUALITIES

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, in a pre-Partition address to Aligarh University in 1944 stated: *"It is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of houses as prisoners. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable conditions in which our women have to live. You should take your women along with you as comrades in every sphere of life."* (Shami, 2008).

This chapter discusses and analyses the role and status of women in society, their access to services such as education and health. Both factors education and health are outcomes of public policy of the state. Social injustice, economic domination by men and cultural bindings make an oppressed environment for women. Urban and rural, tribal and family moralistic restrictions create broader complications for the uplift of women in various areas of Pakistan. Women in Pakistan are living in critical social scenario and struggling to gain level, role and rights in all walks of life.

7.1 Social Inequality

Social inequalities are differences in income, resources, power and status within and among different social groups. Such inequalities are maintained by those in powerful positions via institutions and social processes (Naidoo & Wills, 2008). Socially discriminated group suffers from a combination of connected problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, bad health and education (Social Exclusion Unit, 1997). Social inequality can be judged through the ways by which socially defined categories of persons are unevenly rewarded for their social contributions. These are the criteria by which the social worthiness of individuals is judged and discriminations made, such as the classifications of gender, ethnicity, race, religion, age and generation. These vary, in part, on the basis of a society's stratification order and its cultural history. The outcome manifests in a number of forms: power, wealth, social power, prestige in the eyes of others, self-esteem and sense of personal efficacy, and one's satisfaction and happiness with life.

In the view of Stewart's, horizontal social inequalities are referred to as 'access to services such as education, health and housing outcomes'. (Stewart, 2008). *Social inequality is the existence of unequal opportunities and rewards for different social positions or standings within a group or society.* Women's rights are human rights. These words have become the slogan of millions of women and men worldwide who actively work to claim rights for women. Holding not only states responsible but private actors too, women's rights activists have begun the process of transforming international law and their local communities.

Socially horizontal inequality is measured through educational level and health conditions provided to a group. There are marked socio-economic differences according to gender and ethnic group (Cooper, 2002). Women constitute almost half of the world population but are discriminated in various spheres of life and are more subjected to problems in many aspects because of gendered social structure (Naz, 2011; Khan, 2011; Daraz, 2012).

Though women are integral part of any societal structure, Pakistani society has been unable to provide safeguards to their fundamental rights and empower them in all walks of life. In this regard, state has tried to deliver these basic necessities of life like basic health and education to all. Government introduced education for all policy (Patel, 2010). Educated and professional women in urban areas and from upper classes of the society enjoy much better status and rights than illiterate women in rural areas. Women in tribal areas of Balochistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and remote areas of Southern Punjab and Interior Sindh live in more adverse social conditions than women in other parts of the country (Umer & Othman, 2016).

Differences in opportunities and access to available resources between men and women do exist all over the globe, but they are most common in poor and least developed countries. These differences appear in the very early stages; for example, boys most of the time enjoy larger share of education and health spending than the girls. Girls, in many developing countries like Pakistan, hardly enjoy access to education, lower rate of school enrolment and lower literacy rates (Beenet, 2007). As a result, women are enjoying less employment opportunities in all walks of life. Those women who are working at homes are also carrying the burden of responsibilities of child-

rearing and household-chores. Lower spending on the health of women as well as girls result in rise of mortality rates and decrease in life expectancy.

7.2 Gender Inequality in Education

Education is considered a right of every child without differentiation of race, sex, region and religion. Education plays very important role in the development of a child's personality. It is also considered that education is vital for national development and there is a strong correlation between education and economic development of a country. It plays a critical role in building human capabilities and accelerates economic growth through knowledge, skill and creative strength of a society (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2007-08).

Gender disparity is not only a women's issue but also a development issue. Contemporary economic development and poverty reduction are incentives for women's empowerment in economic and political realm. Educating girls and women is significant in economic development (Tembon & Fort, 2008). As a mother, her position is very unique. She brings up the children with extreme care and first school of child is the lap of mother. It is quite true that great men have great mothers. If mothers are educated, the whole society will progress. Napoleon said "Give me good mothers, I will give you a great nation" then it would be possible for whole nation to progress. Women must work side by side with men in society (Awan, 2015).

The culture, prevailing in Pakistan, values women's reproductive capacities more than their productive ones, hence it inhibits investments in female education. Practices such as early marriage, low chances of employment, and women's migration

to husbands' homes prevent parents from receiving a return on their investments in daughters' education (Shah et al., 2004).

In the report of UNESCO (2006), it was observed that 32.25 million women in Pakistan have not acquired any kind of literacy, while only 40 percent of the girls acquired primary education. Only 13 percent of the girls obtained secondary education, 83 percent of them were illiterate, with no change in the period 1981-91, while 60 percent of the males were illiterate. Enrolment ratios are lower for girls than for boys. Following table depict this ratio.

Table 16: Primary Net Enrolment Rate in Pakistan 2000-2009

Year	Male NER	Female NER
2000-01	67.5 %	45.8 %
2004-05	73.2 %	55.7 %
2005-06	56 %	48 %
2006-07	60 %	51 %
2007-08	59 %	52 %
2008-09	61 %	54 %

Source: (UNESCO, 2010)

Today female education in Pakistan faces countless hurdles including traditional limitations and poverty. The government of Pakistan sets in its policies the target to accomplish Universal Primary Education, but unfortunately the target has not been achieved yet. The gender gap in rural primary education is higher than in urban areas of Pakistan. As for the primary net enrolment rate in urban areas of Pakistan, it was 1.6 million for males and 1.5 million for girls in 2005-06. In the same period, primary enrolment in rural areas was 7 million for males and about 4.5 million for girls. In secondary level, girls' gross enrolment rate is almost same to the male in urban areas but in rural areas it is less than half of the boys' enrolment (Rahman and Chaudry 2009).

Pakistan was on 112th number out of 115 countries in overall gender gap according to the World Economic forum survey 2006 and was downed in rank to 128 out of 130 in the World Economic Forum survey 2009 (Global gender gap report, 2008). The Government of Pakistan made the National Plan of Action (NPA) on Education for All, 2001–2015, under the international commitment by signing the Education for All in Dakar, in April 2000. The main objectives of this plan were to make possible and ensure access to education for disadvantaged rural female groups (Khalid & Mukhtar, 2002).

In September 2009, a new National Education Policy of Pakistan was approved by the Government. It pointed out that Pakistan had persistent gender and rural-urban disparities in access to education. Policy also aims to revive the existing education system and enable Pakistan to meet its promises and commitments to the Education for All objectives and the Millennium Development Goals relating to education (UNESCO, 2010). However, regardless of the Government's tremendous efforts commitments for

providing basic education to all, Pakistan have one of the highest rates of illiteracy in the world (Khalid & Mukhtar, 2002).

7.3 Public Policy and Inequality in Education

The Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan says, “*The state of Pakistan shall remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory education within minimum possible period*” Government since 1999 to onwards gave importance to education for all and particularly girl education while introducing their social policies (Riaz, 2015). But at the same time practically the budget allocation for education is low. Institute of Social and Policy Sciences (ISAPS) was issued a report on Public Financing of Education in Pakistan and Agenda for Education Budget 2016-17. According to report Literacy rate of Pakistan obviously improved from 35 percent to 58 percent in recent years. But it is too low as mentioned in Millennium Development Goals (MDG) target. The MDG goal was to achieve 88 percent literacy rate, which was to be achieved by the end of 2015. It was also pointed out in the report that about 24 million children are still out of school. The government must take solid steps in education budgeting (Dawn, 2016).

It does not seem to take adequate measures or reforms to eliminate gender disparity in education. There are hardly any incentives given to the parents so they would want to educate their daughters. Moreover, the government is not taking enough action to create awareness amongst the parents residing in rural areas and to teach them the importance of educating females. Furthermore, government spending in the education sector are not sufficient (UNESCO, 2012).

Loyd and Sathar (2005) conclude in a study that government's low outlays on education lead to poor quality schools. Low outcomes in primary education in Pakistan had been due to inadequate supply of separate school for females and the insufficient supply and distribution of schools particularly in rural areas. The Education Sector in Pakistan suffers from insufficient financial support (UNDP, 1998). Allocation of insufficient finance and resources is one of the great obstacles in increasing enrolment rate in Pakistan. Pakistan has committed itself many a times to raise education budget up to 4% of GDP but it remained under 2% due to the scarcity of resources. The finance ministry has been allocating insufficient financial resources for education to construct girls' schools and provide missing facilities to the already constructed schools. Allocation of low education budget is another factor to deprive children, particularly girls, in rural areas of Pakistan. A good incentive for girls was offered by World Food Programme in rural and under developed areas. This led to significant development in the enrolment and retention of girls in schools (UNESCO, 2010).

Although all citizens are equal before the law and in the constitution of Pakistan, yet in practice discrimination is found in various areas including education. On family level, daughters are neglected for the education (Hassan, 2007). Education is considered as the cheapest defence of a nation. But the downtrodden condition of education in Pakistan bears an ample testimony of the fact that it is unable to defend this sector. Though 68 years have been passed and 23 policies and action plans have been introduced, yet the educational sector is waiting for the arrival of a savior (Shahzad, 2010). The government of Pervaiz Musharraf invested heavily in education sector and that era saw a visible positive educational change in Pakistani society.

In Human Development Report, Pakistan is placed at 136th position for having just 49.9% educated populace. The primary completion rate in Pakistan, given by Data Center of UNESCO, is 33.8% in females and 47.18% in males, which shows that people in the 6th largest country of the world are unable to get the basic education. The ratio of gender discrimination is a cause which is projecting the primary school ratio of boys & girls which is 10:4 respectively. The allocation of funds for education are very low. It is only 1.5 to 2.0 percent of the total GDP. It should be around 7% of the total GDP. During Musharraf regime, a record 3 to 4 percent of the budget was earmarked. Later on in the PPP government the budget was reduced drastically in this sector (Mukhtar, 2012). Policy makers should follow the example of Malaysian government which earmarks about 35 percent of its GDP to education sector.

Gender disparity in the education sector is a crucial aspect that has been overlooked and neglected by many developing countries; however, it is an aspect that can strongly direct countries towards prosperity. According to the World Bank (2010), there is no investment more effective for achieving development goals than educating girls. Pakistan has been facing great gender disparity in the education sector over the years. According to the UNESCO (2009), 60% of the girls and 72% of boys were enrolled in primary school in the year 2008. Furthermore, 28% girls and 37% boys were enrolled in the secondary education for the same year.

The statistics in rural areas are far worse than the urban areas. Gender discrimination still prevails in both primary and secondary education level. However, many developing countries have registered improvement in the primary education sector. This disparity has decreased to a considerable extent in the Urban districts

whereas, the problem continues to prevail in the rural districts where parents and head of the households fail to acknowledge the importance of female education.

7.4 Islam and Education

Islam is state religion of Pakistan. Islam give equality to women and also emphasis on getting education by all Muslim, whether male or female. Islam and girls' education is a complicated debate now-a-days in the Muslim world. If it is to find out the reality about this, one should have to approach the Holy book of Muslims the "Quran", as it is obvious that the first five verses of the beginning of the revelation on Muhammad (PBUH) was about Knowledge. Translation of the five verses is given below;

Read! In the Name of your Lord, Who has created (all that exists).He has created man from a clot (a piece of thick coagulated blood). Who has taught (the writing) by the pen. He has taught man that which he knew not. [Al Quran, 96:1-5].

The first revelation upon the Holy Prophet (PBUH) contained the commandment to 'read' speaks volumes of the emphasis Islam lays on education. The importance and excellence of knowledge has been highlighted both directly and indirectly in over five hundred places in the Holy Quran. He further wrote that with in Islam there is no disagreement found on acquisition of knowledge being binding and obligatory. The Holy Prophet (PBUH) also said "*Acquisition of knowledge is binding on all Muslims (both men and women without any discrimination)*".

He (PBUH) said at another place, "*Acquire knowledge even if you may have to go to China for it*".

It is apparent from the Holy Quran and Hadith (saying of Muhammad (PBUH)) that the acquisition of knowledge is obligatory for women in the same way as for men. The study of life of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) also shows that he himself made special arrangements for the education and training of women (Abbasi, 2009).

Abu Said al-Khudri (RA) who told the story on how some women said to the Holy prophet (PBUH) that men have gone ahead of us in getting knowledge and therefore, appoint a special day for our benefit as well. The Holy Prophet (PBUH) would meet them on a specific day, advise them and educate them about commandments of Allah Almighty. Hazrat Ayisha (RA), the wife of Holy Prophet (PBUH), who was a great scholar. The people used to ask her about different issues after the death of Holy Prophet (PBUH) and she would answer their questions. People also would send letters from far away areas and Aisha used to respond to them with solutions to their issues (Anwer, 1997).

7.5 Factors Involved in Widening the Gender Gap in Education

There are many factors prevailing in Pakistan that hinder female education. The main factors that discourage parents from educating their daughters as observed in this study are:

7.5.1 Inequality in Educational Opportunities

In Pakistan, there is an obvious division of gender roles in society. Women and girls are responsible for housework and men and boys are responsible for supporting the family. Stereotypes prevailing in the society are a strong barrier to female education. It is considered that a very educated female is too clever or thinks she is too superior to be confined to do household chores. Moreover, working females are still considered a

taboo in some societies (Beenet, 2007). Furthermore, parents believe that if they educate their daughters too much, they would not be able to find suitable grooms for themselves. Thus boys are directed by the families to go to school. Instead of this, girls are not allowed to even leave the premises of home. Parents perceive that there is little incentive or no use of educating girls in household chores (UNESCO, 2010).

In some communities, gender bias starts from birth, where a son's birth brings happiness to the parents and girls are seen as stigma for the family. In the younger age girls are taught to be submissive and not to disagree to her parents and brothers. Girls have to warm food and iron clothes for their brothers. In contrast, boys are guided to be assertive and have control over their sisters by giving them tasks to make food and bring it to the fields (Zafar, 2007).

7.5.2 Mixed Schools and Inequality in Education

Some cultural and religious limitations discourage parents from sending their daughters to mixed gender schools (Hassan, 2006). Many parents restrict the movement of their daughters out of the house in the name of religion. This is frequently common in the rural districts, where parents do not allow their daughters to walk out freely from their house after a certain age. They are of the view that a female should not have any sort of encounter with males as it is strictly forbidden by the religion. Furthermore, parents do not allow their daughters to study in co-education schools because they believe it is prohibited by religion (Awan, 2015).

In rural areas, there are few schools with female teachers and few separate schools for girls due to the inveterate custom (Country WID Profile, 1999). Mostly, parents do not send their girls to schools because they are very much concerned about

the safety of their girls. Memon (2007) points out that enrolment is higher in urban areas and in the provinces of Sindh and Punjab, among the higher income group, and in males.

7.5.3 Safety Concerns and Inequality in Education

Girls' education in Pakistan is badly needed while planning a future for girls and country's development. Unavailability of female schools is a problem faced by many girls living in the rural districts. There are hardly any schools near the houses. Schools are located miles away from the house, so parents do not feel comfortable with sending their daughters to schools far from the house especially when there is no transportation. The available schools either cater to boys only or have really low standard (Khalid & Muthtar, 2002).

Cultural traditions and norms in many rural parts of Pakistan insisted that females should stay at home and they need permission if they want to go outside. If it is permitted to leave, they must always be accompanied by a male household member or other women and children (Jejeeboy & Sather, 2001). Shaukat (2009) agrees and mentions that most of disparity is found in rural education in Pakistan where girls' enrolment rates are very much below that of boys in rural areas. These illiterate parents keep their female children away from the school due to the cultural constraints and traditional bindings for girls.

7.5.4 Patriarch Culture and Inequality in Education

Son preference or bias for boys is an undoubted fact in many Asian countries. In Pakistan, boys bolster the status of family. In the meanwhile, daughters are thought a liability because they are less valuable and less profitable for the parents in a family

(Barlas, 2002). They are not permitted to join workforce and earn money out side of the home, as this may put the honour of family on stake by involving with some co-workers. So daughters are expected to one day marry under the decision of the family and leave the parents' house. In case of boys, they are considered profitable and are seen as a better investment. Educating daughters is seen only as monetary loss, so parents prefer to educate their sons more likely than to educate their girls (UNESCO, 2010).

This bias for the sons' education is under the idea of economic returns, where sons are money makers for the family (Groot, 2007). As girls have to go to the other family after marriage, sometime parents have to decide between the education and dowry money. Mostly parents save money for her dowry instead of investing on her education (Groot, 2007). Domestic work also leads to gender bias, where mothers prefer to keep her daughters at home as they will help her unpaid in household and take care of her siblings. In this way, mothers teach their daughters how to keep a household. This is also an explanation for the dropout of girls from the school especially after primary education (Zafar, 2007). In rural areas, mostly girls at younger age are required to work with her mother. Beside above mentioned tasks, rural girls collect firewood, fetch water from the outside ponds, and deliver food in field to their parents (Shahzad et al. 2011).

Girls and women are more disadvantaged in the tribal and rural areas. For example, districts of southern Punjab have a lower girls' education status than northern Punjab because southern Punjab is rich in agriculture and has fewer landlords' stronger hold. Women in KPK live in tribal and more conservative in north of the province. Same is the case with Balochistan; tribal districts have lower status of women than other districts. In all these districts (tribal arranged), the overall situation of education is low

and miserable (Shahzad et al. 2011). In those areas, patriarchal situation left women seriously disadvantaged in the realm of schooling. Girls are restricted there only to the household chores (Ahmad, 2010).

7.5.5 Early Marriage System and Inequality in Education

Apart from many other factors, traditional beliefs, cultural norms, and practices can have a strong negative impact on girls' enrolment, persistence and performance in schools. In Pakistani societies, many parents, especially in the rural districts, marry their daughters at a very early age which leaves them uneducated for the rest of their lives. Moreover, parents do not educate their daughters when she grows up feeling it inadvisable for them to go out of the house unnecessarily. In Pakistan, pregnancy of unmarried daughters is regarded as culturally and traditionally shameful for family and society. Parents, in most rural areas, give their daughters in marriage as soon as their daughters reach the age of puberty and some time before puberty. Parents arrange early marriages mainly to avoid embarrassment (Colclough. et al. 2000). Early marriages are also the consequence of poverty; parents sometime manage their daughters' marriage to diminish the number of mouths to feed in large families, because it is difficult for an earner of family to feed many members of his family due to poor income (Raj, 2010).

7.5.6 Household Factors and Inequality in Education

It is believed by many that husbands should always be more educated than their wives. This statement is religiously followed in rural areas and to a great extent in the urban districts (Saiful, 2016). Therefore, parents do not want their daughters to educate at a higher level since they think that if they educate their daughters too much, they might not find a groom since men would not want to marry a woman more educated

than them. Furthermore, the generalized perception is that husbands should be the primary source of earning for the family, and many parents sought to marry their daughters to families where they would not have to work. This view discourages parents from educating their daughters (Bennet, 2007).

7.5.7 Terrorism and Inequality in Education

Today, the Talibanization version of Islam is affecting girls and their access to education. In Swat, Waziristan and other tribal and war affected areas, due to poor security situation parents are much reluctant to send their daughters to schools. In those areas, militants often destroy girls' schools deliberately, which further restricts the girls' movements. In the conflict affected areas female teachers are also reluctant to go to school due to threats they receive from the extremists and militants. So when there are no female teachers to teach girls, no girl students in schools (UNESCO, 2010).

7.5.8 Economic Disparity in Society and Inequality in Education

Income of the family is a crucial factor hindering education of females. It has been observed that high income families pay more attention to female education than low income families. Low income families pay more attention educating boys of the family since they believe that their sons would help them look after the family business or earn for them in future. Whereas, they consider spending money on a girl's education as a lost investment thinking that their daughter would soon go to her husband's place and would give no benefit to them in the future (Coleman, 2004). In regard to education right, tribal people admit the importance of education and willingly send girls to schools. The education for girls, though, longs till high school in most cases. One of the reasons of not sending girls for further education is lack of colleges and universities in

tribal areas and it financially becomes difficult for parents to send them to other areas (Umer et al., 2016)

7.6 Gender Inequality in Health

Good health, a basic requirement, is essential for the survival and general well-being of all human beings. That is why access to health care, irrespective of caste, colour, or sex, is considered a fundamental human right (Ali, 2000). However, in poor countries this fundamental right may be accessible to a few, while a large majority may be denied this right.

Pakistan is a patriarchal society where females generally suffer discrimination in every walk of life. This gender discrimination, unfortunately, starts right from the day a baby-girl is born. The birth of a girl is unwelcome. In developed countries, where women live much longer than their male counterparts, the sex ratio is also in favour of females, whereas the sex ratio in Pakistan is the opposite of that finding, i.e., 108 males to 100 females Pakistan (Censes, 1998). It is often argued that differential use of curative health services is the main mechanism leading to greater survival of boys than girls (Ahmed, 1990). The adverse sex ratio for the females could be due to excess mortality of girls owing to gender discrimination.

Pakistan is challenged by gender inequalities, and despite efforts there is a wide gap between males and females in terms of employment opportunities, paid work, access to health services and health outcomes in Pakistan. The gender inequality has deep roots in Pakistani society. Culturally, women are at a disadvantaged level from birth and are subject to discrimination during their entire life course in Pakistan, while men are perceived economic and social utility (Shaheed, 2008). This gender preference

can be assessed by unbalanced gender ratio in Pakistan, when compared with industrialized countries. Male infants enjoy more family resources and care in terms of better nutrition and healthcare access than females of the same age (Umer et.al. 2016).

The health of the women was never considered an important issue because woman as a gender has little respect in the community. In the name of culture, tradition and religion they were never given equal status in the society. A system which is based on gender inequality will not adopt policies for the wellbeing of women who are poor, powerless, and pregnant (most of the time without their consent) and weak as a class (Patel, 2010). It is also disturbing to note that religious political parties and traditional political parties have little time for women and their issues. Our assemblies and political institutes have a great number of women but most of them are not interested in those issues related to women's health and their rights (Alam, 2006).

7.6.1 Negligence of Girl Child in Health Sector

Female children are, therefore, susceptible to face more neglect and live in poor health compared to male children. This neglect of girls continues in their childhood and adolescence, with only 25% of women able to complete their primary education as compared to 49% of men in Pakistan. Female literacy is only two thirds of that for men in urban Punjab, and is beyond doubt worst in rural areas of Pakistan. These early life experiences may simply reinforce the intergenerational continuity of female vulnerability in the society (Ali, 2000).

Girl child is not enjoying all rights in Pakistan. From the time of conception till her adolescence, she remains under threat. It is not that uncommon to find families seeking termination of pregnancy based on ultrasonic confirmation of gender in early

pregnancy. Back street termination of pregnancy of female fetus is a major cause of morbidity. The girl child infant mortality rate is higher than male child infant mortality (Booth & Verma, 1992).

The girl child has no equal opportunity in the society. They have limited opportunities for education and health. They have less access to playgrounds, social functions and other community activities as compared to their male partner (Goldstein, 2012). A large number of girl children are forced to marry without consideration of their consent, liking and disliking. Often girl children are sold, bartered and given as compensation to resolve family and tribal feuds. Girls are also given as blood money to settle crimes such as murder, and are exploited sexually and physically. A huge number of girl children are living under threat and need help. It is also disturbing to note that traditions like Vani, Swara, Watta Satta, Dundee, Karo Kari and other kind of activities are perpetrated against girl child (Babur, 2007).

7.6.2 Early Marriages of Girls Lead towards Poor Health

Early marriage predisposes these girls to early pregnancy and child birth with an estimated 42% getting prior to the age of 20 years. Women married as children appear to be facing domestic violence from their husbands and their in-laws (Nasrullah, 2012). Frequent burns among married women due to stove bursting, more often by husbands and in-laws, point towards most extreme forms of domestic violence in Pakistan. This nexus of early marriage and pregnancy is an accepted risk factor for poor health outcomes such as anaemia, hypertension, premature and low-birth weight infants, but has not been thoroughly studied in Pakistan. Similarly, one study documented that poor nutritional status and gender inequality issues, might have been

contributing significantly to observed high rate of osteoporosis in a sample of Pakistani women (HRCP, 2009).

Another study indicated that tuberculosis case notifications were 30% higher in Pakistani females as compared to men of the same age but did not explain its putative mechanisms (HRCP, 2009). Despite deep-rooted gender inequality in the country and its adverse health consequences among women, the implementation of specific interventions to reduce these gender differences are still not sufficient. One of the general measures is education which is pivotal in the country's development; investing in education is helpful for human development and improving the quality of life (Ali, 2000).

7.6.3 Late aged Women and Poor Health Facilities

The majority of menopausal women have no access to healthcare in Pakistan. Poor menopausal women living in rural areas and city slums face problems associated with osteoporosis. Routine screening for age related diseases are not available. They also cannot afford the hormone replacement therapy, if required. Menopausal women living in rural area face extreme difficulties in carrying out their routine activities with prolapsed uterus and urological problem (incontinence). Menopausal elderly women have also limited access to health facilities. They are victims of fraudulence as they often receive unscientific treatment from '*Daies*' (nonprofessional nurse) because of economic reasons (Fatima et. Al, 2009).

Breast, cervical, ovarian and colon cancers are the leading causes of women's death in Pakistan. The Department of Health has no screening program to prevent breast, ovarian colon and cervical cancer in the country. Very few trained surgeons are

available to deal with early and advanced cancers of women (Mehra & Agerwal, 2004). Chemotherapy is extremely expensive and it is not possible for poor women to afford this kind of expensive therapy. Radiation therapy is available free of cost in government hospitals but they are overcrowded with patients. The overburdened staff is not able to provide quality treatment to every woman (WHO, 2010).

7.6.4 Higher Female Mortality Rate

Pakistan is a developing country with a population of 130 million. Low literacy and high fertility coupled with poor economy translates into high morbidity and mortality. Women and children are the most vulnerable segments in terms of health (Ali, 2008). The infant mortality rate is 86/1000 live births and maternal mortality ratio (MMR) is 340/100,000 live births (WHO, 2012). These statistics are among the worst in the world. Violence against women is a national phenomenon.

Men are killing women in the name of honour and family traditions. Prevalent traditions, such as Karokari, Vana, Swara, Dundee, have reduced women's status in the society. Domestic violence is common and there is no help available to those women who are victim of this kind of sub-human treatment (Babur, 2007). Acid burning, gang rape and slavery of women are deep-rooted problems in our society. It is informed by Edhi Centre that ninety percent of the new born they receive in their center are always females. According to a report in 2008, 7,733 incidences were reported in which women were tortured and humiliated and were put to death. Exact figures of those who lost lives in these cases is unknown (HRCP, 2008).

In this age of scientific and medical advancement, most of the causes of maternal mortality and morbidity are avoidable. A life time risk of dying due to pregnancy related

causes for a Pakistani woman is 1: 80 compared to 1:61 in developing countries as a whole and 1 : 4085 in industrialized countries (Qadir& Medhin ,2011). High maternal mortality in Pakistan is indicative of neglect of women's health, however, in the absence of accurate maternal health data, the magnitude of problem in rural areas of the country is difficult to gauge.

Sindh is the second most populous province of Pakistan. The majority of the people are settled in rural areas. High total fertility rate (4.4) and unacceptably high maternal mortality paints a dismal picture of women's health in the province. Population based maternal health surveys of urban squatter settlements of Karachi report a maternal mortality ratio of 276-310 per 100,000 live births. This survey identified hemorrhage to be the leading cause of maternal mortality (Fikree, Karim & Midhct, 2003).

7.6.5 Poor Health Care during Pregnancy

Pregnant women suffering from any illness are more prone to adverse consequences of childbirth. Forty percent women suffer from anemia (Madhu & Mule, 2008) which, coupled with hemorrhagic complications of pregnancy and childbirth, increases risk of fatal outcome for the mother. Any delays in seeking care for obstetric complications can endanger maternal life. (Codlin ,Khowaja & Chen , 2011).

More than eighty percent women are delivered at home in the presence of unskilled birth attendants. In majority of secondary and tertiary healthcare centers, emergency obstetrical care is not available on twenty-four hour basis. Hemorrhage, hypertension and infection are the three major and direct causes of maternal death in our country. Delays of pregnancy are the major contributory factor to cause women's death and pregnancy related morbidity in Pakistan (SOGP, 2009).

The need for effective strategies for delivery of healthcare to rural women is paramount and requires a study of maternal perceptions and experiences of the healthcare system (Amanullah, 2011). Pakistan has some of the worst maternal and child health indicators in South Asia. Some of these are as follows:

- The maternal mortality rate in Pakistan is around 276 per 100,000 live births (PDHS 2006-2007).
- An estimated 30,000 women die each year, the equivalent of one woman dying every 20 minutes (Khan et al., 2009).
- Among women aged 12 to 49, complications arising out of pregnancy and childbirth are the leading cause of death and account for 20 per cent of all deaths for women of childbearing age.(PDHS 2006-2007)
- For every mother who dies from pregnancy and childbirth complications, 20 women are left suffering severe injuries and lifetime disabilities such as obstetric fistula (UNICEF, 2008).
- The infant mortality rate in Pakistan is 42 deaths per 1,000 live births.
- One in every eleven children in Pakistan dies before reaching his or her fifth birthday, and more than half of these deaths occur during the first month of life (PDHS 2006-2007).

According to the 2006-7 PDHS, postpartum hemorrhage is the leading direct cause of maternal deaths, followed by puerperal sepsis and eclampsia. Obstetric bleeding is responsible for one-third of all maternal deaths. A significant proportion of maternal deaths is attributed to treatment failure or complications of medical

procedures. Obstetric embolism is another important direct cause of 6 percent maternal mortality. Another 6 per cent of maternal deaths are attributed to complications of abortion either sepsis or hemorrhage (PDHS, 2007). All of these causes can, in the most part, be prevented. Pakistan's health budgets remain extremely low compared to other countries in the region, and the recommended WHO levels of expenditure. Over the past ten years, the health sector's share of GDP had remained relatively static; at between 0.5-0.7 per cent. According to Planning Commission data, in 2011, this fell to 0.23 per cent of GDP (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2011). It is argued that the lack of investment in women's health and poor access to services is underpinned by gender inequality and limited recognition in practice of the rights of poor women to good quality maternal health services (UN, 2010).

However, there is very little analysis of how issues of poverty, gender and social exclusion influence healthcare policy formation, resource allocation, the design and delivery of maternal health services, and disadvantaged women's access to health services. It is argued that the lack of investment in women's health and poor access to services is underpinned by gender inequality and limited recognition in practice of the rights of poor women to good quality maternal health services (UN, 2010). However, there is very little analysis of how issues of poverty, gender and social exclusion influence healthcare policy formation, resource allocation, the design and delivery of maternal health services, and disadvantaged women's access to health services (Amanullah, 2011).

7.6.6 Socio-Cultural Norms and Health Sector

In Pakistan, socio-cultural norms often determine that men control key assets and make decisions regarding women and girls' access to health services. Women are often not able to demand better access to healthcare services due to their lower status, lack of education, constraints on mobility and their ability to appear in public spaces. Those who are in strict purdah are often not allowed to physically access services without a male escort (Ali, 2000).

Research studies have highlighted gender discrimination in medical expenditures; finding that when ill girls are less likely to be taken for a medical consultation and even when they are, less is spent on their medical care than for boys. Rural households are more likely to consult private doctors are generally considered to be of higher quality for boys than for girls. The choice of which healthcare provider an individual chooses is also strongly influenced by financial considerations, and women often use traditional healers - who are cheaper, easier to access and more culturally acceptable (Mumtaz & Salway, 2003).

There remains a gender gap in terms of literacy rates in Pakistan, and this is particularly pronounced in rural areas. Low levels of girls' education are not only linked to poor maternal and new born health outcomes, but also limit women and girls' health seeking behaviour. Uneducated women are less likely to use contraception and take decisions regarding their reproductive rights. This is reflected in the high fertility rate for Pakistani women and the low contraceptive prevalence rate (Grossman, 1997).

Poor women often have inadequate intake of nutritious food and essential micronutrients due to limited access to food within the households and poor dietary

habits. Low literacy levels, especially amongst adolescent girls and women, their lack of involvement in decision making, early marriage, lack of birth spacing and poor access to healthcare are all factors determining child and maternal nutrition in Pakistan. Poor women's low nutritional intake and the poor quality of local diets can undermine their reproductive and maternal health (Mumtaz, 2005).

In the 2011 National Nutrition Survey, 58 per cent of households nationally, 72 per cent in Sindh and 63.5 per cent in Balochistan, are reported facing food insecurity. Nutrition status is also intrinsically interconnected with issues of gender and the inequitable distribution and allocation of food at household, community or regional levels. The National Nutrition Survey also found that 49 per cent of women of child-bearing age were anemic. The risk of anemia is often exacerbated by women's unequal or insufficient food access (UNICEF, 2012).

7.7 Pakistan's Public Health Policy: Quest for Change

In spite of gradual improvement in some of the health indicators over the past decades, the reproductive health status of population in Pakistan remains much below the desired level when compared with countries of similar socio-economic conditions. It is observed that family planning and health services and supplies have not been adequate to meet the needs and demands of fast growing population, resulting in severe health problems for young children and their mothers, especially those belonging to poor households and living in rural areas (WHO, 2010).

The Government of Pakistan has been spending 0.6 to 1.19% of its GDP and 5.1 to 11.6% of its development expenditure on health over the last 10 years (Statistical Year Book, 2010). In health sector, the government is receiving a huge amount of grant,

loan and help from donor agencies (UNICEF, UNFPA, WHO, UNDP, USAID, DIFID, ADBP, CIDA, SIDA and many others) to improve women health care in Pakistan (World Vision International ,2013). Unfortunately, the government has failed in proper utilization of this funding because of lack of political will and non-understanding of existing healthcare system in the country. It is also noticeable that lack of merit in utilization of these funds is responsible for non-utilization and improper spending of this budget (Ali, 2000).

The country needs a massive investment in the production of competent midwives, activation of BHUs, RHCs and maternity homes, availability of EmOC (Emergency Obstetric Care) in secondary and tertiary care centers. There is no shortcut to reduce maternal death and morbidity rate. A long term planning is required to bring durable change. The country also needs good road network in rural and urban areas. Moreover, good ambulance services are required to provide access to women in need living in far-flung areas of country (SOGP, 2009).

Training in OBGY is extremely poor at undergraduate and postgraduate level. Traditionally the male medical students are not interested in OBGY and system does not help them to understand the plight of women dying because of obstetrical reason. The postgraduate education in OBGY is not structured. There are producing postgraduates who are not competent and are not able to practice safe and scientific obstetrics and gynecology. There is a need to make sure all medical students know about maternal death, maternal morbidity and emergency obstetrical care. They all should be well aware about complication and its management in community (Sather, 2012).

The postgraduate education needs immediate attention. A structured program should be devised on national and provincial basis. The country needs at least ten thousand competent OBGY specialists, and we hardly have two thousand specialists. Majority of these specialists need further training (Amanullah, 2011). Although during Musharaaf period hundreds of leady health workers were appointed to give easy delivery of services door to door. This was good step taken by the government in health sector. But poor trainings and low wages become hurdles in the way of efficiency of leady health workers. It is very disturbing to find out that more than thirty percent (30%) VVF and RVF are formed by the poorly trained doctors and nurses. Many women are suffering in problem because of these vaginal diseases. The condition is totally avoidable. Society of Obstetricians and Gynecologists of Pakistan (SOGP) feels that the Health Department should take immediate actions to deal this challenge on emergency basis (Shirkat gah, 2005).

The Society of Obstetricians and Gynecologists of Pakistan strongly believe that the health of women is the responsibility of government and basic health and emergency healthcare should be available to them without any cost. The SOGP is eager to help government in achieving all the above-mentioned goals provided government shows its political will to improve the health and social status of women (SOGP, 2009).

The government and every political party in the country are required to unite in providing healthcare to the poor women of our country. A country has no future with a huge population of uneducated, unhealthy and battered women. The government and civil society should immediately take actions to rectify the present situation on emergency basis. Some NGOs like Women's Action Forum, War against Rape, Aurat

Foundation and Shirkat Gah are helping women but their resources are limited and they need government support to deal with these kinds of problems (Somroo, 2006).

According to Amartya Sen, education makes the horizon of vision wider and helps to disseminate the knowledge of family planning. Educated girls tend to have greater freedom to exercise their agency in family decision, including in matters of fertility and child birth. Education of female is also important in the reduction of mortality rates (Sen 1999). Girls' education is being considered very important and very beneficial for bringing positive changes in society. Women's empowerment requires improvement in a lot of other factors but the most important and beneficial one is education. Unfortunately the current situation for girls in the education sector is not satisfactory (Awan & Asma, 2015).

Development is a complex term. Amartya Sen describes development as, a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy. Development can be identified with the growth of gross national product, with the rise in personal incomes, industrialization, technological advancement and social modernization. But freedom depends also on other determinants, such as social and economic arrangements. Facilities for education and health care, as well as political and civil rights i.e. the liberty to participate in public discussion and scrutiny (Sen 1999). Education and development are essentials for each other. One can argue that GNP, or rise in income is more likely to be the basic factor to raise the living standards of people. As Amartya Sen in his book *Development as Freedom* says, "*Low income can be a major reason for illiteracy. Illiteracy can be a major barrier to participation in economic activities that require production according to specification or demand strict quality control*" (Sen 1999).

Conclusion

This chapter explored Pakistan has made great progress in narrowing the gender gap in the last two decades in education, health, employment and political participation. At present rise in female education, economy and health care and decrease in women mortality rate during child birth is evident. Education adds value to females' ability and increases girls' productivity to make them less vulnerable to harassment and violence. Low adult literacy rate, low enrolment rate, high dropout rate, high cost of schooling, parental disinterest in educating their female children, lack of proper school infrastructure, economic insecurity for teachers, teacher absenteeism, schools distance, schools availability in far-flung areas and low quality of education are the major barricades that have negative impact on literacy rate of Pakistani society. The need is to design applicable policies for female education and health and allocate sufficient budget to implement those policies in true sense.

The study concluded that Musharraf and his successor government have taken some initiatives to increase the status of women in Pakistan and to decrease gender inequality in education. As a result of their public policies, the gap between genders is narrowed down in education in particular and society in general. Presence of women more or less can be seen every corner of society. But the status of women is not as much satisfactory as global trends indicated. There is a need for government, international donors and civil society to take revolutionary steps for uplift of women.

CHAPTER 8

IMPACT OF PUBLIC POLICY ON CULTURAL HORIZONTAL INEQUALITIES

In Pakistan, horizontal inequality across gender has persisted under feudalism and patriarchy. This chapter identifies disparities of women in the Pakistani cultural and social structures such as differences in the identification and status of both male and female, cultural norms, customs and practices related to women. It also analyses the impact of gender policies formulated during 1999- 2012. This chapter tries to explore status of women folk as a group in Pakistani culture. It also identified the cultural factors which causes the inequality between men and women.

The impression of gender includes our prospect and expectations about the characteristics, attitudes and behaviors of men and women. The diverse roles, rights and opportunities which both genders have in society are important determinants of the gender inequality. Cultural dimension of horizontal inequalities in society refer to differences in the recognition and status of groups in society (Stewart, 1999).

8.1 Cultural Inequality

The term 'culture' is used to describe beliefs and practices of any society. It is also closely associated with tradition, custom and religion prevailing in a society.

Culture is the fabric of every social structure. It defines the way things are done in a society. The broader approach was adopted in the definition of culture at the World Conference on Cultural Policies (UNESCO, 1982): *“Culture is the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or a social group. It includes not only arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs.*

Beliefs about characteristics and behaviors apt to women or men and about the relations between male and female are shaped by culture. Gender identities and gender relations are important aspects of culture because they construct the way daily life is lived in the family, but also in the wider community and the workplace. Gender is defined as a set of characteristics, roles, and behaviour patterns that differentiate male from female, socially and culturally, and relations of power between them (Association of Women Rights, 2005). These characteristics, roles, behavioural patterns and power relations are self-motivated and changeable in nature. They vary over time and between different cultural groups because of the stable and constant shifting and dissimilarity of cultural and subjective meanings of gender (Hirut, 2004).

Societies and cultures are not static. They are living entities that are continually being transformed and changed. Change is shaped by many factors. Cultural change occurs as communities and households respond to social and economic shifts associated with globalization, new technologies, environmental pressures, armed conflict, development projects, etc. (Kabeer, 1994).

Culture plays a major role in framing socioeconomic and political horizontal inequalities as it is common culture or identity which binds groups together. Cultural

inequalities can be defined as perceived or actual differences in the treatment, public recognition or status of different groups' cultural norms, practices, symbols and customs (Stewart, 2000). This definition clearly covers a range of aspects. It is also important that cultural differences don't determine gender inequality by itself as single entity. It also relates to other dimensions of horizontal inequality. Cultural status inequalities are likely to be associated with exclusion and inequality in the economic and political dimensions. Political and socioeconomic horizontal inequalities themselves usually breed where there are cultural differences around which groups form (Stewart, 1999). This not only apply to cultural inequalities. However, often the presence of one type of inequality leads to others. Thus political inequalities are often responsible for cultural inequalities, and the later can be a source of political or socioeconomic inequalities (Langer & Brown, 2007).

8.2 Status of Women in Patriarch Society of Pakistan

What is there to my body? Is it studded with diamonds and pearls?
My brother's eyes forever follow me. My father's gaze guards me all
the time, stern, angry ... Then why do they make me labour in the
fields? Why don't they do all the work by themselves? We, the
women, work in the fields all day long, bear the heat and the sun,
sweat and toil and we tremble all day long, not knowing who may cast
a look upon us. We stand accused and condemned to be declared kari
and murdered. Attiya Dawood(Al, 7-8)

Patriarchy is often referred to the rule and control of men over women (Merry, 2008). Patriarchy is a social and cultural pattern of a society in which men prefer all social roles and keep female in subordinate status. It is generally considered in patriarchal societies that women need supervision of men (Kamba rami, 2006). In patriarchal societies, men automatically take position as the head of family who control, and take care of, their sisters and occasionally mothers. In this situation, girls face

violence from mother in laws and their husbands under the new family after their marriages. Girls face physical violence in shape of kicking and punching, and humiliation and emotional violence by their husbands. Meanwhile boys are considered necessary for the survival of the family by bringing in new women into the family, who give birth to children and do the child care and care of her in-laws (Kamba rami, 2006).

On domestic level, patriarchy is regenerated in sons by a father's ability to hand over to his sons the power and authority to command over wives, sisters and children (Kalabamu, 2006). It is also supposed as hierarchy, "*where a few at the top have the most control, the people in the middle have medium, and the majority on the bottom have very little*" (Elias, 2008). The top people control values, systems, law, institutions and lands. Top ones keep their control by threat, fear and force.

Patriarchal societies can be found historically in different forms in Asia and Europe, where ownership of residence, parentage and property proceeded by the male line. Elias (2008) defined present form of common patriarchy as a system where the elder or senior man has control and authority over everyone else in the domestic sphere including women and other younger men. The women and other men are subject to and under the control of the senior men. The key to the reproduction of today's patriarchy lies in the household, which is also commonly associated with the peasantry in agrarian societies, where girls and women assimilate into the meaning of patriarch property (Valintine, 1989). Young girls are the property of parents, where mother order her to do this or that about domestic daily tasks and father supervise them. She is a property in the hand of her husband after marriage, where she faces brutality and violence at the hands of her husband same as a commodity is used by the owner (Okin, 2000).

8.2.1 Status of Women in Male Dominated Pakistani Culture

In patriarchal societies, male's rights and honor are promoted and are kept male-centered. Patriarchy is male dominated in the sense of authority on political, economic, religious, legal, domestic and educational sphere. Privileges in these spheres are mostly reserved for boys and men; head of state, religious leaders, member of legislation even at domestic level household heads are men. Patriarchy is male centered in the sense that focus of attention is primarily considered to be male. Newspaper stories and movies are usually focusing men (Johnson, 2005). Boys are sent by the families to school, girls are not allowed to even leave the premises of the home. Parents mostly pay attention to boys for education as parents consider that there is no use of educating girls except in domestic tasks. After all, girls have to move to another home after their marriages and perform household chores and child bearing and caring. For mentioned role of girl as housewife, there is no need of any type of special education (UNESCO, 2010).

8.2.2 Preference of Son and Negligence of Daughters

It is an important feature of Pakistani culture to prefer son over daughter. Parents used to think that their old age security is attached to better brought-up and income of their sons. Parents during their old age have to live with their sons. If son is educated and earn more, they have a better future (Noreen & Awan, 2011). Boys and men are the focus of attention while girls and women occupy the margin. This phenomenon can be seen in the early stage in domestic and family spheres, when the female child is considered inferior to the male child. Male children are often perceived superior even if they are born after the female child (Kabeer, 1994).

Parents focus on boy's health and education leads to the neglect of girl child in health care and education (Kambarami, 2006). Despite these features in patriarchal societies, it does not mean that all men are powerful or all women folk are powerless. Many of men spend their time under the order of other men as being a part of patriarchies. Simultaneously, there are many powerful women who occupy political, executive posts in Pakistani society, but they powerless men and powerful women in all spheres stood out as exceptions (Johnson, 2005).

8.2.3 A Depiction of Power Practiced by Male over Female

The patriarchal society is where control and power are held by male heads of the family. They also have their control publically outside the family Therefore one can easily find two spheres named private and public spheres under the control of men folk. In the private side in the household, the patriarch enjoys privileges of his power over all females, other males and all children while in the public sphere, and power is split between many male patriarchs. Mostly, no female holds any public position of political, economic or ideological power. Mostly tribal councils and courts consist of male heads and members.

In fact in patriarchal societies, women folks are not allowed into this realm to share power publically (Valintine & Moghadam, 1992). It means that patriarchal societies have differentiated the public from the private; in public sphere power relations are between male heads and in private sphere mostly one patriarch ruled formally. Kalambamu (2006) says that today's public sphere has female participation. We should not underestimate women's capabilities absolutely, because today's women have reduced their dependency on men. They do their jobs in public sphere and share

powers in the offices shoulder to shoulder with men. This is all due to the development of modernity and awareness of their rights (Kalambamu, 2006).

Pakistan practice the particular and centuries old codes of feudalism and patriarchy, which direct, redirect and channelize activities in everyday life. Pakistan is a diverse multicultural society but in all parts of Pakistan, Punjabi, Pakhtun, Baluchi and Sindi cultures are male dominated that only ensure male power and authority. Women are considered delicate and home is considered as best suited area for their services (Sharma, 2014). Pakhtun and Baluchi codes of life include few traits that are mostly linked with man e.g., *Ghairat* (valor), *Badal* (revenge), *Jirga* (Informal power structure), *Hujra* (Common guest house) etc, where men control the above mentioned traits. These are the traits which are mostly linked with power, authority and prestige. While women are linked with the traits of *Tor* (stigma) and *peghor* (satire), such traits are mostly considered subordinate and lacking power, authority and prestige. In this regard, it is evident that women political empowerment is mostly impeded by traditional social life (Naz & Rehman, 2011).

8.3 Status of Women under Constitution

As it is discussed in chapter 4 that the constitution of Pakistan, Article [25] guarantees equality of rights to all citizens irrespective of sex, race and class. It allows the government to take affirmative action to protect and provide women rights (Beal, 1994).

Founder of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah said that no nation can rise up to the height of glory unless their women are side by side with men. We are victims of evil customs. It is a crime against humanity that our women

are shut up within the four walls of the houses as prisoners. There is no sanction anywhere for the disgraceful condition in which our women have to live; you should take your women along with you as comrades in every field of life.

However socio-cultural constraints such as patriarchal setup of society, discriminatory customs and traditions, and the deliberate exploitation of religion as well as the reluctance of those in power represent worst impediments to women's development and empowerment. Government should take fruitful affirmative steps to encourage women and ensure their empowerment in above mentioned worse situation (Reyes & Socorro, 2002).

8.4 Islam as Religion in Pakistani Culture

Islam is primary religion of Pakistani society. Islam is a complete doctrine. Life, family, society and ultimately the whole of mankind is treated by Islam on an ethical basis. Differential in sex is neither credit nor a drawback for the sexes. The Holy Quran provides clear cut evidence that women are completely equal with men in Islam in terms of her rights and responsibilities (Siddiqui, 2004).

The Holy Quran states: "*Every soul will be (held) in pledge for its deeds*" (Quran 74:38).

Pakistani society is predominantly Islamic, but the source of basic legal system here is dual in nature; on one hand it consists of civil law, inherited from western legal systems, and on the other hand is the family law mainly built upon Islamic law. The constitutions of various Muslim states provide equal rights to men and women; however family law is seen as obstacle to women's equality (Offenhauer, 2005) Islam regulates

all corners of human life; it does not pledge women to become complete housewives, rather allowed women to do all the activities with due permission of her husband.

Islam is the religion that recognizes all the basic human, social, economic and political rights of women. The Holy Quran has specified these rights and responsibilities in several verses of Surah *Al-Baqara*, *Al-Maidah*, *Al-Noor*, *Al-Ahzab* and *Al-Tahirm*. However, in Surah *An-Nisaa*, precise explanations are presented on the subject of women rights and duties. In addition Muslim women have more rights in relation to their various roles which they perform as mothers, sisters, daughters and wives in society. However, women rights are orderly associated with women's duties, and Islamic declarations provide a broader framework that needs to be used for upholding women's status in the Muslim societies (Khan, 2004).

Women's experiences and needs may be ignored in the public policy formulating process if they are not represented in the elected office. Religion also stresses on parity, fairness and equality, so religion plays as a political factor in women's life for proper and just representation. The social behaviour toward women is indeed negatively influenced by religion, restricting women's role to the house premises alone. This social behaviour expresses men's mentality that restricts women's role to marriage, and childbearing. As a result of this narrow mentality of men, women's presence in the decision making positions remained marginal. In Muslim countries, women occupy only an average of 15.9 percent seats in decision making bodies (lu Francesca , 2013).

Islam has protected women's civil rights and freedom under the guidelines set forth by Allah and the Prophet (PBUH). Women are honoured with a noble standing in

the society under Islamic law. There are established stereotypes that confuse Islam with cultural practices and fail to recognize that Islam has empowered women with the most progressive rights since 7th century. The words oppressed, inferior and unequal are usually linked with Islam while interpreting women rights; however woman's status in Islam is not either inferior or asymmetrical to man (Lawrence, 1998). Thus Islam focused on gender equality on the basis of *taqwah*. Islam granted women the right to education, to marriage and divorce, to work, to own, sell or buy property, seek legal protection, to vote and to participate in civic and political engagement (Mitra, 2013).

Discussing women's political participation, it came to observation that women were given the voting right in Islam since 1400 years ago. Women used to come to the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and guarantee their loyalty to Him, and the Prophet (PBUH) used to accept the oath and through this tradition women's right to public participation was recognized, in the selection of their leader, further Islam does not prohibit women from holding central positions in government (Navin, 2002).

Islam elevated the importance of women in society to dignity, esteem, and privilege. Allah devoted an entire chapter of the Quran to women and Islam proclaims that all human beings, men and women, are born in a pure state. The aim of every Muslim's life is to preserve this purity by inner virtues (Nimat, 1997).

Islam confirms that both men and women are equal in the sight of Allah. In the Quran, Allah declares, "... *Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you...* " (49:13).

At another place in the Quran, all humans are declared equals: *"Whoever acts righteously, [whether] male or female, should he be faithful,--we shall revive him with a good life and pay them their reward by the best of what they used to do".* (16:97)

The Holy Prophet (PBUH) has stated: *"The best amongst you is the one who is the best towards his wife."* (Tirmidhi, Ibne-Majah, Dasimi)

It is observed in the early Muslim history that women participated in the consistent working of society. Women were free to express their opinions; their advice and opinion was considered necessary for betterment of Muslim society. They nursed the wounded in battles, and even participated in the battlefield. They did excellent business; Hazrat Khadija(RA) wife of Prophet (PBUH) was a successful business women. The second caliph, Umar (RA), appointed a woman, Shaffa bint Abdullah, as the supervisor of the bazaar. Islamic history witnesses women's participation in government, public affairs, law making, scholarship, and teaching. Towards continuation of this tradition, women should be encouraged to participate in improving, serving, and leading different segments of the society (Adeel, 2010).

There is no obligation on women to earn or spend money for housing or general expenses; it is responsibility and duty of male family members (father, brother, uncle, husband, son). She has full rights over her income to spend as she wishes. For example, Khadija (RA), the wife of the Prophet (PBUH), was the most successful businesswomen of Makkah, and she spent freely her wealth to support her husband in the cause of Islam. Thus Islam ensures not only justice but an overall care to women (Navin, 2002).

The most important source in Islamic teaching are the Quran and Sunnah, both present the message of universal equality among all mankind. Islam considers both men

and women equally human and grants equal human rights. Though their rights, responsibilities and duties may be different, but both have opportunities for achieving perfection and closeness to Allah (Saddiqi, 2004).

Equal protections of law, equality of opportunity in social, economic and political spheres are the foundation of justice, whereas any kind of discrimination is reverse to the concept of justice and equality. Women are half of the Pakistani population. Women in Pakistani culture are embodiment of sacrifice and self-denial. In fact both features are subjects of inequality, injustice, disgrace and discrimination. Pakistani cultural norms denied the rights of women being an equal group in the social development. Women remained deprived of the advances in social development, education, health, employment, economic participation, science and technology and political representation because of traditional and stereotype gender roles attached to them (Helie, 1994).

The patriarchal norms and economic dependency of women on men is the basic cause of horizontal inequality, and it will remain present in society till women become economically independent, and misinterpretation of religion regarding women rights is stopped. Thus Islam has not denied any type of rights to women, whether political or economic rights. Derived from self-interpretation of religion and culture, Pukhtun and tribal men have special inviolability for all social, political and economic affairs of the family and the society is absolutely run by men (Ahmed, 1996).

To talk about any women publically brings a sense of shyness, and this cultural respect stops people from talking about women. An ironic statement about one's women family members i.e. wife, mother, sister, or daughter can lead to a high degree of anger

that could become a legitimate and rightful reason to get violent. This separation between men and women develops a special culture for women in which they enjoy a certain level of independence in various social activities, like preparation for marriage ceremonies (Ali, 2001).

In tribal societies, women often have their legal rights curtailed in favour of their loved ones, husbands or male relatives. For example, though women have the right to vote in Pakistan, many have been kept away from ballot boxes by male family members. According to (Naz, 2010) in few districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa social pressure stop women from contesting or voting in the elections by religious groups and political parties. Resultantly, 32 union councils in Lower *Dir*, 38 in *Kohistan*, 20 in Battagram, 19 in Upper *Dir*, 11 in Swabi and 8 in Mardan did not have single women representatives (Asif, 2008).

Women's political empowerment was damaged by religious groups in the Districts of Sawabi and Mardan. Women were deprived of their political rights in the name of tribal traditions and customs (Mirza, 2002). Traditionally, Pakistani women have inheritance rights, but mostly these rights are violated and property has been kept by their brothers. Another discriminatory custom is *Swara*, the giving of a young female to someone in order to resolve a dispute. This tribal custom has been declared illegal in Pakistan and give women legal protection (Ali, 2001).

The under estimation of women at the political level is the outcome of male control over the economic and other power means (Aslam & Kingdon, 2007). The socialization process and the institutional organization in Pakistani culture support the male dominance and patriarchy over women (Basu, 2005). The cultural beliefs and

misinterpretation of traditions and religion declared that women as a delicate sex are not capable to bear the burden of political activities and responsible positions over their shoulders and could not perform political duties in good manners. In the third world states, women representation in the political affairs is mostly linked with socio-cultural, economic and religious environment which is male dominated and that ultimately control women participation (Khan, 2011).

8.5 Multi-Dimensional Hurdles in Empowering Women

There are many factors that become major hurdles in the way of women development and reduction of horizontal inequality in Pakistani society. The fact is evident that women are among the weak segment in society (Bari, 2005). However, women's political empowerment is not a goal in itself but it is instrumental in motivating the society for political and social empowerment which would further persuade the overall development of society (Mahmood, 2004).

8.5.1 Patriarch Culture

Patriarchy as a system of male domination shapes women relation in politics. It transforms male and female into man and women and construct the hierarchy of gender relations where man is privileged (Einstein, 1986). In addition to this, Adrienne Rich (2005) defines patriarchy a familial, social, ideological, political system in which men by force, direct pressure or through rituals, tradition, law, language, custom, etiquette, education, and the division of labour, determine what part women shall or shall not play at home or outside the home. The female is everywhere considered under the male's control (Sarho, 1997). Patriarchy is the system practiced throughout Pakistan and especially in rural culture that influence all other aspect of social life.

According to a study conducted by Naz & Rehman, (2011) in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 33% consider women's political empowerment in most condition a threat to family honor and is projected like a '*Tor*' (social stigma), *Peghor* (satire) in the prevailing strict condition of pakhtunwali, while 37% consider women's political empowerment a threat to pakhtun *ghairat* (valor). In addition to this, 17.5% remarked that *pakhtun* traditions and customary law did not allow women to empower in politics. In this regard, 12.5% respondents were of the opinion that socially constructed reality is not conducive to provide ground to women political empowerment. It is clear from the above discussion that the strict customs of *Tor* and *Peghor* discourage women's voting behavior, party affiliation, political demonstration and contesting elections because it is considered a threat to Pakhtun honor and dignity.

Generally in Pakistan and particularly in Pakhtun society, women are influenced by the norms and values of the culture into which they are socialized. Their social lives status and role are also crucially influenced by dominant cultural ideology and discriminatory social arrangements. In the above cultural situation the political reforms for gender equality is not much successful without bringing change in social mind of the people. It can be possible through women education and awareness of rights.

The problem has aggravated consequences in the rural areas where the code of life is mostly traditionally driven. Such traditions give more power to male segment of the society who are enjoying more privileges in the field of politics and powers (Akutu, 1997). A traditional Pakhtun society is also driven under the centuries old customary law of Pakhtun wali. In Pakhtun society gender has been a major source of division along with socio-cultural, religious, economic and political issues. The problem of

gender discrimination in politics and political empowerment is high because of Pakhtunwali and sex segregated socio-cultural setup (Naz, 2011 ; Khan, 2011).

The problem spring from number of reasons as lower literacy rate, continuous negligence of women rights with special emphasis on the freedom of expressions and role in decision making both at household and societal level. The fact is that women are not the part of legislation done on account of their rights. In addition, male dominance, lack of economic emancipation, and religious misconception are the factors, which hamper their political empowerment (Ali et.al, 2010).

This above mentioned negligence is having a negative impact on national development. Development is a process that unite all groups of society to lead them towards more participation in social, economic and political activities (Saleem, 2010). As a result, women are compelled to live miserable lives under the strictly defined rules of centuries old conservative conception of male dominance (Jamal, 2005).

8.5.2 Privileged Women are Representation of Suppressed Women

The relationship of the Pakistani state with the majority of its women citizens has been mediated through a small group of elite women and men who have had access to state institutions. In fact, the majority of the voices of Pakistani women are never heard at the international or even national forum for discourse on human rights (Kirmani, 2002). Therefore, to discuss women as a group in Pakistan is problematic in itself because only a certain group of women have been represented by activists and NGOs. In order to understand the situations and status of women in Pakistan, one must also consider the sharp class differentiation as well as the religious and ethnic divisions that separate women into various groups with equally varied interests. This is taken up

that all women share the same interests or have the same relationships to ruling institutions (Malik, 1997).

8.5.3 Violence against Women as Cultural Norm in Society

Violence against women in its varying forms is a nationwide issue in Pakistan at present. (Sajid , 2010) A sustaining hope for the dilution of this issue is the rapid increase in reports of gender based violence by the print and electronic media to the law enforcing agencies (Dawn, 2011). World Bank (1998) report pointed that one out of three women across the world has suffered violence in her lifetime. She has been beaten up, raped, assaulted, trafficked, harassed or forced to surrender to hurtful practices. Very often, the abuser is a member of the woman's own family or someone known to her (Petal, 1993).

According to the report of Commission of Inquiry for Women (1997), among the most lethal forces which impact women's dignity and security are customary practices which aim at preserving female suppression. Often defended and sanctified as cultural traditions, they are usually violently defended by those who practice them. Violence against women is being accepted as social norm and cultural practice in Pakistan. Due to this practice in the society, most of the incidents of violence against women remain underreported (Andersson et al., 2010).

There have been several thousand honor killings reported in Pakistan in the last decade, with hundreds reported in 2013. Provisions of the Islamic Qisas and Diyat law that allow the next of kin to forgive the executioner in exchange for monetary compensation remain in force and continue to be used by offenders to remission of punishment (Rouse, 1998). The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan has been

uttering the unheard voices of those people who are and were subjected to discriminations and violations in all segments of life. In year 2012, HRCP conducted an yearly analysis according to which 913 girls and women were killed in the name of honour and *gherat* in 2012. These included at least 99 minor girls (Human Rights Commission , 2012). Furthermore, 74% of the girls married off in Charsadda and Mardan districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2012 were under the age of 16 (HRC,2012).

According to media reports, out of 1,976 persons who committed suicide in 2012 across the country 626 were women. Of the 873 persons who tried to take their own lives but failed, 382 were women the women in the country were dually affected by rising extremism and poverty. In 2012, 626 women committed suicide, a figure which offers a glimpse into the absolute helplessness felt by women (HRC, 2012).

Violence against women in the form of physical, sexual and emotional abuse is common in Pakistan. Strict family, tribal and religious customs mean that some threatening activities have become cultural norms, while domestic violence is seldom reported and rarely investigated (Rouse, 1998). In Pakistani society, women must constantly guard their virginity and chastity. For a woman to enter into an adulterous relationship subverts the social order and undefined lines of the ownership rights to her body. Tribal tradition supports the notion that a man can regain his honour by killing the woman who has sinned. The law of the nation and writ of state does not apply to women in many parts of Pakistan (Kirmani, 2000). The primary justice system in tribal areas of Pakistan is based on traditions and custom that pre-existed in centuries old tribal courts. However, the laws of the state, such as the Hudood Ordinance, and other women protecting laws also do not protect women and often reinforce women's status as the property of men (Jalal, 1991).

In this violent culture, the victimized women live in an atmosphere of fear, and most of the times their lives are guaranteed only in exchange for obedience to social norms and traditions (Manderson & Bennett, 2003). Because of this fear and sense of being inferior imposed by the traditional thoughts of male dominated society, women are suffering immensely especially in their homes (Murthy & Smith, 2010).

8.5.4 Inequality in Punishment for the Same Crime

In Pakistan, hundreds of women and men are killed yearly in the name of honour, though majority of victims are women. As the number of incidents appears to be rising, the reasons given for honour killings also seem to be widening. Honour killings are grounded on a range of perceived transgressions and have been based on such absurd claims as a wife not serving her husband's meal quickly enough (Ali, 2001). Honour killings were initially only reported in Balochistan, but are now reported in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Upper Sindh, and South and Central Punjab too. Though they usually occur in rural areas, honour killings have also been reported in urban areas. The nature of the killings varies between regions; in Sindh *kari* (literally a black woman") and *karo* ('black man'), the names given to perceived sexual offenders, are killed brutally and hacked to pieces, often in view of and with implicit or explicit sanction of the community"(Ali, 2001).

In Punjab, honour killings usually take place by shooting, and seem to be more individual decisions than outright community sanctioned murder or a consequence of tribal court decision. According to the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, 888 women were reported killed in 1998. Of these, 595 were killed at the hands of relatives and 286 were reported as honour killings. The Sindh Graduates Association said that in the first three months of 1999, 132 honour killings had been reported in Sindh (AI,

2000). Most observers within Pakistan report that these estimates are far lower than actual incidents of honour killings. Because of the nature of the crime, its association with the shame of the family as well as the reluctance to view such incidents as actual crimes, the numbers of cases reported is very likely only a small part of the actual number of deaths (HRC, 2010).

Some cases of honour killings are sanctioned by tribal councils, called *jirgas*, who send out men to carry out the death warrant. In the year 1998, a jirga of the Afridi tribe living in Karachi ordered the death of Riffat Afridi and Kunwar Ahsan because they got married against the wishes of Riffat Afridi's parents. Her husband, Kunwar Ahsan, was shot by his wife's relatives after the jirga ruled in the case. Ahsan is permanently paralyzed, and the couple is seeking resettlement in another country (AI, 2005). This case demonstrates numerous important points. The couple was targeted because the honour of the woman's family was threatened by her decision to get married. Men are not exempt from this system of honor, though they are implicated less often and only when they are partners in ruining a woman's family honour. The threat of *karo-kari* keeps women in a permanent state of fear (AI, 2005). This constant fear is a form of psychological torture imposed on all women in Pakistan. In other words standards of honour differ between women and men. Theoretically, they apply to both genders, but women face harsher punishments for their perceived offences. Men are often excused of illicit behaviour where a woman's life is in danger at the hint of her offensiveness (Jasam, 2001).

8.5.5 Cultural Norms Promote the Segregation and Seclusion of Women

The cultural norms prevailing in Pakistani society promote the segregation, separation and seclusion of women as a group. It is often justified through misinterpretation of religion. It created immense problems in general for women in society. For example, religiously formulated status of women argues for gender segregation and female seclusion (*purdha*) a precondition to participate in all types of activities in society. It limits women's access to resources in general and restricts them from casting votes and contesting elections (Shaheed et al, 2009).

Women's lives are usually governed by local customs rather than constitution of the country. Customs and tradition violate women basic rights. Access to legal rights is usually hampered. The discriminatory customs like honour killings are highly appreciated in rural areas of Pakistan. The law of *Diyat* and *Qisas* (retribution and family distribution of money) holds discriminatory provisions and obscurities. The *Qisas* and *Diyat* law may encourage the murder of women by making it possible to pardon such murders (Kirmani, 2000)

8.5.6 Discrimination in Age of Puberty

Another area of discrimination against women in mostly rural areas of Pakistan is linked to the question of the age of puberty. As girls reach to puberty age at an early than boys, so girls are considered mature at a younger age. Therefore they receive more severe punishments for the same crimes in the same age as the boys. For instance if a young boy is found to be guilty of rape, his punishment will be less than that of a girl of the same age (Ali, 2001).

8.5.7 Restriction on Female Physically Mobility

In Pakistani culture, generally men direct women in every step of their public and private life. They want to prove dominance over women. Physical mobility of women is restricted because of male dominance and cultural norms (Naz, 2012). They are not asked in their life partner's selection. In the name of honour of family, tradition and culture, a woman is expected that she must be gentle, submissive, patient, obedient and forgiving. She is not permitted to go anywhere without the consent of her husband, even to her parents' home after marriage. Husband is considered as owner of his wife instead of a partner. Culture of oppression and deprivation exists more strictly in rural areas of Pakistan (Babur, 2007). Men consider that women are inferior and dependent on them in all matters. They usually marry twice or thrice. Although it is legal binding on men after Musharraf's gender reforms to get permission from first wife. But most of the cases male partner ignore it. This is a culture that denies their social, political and legal rights. It gives them no identity at any level (Jasam, 2001)).

The women leader of Arab world Tawakkol Karman said while sharing her views on women rights;

I have always believed that human civilization is the fruit of the effort of both women and men. So, when women are treated unjustly and are deprived of their natural right in this process, all social deficiencies and cultural illnesses will be unfolded, and in the end the whole community, men and women, will suffer. The solution to women's issues can only be achieved in a free and democratic society in which human energy is liberated, the energy of both women and men together. Our civilization is called human civilization and is not attributed only to men or women." (Tawakkol Karman, 2011)

In Pakistan, women's situation is different because of urban-rural divide and access to facilities and opportunities in the respective area. Women in cities and

developed areas enjoy entirely different living with diverse conditions as compared to rural and tribal women. For instance, the freedom women enjoy in Central Punjab will not be available to women in interior Sindh, South Punjab, KPK and Baluchistan; or they may not even think of such rights. Therefore this social diversity extended the gender gap in Pakistan (Qureshi, 2012). Gender equality is not only essential for the achievement of international standards of human rights and national development but carries massive socio-economic implications that include better economic conditions, productivity and growth at larger scale (UN, 2015).

8.6 Role of Media to Raise the Voice of Women

Musharraf government gave freedom to media under his enlightened moderation doctrine. With the advancement and freedom of electronic media, cases of violence against women are now being highlighted. Many unreported cases have been explored and people have started reporting honour killing, work place harassment and rape cases which were earlier crushed due to social and cultural norm and traditional pressures (Iqbal, 2012). There were 7571 cases of violence against women in Pakistan were reported in 2008 and this number increased to 8548 in 2009 (Parveen, 2010).

Rape and harassments in academic institutions, offices and workplaces are major security issues of Pakistani society. According to HRCF annual report 2008, 80 percent of wives are harassed by their spouse and 50 percent of wives disclosed that they are the sufferer of their husband's torture at home. Recently in 2010, a father stabbed his daughter for going to hospital by herself, because girls and women's visits alone are believed against their customs and traditional norms in Pakistani rural and tribal culture. These aggressive practices show that Pakistani men, especially rural and tribal men, are concerned to keep girls and women under their realm and control

(PWHRO, 2010). The status of Pakistani women is regarded as lower than that of women in other South Asian states. Girls in poor families and in rural areas are taught and forced to live inferior to boys. Women in rural areas, who account for 70 percent of the total rural population, have low educational level than that of men. They have unsatisfactory food, less access to health and medical care facilities. Along with this, educational and training opportunities are not provided to women and their lives are being demoralized and discriminated (Sharma, 2014).

8.7 Women are Lagging Behind in Different Spheres of Life

In Pakistani society in general and in Pakhtun and Baloch cultures in particular, women are lagging behind in different spheres of life. A woman is denied her own identity being a human (Farooq, 2003). Women participation in politics is not so encouraging. As far as women's involvement in politics, their participation, contribution and empowerment is concerned, Pakhtun and tribal women are deprived from majority of their basic political rights. Women in Pakhtun and Baloch tribal cultures have no equal access to political activities i.e. leadership, voting, contesting elections, election campaigns, freedom of expression, freedom of will, decision making and decision implementation etc (Bose & Rossi 1983).

Several factors are playing crucial role in the increasing oppression and discrimination of women in political participation and economic empowerment; these are illiteracy, ignorance, lack of awareness, economic dependency, patriarchy, gender sensitivity, sex segregation, lack of security, unfavorable self-image, lack of interest and false consciousness about themselves etc. The government is also answerable which failed to provide equal opportunities to both gender groups to take part in the communal

activities and to ensure their contribution in every sphere of life for the sake of country's development (Bari, 2005).

Conclusion

Women in Pakistani culture are embodiment of sacrifice and self-denial. In fact both features are subjects of inequality, injustice, disgrace and discrimination. It is found that in Pakistani cultural norms denied the rights of women being an equal group in the social development. In Pakistan, women have been facing numerous challenges and difficulties in order to achieve women empowerment and horizontally gender equality. Various elements are involved in violence against women in the cover of customary practices and cultural norms. Most of these practices are based on the concept of marriage in compensation for the settlement of disputes; for example, *Irjaee*, *Sang Chatt*, *Wani* and *Swara*. Others include acid throwing violence, honour killings, marriages with Quran, sexual harassment and domestic violence. Women can be regarded as the most deprived group of individuals in our society as their basic fundamental rights are at stake; they are being violated in all parts of country while rural areas depicts more depressing situation due to lack of awareness, education and inflexibility in attitudes.

This study investigated that cultural inequality is linked with other types of inequality; such as women participation in the political affairs is mostly attached with socio-cultural, economic and religious environment which is male oriented and that ultimately restrained women participation. The cultural practices of *vani*, *swara*, honour killing, marriage with the Holy Quran, incidence of gang rape and their decisions under Jirga or panchayat system are unequal and discriminatory actions against women's

social, political and economic development. Women empowerment is attached with the basic human rights and social justice. It is believed that patriarchal values embedded in traditions and culture pre-determine the social value of gender and rank women at a lower status to men in social setting.

The study concluded that women remained deprived of the advances in social development, education, health, employment, economic participation, science and technology and decision making because of cultural and stereotypical gender roles attached to them. The male dominated culture and economic dependency of women on men is the fundamental cause of horizontally inequality across gender, and it will remain in society till the society is not transformed through liberal education, women are made economically independent, and misinterpretation of religion regarding women rights is stopped. The negligence of women in mainstream has a negative impact on national development which is a process that necessarily unites all factions of society. It needs more participation of women in social, economic and political activities.

CONCLUSION

Gender issue is quite in vogue, however, in Pakistan, it is yet to be officially acknowledged as an issue. Pakistan is a patriarchal and traditional mind set society where women being a primary group of society suffer all sorts of discernment, resulting in low social, economic, cultural and political status in the society. In the country, majority of the women lack access to their fundamental rights, hence they suffer the most from societal disparities. The increased gender disparities across the whole country are a consequence of the state's unwillingness to protect and invest in women's human capital.

The gender inequality negatively impacts the well-being of general public, the advancement of nations and the progression of societies. Gender issues are not simply women related issues. These also include in-depth understanding of opportunities, constraints and their far reaching impact on both groups of gender. Various studies have proved that gender inequality is the main barricade in the way of prosperity and progress of any society. Hence, women are being empowered by national and international organizations in developing countries to play vital role in the country's development process. Multi-faceted strategies are being adopted by government and women organizations to get rid of the gender inequality and deprivation in the workplace and

the public social order. There are many changes that have been made in public policies at local, national and international levels to ensure gender equality.

During study there are common observations of gender inequality everywhere in Pakistan. Women are exploited in the family and in society as inferior. Nevertheless, women are assuming influential positions in their communities, schools, work places, government and elsewhere. In Pakistan, cultural deviations are not uniform across the whole country. They vary by factors such as the socio-economic status of the family in which a woman is born and lives, the rural/urban setting, caste group, regional group, and so forth. The persistence of gender gaps stems from socio-cultural norms, political and economic constraints and implementation of public policy regarding gender inequalities.

Current study has derived variables to analysis gender inequality through the theory of horizontal inequality presented by Frances Stewart (1999). She describes the group exclusion in four dimensions: political, economic, social and cultural aspects of life in a state. All of these indicators are interconnected with each other and affect each other. For example, gender inequality in education has demographic transition effects. Several facts showed that female education is inversely related with fertility rates; high literacy rate of female tends towards lower fertility which declines the reliance of women on men and increases their share of labour force which raises economic development of family as well as the country. Economic factors also influence gender-related cultural practices. The economic structure of Pakistani society is so contrived that they are unable to assert themselves or demand economic justice in either household or at community level. Due to their inferior economic position, they remained unheard on social and political fronts and became uncontended force of society. Political

participation of women is vital for their economic prosperity. This will provide them an opportunity to develop their decision making power and will also do away with the barrier to cast their votes or contest elections.

Feminist legal theory is considered as the best tool to achieve social justice and gender equality in a society. The objective of gender balanced society can be achieved through making and implementing the strong and smooth in Pakistan. Feminist Legal Theory has the capacity to bring about horizontally equality across in Pakistani society. Gender reforms and public policies are basic tool to reshape attitudes toward women in society and raised the aspirations of long-term investments in girls.

Present research has concluded that in Pakistan Gender mainstreaming, women empowerment and women's inclusion into all spheres of life as a policy objective has been quite challenging at national stage. Women's weaker position makes them more susceptible to poverty and oppressions. Their inferior social status, weak educational background, low participation in economic as well as political activity and inequitable access to productive resources add to their vulnerable position. Restriction of women's mobility, which varied from culture to culture in Pakistan, and in the most conservative form results in female seclusion in society, is also one of the major reason to widen the gender gap. The inequalities between different groups are quite crucial as coincidence of cultural differences with political and economic ones can arouse resentment between groups leading them to violent struggles (Stewart, Brown 2010).

Present study contradicted the above assumption of HI theory as inequality across gender has never gone for violent struggle specifically in eastern societies.

Because in most of the societies like Pakistan, all women are not considered as part of a group who struggle and want equality of gender in all spheres of life. The representative group of women, most of the time, belongs to elite and educated classes who has not suffered much the way a poor and illiterate woman suffers. A conservative group of women considers themselves safe and sound within the premises of home. That group is even against the liberal group who is struggling for horizontal gender equality in the society. This situation has eclipsed the prospects of violent conflict.

It is also explored in the study that Public policy, media and NGOs would not be able to bring a rapid change in society unless women do not change themselves. Economic independence or political power cannot elevate the status of women unless the members belonging to the group do not recognize their strength and get respect from their own family and society as in western developed societies. To be freed from the humiliating position and be treated as respectable humans, women must recognize their enormous contribution to the economy and society at large and re-assess and evaluate their abilities, knowledge and strength.

Formulation of such public policies for eliminating gender inequality from Pakistani society is need of the hour that provides women a good deal of a poisoned pie. Women must jointly struggle to demoralise violated structures and to pursue the aim of eradicating poverty, freedom to utilize their capabilities and gender discriminations. If people all over Pakistan think that human survival has a foundation in equality of men and women, then empowerment of women is an ultimate solution of every gender-related problem in this society.

The study found that Pakistan being a part of international state system followed the agendas of United Nations and international conventions while formulating its public policy addressing gender and human rights issues. Though the Millennium Development Goals of the United Nations are appropriately concerned with gender equality and the empowerment of women, their indicators on these issues are not explicitly focused on violence against women while the domestic violence tortured women physically as well as psychologically. In context to Pakistan's situation, as mentioned earlier that Pakistan is a male dominated society where violence against women is common practice, the gender inequality of a society is embedded in social and cultural norms. But, there is not a single public policy which directly deals with domestic violence. Women are not capable to live according to their choices. So, the capability approach should be considered while designing policies to deal horizontal inequality across gender in Pakistan. The capabilities approach, as articulated by Sen (1999), Nussbaum (2000), is based on the notion that human freedom and access to opportunities are central to any social development. The capabilities approach showed that with greater freedom and choice, welfare of a society may increase. Freedom, liberties and choice are central tenets of the capabilities approach.

It has been identified that there are two aspects of freedom: the processes that allow freedom of actions and decisions; and the opportunities that people have, given their particular personal and social situations. Freedom is both the primary end and principal means of development. Political, economic, and social freedoms and protection, all of these instrumental freedoms are interconnected in their ability to help facilitate the ends of development.

Poor and impoverished women of Pakistani society who are victims of violence and abuse in their isolation are especially vulnerable in the sense that they have less freedom and access to institutions. More freedom of choice women gain, more equal they will be in Pakistani society. To achieve this target in the society, it is important that government policies must emphasize on women's socio-economic problems, problems of sexual discrimination, honour killings, acid burnings and labour exploitation in Pakistan.

Political, economic, social and cultural dimensions of gender inequality were analyzed in this study. The overall all forms of gender inequality has strong roots in culture. Patriarchal culture limits women's mobility and raises the sense of inferiority among women folk and leads women towards isolation in economic, political and social spheres. Formulation of public policies to develop a safe working and social environment in which male members never feel hesitation to send their female outside their homes for education, health and work would bring a cultural shift in society.

It is concluded that male domination in the political arena has resulted in women's staying away from joining politics; generally women have been discouraged from entering public life both at family and at social level. In recent decade global trends, including in South Asia, indicate that more and more women are now coming forward to play productive role in society including in politics and economic labour force.

Education in Pakistan has and still suffers from countless issues including tiny piece of GDP cake given to education and health sector, poverty, cultural constraints and acute regional and gender inequalities in the country. Poverty, trade and economic

issues are very much related to women's rights. Because of poverty and economic dependence on men, women are vulnerable to violence and discrimination. Dealing these issues would be helpful to deal women's rights issues. And, dealing gender-based issues would help to tackle poverty-related issues. If half of the population is not working and dependent on the other half, the development of Pakistan would become questionable in future.

Present research found another problem that in Pakistani society women do not feel safe when they are away from their homes. They cannot work as free as men do in different places. The recent legislation formulated on women harassment at workplace by the parliament in Pakistan has encouraged women in work environment. But still, there is more need of such type of legislation and its proper institutional implementation to give them protection from harassment.

All social institutions like family, religion, politics, education etc. are under the control of men and they are all patriarchal in nature. Women's contribution has always been underestimated. This is because of the low status they gain in society. Their work is underestimated in economic terms and considered as unpaid work which has no value in country's development.

It is analysed in the current study that Pakistani society has been so engulfed by the dowry practice and the connection of women with the honour of men that it may take a long time to eradicate these threats completely. The religious awareness and the establishments of governmental and non-governmental trusts are some immediate steps that might provide relief to women affected by these threats. Violence against women requires overall restructuring of social order in Pakistan. Unless society is reformed on

the basis of Islamic teachings with true spirit and understanding, acknowledging modern changes in the world, it would remain a dream to decrease the incidence of violence against women. The image of Pakistan becomes shady when people all over the world read the news of incidents of honour killings or bride burning in the country. Changing perceptions of people towards violence against women is a task that could be done immediately. With the help of education, overall economic prosperity and general awareness among people might turn the scenario in near future.

Present study also concluded that in Pakistan, public policy of different times has not been much successful to address gender inequalities due to the gap between policy intent, political will and proper policy implementation. Lack of political will, weak and corrupt governance structures, limited technical and intellectual capacity of the institutions, and resource constraints have been the main impediments in policy implementation.

Equality is enhanced when both male and female participate equally in all spheres of life including family responsibility, family planning, child-rearing housework and house management. International conventions and NGOs entail Pakistan to form a constructive social, legal, economic and political policy environment for women by introducing necessary changes. However, no substantive steps have been taken by the Government in formulating public policy according to international standards.

The era of General Pervez Musharraf (1999 – 2008) was the most remarkable period in Pakistan's history for women's empowerment and achievement of horizontal equalities across gender in Pakistan. His doctrine of enlightened moderation provided

favorable grounds to women to excel in politics, social and economic fields. Though implementation of his government's policies was not so successful but it was not a complete failure as well. The public policy of empowerment and gender equality in Pakistan require evolutionary design of social transformation and development with practical and calculated approach. It is concluded that at the governmental level, there are policies to end gender based violence and discrimination but they are not implemented properly because most of the parliamentarians are either religious lords or feudal lords who give more importance to their tribal and religious-tampered approaches rather than towards broader spectrum of universal human and women rights.

Until gender inequalities remain in the society, full potential of development cannot be realized. During Musharraf regime, public policies regarding gender inequality portrayed positive face of government. The gender indicators showed that there were little progress to lessen the gender gap in the field of education, health, social status, economic empowerment and political participation. The successor governments felt realization at the policy making level of the government that gender disparities and inequalities could not be accepted. So, the government of Pakistan has taken a number of practical steps to reduce gender inequalities. Horizontal inequalities across gender would be possible gradually in Pakistan, with strong political will of all political parties and governments, strict implementation of public policy and sufficient budget spending on education and health sectors.

Achieving women's empowerment and equality in all spheres of life, requires rigorous public policies, a universal approach and enduring commitment and gender specific perspectives integrated at the design stage of public policy. Women must have more fair access to assets and services, and employment opportunities must be improved

along with the increasing appreciation of women's vast unpaid work. A social and cultural shift is needed to achieve the horizontal inequalities across gender in Pakistan. Rational public policy based on Feminist Legal Theory and strong political will is required to ensure gender equality in political, economic and social life, household recognition, education, employment and access to health, finance, decision making power as well as legal and civil spheres. In policy-making, women should contribute at all levels in all departments which could only be possible by removing the ills of ignorance by promoting free and balanced education at grass roots level.

Like every other society in Pakistan, the goal of gender equality can only be achieved by eradicating the material, cultural and structural basis of gender disparities. Government can bridge the gap of gender equality by formulating a comprehensive set of policies. The willingness of state to eradicate such injustices from the society would not only take the nation on the path of development, but it will also improve the image of Pakistan as an "*abysmal state of gender equality*". The resulting society would be characterised by gender harmony and human dignity. In short, it is a game of turning losses into gains.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following steps are suggested for the achievement of horizontally equalities across gender in Pakistan;

- Education is primary agent of change in society. There is an urgent need of increase in the number of schools for girls; government should impose legal obligation on parents to send their girls to school. Allocation of budget for education should be at least 5 percent of total GDP. Education brings political, economic, social, cultural, religious, and environmental consciousness and prosperity.
- Universities would be helpful in improving literacy rate. It should be made compulsory for Master's Degree students to educate 5 illiterate adults and motivate at least 10 girl students to take admission in schools.
- At National level, budget spending must give priority to women in social sectors i.e. education, health, politics, family and economic initiatives, in order to minimize male domination.
- The government of Pakistan should focus upon improvement of judicial and police departments. Police should facilitate on every ground the victim women.

Family courts and women's courts can be established primarily dealing with cases of women.

- There should be courses, trainings, and workshops for all law enforcement officers and the judicial staff must be thoroughly familiarized with the laws protecting women.
- The government of Pakistan will have to take some serious steps to control the violence caused by the practice of dowry system. In this regard, new legislation should be made and enforced strictly so that a husband that demands a dowry exceeding a certain amount will face legal punishment. However, governments can make laws to determine a certain amount for dowry, acceptable and affordable for everyone.
- In Pakistan, there is no adequate arrangement for the protection of women who are burnt, tortured and threatened with death. There are few care centres where these women can take refuge. A state-run women care centre in every district or city is an urgent need. The government of Pakistan should establish more institutions and care centres that can provide psychological and physical protection to such women.
- Government should do legislation for domestic violence and domestic workers as well.
- The clerics can change the traditional mindset of people better than women's rights organizations because millions of people are adherents of their ideology. Government should make a code of conduct for religious leaders and sermons on *Jumma* prayers. At this platform, religious leaders can highlight the human

rights of women given by Islam. This will help them to make their narrow-minded image better in the minds of people as well.

- There should be a campaign for the awareness regarding women's rights and education. For this purpose, the media can be an influential and effective tool. In television, radio, and newspapers, a campaign can easily be launched for gender equality by governmental and non-governmental organizations. They should motivate conventional families so that they will be able to enroll their girls in formal education. This is a very important task to break the centuries-old, traditional beliefs regarding the status of women.
- With political will and determination, the government of Pakistan should make laws against the torture and unjust killing of women. They should also make it clear that everyone is equal before law, irrespective of gender, age, social status, and racial or ethnic origin.

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