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# Identity Pluralism-Barriers to Women Empowerment in Pakistan

**Course Code: SA357S**

Thesis submitted for The Degree of Master in Comparative Social Work,

Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Nordland, Norway

February 2012

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# Acknowledgement

First of all, I am thankful to Allah for His countless blessings bestowed upon me during the compilation of my thesis.

My greatest acknowledgements are for my respectful supervisor for her valuable cooperation. I am greatly indebted her for her intellectual supervision during this thesis. She is tremendously generous with her time and guidance, and became a tremendous source of hope.

I pay a lot of thanks to the Faculty of Social Science, University of Nordland and all my adored teachers who introduced me with the state of the art in the field of social work during the two years of master degree.

Particular appreciation goes to the respondents of the study who provided me valuable practical experience. I am thankful to all the respondents their cooperation and time. I am equally thankful to my friends who helped me taking Interviews and getting documents that were not available online.

I am also cordially thankful to my beloved parents for their love and support for the entire period of the study. All the family members and friends for their moral support, who encouraged me and pushed me to work on, guided me what they could. I am very much thankful to all of the people I talked about in the above lines and many more whose names are not mentioned here. God bless you all.

# Abstract

Identity pluralism and its relationship with women empowerment is a complicated and relatively new research. It involves the use of existing documents to explain the existence of multiple identities of women in Pakistan. The research uses qualitative research approach by including document reviews, use of secondary data available in published reports and documents and a small scale of the interviews of 15 women from different spheres of life in Pakistan. The relationship of multiple identities of women to their empowerment status is traced by using women empowerment framework which has five components. These components include, women decision making at different levels; women participation in private, public, social, economic and political matters; women's mobility, women's access and control over resources and a bit of violence against women is also included. Three basic identities have been discussed as the citizen's identity formed through state law, the cultural identity formed within the culture and religious identity formed by application of religious education and teachings. The research reveals that women empowerment is linked to multiplication of identities and have varied scale of empowerment among women of different Social Groups in Pakistan.

# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1. Selection of Topic and research question

Since my admission in 2009 in Center of Excellence in Gender Studies in Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad I had developed an interest in looking into women's issues with an observant eye. It linked me to Networks of news and media to stay informed about the status of women and gender based crimes and discrimination against women. It remained part of my routine after completion of the degree in 2011 and I got admission in University of Nordland, Norway in MS in Social work. This gave me an opportunity to investigate the women and identity pluralism question in Pakistan that affects women and leads to variety of violence. Despite the presence of enough legislation at national level, women were continuously exploited, raped and assaulted that raised many questions. In particular, I am interested in the relations between women's multiple identities and their status in relation to empowerment. Quaid-e-Azam University is a Federal University where students from all parts of Pakistan come for higher education securing seats on quota basis and that is distributed on basis of highest marks in previous degrees. The diversity among students refers to variety of cultures they come from but all of them ultimately create a new culture by sharing their values and that we call the University culture. Referring to individual identities and reflection of regional culture. It is observed that there exist a lots of discrepancies, discriminations and social inequalities in the regions on the basis of gender, economic status, caste and color as well. Though the students from rural and remote areas, ultimately managed to adjust themselves among the relatively balanced culture of the university but it is limited to the period they live at university. Ongoing back to their hometowns they have to recall the gestures and the values they had to pose according to their early socialization. Realization of these facts led me to think about these diversities and the situation of most influenced portion of the population. Though it happens with male and female portion of population but because of myself being a female I used to concentrate on the issues of women faced in these rigid cultures where patriarchy is dominating the overall social system and women and people from lower economic classes are oppressed and dominated to mold them live according to the set rules by local cultures. Apparently, it is claimed that the national constitution

of Pakistan is made in light of the Islam, the religion of Pakistani Majority population, but it remained a secondary option while commanding the social system. The girls coming from different rural areas reflected much changes in two years of the university degree which sounded positive and the reason was to find opportunities to express themselves and utilize their talent, skills and knowledge by finding the right opportunities which is normally not available within their local familial cultural settings. They used to share their experiences while dealing with local patriarchal norms and restrictions they faced, which revealed that within national culture there are other subcultures that recognizes these women with separate identities as women. This separated women identity has a connotation of weakness and subordination in this culture. Within the identity of women there are subcategories of this identity we found on the basis of their origin, achievements, economic status, beauty, profession and their social role that I refer to multiple identities of women. These identities are created through a variety of socialization process which set a base for the empowerment of women. I want to explore in what way the women's multiple identity may influence or affect the empowerment of women. Though I had a general understanding of the problems women face due to this division of identities by shared experiences of my fellow girls but knowing it in details led me to choose it as my research topic for Master's thesis. To make it easier main research question, I have formulated these sub-questions:

1. How do the multiple identities of women, existing in Pakistani society affect their social status?

2. Does identity matter in decision making for women in Pakistan and how?

3. What is the role of women's identity in women's mobility?

4. What is the relationship of identity pluralism and women's access to public sphere, resources, rights and services?

## 1.2 Scope and Importance of this research

Women empowerment debate started in 1950s with rise modernization theories, it was realized that the development is incomplete and its benefits cannot reach to women unless they are considered important to incorporate their needs in development planning and strategies. With this realization of the importance of women needs, women were included among the beneficiaries of development and the approach Women in Development (WID) came into existence. Hence the process of women development and empowerment with almost uniform approaches around the world was started. In Pakistan the process of women empowerment and development has many dimensions, created through the influence of local culture, religious affiliations and the frequent historic changes in the state laws and constitution. Women empowerment was started off with the inclusion of WID in 1950s and it went well to recognize women needs and they become part of the development recipient. Later it was criticized that women are passive recipients of development and cannot play a role in decision making related to women basic needs and strategic need so they should be the part of development decision making. Women and Development approach was introduced and the opportunities of participation in development planning. Globally it was better in progress as compare to Pakistan because we had political instability and army interventions into government affairs since 1958 and were repeated times and again. The worst period for women oppression was in 1980s when General Zia ul Haq Took the charge by throwing out Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (the ninth Prime Minister of Pakistan) and asked the religious groups to amend constitution to bring in the Islamic way of life in at micro and macro level in constitution of Pakistan. It was a kind of politicization of Islam by Zia Ul Haq to legitimize his intruding into state affairs and justifying his actions right against the socialist Bhutto's government. Zia Supported groups of religious scholars introduced Hudood Ordinance which affected women throughout the country and restricted women mobility, education, employment and emancipation. This badly affected women empowerment process and once again pushed women back from the mainstream development. Number of research have been conducted on the status of women before and after the enforcement of Hudood Ordinance, the resistance movement by women which is known by Women`s Action Forum (1981), other women activism and campaigns to restore the women status and lessening the influences of religious legal and cultural bindings which were contrary to basic human rights as well as to the true religious values. Huge literature was produced in this regard but most of that reflects the

human or women rights aspects and the clash of religious and liberal groups while the nexus between pluralistic identity and development is never been attempted in literature though debates on women development and legal pluralism are separately generated and expanded by the Pakistani feminist activists and writers as well as people from other countries. Linkages between layered identity and development are very strong which I will try to connect with evidence from existing facts and already conducted researches in Pakistan and other similar states while it will also be referred to the nations with better Human development index to exemplify the difference created by presence and absence of the legal pluralism.

## 1.3 Objectives the of study

The main objective of the study is to explore the relationship between women empowerment and identity pluralism in Pakistan. In Pakistan people have layered identity based on religion, culture and state law that leads to multiple determinants of women status in Pakistan in context of religion, culture and law which affect their empowerment. A layered identity is elaborated as an individual is obligatory to a number of laws and systems of social control. These social control systems exist at the same place and same tome and are prioritized as the most influencing one is referred to layer one, the second is to layer two and third is to layer three. Its practical example form Pakistan is that a Muslim women of Punjab province has to follow the Punjab culture, she has to follow Islamic value system because she is a Muslim and she has to follow the national laws of Pakistan because she is a citizen of Pakistan. Generally it goes quite well if the national law, cultural system, and Religious values are aligned to same lines. But, in case of contradictions among such legal systems makes it ambiguous for an individual to choice which one to follow to shape the personal life and it is most disadvantageous for women in Pakistan and they are shaped according to the most influential cultural laws. Keeping in view the given context, efforts of empowering women are also in practices on the other hand either by women's own struggle or by some positive social institutions and structure. Women Empowerment here means the following;

- Decision Making at different levels in private and public sphere

- Participation in public, private and societal matters

- Availability and access to education and health care systems and services

- Mobility and Access to employment and income generation activities

These are the determinants which I have discussed in light of the three types of provisions by living in the same society including the cultural values, norms and settings; provision in Islam as the religion of majority in Pakistan; and the state constitution which defines rights, obligations, and legal procedure for the citizens. The context is broader but my focus has remained on the influence of identity pluralism on women of Pakistan.

## 1.4. Identity pluralism and the disempowerment of women in Pakistan

Identity pluralism means having more than one identity of citizens in one society based on multiple legal systems and social orders. The term identity pluralism is very close to legal pluralism and in some cases they serve the same purpose. Identity pluralism with reference to Pakistan, means that a citizen have to live with at least three identities at the same time and have to follow the state law, cultural norms, and the relevant religious laws as well. As mentioned earlier, the example of a Muslim women from any province of Pakistan Have to follow her local culture, her religious values system and national laws as well; because in case of failure to follow them they face serious implications in shape of violence at household and even in public sphere. But the contradiction built in among these paralleled laws of culture religion and state laws results in ambiguity of practices that end in subordinated status of women by following the immediate influencer that is culture. Though it is applicable to all Pakistanis but women are the most disadvantaged segment of the population which bears it implications due to patriarchy. It leads to creation of hindrances in women's education, their participation in labour force, threatening their security in public sphere and keeping them dependent on the males socially and economically. Legal pluralism is traced historically present centuries ago in different parts of the world in different civilizations. Tamanaha (2008) has presented in Sydney Law Review about the historical existence of legal pluralism. According to Tamanaha, it existed in medieval period in 5th century in Roman Empire and the Europe. Legal Pluralism formulates multiple identities of citizens by imposing multiple legal orders, historical evident from the existence of more than one form of social norms, and legal system. Legal pluralism is too broad but here I will be using legal pluralism only for the purpose of understanding identity pluralism which results from existence

of more than one social system for an individual at the same time. However the focus will remain on identity pluralism.

Identity matters since the start of life to the end of life and even it matters for others after death. The importance of a clear identity lies in the lifetime practices, achievements and honour of an individual. Identity is important for development at micro as well as macro level. The differences based on individual identity can lead to the macro level policy implications (Huntington 1993). Multiplication of identity and imposition of multiple legal frameworks affect the development and empowerment of women. Women empowerment development has its roots in history since the human had started settling in communities. (Brickson S. 2000). Women economic opportunity index (2012) has ranked Pakistan at 24 of 26 countries of East and South Asia and Pacific region countries with its score 35.5/100 whereas Sri Lanka, India and Bangladesh are ahead to Pakistan and only two countries including Solomon Island and Papua have lower rank than Pakistan. This means that women economic participation is poor in Pakistan that must have the factors behind like the cultural barriers, lack of education and technical skills, and access to economic opportunities in a competitive male dominant market. A power struggle is moving along the history between men and women to acquire control and distribute resources and wealth. The Engel's concept of origin of family and private property also refers to securing properties by men while women became a private property since they started domestication of wild animals and agriculture. Historically women have remained part of the development, but as when and where needed by men they were used for assistance. For example, during wars women played two important roles taking care of families and businesses and industries and the second role was serving the men and nursing. During war periods women used to be industrial workers but at the end of war they had to back home and the men replaced them. After 1945 formation of United Nation Organization where there were targets set for maintaining world peace and rehabilitation women and children were also the part again. After 1955 UNO included women as important target group for development. WID came into application around the world and Pakistan has also important developments in this regard. Over time women made progress during Ayoub Khan's Era, and then Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's period was also important when women economic participation increased and also started participation in politics and education. But it turned backward when PPP government superseded by Army and Zia ul Haq became the

president of Pakistan. Among the apparent reasons, Zia started legislating according to the Islamic System and the holy Quran. [Arab Naz, et.al (2013)]. Hudood Ordinance is one of those legislations which proved cruel for women  and it restricted women's mobility, public sphere activities, political and economic participation and most of all it made women weaker, rather unable to safe themselves from violence. It is evident from the fact that in 1982 there were about 50-60 women in Pakistani jails and this figure reached 5000 in 1987 due to women's inability to prove true in cases like rape and domestic violence etc. The development declined again for women. Women kept on struggling during later two decades and achieved reasonable success in terms of legislation and improved education, economic and political participation. But the empowerment as inclusive of decision making and controlling properties is still a question. Pakistani society is majorly and Islamic society and the interpretation of women status in light of Islam in Pakistan is a debate. The Islamic scholarship does agree with the provision of right but not to the extent of an independent and autonomous level as feminist claim. Pakistan even the whole south Asian Region is rich with diversifies culture with a long history. This culture is rooted deep and leaves long lasting impacts on women's lives. Though culture keeps on changing ever hence bring transition and transformation in society (Jacobson, J. (2006)

Spence (1996) has talked about identity as it is a construction of names originated from culture given by the social actors on the basis of cultural attributes which are given priority on the other sources of constructing meanings. We identify and know people by their names, their languages, their origin, their values, colour and gender as well. Women empowerment debate started in 1950s with rise modernization theories, it was realized that the development is incomplete and its benefits cannot reach to women unless they are considered important to incorporate their needs in development planning and strategies. With this realization of the importance of women needs, women were included among the beneficiaries of development and the approach Women in Development (WID) came into existence. Hence the process of women development and empowerment with almost uniform approaches around the world was started. In Pakistan the process of women empowerment and development has many dimensions, created through the influence of local culture, religious affiliations and the frequent historic changes in the state laws and constitution. Women empowerment was started off with the inclusion of WID in 1950s and it went well to recognize women needs and they become part of the development recipient. Later it

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was criticized that women are passive recipients of development and cannot play a role in decision making related to women basic needs and strategic need so they should be the part of development decision making. Women and Development approach was introduced and the opportunities of participation in development planning. Globally it was better in progress as compare to Pakistan because we had political instability and army interventions into government affairs since 1958 and were repeated times and again. The worst period for women oppression was in 1980s when General Zia ul Haq Took the charge by throwing out Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and asked the religious groups to amend constitution to bring in the Islamic way of life in at micro and macro level in constitution of Pakistan. It was a kind of politicization of Islam by Zia Ul Haq to legitimize his intruding into state affairs and justifying his actions right against the socialist Bhutto's government. Zia Supported groups of religious scholars introduced Hudood Ordinance which affected women throughout the country and restricted women mobility, education, employment and emancipation. This badly affected women empowerment process and once again pushed women back from the mainstream development. Number of research have been conducted on the status of women before and after the enforcement of Hudood Ordinance, the resistance movement by women which is known by Women Action Forum, other women activism and campaigns to restore the women status and lessening the influences of religious legal and cultural bindings which were contrary to basic human rights as well as to the true religious values. Huge literature was produced in this regard but most of that reflects the human or women rights aspects and the clash of religious and liberal groups while the nexus between pluralistic identity and development is never been attempted in literature though debates on women development and legal pluralism are separately generated and expanded by the Pakistani feminist activists and writers as well as people from other countries. Linkages between layered identity and development are very strong which I will try to connect with evidence from existing facts and already conducted researches in Pakistan and other similar states while it will also be referred to the nations with better Human development index to exemplify the difference created by presence and absence of the legal pluralism

In society like Pakistan identities pluralism also affects the education of girls. It's one of the bigger issues girls and women face in Pakistan due to gender based discrimination. A World Band Survey in 25 villages in Rural Pakistan (2001) revealed that the household education and

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children's schooling decision are much affected by the change in wealth status, increase in number of siblings and in all conditions girls suffer. If the household income decrease and they have to dropout children from schools, they decide to drop their girls out of schools and invest on male children. The concept of empowerment is buried at this early stage of girl's life and later in life they are influenced and dominated all through their age. They are kept uneducated and socialized to support their mothers for household work which also include a special task of serving family men.  UNESCO (2011) has given detailed statics on education referring to Federal bureau of statistics that the overall literacy rate is 46% but the only 26% of the girls are literate.

Women empowerment is very much closely linked to their economic participation and income independence. It is assumed that economically dependent women are more oppressed than those having better economic status and participation.  Marilyn Waring has presented an economic analysis in her book 'If women are counted-A new Feminist Economics' in 1990. In her book she has given detailed analysis of women economic participation which is evident to support the positive effects on economies and national growth with the increased women participation and recognition of women's economic contribution. Economic empowerment enables women to participate in public sphere and can lead to their involvement in decision making for themselves, their families, communities and society they live in. although, women in Pakistan do participate in labour force but their numbers and ratios are very low, they are limited to specific fields of study and professions. Because of being women they face biases and discrimination at their early age regarding education and training, they face mobility problems and harassment issues, if they are allowed to get education, their jobs and employment decisions are made by their family men and in case a women starts raising voice after having a better economic status, she is paralyzed by forcing her to leave job, restricting her mobility and social participation and increasing the household work burden.  Identity Pluralism is the root cause for such cruel practices for women because the being women is an insecurity and an object fragile and prone to risk in the cultural settings of a traditional social setting in especially the rural areas of Pakistan. The social actors, who perpetuate and reinforce these practices, justify their imposition with help of cultural values and norms, religious verdicts and wilful interpretations, and the national laws where needed. Ultimately it affects the rate of women empowerment process is much lower in Pakistan than

many other developing countries. This specific mind-set is the product of politicized cultural and religious and legal provisions which is used by male dominated social actor's networks to maintain control over the weaker social groups and women. In the analysis chapters I will discuss in details with evidence and facts from Pakistan, that how women are kept behind and even if they are selected at member national assembly, still they depend on men to work as a public representative.

# Chapter 2             Literature Review

## 2.1 Defining and Measuring of Women Empowerment

Many researchers and organizations have conducted Studies on Women Empowerment, Identity pluralism and legal Pluralism worldwide and in Pakistan as well. These researches take Women empowerment as a separate topic which is so broad and wider to study and write on it. It is not easy to find such researches which interlink the women identity and empowerment including the components of empowerment as decision making, mobility, access and control over resources and women participation in private and public affairs. The relationship I am trying to develop between identity pluralism and empowerment is a little complex and can be considered novel in Pakistan's context. Despite of limited availability of literature in this topic I have tried to find and include literature on identity pluralism, comparing it with legal pluralism, and women empowerment framework. The review of literature gives a conceptual understanding of the topic, an overview of the findings of survey based researches on women empowerment and the scholars definitions of relevant concepts and approaches, presentation, application and interpretation of theories on empowerment and identity pluralism as well as the state of women empowerment and clash of women multiple identities in Pakistani Society

United Nations definition of women empowerment reveals that it has five components, the women's sense of self-worth, and women's right to determine and have their own choices, women's right to have access to opportunities and resources, women's right to control their own lives both within and outside the home and their ability to influence the social change to create more just social and economic order, nationally and internationally. Indicators of women empowerment including decision making, participation, mobility are extracted from the legal documents and international agreements ratified by the UN member states. These include Convention of Elimination of all forms of Violence against Women (CEDAW), Beijing Platform of Action (BPA), and UN's Guidelines for women Empowerment[1] United Nation's 8 Agenda Points on women Empowerment[2] are the documents which have helped to develop this framework in use for measuring women empowerment. Empowerment is not limited to women,

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[1] file:///D:/M.%20phil/Shahid/UN%20literature/Guidelines%20on%20Women's%20Empowerment.html

it has a wider meaning and is used for a number of different marginalized groups in society. Various social domains. It is referred to social movements as well as provision of services to marginalized groups to enable them to raise their life standards. There is huge literature on empowerment, today can be found in knowledge banks. Important writings on empowerment can be traced from 1975; an article "toward the black political empowerment-can the system be transformed" and then it instigated a debate on empowerment. Gutierrez, Lorraine M (1990) has defined empowerment to be a process to increase personal, interpersonal or political power so that individuals can take actions to improve their life situations. The writers have also referred to the roots of empowerment in community organization, adult education techniques, feminist theory and political psychology. At macro level, empowerment is establishing collective political power and at micro level it is to develop personal feelings of increased power and control without an actual change in structural arrangement (Pernell 19885). Women empowerment is also linked to their different relations within families, with community and to the social institutions. Janet L. Surrey (1987) has written an article on the linkages of empowerment with relationships. The author has used the psychological motivational theories to analyses and constructs her argument focusing on women empowerment. Moghadam (1990) describes about women empowerment that refers to reducing gender inequalities, involving women in paid employment and women needs responsive public policies which positively influence women work and their lives. Rosalind E. Boyd (1988) has defined empowerment as a process by which people acquire real powers and command real resources within their locality, in other words the recognized power over material resources and recognized power institutionalized within the political structures. Empowerment constitutes an affirmation of confidence that once has the tools, mechanisms and resources to make decisions and capable of solving one's own problem. People have discussed empowerment and status of women in light of the religious education and guideline for living in balanced social system. Pakistan is a Muslim Majority country where people follow Islamic legal system to guide their lives however the state law has separate legal codes. The real Islamic Provisions of rights for citizens of an Islamic State prove that women has equal rights as of men including right to life, right to education and work, property and heritage and right to decide. Callaway B and Creevey L. (1994) has examined the Islamic systems of

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[2] West, L. A. (1999). The United Nations Women's Conferences and Feminist Politics. *Gender politics in global governance*, 177-93.

rights and empowerment of women in Africa, they have agreed to the claim that Islam has provided opportunities of empowerment for women but it's the local societal construction which hinder women and create discrimination and biases to avail of their right and gaining power to lead to empowerment.

## 2.2 Identity and Empowerment Linkages

Literature does not give more insight into the relationship of women empowerment and identity pluralism because in the current and past literature the studies on empowerment and identity pluralism have been kept in separate domains. Identity pluralism is the overlapping of, multiple identities though pluralism has a separate space in literature which denotes the existence of more than one legal system (Hochschild JL). The broader term of legal pluralism is here applied a creation of more than two identities under the influence of several legal systems. Merry (1988) argued that the concept of legal pluralism is traced in indigenous African villages and also applied to study the urban industrial states in America, Britain, France and other developed countries. It is common in many countries and has a primary importance in reconceptualization of laws and society relationship. She defines legal pluralism as when more than one legal system coexists it is called legal pluralism. Further she has explained that in a society, every functional subgroup has its own legal system. In traditional legal systems indication is towards the Folk Laws while the current legal system also includes the system of courts and maintaining law and order in the society by enforcing crime regulations and integration of various institutions in system.

Naila Kabeer (1999) has discussed empowerment in context of resource agency and achievement. She has defined empowerment is about the process of by which those who are deprived of the aptitude of making strategic life choices, acquire such an ability. In this paper she has further differentiated the procedural understanding of the process of empowerment from its instrumentalist concept of advocacy which needs measurement and through empirical evidences. Kabeer (1999) in her research has mentioned three dimensions which are interrelated include; resources, agency and achievements. Resources are not only limited to the access but also the human, material and social resources; agency included the process of decision making as well as less measurable manifestation of agency like negotiation, deception, and manipulation, while

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achievement is well being outcome of the previous two factors. In this research Naila Kabeer (1999) has also analyzed some other researches which attempt to measure women empowerment using different methodologies. She has generalized her augment that these three dimensions are individualistic in nature and can work more effectively to measure individualistic empowerment.

Sarah Mosedale (2004) has written on empowerment of poor people especially women with development perspective that it has become a prime goal of many development organizations. This research focuses more on the practical approaches to empowerment. To demonstrate and make a clear understanding of empowerment writer has also talked about power and linked it to empowerment with the a general style of practitioners to remove poverty and inequality by launching such interventions which provided access and choices to people for getting empowerment. The relevance of her research with my study is that it focuses more on women and the assessment methods analyzed in her research paper are using women related activities and reference points. This paper by Mosedale (2004) also reviews and analyzed a number of other books and publication which cover the different aspects of women empowerment and use a variety of methods for its measurements. These include; "women's empowerment as variable in international development", "making rights work for the poor: Nijera Kori and construction of collective capabilities in Bangladesh", "Man and reproductive health programs: influencing gender Norms" and some other publications on empowerment as well.

Andrea Cornwall and Deborah Eade has reviewed development discourse including many of the sub sector of development, including poverty reduction, social protection, citizenship, participation, taking the power out of empowerment-an experiential account and talking of gender: words and meanings in development organizations. It is a content analysis which counts key words used in development discourse which shows that in 1997 words like gender / women empowerment were prominently used in development discourse that means, during last two decades empowerment in literature as well as in practice, is more in focus than ever before.

Regina Scheyvens (1999) has measured empowerment using few indicators including for which used for general measurement of empowerment. Although this research proposes a general measurement framework for measuring empowerment of communities but that can also be

applied for using it to measure women empowerment. That's the reason I have included that article in my literature survey.

Patricia Hill Collins (2009) has demonstrated black feminist reflection of empowerment knowledge as a tool for getting power referring to African American women who portray themselves as strong agents of knowledge to create a self-define, self-reliant identity to face race, gender and class oppressions. This research speaks of the knowledge as an empowering agent for oppressed people especially the women. It also refers to social, political and economic institutional transformation and individual empowerment consciousness using knowledge as an agent of change and empowerment. Researcher has also described about the conceptual basis of class, race and gender dimensions of social structures and incorporation of consciousness resulted from the use of knowledge. Eurocentric masculine structures and different levels of dominance accompanying cultural settings and thoughts are also considered important debates to distinguish identities based on social class, race, color and gender.

Monique Deveaux (1994) has studies feminism and empowerment utilizing a critical review of the Foucault. It discusses the bio politics and transformation of political systems from sovereign or monarchial power settings to normalization as modern regulatory power structures. Author has divided the review in three waves also referred to the feminist scholars in first wave, who consider the offer of self-surveillance power in Panopticon Model of acquiring power for women to deal with patriarchal standards of femininity. In second wave literature, focus is on the theme of power and resistance. It has claimed that where there is power, there is resistance. Foucault model of agonistic power is discussed which helped feminist scholars to identify diverse sources of women's subordination and women's engagement in resistance in their daily lives. Third wave literature focuses upon sexual identities and regimes of power, the identity and difference, gender and sexual orientation. The author criticized feminist scholars who offer a single definition of empowerment and suggest to linkup the array of useful accounts in feminist literature to more clearly define empowerment.

## 2.3 Women Empowerment in Pakistan and Similar Countries

A Study of Microfinance in Bangladesh attempts to elaborate the role of microfinance in women empowerment by Syed M Haseem, Sidney Ruth Schuler and Ann P. Riley in 1996. This study

focuses on two financing institutions of Bangladesh, the Gramin Bank and Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, which provided rural women micro credit for empowerment considering eight prominent aspects of development and empowerment of women. Empowerment dimensions include; economic security, Mobility, ability to make small purchases can also be considered as economic decision making, ability to make large purchases, involvement in major decision making, and relative freedom from family domination, participation in Public protests and political and legal awareness. Although Gramin and BRAC has contributed to economic empowerment but they had corporate social approaches in their work. Institutional performance, sustainability, and management at one end and development of the women communities at the other end were targeted as consumers of the bank investment and the incorporation of empowerment and social development was marketing strategy of these Banks.

Shereen J. Jejeebhoy and Zeba A. Sathar (2001), has conducted a research on influence of religion on women's autonomy in India and Pakistan. They have discussed the local culture of south Asia and declared it diversely stratified based on gender differences, patrilineal descent, inheritance and succession practices which restrict women out of the domains of decisions making regarding family affairs and property. Levels of autonomy are different in India and Pakistan and further subdivisions also exist. The research show contradictory impacts of religion on women's autonomy in india and Pakistan. Authors have constructed two arguments which claim that women in Pakistan hold less power and autonomy and control over their lives and resources while the other arguments is based on the research conducted in India Shows, that India women under religion control, have more exposure to outer world that explains their higher level of autonomy, mobility, access and participation in societal maters. This research considers region as more influential than religion with examples from India and Pakistan's Muslim Women.

Malik S. & Courtney K. (2011) has researched the role of higher education and empowerment of women in Pakistan. It was a Post-Doctoral Research which utilized data collected from more than 1200 students from 10 universities and 290 members of faculty from these universities. Majority respondents highlighted that higher education gives women a prominent position in the family and makes independent economically. This research also mentions that higher education

empowers women in a way that to influence on a number of discriminatory practices exist in Pakistani Society.

Religion plays important role in setting identity and provision of opportunities for women's participation and to convert their status from oppressed to empower. Callaway B. & Creevey L. (1994) had conducted a research on women in Africa and Senegal. Nigeria was included as one of the largest populated Muslim country in Africa having more than 50 million Muslims and Senegal has a smaller Muslim population. Study has shown different impacts of Islam on both countries' women. Condition of women in Nigeria is explained as submission and exclusion of Muslim women is dramatic. While in Senegal women are not kept behind the veils nor are they excluded from public sector participation, farming and other activities. Women from Muslim Population have the influence but do not have the power to involve in decision making and to make their decisions as well. The research has also explored the interaction of the religion, culture and state laws and policies. Islam encourages women to get education and women in Senegal interact with men directly while it is culture which perpetuates and reinforces discriminatory practices and women oppression that limits women empowerment

## 2.4. Identity pluralism in Pakistan

Historically we learn that creation of Pakistan is based on the notion of Islamic ideology which has been influential throughout the history of Pakistan in one way or the other. Although its effects are not limited to women but also to minorities and other weaker groups in the country had been the victims occasionally. The phenomenon is known as religious politicization; however the originality of the religion does not all anyone to exploit others. Same as the case with women in Pakistan who got affected by the ms use of religion having different social status within the sub cultures in Pakistan. Sub culture here we mean the provincial and regional cultural differences among Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhawa. We find its example by understanding the happenings of honor killing which are named different in different parts of Pakistan. Wani, Swaraha, Watta Satta and Karokari are all forms of identity Based violence against women; committed due to unlawful male acts and as a compensation of revenge. A question arises, that why men of the involved families are being used as compensation? The answer points towards the gender based differences that women are considered the secondary

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human beings so that their importance is limited to provided love, care and nurturing services to their families, while men have to work, to decided and to make a social status and role. This is one form of identity in most of the rural Pakistan where people are likely less educated and culture dominates over state law and religion as well.

# Chapter 3    Research Methodology

## 3.1 Description of research problem

Identity pluralism and its relationship to women status in Pakistan is the basic focus of the research. The core of research lies in finding answers of the research questions presented in the first chapter, namely, how do multiple identities of women in Pakistani society affect their social status and level of empowerment? As described earlier in introduction part, the selection of this topic is linked to the happening of a violence incident with a Pakistani women and declaration of court decision against her. The need for such research emerged when I tried to find out about deep rooted social and cultural structures in Pakistan which led to the difference of status on the basis of different identities formed by their religious affiliations, ethnicity, political affiliations, and culture. I could not find many studies on the topic, conducted in Pakistan so I decided to conduct research on the basis of available studies and data in Pakistan to analyse the relationship between identity pluralism and status linked to empowerment of women by using women empowerment framework. Identity matters since the start of life to the end of life and even it matters for others after death. The importance of a clear identity lies in the lifetime practices, achievements and honour of an individual. A clear Identity is the one which puts women to follow a single legal system instead of confusing into multiple legal systems like culture religion and law. Identity is important for development at micro as well as macro level. The differences based on individual identity can lead to the macro level policy implications. (Huntington, 1993). Multiplication of identity and imposition of multiple legal frameworks affect the development and empowerment of women. Women empowerment development has its roots in history since the human had started settling in communities. (Brickson, S. 2000). Women economic opportunity index (2012) has ranked Pakistan at 24 of 26 countries of East and South Asia and Pacific region countries with its score 35.5/100 whereas Sri Lanka, India and Bangladesh are ahead to Pakistan and only two countries including Solomon Island and Papua have lower rank than Pakistan. This means that women economic participation is poor in Pakistan that must have the factors behind like the cultural barriers, lack of education and technical skills, and access to economic opportunities in a competitive male dominant market. A power struggle is moving

along the history between men and women to acquire control and distribute resources and wealth. The Engel's concept of origin of family and private property also refers to securing properties by men while women became a private property since they started domestication of wild animals and agriculture. Historically women have remained part of the development but as when and where needed by men they were used. During wars women played two important roles taking care of families and businesses and industries and the second role was serving the men and nursing. During war periods women used to be industrial workers but at the end of war they had to back home and the men replaced them. After 1945 formation of United Nation Organization where there were targets set for maintaining world peace and rehabilitation women and children were also the part again. After 1955 UNO included women as important target group for development. WID came into application around the world and Pakistan has also important developments in this regard. Over time women made progress during Ayoub Khan's Era, and then Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's period was also important when women economic participation increased and also started participation in politics and education. But it turned backward when PPP government superseded by Army and Zia ul Haq became the president of Pakistan. Among the apparent reasons, Zia started legislating according to the Islamic System and the holy Quran. [Arab Naz, et.al (2013)]. Hudood Ordinance is one of those legislations which proved cruel for women and it restricted women's mobility, public sphere activities, political and economic participation and most of all it made women weaker, rather unable to safe themselves from violence. It is evident from the fact that in 1982 there were about 50-60 women in Pakistani jails and this figure reached 5000 in 1987 due to women's inability to prove true in rape like case. The development declined again for women. Women kept on struggling during later two decades and achieved reasonable success in terms of legislation and improved education, economic and political participation. But the empowerment as inclusive of decision making and controlling properties is still a question. Pakistani society is majorly and Islamic society and the interpretation of women status in light of Islam in Pakistan is a debate. The Islamic scholarship does agree with the provision of right but not to the extent of an independent and autonomous level as feminist claim. Pakistan even the whole south Asian Region is rich with diversifies culture with a long history. This culture is rooted deep and leaves long lasting impacts on women's lives. Though culture keeps on changing ever hence bring transition and transformation in society (Jacobson, J. (2006)

## 3.2 Research Approaches, Design and Tools

Selection of research approaches, methods and design of research are key important elements of the whole research process. Generally three major research approaches are considered while planning and conducting a social science research. The Quantitative, Qualitative and Mixed method research. Qualitative and quantitative approaches should not be viewed as rigid, distinct categories, polar opposites, or dichotomies. Instead, they represent different ends on a continuum (Newman & Benz, 1998). The selection of appropriate research approach depends on the nature of research question to be answered. Whether that is constructed to be answered with empirical facts, data quantities, words or statements. The current study is follows qualitative research approach because the research question needs to be answered by statements, words, arguments and evidence from primary as well as secondary data that is taken from reports on women empowerment, statistics of violence against women and the most relevant researches conducted on women status in Pakistan. Qualitative research is an approach for exploring and accepting the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The process of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participant's setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data. The final written report has a flexible structure. Those who engage in this form of inquiry support a way of looking at research that honours an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation.

Under the umbrella of qualitative approach, there are further divisions of specific research designs which importantly include the Narrative Research, Phenomenology, Grounded Theory, Ethnographies and Case studies. This research takes on the narrative research approach as more specific with a transformative world-view. A Narrative research is a design of inquiry from the humanities in which the researcher studies the lives of individuals and asks one or more individuals to provide stories about their lives (Riesman, 2008). As my research also looks into the lives of women to explore barrier in reaching to an empowered status. The information is then often retold or restored by the researcher into a narrative chronology. Often, in the end, the narrative combines views from the participant's life with those of the researcher's life in a collaborative narrative (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). As mentioned the transformative world-

view is the starting point of this research due close linkages between its characteristics i.e. Political, Power and justice oriented, Collaborative, Change-oriented
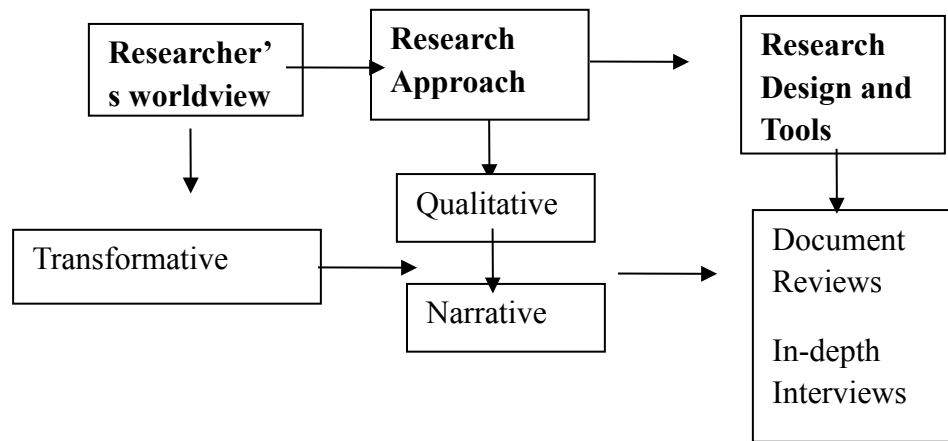
And the characteristics of women struggle to empowerment. A transformative world-view is summarized by Mertens (2010) "It places central importance on the study of lives and experiences of diverse groups that have traditionally been marginalized. Of special interest for these diverse groups is how their lives have been constrained by oppressors and the strategies that they use to resist, challenge, and subvert these constraints. In studying these diverse groups, the research focuses on inequities based on gender, race, ethnicity, disability, sexual orientation, and socio-economic class that result in asymmetric power relationships. The research in the transformative world-view links political and social action to these inequities. Transformative research uses a program theory of beliefs about how a program works and why the problems of oppression, domination, and power relationships exist.

In this research secondary data includes the historical documents of women development approaches all over the world, there relevance and responding policy frameworks in Pakistan's context, review of legislation and constitutional provisions in Pakistan, and review of the verses of Holy Quran which are specifically addressing women in an Islamic society. The mentioned overview of the study is not fixed and limited to the mentioned subjects but it may include more or the scope of modification for improvements is present.

While trying to understand the research methods I found a number of guidelines by different authors which give enough details for field research as well as library research on secondary data.it gives insight into the process of creating tools for data collection i.e. questionnaires, interview guides, focus group discussion guide. Though, my research is not fully based on first hand collected data from field but I have included in-depth interviews of 15 respondents from Pakistan with the help of a friend who interviewed respondents and transcript data for me. I have prepared a interview guide based on open ended questions which is used as guide for the interview. The data and facts except interviews, I have prepare to generate and construct the arguments and nexus between identity pluralism and development of women is considered primary due to its first time presentation in a particular logical arrangement. Johnson (1994) has

declared the selection and design of appropriate research method is a crucial element of the research process. The reason which forced me to select the document review as main research method, is that because it's difficult for me to travel to Pakistan and conduct extensive data collection. I have partially included primary data with the help of a friend who has the eligibility to conduct in-depth interviews and transcript data. I have applied qualitative data analysis techniques to extract finding from the transcribed interviews. These techniques include typologies, themes identification and selection of important quotes from respondent's answers.

Thus and overall research framework looks like

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┌─────────────┐        ┌─────────────┐        ┌─────────────┐
│ Researcher' │───────▶│ Research    │───────▶│ Research    │
│ s worldview │        │ Approach    │        │ Design and  │
│             │        │             │        │ Tools       │
└─────────────┘        └─────────────┘        └─────────────┘
       │                      │                      │
       ▼                      ▼                      ▼
┌─────────────┐        ┌─────────────┐        ┌─────────────┐
│Transformative│       │ Qualitative │        │ Document    │
│             │        └─────────────┘        │ Reviews     │
└─────────────┘              │                │             │
                      ┌─────────────┐         │ In-depth    │
                      │ Narrative   │────────▶│ Interviews  │
                      └─────────────┘         └─────────────┘
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## 3.4. Sample Selection

To find accurate and most relevant and valid information; sampling is important to be carried out carefully. I have use tow data sources i.e. Primary data collected through in-depth interviews and secondary data that I obtained from the exiting documents, it matters a lot that. I have used purposive sampling techniques to select the women for in-depth interview. While the criteria for selection of the documents was based on relevance of a document to the research question.  In this research by sampling I mean the relevance of existing documents on women empowerment and identity and data which have selected for analysis for answering the questions regarding status of women development in Pakistan. The framework for women empowerment has five important components which have been looked into in detail to clearly identify the women status and for each of the components minimum number of most relevant documents is 10-12 to be reviewed however it can increase if needed was suggested in proposed methodology but while constructing the answers the number increased and I included more reports and documents in

review list. Amendments in constitution regarding women empowerment and development and their policy reviews have been reviewed as well. The overall number of document exceeds 40 which are used to find evidence of and answers to the research questions.  These documents include the research articles on gender equality, gender based violence, gender based discrimination, women economic participation and status, women education literacy and social awareness, women participation in public and private domains, culture and religious influences on women life. Women development statistics and policies regarding empowering women through the history of development in Pakistan along with the regional and international commitments and treaties like Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against women (CEDAW), Beijing Platform of Action (BPA), ICPD and other related treaties. These are some of the basic themes which will help to find the literature for review and to build relationship.

The access to the documents utilized for answering the research questions, is made online. The online database of Aurat Publications Islamabad, Shirkat Gah, and a publications by Organizations working on women empowerment. The problem of access faced in some case where paid publications were found, that is helped by contacting the people in Pakistan who managed to provide soft copies of such publications. These publication, reports and policy documents helped to answer the research question by providing data as evidence of existence of multiple legal system, the weaker women identity, regional differences, and gender based discrimination, and most of all the dominance of patriarchal culture letting down the state laws while committing acts of violence against women.

Selection of respondents for in-depth interviews from Pakistan was a difficult task because I needed much relevant people who understand the questions easily and can provide valuable answers. Another problem also exist, people do not normally answer such research questions or provided wrong information unless they are convinced and their trust level is raised. Despite these challenges, I have to select respondents and collect information so I talked to a friend who understood what I wanted and ensured to find such cooperative target respondents who could seriously provide the real information. The friend selected 15 people conducted interviews and sent me the transcribed data. The selection of that particular friend is justified with her contribution as she has a background in Gender and women studies and is working as Field

research coordinator in centre of excellence in gender studies. She managed to conduct interviews with the women to help my research. The data she provided, claimed to be truth because she has a skill to win trust of the people whom she works or interacts for getting information due to her experience in conducting research using feminist research methods especially the rapport building and confidentiality aspects of the research. Some the questionnaire are transcribed in English while others are in Urdu. (The local language). I am also attaching the questionnaires as evidence to this research, which are transcribed in English.

### 3.4.1 Selection of critical Exemplary cases

Though there were too many cases of identity based violence against women but I have presented only one case as example in thesis which reflects the use of power and institutional incapability to proceed the case for offering justice to victim. This case is of the importance because it was much highlighted by print and electronic media and lasted for almost ten years. During the course of this case ups and downs were seen and finally it ended with partial decision that seems to be influenced by powerful groups though a person got life time imprisonment but other 13 have been released.

### 3.5. Analysis: Constructing Answers to Research Questions based on Evidence from Existing Documents

Status of women in Pakistan remained the centre of analysis. All the aspect of study, I mentioned above revolve around women's status with respect to religion, constitutional provision, education, development and economic, political participation and decision making for herself, for family and for communal and societal matters.

Though status of women will be identified through this qualitative analysis but the indicators and variable have been extracted from the women empowerment framework as mentioned earlier. The five components of women empowerment framework have been divided into further components so that it could be made more convenient to analyse and find data for relevant division of each of the components.

### 3.5. Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis-Using In-depth Interviews

When I started writing this thesis, I had confidence in finding answers from the published reports, articles and previous research studies but soon I realized that some aspects of the Pakistan women's status are not addressed in research which is locally available. It forced me to included opinions of women on the subjective experiences of women in Pakistan. It was not possible for me to travel to Pakistan for conducting such interviews. I decided to take help from my friends and other known people in Pakistan and designed a brief interview guide containing ten open ended questions. I found a friend who helped me in getting these interviews completed and sending me through email. A total of 15 women from different universities in Islamabad and other areas were interviewed who provided information on their own experiences. I used that information to discuss the cultural religious and being citizens of Pakistan identity of women.

### 3.6. Research Ethics

I have considered it important to ensure taking care of research ethics while completing my thesis. The data I have used is not manipulated and proper referencing is provided. I have avoided offensive words as much as possible for any individual or group I have discussed. Names of the respondents who were interviewed in Pakistan are not shown in research to maintain confidentiality while they were interviewed with consent. The selected friend has completed master degree in Gender Studies and has read the research proposal before confirmation of helping in data collection and also aware of the process of conduction of qualitative research, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and building rapport with the respondents.

### 3.7. Data Organization and Presentation –The Write Up of thesis

Data organising and write up is one of the most important parts of the research. It is also important because the whole rigorous process of research results in an output in shape of final thesis document. If all stages are completed with appropriate effort and quality of work but its writing doesn't reflect the true essence of the research, it was a challenge to make a nice presentation of finding in well organized and clear way but I have tried to organize in a simple way that can easily answer the research questions and readers can find it convenient to

understand the sequence and interlink of chapters. The women selected for interviews has an age limit between 18-40, the reason to select this age group is to have easy interaction and they can easily talk to the interviewer. As well as their current and past experiences with the last t 40 years have dynamic changes regarding women issues and laws regarding family and state interventions.

# Chapter 4　　　　　　Theoretical Framework

## 4.1. Conceptual Framework and Theoretical Base

Women empowerment and development in theories are based on evolution of (Osmond, M. W., & Thorne, B. 1993.) Feminist theories of development as well as mainstream development debate. They include the feminist conceptualization of women empowerment and identify gaps in women development. The point of difference exists at the level of understanding of women cultural oppressions and gender based discriminations. Feminist claim of women empowerment does not only emphasize the award of development rights and opportunities but also they link the recognition of oppression to gain consciousness and struggling against the unwanted cultural and legal binding at household and community level. However, the definition of empowerment is not clearly defined in that way which is acceptable for all but is does not mean that it is not defined at all. There are definitions with rang of high and low acceptance and agreements. The concept empowerment refers to the ability to decision making which is much agreed understanding of women empowerment. Generally, this starts of definition has also a broader understanding which can be further divided into contextual meanings and definitions i.e. individual and collective decision making, private and public domains decision making, economic social decision making and so on. It is associated with disempowerment in a way that, it refers to the people who are denied to make choices and they get this ability by any means, any struggle, any sacrifice or else will be more closer to the condition declared as empowerment. So there exists a built in relativity in the term empowerment. Gaining the ability to make choices that refers to a process of change over time with objectives to remove oppressions, makes empowerment a process that doesn't happen and achieve suddenly. People with great power exercise cannot be called empowered though they are powerful. This is because the definition of empowerment given here refers to achieve empowerment from a disempowered status but the powerful people who were never disempowered cannot be counted under this definition. There is a logical association between poverty and empowerment. One obvious linkage is the lack of sufficient income which hinders the participation of poor in decision making and it also limits the alternatives to make choices. A variety of empowerment definitions found in literature with its linkages to various social,

economic, political and cultural dynamics. It is also linked to inequality and discrimination based on social and economic classes, gender, race and ethnicity, nationality and religious affiliations. Amartya Sen has linked it with freedom of expressing power and choices that adds to capability of an individual. The official definition of women empowerment in Pakistan is extracted from number of definitions exists in academic literature and publications of organizations and institutes working on poverty reduction, gender and development and human rights. This definition includes Women's sense of self-worth, their right to have and to determine choices, their right to have access to opportunities and resources, their right to have the power to control their own lives, both within and outside the home, Their ability to influence the direction of social change to create a more just social and economic order, nationally and internationally.

It is a necessity to understand the issues of women which are either because of disempowerment or they are hurdle in empowerment of women. Generally there are so many issues and cannot be included in a single research, but particularly enlisting Pakistan's issues we dived them into social issues, Health Issues, Economic Issues, and Legal Issues. It is a broader classification which is based on a long list of subdivision of these categories. Establishing linkages between empowerment, development and identity pluralism needs to dig deep into the literature through a rigorous process of finding definitions of these issues and developing and matching with the context of women in Pakistan.

## 4.2. Women Empowerment Framework

Based on the extraction of internationally recognized and ratified documents including Convention on Elimination of All forms of discrimination against women, Indicators of women empowerment including decision making, participation, mobility are extracted from the legal documents and international agreements ratified by the UN member states. These also include Beijing Platform of Action (BPA), and UN's Guidelines for women Empowerment[3] United Nation's 8 Agenda Points on women Empowerment[4] are the documents which have helped to develop this framework in use for measuring women empowermentWomen empowerment

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[3] file:///D:/M.%20phil/Shahid/UN%20literature/Guidelines%20on%20Women's%20Empowerment.html

[4] West, L. A. (1999). The United Nations Women's Conferences and Feminist Politics. *Gender politics in global governance*, 177-93.

framework will be used as basic analytical tool for this research. Women empowerment framework includes

1. *Welfare*, meaning improvement in socioeconomic status, such as income, better nutrition, etc. This level produces nothing to empower women.

2. *Access*, meaning increased access to resources. This is the first step in empowerment as women increase their access relative to men.

3. *Conscientisation*, involving the recognition of structural forces that disadvantage and discriminate against women coupled with the collective aim to address these discriminations.

4. *Mobilization*, implementing actions related to the *Conscientisation* of women.

5. *Control*, involving the level of access reached and control of resources that have shifted as a result of collective claim making and action.

This framework is applicable for primary and secondary data to find out the status of women in a particular society. It is different in primary and secondary research regarding data set for the analysis. However the current research is based on secondary data which will be challenging to find the relevant and valid data from researches in Pakistan and in other countries similar to the situation of Pakistan.

## 4.3. Operational Definitions

### 4.3.1 Gender

Oxford English dictionary has defined gender as the state of being male or female (typically used with reference to social and cultural differences rather than biological ones) "traditional concepts of gender the members of one or other sex and the differences between the genders are encouraged from an early age. The origin of this word is gives Late Middle English from Old French gender (modern genre), based on Latin genus 'birth, family, nation'. The earliest meanings were 'kind, sort, genus' and 'type or class of noun, etc.' (which was also a sense of Latin genus).

World Health Organization defines (Seedat, S., Scott, K. M., Angermeyer, M. C., Berglund, P., Bromet, E. J., Brugha, T. S., ... & Kessler, R. C. 2009), Gender refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women. To put it another way Male and female are sex categories, while masculine and feminine are gender categories. There are many other definitions of gender exist also.

### 4.3.2 Women Empowerment

Dictionary definition of empowerment is to make (someone) stronger and more confident, especially in controlling their life and claiming their rights and to Give (someone) the authority or power to do something. UNDP defines empowerment as That woman have a real voice in all governance institutions, from the judiciary to the civil service, as well as in the private sector and civil society, so they can participate equally with men in public dialogue and decision-making and influence the decisions that will determine the future of their families and countries. While scholarly definitions of empowerment include the acquisition of power to make economic decision, choices, related to economic and social lives in private and public spheres. Empowerment is considered an achievement of the improved status through a continuous long term or short term struggle. When women are associated with such a status and struggle based achievement the process is known as women empowerment.

### 4.3.3 Development

Development is an integrated multidimensional term. Neutrally it can be understood as any change that adds something in constructive manner. Development has many dimensions based on varying contexts i.e. individual development, collective or group development society or community development. In different subjective contexts it can be social development, economic development, political and legal development. The relevance of development in relation to this research is social and economic development of women, which is based on the indicator of improvement as access and control on resources, free mobility, participation in decision making, and without discrimination.

### 4.3.4 Gender Based Violence

Any act of violence that is caused and committed on the basis of gender i.e. male violence against women and children due the consideration of weaker gender identity. It also includes institutional gender violence referring to the creation of such legal and cultural value system which allows men to dominate and exploit women.

### 4.4. The Utilization of Theories in my Research

Feminism has a history which reveals that the word feminism was first used in late nineteenth century by Marry Wollstonecraft who wrote the book on vindication of women rights. Early feminism focused on women suffrage rights and their inclusion in political system but with the evolution of feminism it expanded into diverse theoretical and social debates and movements. The liberal feminism, radical feminism, socialist and Marxist feminism are some of the many brands of feminism today. There are theories referring to feminism that claim to transform the women oppression, removal of the discrimination, promotion of equality and to improve the status of women. Feminist theories of patriarchy, the cultural feminism and the social class system are used in general to analyse data to construct answer to research question while more emphasis laid on the theory of Hegemonic Masculinity.

*Hegemonic Masculinity* is one of the theories that is much relevant to the construction of the research question. Though I have already explained the women empowerments framework that is developed by taking indicators of the women empowerment. Hegemonic Masculinity is a theory by R. W. Connell. The concept of hegemonic masculinity was first proposed in reports from a field study of social inequality in Australian high schools (Kessler et al. 1982); in a related conceptual discussion of the making of masculinities and the experience of men's bodies (Connell 1983); and in a debate over the role of men in Australian labour politics (Connell 1982). The concept of hegemonic masculinity articulated by Connell (1982) and the research groups, she has been associated with in Australia. The most important and basic sources of origin were the feminist theories for synthesizing hegemonic masculinity theory by taking into account the role of men, the debate over patriarchy (Goode 1982; Snodgrass 1977). The Gramscian term "hegemony" was current at the time in attempts to understand the stabilization of class relations (Connell 1977).

Hegemonic Masculinity was understood as an established set of practices that allow men's dominance over women to continue the oppression of women and maintaining a subordinated identity of women. It is distinguished from other masculinities in statistical sense. All men do not involved and enact this kind of masculinity but all other men have to position themselves according to the norms of hegemonic masculinity. So as a result a system of hegemonic masculinity develops into culture that discriminates the women identity and maintains their subordinated position. Hegemonic Masculinity works in variety of social domains ranging from micro level familial matters to macro level societal affairs so its application can elaborate the phenomenon of multiple identity as barrier to women empowerment. As the concept of multiple masculinity resides inside the broader concept of hegemonic masculinity. The multiple masculinity encompasses various shapes of men's roles opposing women empowerment by defining multiple identities for women. The overall shape of the framework looks like the following.
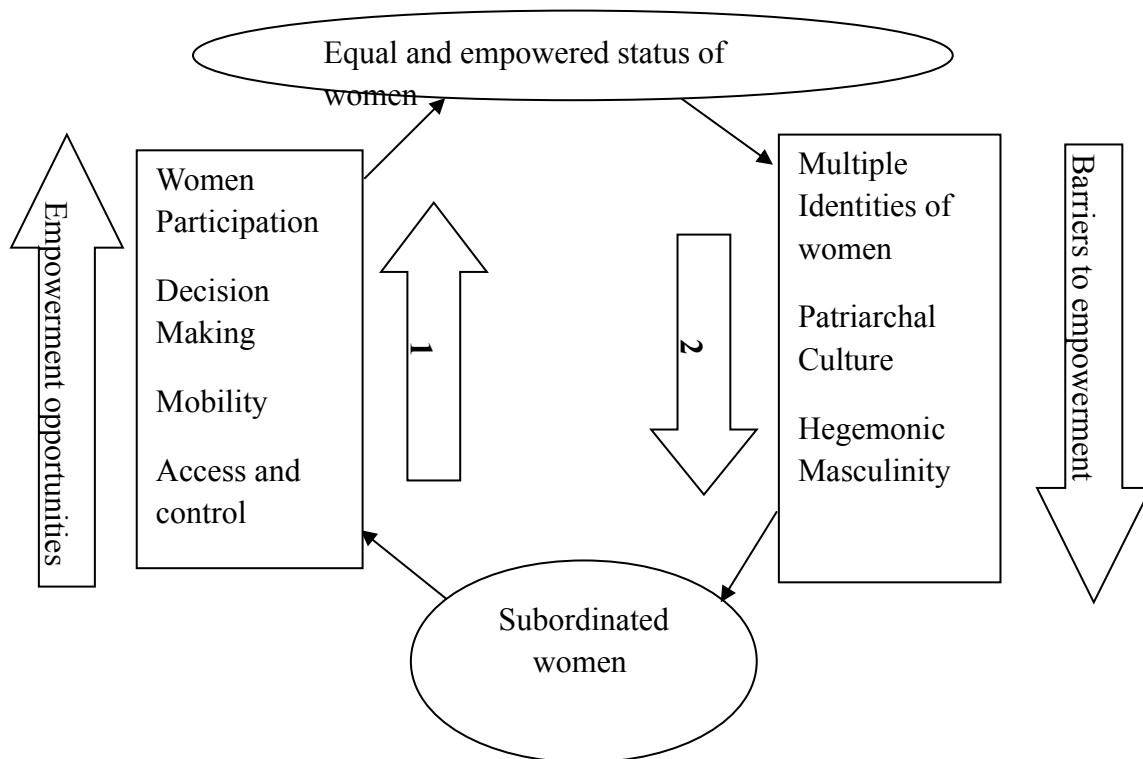
Fig: 2: The overall Picture of the Research framework

**Arrow 1:** Directs towards equal and empowered status of women that is possible when women have the participation in public private sphere, economic activity, decision making, mobility and access and control over resources.

**Arrow 2:** Directs towards the subordinated position of women due to the problems of multiple identifies, Patriarchal Culture and Hegemonic Masculinities.

The Model Explains the opportunities leading to the equal and empowered status while in case of removal of these opportunities / replacement of the opportunities with barriers in shape of patriarchal culture multiple identities and hegemonic masculinity; it leads to lowered disadvantaged status of women that we name as subordinated status.

Existence of the barriers to women status in Pakistan is evident from the data presented in following chapters. That includes the dominance of local cultures, declaring women as weaker identity, removal of women from decision making restrictions on their mobility and access and

maintaining the hegemonic masculinity to socialize women without violence to act obediently to support, serve care for men.

# Chapter 5: Women Decision Making and Participation in Pakistan

This chapter is based on mixed data compiled from the available historical documents as well as from the interviews conducted with 15 respondents. This chapters tells about the processes and situations exist in Pakistan regarding women's decision making and their participation in public and private matters at different levels i.e. family community and society. It also explains the patterns of socialization of boys and girls to construct their gender identities as men and women.

## 5.1. Decision Making and Participation at Family Level-Construction of identities of boys and girls

Identity construction is based on the socialization of boys and girls at early ages in Pakistan by keeping in view the existing local cultural patterns. This socialization is dictated by the male head of household and carried out by mothers through a process of care and love. Suppression of female identity starts at the birth when a difference is maintained by celebrating at male baby's birth more than a female baby's birth. This culture is maintained by the close relatives and families of friends who come and celebrate exchanges gifts and pray for long and happy life of the male child. There is no such celebration occur on a female baby's birth even it is avoided to disseminate to more people that a daughter is born. With birth of 2-3 daughters and having no male child a family seeks sympathies and people do not consider the couple having children because it is considered that daughters have to marry to male in other families and the couple has no son to continue family lineage and take care of the property. This is the start of creation of discrimination at birth due to the identity. At the early age up to 5-10 years, boys and girls are allowed to play together but in the process of socialization differences are maintained by allowing boys to take care of family girls when they go out to play in the streets or even go to school. It is important to note that this responsibility of boys is given because of the consideration of girls as weaker to inject in their minds to stay one step behind, follow the boy's orders and directions and to train them being subordinate to male family members through their lives. Pakistan has a population of 25-30% living in urban areas and its growing with the passage of time and with the growth and expansion of urbanization. So the people living in urban areas

come from different rural origins and the difference of identities are maintained more in rural areas and the first and second generation in urban areas[5].

Following the stage of discrimination at birth, the second major difference is maintained in educating the children and sending them to schools. Boys education is culturally a preference with a view that boys grow into men and take care of the families, they participate in a number of social activities with father to get known, understand and get trained for the future when he has to lead and make all the decisions. Most important decisions in the family are related to education, economics and choices in personal lives of men and women. Though there is no big difference of enrolment at primary level between boys and girls but the decision is made by father on the basis of economic affordability. If the sufficient economic resources are available boys and girls are equally send to primary schools but in case if the family has limited resources to invest in children education, boys are proffered to send to primary school. The difference increase with the increasing level of education and most probably boys and girls are separated to different schools after the completion of primary education. At this stage number of girls reduces because many people do not send their daughters to middle and high school and involve girls in domestic work, helping mother and also getting training for serving in in-laws house after marriage. It further differentiated at college and university level due to the preference of investing on male education and the family financer are men so they decide to invest more on sons and may send to college and university. Decision of stopping girl's education is also linked to family honour and mobility issues which I will cover in the later chapter on mobility however female are considered as symbols of respect and honour which needs to keep secure at home. This conception leads to restriction on women and avoiding public sphere participation. [(Hill, M. A., & King, E. (1995)].

A respondent S. M. shared that "W/Girls are most clearly and evidently excluded from decision making at all levels. They have no say or opinion pertaining to the most vital decisions of their lives, let alone holding authority. However, there has lately been observed a slight change in the discourse of women's' authority and participation in decision making. We see enhanced women

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[5] Eccles, J. S. (1994). Understanding women's educational and occupational choices. *Psychology of women quarterly*, *18*(4), 585-609.

representation in legislative bodies, academia and state governance (Interior ministry for instance), but defence and commercial sector still lacks gender balance or women representation".

### 5.1.1. Types of Women's roles in a family

In a family unit a female can be a grandmother, mother, daughter, sister, granddaughter and daughter in law. These differences are primarily based on the status of relationship to head of the family but each of these has a different identity responsible for setting up the status of that particular position of female in the family. A grand mother is the senior member of family and traditionally it is considered the custodian of family values and responsible to guide family for maintain traditional family values and culture. [MASOOD KADIR, M. U. H. A. M. M. A. D., Fikree, F. F., Khan, A., & Sajan, F. (2003

**Mother:** A young mother in the family gets respect but is responsible for caring and nurturing her children also to take care of all family members. She has to obey all the elders in the family in any right or wrong action, activity and decisions. She has fewer options to make choice and has been already socialized to follow the husband and family values. In a way it seems good to maintain family value but the values are not always based on the rights given to women by Law, and religion however it is culturally decided that what choices to be given to young mothers. In case if educated lady the decision of employment is made by the male head of the family whether that is the husband or father in law. The elder mother has a little different status and identity, when she has children and grown up and has played a role to establish her family for many years, she has been given a better status and in some case she starts participating in decision at a limited scale. These include the marriages of sons and daughter, their social roles and participation however the final decision is taken by family males. The elder mother is responsible for internalizing the patriarchal values into children to maintain the culture and mind set of male domination by training daughter to be like serving mothers and sons to be like earning fathers. Deviation from the said roles leads to punishments by husband and even other male family members with a variety of forms of violence. A range of violence from taunting to killing includes battering, slapping, acid throwing, teasing and even in some cases murder by stove burns. All these tactics are culturally adjusted while the state law and religion doesn't allow such brutalities.

**Daughter:** Birth of daughter in a family is not celebrated as much as does the son's birth and discrimination starts at the time of birth. Though, in some families where they already have sons in majority and family is well educated. A daughter is treated as a liability which is to marry in another family and families invest less on the daughters. Daughter are send to schools in where schools available mostly but for primary education. With the increasing level of education number of female students decreases and only rarely girls are sent to higher education and it is done in urban areas.

**Sister:** Young age sisters are cared with a notion to protect them and make them good for serving their brothers, parents and their in-laws after marriage. Their education is supported in good educated families in urban areas while in rural areas it is same described above in daughter's section.

**Daughter in law:** A daughter in law is supposed to be the daughter of one spouse from another marriage. The status of daughter is law is a bit different from a daughter. If the real father is head of the family, daughter in law has a better status but if she comes with mother after remarriage, her status is not equal to the daughter having both parents.

**Step Daughter:** two types of step daughter exist the maternal step daughter and fraternal step daughter. Fraternal is the part of the basic family who live with and maternal granddaughter is also cared though has another family of her parents. Sometime in case of absence of her father by death or divorce she might live with the grandparents and has less rights and status than the fraternal step daughter.

### 5.1.2. Decision Making and Participation at community Level

Respondent's data reveals that, women participation is low and neglected, quoting the respondents "If we take Pakistani society in general, seldom we find women in most powerful positions. At a perspective when we observe the family structure, we find that despite all the modernity, enlightenment we have seen in the past few years due to education and exposure to outside world, women still face discriminations, their opinions are not valued, they are treated as secondary members of the family whose job is to mop, clean, cook, feed and raise children. In most cases they are dependent on their male counterpart for making decisions on their behalf; even they sometimes do not possess any authority over their children. They have to get

permission before accessing basic human rights, like education, health, mobility etc. If women succeed in getting economic empowerment, then they get a level of participation in decision makings, their opinion is valued to an extent within the family.

Women have to strive even harder to prove their worth in community. Acceptance level is very low among community members to see women in leadership roles, after much struggle, selfless hard work and dedication helps women in making a place for themselves. If women are from an influential family people hear them out and respect their decisions, but educated and poor ones have to go miles to prove themselves. On national level women who are from rich, feudal families and powerful political parties get the opportunity to represent women of Pakistan; women from a middle class or poor background hardly get the chance. Even after getting chosen for women representation, these influential women find it not easy to make a decision of their own or raise an issue of social interest without party's consideration. Decisions are generally taken by the male patriarch of the party. Women ministers have succeeded in getting some women friendly laws passed but they are helpless in ensuring their implementation, so the situation is bleak.

"Pakistan is a multicultural country having a variety of culture on regional, ethnic and age, religious affiliation, education and employment basis. Community structure is formed on traditions prevailing since long in particular regions. Cultural assimilation is also observable but mostly in urbanized metropolitan areas and on very small scale it can be seen in rural areas. Although, there are a number of social structure patterns of communities but important structure which are more linked to the objective of this research are discussed here. In Punjab, three most important structure on regional and language basis include the so claimed original Punjabis also called traditional Punjabi community. This community has a hierarchical structure led by land lords and local businessman. In this kind of community women status is considered secondary to men due to their gender identity. In matters of education and employment women are given some opportunities where it is economically affordable after male member of the families while in matters like property ownership, decision making, financing and decision making women have no choices. The other kind of communities in Punjab includes the aboriginal Punjab who are migrants from Indian Punjab, Kashmir and other parts of Pakistan. Their structure is also male dominant and women of these communities are likely to face similar problems due to their

gender identity. Punjab also includes a Saraiki belt consist of many districts which are stricter to women and gender discrimination is more prevalent in these districts. Veiling of women is a cultural norm and resistance to it is considered the violation of one important and strong cultural code of living which punished and women are banned to go out. In cities of the Punjab where literacy rate is high and more economic activities exist, community structure is based on property, income and education. It is a little improved one for women because they may have opportunities in education and employment more than the rural areas while their gender identity also hinders them to participate in decision making at community level. Politically, these communities are rigidly traditional and alliances work to cash individual votes. Women voters are dependent on their male decision makers. They vote in accordance with the male affiliation with the political parties and candidates because they are forced to either vote by male's choice or avoid to go for voting. Ms. R shared that Yes. Women are given fewer employment opportunities. Hardly any women hold managerial positions. Women are denied of their ownership rights, right to property etc.

In other province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, community structure is different from Punjab. There are less differences among the social casts and classes. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has a Jirga system and in some parts of the province, elder women may participate in Jirga but only when women matters are on agenda. Female education is encouraged in urban areas though it exists in rural areas but on limited scale within controlled environment while in some areas it is banned. Regarding women identity Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is particularly important because the women are so restricted and veiled that they cannot move out unveiled and if it happens they punish them brutally and punishment can also be the killing. This is the phenomenon of honour killing which is decided by Jirga and once it is done through a cultural law, no state law can challenge this decision and event. Women political participation is not encouraged and in most parts of the province women are not allowed to go out for voting or they vote as per the say of males. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has a strong cultural code of living which dominates over the state law and religion as well.

In Sindh province, community has a low literacy rate and the phenomenon of feudal lords is more prevalent. Sindh community also exploits women because of their identity whether it's a female from an upper class or lower their participation and decision making is dependent on

family men and the local lords. A very cruel occurrence is the forced conversion of Hindu women to Islam and marrying them because the local culture doesn't allow Hindu Muslim Marriages. Young male Muslims who fall in love with the Hindu girls, do not have the choice to marry and they find this trick to manipulate those girls to seek cultural approvals by forcing them to convert them to Islam. Such incidents are rarely highlighted and prosecuted but at the end it results in victimizing the women either by divorce or even by murder of the couple.

Baluchistan is another province which has more sever cultural bindings for women in their community, there is no question of women to come out and participate in public affairs though in families who have shifted to other areas of Punjab, Sind and Federal Capital this has been observed changing gradually. Baluchistan has less population than other provinces but more poverty and illiteracy which means the existence of more gender based discrimination and violence.

Description of a variety of community structure sets basis for analysing the existence of multiple identities which are formed by regional differences and legal pluralism. It refers to existence of a number of women identities which hinder them to participate in social, economic and political affairs of their communities and result in lowered empowerment status of these women. The most common of all the regional communities is existence of patriarchy, less political participation, veiling of women, and considering women as a reproductive gender instead of an equally importance human being. Except the regional identities where culture is much stronger that religion and state law, there exist the regions communities in different parts of Pakistan. These communities have religious ideologies to set up their living standards and norms. But women must have to take care of the religious values as they are socialized to wear veils as symbol of belonging to a religious family. They have a difference of participation than cultural communities. Women belonging to these religious ideologues have opportunities to organize and participate in decision making but within the specified domains as restricted by their ideological leaders. No women can be the supreme leader or head of such groups, however some of the women may have leadership within women's circles of such communities but excluded from the mainstream communities. World Data 2014 reveals that male to female ratio of the students who complete their primary education in Pakistan is 72:66 that means the gap is little at primary level which increases at higher level of education due to the limits of opportunities for girl's education.

## 5.3. Decision Making and Participation at National Level

### 5.3.1. History of Women Empowerment at a Glance

National Policies for women empowerment in Pakistan are formed during different phases of history of Pakistan. Since 1947 august with the birth of Pakistan, women role in national affairs has been incorporated by laws at national and community level. However it happened to fill the legislative requirement but its execution and practical implementation is not same as planned and legalized. In fact the cultural and regional identities of women at grass root level once again hindered the women's inclusion into national level decision making and political participation[6]. It begins with the efforts made by Sir Syed Ahmad khan during Pakistan Movement, to educate women and give them opportunities for education, employment and participation. Mohammad Ali Jinnah the known founder of Pakistan had an optimist and supportive view about women inclusion and development while after patrician in 1947 Fatimah Jinnah kept it live to speak for women. Before patrician Muslim women in this part of Sub-continent we call it Pakistan today. Had a tendency to vote for Muslim league a representative political for Muslims of united India. At national level, Pakistan women were given suffrage in 1947 with the creation of Pakistan which means, women identity as a citizen of Pakistan has the right to participate politically by voting and expressing themselves. This right was reaffirmed in interim constitution of Pakistan 1956. Women were allotted a 10% quota in national assembly and 5% in Provincial Assemble during Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's democratic regime in 1970-77 while except this quota women could contest in general elections as well. In 1973 first constitution of Pakistan was formed that guarantees gender equality for women in all aspects for first time in Pakistan. The constitution quotes that "there shall be no discrimination on the basis of gender"[7]. This legal provision creates an equal status women identity in Pakistan in contrast to the cultural and previous laws which failed to acknowledge women as an equal citizen and human being to the men. Later in Zia ul Haq's government more steps were taken for annexation of women and their empowerment. It comprises on establishment of women's division in cabinet secretariat in federal government; the appointment of commission on the status of women. In sixth development plan of Pakistan; a

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[6] Singh, Sudhir Kumar. *Human rights in Pakistan*. Pentagon Press, 2007.

[7] Reyes, S. L. (2002). Quotas for women for legislative seats at the local level in Pakistan. *Perempuan di Parlemen: Bukan Sekedar Jumlah*.

chapter on women and development was included, twenty women were included in Majlis-e-Shura and in 1985 women quota was doubled than earlier from 10 to 20% in national assembly. However, in the same era a process of Islamization was initiated which had more severe implications for women including family laws, laws regarding rape, honour killing, women property ownership and imposition of veils on women. These laws were discriminatory and formed through a process of politicisation of religion by male dominant mind-set. It became a contradiction of women within the state laws because at one hand the provision of equal citizenship status and on the other hand imposition of veiling system and harder laws in Hudood ordinance 1979 which make women subordinate and less empowered to get benefits from legal rights. This era followed by the Government of Benazir Bhutto the first prime minster who was female in the history of Pakistan and in all Islamic countries. She was the daughter of ex-prime minister Pakistan Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto a family of Sindhi feudal/land lords. She was much concerned about the women empowerment and development and recognized women's social and economic problems at grass root level regarding health education, employment and discrimination against women. Her interventions for women include the establishment of women police stations and courts, women banks. She promised to repeal the controversial Hudood Laws but this could not be done in both of her terms of government. IN 1997 Nawaz Sharif became the prime minister of Pakistan and proposed amendments in constitution to make laws more Islamic and stronger which were opposed by women and human groups but got approved in the lower house. Another important Strategic document formed in his era was the creation of Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper in which includes women as beneficiaries of the development programs but that had no gender framework[8]. Nawaz Government overruled by Army General Pervez Musharraf in 1999. Though it is considered a dictators regime but is richer in making policies and legislation regarding women empowerment and rights. The establishment of women development Ministry in 2004, release of 1300 women prisoners from jails and Passing women protection bill in 2006 and approving 10 quota reserved for women in central superior services of Pakistan are some of the important steps taken.[9] National policy for development and empowerment of women, establishment of gender cells in federal ministries, gender reforms

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[8] Ahmad, A. (1978). Democracy and dictatorship in Pakistan. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, *8*(4), 477-512.

[9] Harcourt, W., & Escobar, A. (Eds.). (2005). *Women and the Politics of Place*. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press.

actions plan are some of other important efforts of his era for women. Later in Asif Ali Zardari's period from 2008-13, there are important legislations for women at national and provincial level. This regime is the best of all previous because it includes the adoption of women protection from harassment at workplace; criminal law amendment act 2010, acid control and acid crime act and legislation against anti women practices. Formation of national commission for human rights for overall looking after the human rights situation; the women in distress and detention fund act 2012 was promulgated and promoted for women's financial and legal support. Moreover, government established 26 centres for immediate relief and shelters for women victims of violence in different districts of Pakistan. Today Pakistan is ruled Nawaz Sharif who belongs to Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN) a strong political party in Pakistan. This government has completed one and half year and has the same patterns of women development continued from past. No important new legislation or women oriented polices is formed or enacted during this period.

The brief picture of the national legal provision for women in Pakistan over time depict that the national identity of women has improved and quite better than the cultural identity. Women were given political rights in 1947, 1956, and 1973 which confirms that the execution and implementation of national laws could help women stand equal to men in Pakistan but the reality is; the cultural and religious identity is manipulated by patriarchy to maintain dominance over women, pushing them at the back and continuing the victimization using cultural and religious laws. Recent legislations and efforts to improve women's participation at national and provincial governance are not only the government's efforts but it is also helped by a number of international commitments, treaties and funding from various sources to improve governance structures in Pakistan. Much research is being conducted on good government and women participation in politics and local government systems in Pakistan. This is also the result of a long lasting struggle of women rights organizations and activist in Pakistan who want to improve women's social, political and economic status by removing identity differences and bringing them into mainstream affairs[10].

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[10] Schuler, M. (1992). Freedom from violence: women's strategies from around the world. *Freedom from violence: women's strategies from around the world*. Esposito, J. L. (2001). *Women in Muslim family law*. Syracuse University Press.

The current status of women participation in local government is compared with other south Asian countries as

| S. No. | Country | Percentage of Women in local Government | Percentage of women in central government |
|--------|---------|----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| 1 | India | 33.3 | 7.9 |
| 2 | Sri Lanka | 2 | 5.3 |
| 3 | Pakistan | 33 | 2.9 |
| 4 | Bangladesh | 33.3 | 11.2 |
| 5 | Nepal | 24.1 | 7.9 |

Bangladesh has the highest quota of women reserved seats while Pakistan is second highest in local government and lowest in the central government quota. The first and second component of women empowerment framework i.e. decision making and participation, as seen in the data and researched documents discloses that women due to their gender identity, regional and ethnic identity and being equal citizen under the state law; has a variety of different status. The women under the influence of local cultural law and religious law has limitations in opportunities to participate and make decision in public and private family matters however it is differently better with the application of national constitutional rights. Among the three co-existing legal system the creation of multiple identities of women is interruption in availing of opportunities for development and empowerment as do the men. The main reason that appears the most is prevalence of patriarchy, a male dominant traditional mind set which intends to maintain their control over women at all levels and also fears due to shift of powers to women in case of increased status and empowerment of women. Culturally, it is the strongest, then comes the religion that is misinterpreted and books like Behshti Zever[11] are used to internalize women as

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[11] Farooq, M. (2013). Disciplining the Feminism: Girls' Madrasa Education in Pakistan. *The Historian*, 3, 2.

obedient creatures to men.[12] At national level, though women has increased in number but delegation of power is still as low as it does not make them able to influence decision[13].

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[12] Ali, M. (1988). Bahishti Zewar and the Image of Muslim Women. *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, *8*(1 and 2), 59-63.

[13] Josselson, R. (1987). *Finding herself: Pathways to identity development in women*. Jossey-Bass.

# Chapter 6    Women's Mobility and Access to Public Sphere

## 6.1. Mobility Issues for Women

Women's mobility refers to women moving out in the public sphere for various purposes i.e. for education, employability and availing of a number of services they need. Restriction on women's mobility obstructs the acquisition of education, economic participation and services delivery. In different parts of the world a variety of mobility pattern exist for men, women, children, elderly and special people (Khan, N. Z., & Mujahid-Mukhtar, E. (1999). These differences has basis according to the referred societal norms and the type of country. In developed countries it is improved and facilitated by the state to facilitate their citizens while in developing countries it is limited considering the state resources, influence of religion and local culture. In Pakistan the women's mobility is not facilitated by the state but that is not the issue while culture and identity of women is a problem for their movement in the public sphere (Malik, W. H. (2000).[14]

As told by the respondents there exist problems in accessing opportunities and resources for engaging in economic activity and improvement of the living standards. A respondents S.J. shared "Generally speaking, yes, majority of the women face issues and hindrances in accessing resources. These resistances mostly come from family structure, in-laws, and community, as most of the women are economically dependent on their male counterparts, women have to ask permission and money to access basic human rights and resources. Even educated women need family's approval to start a job; women are restricted from getting education, health facilities, mobility and starting a career. Now women majority of the women are educated compared to few years back, they are striving hard to make a living and improve their standards of life, to give a better future to their children they are struggling to access more opportunities and make their skills or education more valuable, but they face resistance from each segment of the society, which being male dominant tries to suppress their abilities and choices in life. Men treat women as their rivals if confronted in a working space. Not only men, women also create obstacles for other women, who they find a threat to their hegemony in family structure or in public sphere".

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[14] Malik, W. H. (2000). Gender inequalities of health: a case study of Pakistan.

The other respondent A.A. talked about the access and control "Yes, women face hurdles in their way to become a successful women. They are discriminated not only in allocation of opportunities but also in accessing those. If opportunities are provided then obstacles in the way to avail those opportunities are not removed leaving inequitable development. Opportunities are not provided on that level opportunities which are required. If provided social and cultural barriers are not removed so that they can access. They are facing uncountable problems in both private and public spheres".

## 6.2. Women's Mobility Needs and Patterns in Pakistan

Generally, it is considered that women should accompany a male family member while moving out in the public sphere or they should go out in groups. Women and girls need to move out for education and employment and also for their participation in social, cultural and political events taking place around them. Women's mobility can be categorized as local mobility, intercity mobility, social and economic activity oriented mobility, service oriented mobility, and mobility for the purpose of sports and excursion. These categories define needs for mobility of women and each category encloses several purposes which cannot be done without entering into public sphere [(Rizvi, N., & Nishtar, S. (2008)]. Local mobility refers to women's physical movement with the village, city or town. This mobility is for the purpose of going for attending schools, college, doing jobs in local industry offices or in agriculture labour market, participating in marriages and funerals and visiting relative's families. It also includes the availing of health and legal services, complaint registration and shopping for family and herself. All these aspects of mobility are linked to the permission of family head who is a male and in rare cases there are women head of the family in absence of male members. In Pakistan women face problems in all of these mobility patterns because girls are not allowed to go to school alone that may result in stopping the education unless there are groups of girls to go to school and college together. It is because the families apparently show their concerns over girl's security and risk of violence and street crimes like kidnapping, rape, adduction and sometimes illegitimate relations with any male. Women who need to go to hospitals and markets do need to accompany other women or male family member whether that is a boys or an adult male.   Such mobility restriction prevent women to access better health services during critical times of their pregnancies and reproduction cycle [(Mumtaz, Z., & Salway, S. M. (2007)]. Avoiding doctors due to mobility problem leaves severe health impacts on women and cases of maternal mortality deaths are seen in

absence of timely consultation with doctors and proper treatment. It is also reported in research that antenatal & postnatal care and use of contraceptives is also linked to women's mobility.

Intercity or out station mobility of women is needed to go for higher education, employment, visiting relatives, shopping for important family events  participating in social and political events this kind of mobility is strictly conditional to availability of the trusted male family members and elder women otherwise women are not allowed to move out. A large number of girls could not get education due to this kind of mobility restriction when they have to move to other cities because of unavailability of relevant higher education institution in their village and cities. These mobility restriction are imposed on women only due to the consideration of women as weaker and fragile identities who needs to be protected more than even male children in the family. The fear of gender based violence is linked to the existence of crimes like rape, acid throwing, kidnapping and development of resistant behaviours of women against the dominating male authorities. Though it is not banned legally but cultural and religious laws strongly resist women's mobility that aims to restrict women empowerment through education and economic participation. In 1985 the total labour force included the 5.6 % women that increased in 1988 to 10% and it is 13% in 2014 according to World Bank data. It is evident that women are not freely allowed to work in and participate in labour force that leads to lack of economic empowerment of poor social status.

The respondent A.A also shared that "Yes, I faced harassment many times while going to university or during travelling. It has affected my education I wasn't able to focus on my studies, when I faced harassment, ultimately my performance was/ is affected badly".

## 6.3. Role of Identity in Women's Mobility

Women mobility is restricted due to a number of reasons in cultural and religious laws. These restrictions as mentioned in the previous section are prevalent in all parts of Pakistan but that doesn't mean women do not move at all. Women do move but it needs the application of certain condition including the granting of permission from male head of the family, economic affordability, availability of male or elder women or groups of women to accompany. Another reason which is much prevalent but ignored, is to restrict women from complaints against incidents of domestic violence, accessing health and legal services to avoid legal action against perpetrators, and restrict victims of violence to highlight their victimization through print and

electronic media[15]. The concept of honour is linked to women identity which is affected due to unauthorised and sole mobility in public sphere and in some of the rural areas they are killed if it is discovered that they went out without permission because of suspecting them to have illegitimate relations with someone. But it exist in remote rural areas where rigid traditional culture is more dominant.

It can be concluded that women's empowerment is restricted by limiting their mobility and making it conditional to the agreement of male family and even community members. In some of the rural areas women do not have national identity cards because they do not have the access and permission to move out for approaching the national registration authority. Absence of national identity cards prevent them to avail of any public service by their own will, cannot register a complaint and even cannot move out of the city. Those who survive after resisting cultural and manipulated religious laws, have better and improved status because they find the opportunities and avenues for proving themselves by their efforts. These women not only enjoy their status but also play a role for improving the status of other women who live in strict social settings.

The linkages between women being having feminine identity and mobility can be more elaborated by considering the public perception of different kinds of women in public sphere on the basis of their dresses and appearances. A women in a city who moves with a male counterpart is simply considered respected and secured if she is wearing the lose dresses with head covers. The other women who is wearing a gown covering full body and face is also considered better whatever character she has but a women who is wearing a jeans or trousers with long shirts and has no scarf or head cover, is considered shameful for the family. In fact all of the above characters are feminine but the identity created by their outlook has a varying effect on their image in eyes of the people around. This perception of the local people is result of a patriarchal mind-set that questions the feminine identity only while the male appearances are not criticized and they have options of even wearing shorts and moving freely in crowds. It becomes a hurdle for women of those families which are willing to educate their girls and allow their daughters to work in market but due to the fear of bad image and effects on family respect, they do not allow

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[15] Leye, E., Githaiga, A., & Temmerman, M. ICRH Publications N 4 Health care strategies for combating violence against women in developing countries.

them to go out for work and education unless the female of the family adopt the characters of publicly acceptable identity and travel with family men.

# Chapter 7 Gender Based Violence

## 7.1. Understanding Gender Based Violence in Pakistan

A weaker status of women causes violence against the women in almost all parts of Pakistan. The link between violence and legal pluralism is obvious for a person who understands violence but for those who live in the system cannot easily recognize this link. Gender based violence refers to identity based crimes because it happens when a women resists or tries to make decisions, or in many cases this violence is result of male ego, the clashes of two or more clans lead to victimization of women. A phenomenon known as "Badla Sulah" means the compensation of dispute settlement between the tribes; uses women as compensation as a result of the decision by local "Panchayat" a village or tribal committee of the local leaders who are powerful and can either support or exploit anyone on their choice. Women are not part of such committees while this committee works as local court and has predominant gender biases. Culturally, women have a subordinate identity which is reinforced through this system of Local Panchayat also called Jirga. Cases of violence against women are often supported by these committees to strengthen male dominance and maintain cultural subordination of the women. Except general reflection on violence it is important to distinguish the forms of violence to make a deeper understanding and linkages between identity and legal pluralism and violence against women. Different forms of violence prevail in different arenas affecting women and other weaker social groups[16].

## 7.1.1. Domestic Violence

Domestic violence is most pervasive kind of violence in Pakistan widely spread and almost all family has some kind of domestic violence against women, children and sometime the elderly family members. It includes intimate partner violence, mental torture by the family members, wife battering, and teasing. Severity of domestic violence leads to murder by stove burning, and killing by using other means including suffocation. Case of deaths are less often seen but the wife battering, torturing, bounding from certain movements and interactions are most existing forms of domestic violence in Pakistan. Women continue to bear domestic violence to save family, to maintain family respect in the community by keeping it secret, and most importantly they do not have the option to go against such violence. They are not aware of the relevant laws

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[16] Fikree, F. F., & Bhatti, L. I. (1999). Domestic violence and health of Pakistani women. *International Journal of Gynecology & Obstetrics*, *65*(2), 195-201.

and cannot access police stations and courts for justice with the belief that they would not receive positive response from these judicial institutions and will be tabooed. A respondent A.A. shared that she witnessed an incident of violence, *"Recently, I met a women who was facing physical abuse from her addict son, he beats her mother and sister"*.

### 7.1.2. Acid Throwing

Acid throwing is a kind of violence which almost destroys the life of victims and several time its cases have been highlighted by media to take necessary action by the government. Though, relevant legislation is made but the perpetrators are supported by dominant groups to give them courage to commit such a brutality and they could not be punished due to weaker implementation of laws.

### 7.1.3. Breast Ironing

A cruelty that exist in some parts of Pakistan where husbands become insane, inhuman and aggressive to the extreme that takes the wife's life. This king of violence is committed on suspicious character of wife which is either proved or not but in most cases it is done to revenge of cheating husband. Breast ironing is burning breast with hot irons and its pain leads to death or it may turn out into suicide by women herself to avoid the pain of ironing.

### 7.1.4. Bride Burning

Identity of elderly women in the family is different from that of newly married bride and the elder women take responsibility to train and socialize new bride according to family values and to respect the male orders and be obedient to all family. It happens in rural Punjab, Sindh and other remote areas of Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Mother in law is the famous character responsible for such violence and sometime husband himself commits it. When a newlywed bride resists to the family norms, or when there are property matters and in some cases when the husband marries to take revenge from brides family on their old enmities; bride burning takes place and the family declares it a suicide or an accident to avoid legal actions.

### 7.1.5. Marital Rape and forced pregnancies

This kind of violence is less recognized in Pakistani society because of the internalized patriarchal values and lack of awareness among the women especially in rural parts of Pakistan.

Marital rape takes place when a girl is forcibly married to a man without her consent and even she fails to accept her husband after marriage. This kind of marriage takes place due to family willingness by ignoring the will of girls and assumed that she will accept it once she would marry the guy. Lack of wife acceptance leads to unwanted sexual intercourse completed by force and even beating which is known as marital rape. There is no legislation which can accuse against such violence that also leads to unwanted pregnancy without caring for her health. It remains unrecognized unless the girls gets confidence and trust on her parents share with them.

### 7.1.6. Dowry Deaths

In some part of Pakistan including interior Sindh, Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa where people are more associated with agriculture and traditional family settings, deaths because of dowry are more existent. Land and other property is demanded as dower from bride's family and failing of brides family to comply such demands, results in brides killing.

### 7.1.7. Honour Killing

A much prevalent form of violence which is too highlighted by human rights organizations and activist working for women rights. On having doubts on any female family member, she is killed by a male family member. Couples who are not allowed by their families to get married and they do it by using legal rights with the help of family courts, are killed when they are traced and caught by families. Such cases are not investigated due to the influence of local land lords and feudal. In some cases where the suspect is women only, one member of the family kills the women and other forgives the blood by adopting the guardianship of victim. If husband commits it father in law becomes guardian and if father in law commits it, husband becomes the guardian so this is worst violence which cannot be legally challenged.

There are some other forms of violence like marriages with Quran or with some other object to avoid the inherited property distribution in tribal landlords; forced marriages, under age marriages and denial to property by threatening and showing powers. Though violence is a general phenomenon which may have social and economic factors at its base; but the forms of violence discussed here are based on the feminine identity. These forms of violence are not committed with men and the affected are women due their feminine identity. Multiple identity of

women plays a role in such acts of violence because an elder women having a different dentity commits violence on behalf of the family male, again the younger women that refers to the difference of identity and status of two women in the same family one becomes perpetrator and other becomes victim.

Reported cases of violence against women in Pakistan for five years

| Kind of violence | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Abduction/ kidnapping | 1784 | 1987 | 2236 | 2089 | 1745 |
| Murder | 1422 | 1384 | 1436 | 1575 | 1607 |
| Domestic violence | 281 | 608 | 486 | 610 | 1134 |
| Suicide | 599 | 683 | 633 | 758 | 989 |
| Honour killing | 475 | 604 | 577 | 705 | 822 |
| Rape/gang rape | 778 | 928 | 928 | 827 | 575 |
| Sexual Assault | 172 | 274 | 74 | 110 | 432 |
| Acid Throwing | 29 | 53 | 32 | 44 | 58 |
| Burning | 61 | 50 | 38 | 29 | 83 |
| Miscellaneous | 1970 | 1977 | 1580 | 1792 | 71 |
| Total | 7571 | 8548 | 8000 | 8539 | 7516 |

**Source: Aurat Foundation Report 2011**

These case are reported to media and police while it is said that a large number of cases is not reported due to various reasons.

S.M. the respondent shared while talking about Harassments, "Yes, I have faced sexual harassment like eve teasing, staring etc. but survived while pursing my educational career in Pakistan But at my work place, luckily, I started off with the department of VAW, UNIFEM (United Nations Agency for Women Empowerment and Gender Equality) which serves as the

most influential source/hub for promoting women empowerment. I have worked in an environment which supported zero tolerance for harassment of women at work place and I was aware of my legal rights being part of such a professional set up".

Another experience shared by the respondent S.J. regarding violence by husband on his wife as a result of their disagreement on a family decision, "Unfortunately yes, I have learned about a psychological violence, a woman was abused and insulted by her husband for opposing his ideas, and even he was at fault.  I do not know the details but I was told they were having a conversation about an issue and husband was making a decision but his wife decided against it as her husband was listening to the issue properly or not comprehending well. When he heard his wife's rational views he become defensive and started insulting her by questioning her intelligence and ability calling her ignorant".

## 7.3. Exemplary Case of Gender Based Violence in Pakistan

Hundreds of cases of violence are reported every year and even all the case are not reported they are committed only. A case of violence again women is presented here as an example which lasted and proceeded for many years and the end the victim could not reach to justice.

### 7.1.8 Mukhtaran Mae Case

Mukhtaran Mae lived her normal life in village Meerwala District Muzaffargarh Punjab. She was gang raped on June 22, 2002 by powerful Mastoi group's men as a revenge of her younger brother's suspected affair with one of the Mastoi girls. The decision of rape was taken by a local Jirga and police didn't register an FIR even knowing about the incident for several days. Media smelled the incident and highlighted as much as it needed. Many of the human and women rights activist got involved and protested against the gang rape. Finally the government took notice of the case and instructed local police to arrest the alleged men from that area. Government also offered a sum of money for compensation. Police arrested 14 men and the case was put in the Dera Ghazi Khan anti-terrorism court. The court given in its verdict the punishment to death to six men while released the other eight men. This decision was brought to normal court by alleged party and Lahore High Court started proceedings. Lahore high court reversed the decision by reasoning the insufficient evidence that resulted in acquitting of 5 more men out of the 6 who were given death penalty in previous verdict. Though it was quite disappointing for Mukhtaran

and her supporters but she decided to file an appeal in Federal Shariat Court Islamabad. Federal Shariat Court declared the released men criminals and men were arrested again. Meanwhile she got threats from local politicians and powerful groups and also a funding from international organizations which she used to establish two girls schools in her village and a shelter home for abused and victimised women. After arrest of the 5 released men on orders of Federal Shariat Court, the case taken to Supreme Court of Pakistan. Supreme Court rejected the Federal Shariat Court's decision by saying that Shariat Court has no authority to pursue such cases. On cancellation of the Supreme Court decision five men were released and case went pending into files. In 2011 the case was reopened in Supreme Court that upheld the previous decision given by Lahore high court and released 5 arrested men. Only one accused kept in custody for life time imprisonment. The case disappointed Mukhtaran Mae but she lives with a courage to make life better for other women and has also developed a website for the promotion of women rights and arranging funding for helping victimized women.

# Chapter 8        Analysis and Discussion

In the earlier chapters it is discussed that Feminine identity and pluralistic legal status of women in Pakistan on the bases of their regional, cultural, legal and religious basis become the hurdle in their participation and decision making as well as their mobility and access to control resources to get empowered. In this chapter the discussion will focus on answering the research question by constructing evidence based argument against each of the research question providing facts on empowerment status on women and the reasons behind low scale empowerment and development of the Pakistani women.

## 8.1. Existence of Multiple Identities and Women Social Status

Women identities in Pakistan are formed on the basis of regional or local culture, religious affiliation and legal status of the women in particular parts of Pakistan. Regional identities include the Punjabi women identity, Saraiki Women, Pakhtune women, Sindhi women Baluchi women and urbanized modern women. Cultural identities include the rural agrarian women, women of the lower casts (Kammi), the educated house wife, and it includes a number of more identities. Religious identities include Alima and a practices poise women while the urbanized modern women has many identities in itself. At the same time all of these women have a legalized citizen identity status which is dominated over by the local identities on the basis of cultural socialization and internalization and perpetuation of patriarchy.

These identities are classified into three basic identities which every women has at the same time. The first one is a citizen of the state that is declared by law and endorsed by issuing a national identity card at the age of 18 while a process of registration at birth also enables women to be the respected citizen. Articles 1-32 of the constitution of Pakistan 1973 provided equal status to men and women without any gender based discrimination. The second identity is based on the religions. Pakistan is a Muslim majority state while Hindu, Christians Sikh and some other are religions also present in Pakistan. A woman citizen of Pakistan has the second identity of either Muslim, Hindu, Christian or belonging to some other existing religion. The third identity emerges from the local Pakistani culture which is an integrated identity and has

multiplications in itself. A Baluchi women has to wear bangles on full arms when she marries, she has to work at home, care for children manage household water and livestock and at the same time she has to practice religion while her right to education, employment and political participation is also there to be availed of.  Similarly, a Punjabi women has to take care of the agriculture, livestock, domestic affairs, family children and old ones and so she has also to participate in social events like marriages and funeral, has to maintain good relations with relatives and responsible for socializing children according to the family values and many other tasks as well. A Pakhtune women in her original Pakhtune culture, has to observe veil even she is not allowed to appear before her matrilineal cousins unveiled and brothers in law as well. In rural areas she is never allowed to travel out unless emergencies with covering full body with shuttlecock gowns gloves and socks. A religious women has to practice all aspects of worship according to the religious doctrine, she has to teach the religion, maintain personal and family life, strictly observe veils and be obedient to men more than the other women. The urbanized modern women is different from all the other discussed previously. An urbanized modern women has nothing to do with taking care of agriculture, livestock, she has opportunities to attend schools, college and university, can work in relevant field for economic independence, can drive in the public sphere and can make most of her decisions independently by taking the responsibility of resultant outcomes of her decisions. She avails of the constitutional right and is not influenced by cultural or religious manipulated laws. It gives brief reflection on multiple identities of women in Pakistan but to find the best among these identities needs to apply some standard indicators which can declare one or more identities are advantageous on the other and make women's social status better. Women empowerment framework and basic feminist theory is used to find the most suitable identity of women which is free of exploitation of their lives and opens avenues for progress and development of women.

## 8.2. Identity Matters in Decision Making

Except the national constitutional rights, Pakistan has also signed a number of regional and international treaties and agreements to enact policies in favour of women. One of such treaties is Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against women (CEDAW) which reinforces gender equality regardless of the local identities and ensure provision of equal right to women. Women empowerment component is used to find the impact of multiple identities of

women on their status and development. Four components of women empowerment framework include their involvement in decision at different level, participation in public, private and societal matters; availability and access to resources and services and lastly the mobility choices for women to enjoys their rights and participate in income generation activities to get rid of economic dependency and to contribute to family income. *The respondent S.M. shared that it is so hard being a woman in Pakistan. They don't take you seriously. Firstly because you are woman, secondly, you are young. Elderly women are more respected/feared or taken seriously in comparison to other cultures. You are denied of many rights just because you are the weaker vessel making an effort to survive in this deeply and firmly rooted patriarchal society*".

Women decision making at family, community and national level is rare. Although there is no empirical evidence found to present the exact percentage of the women who have control over concerned decision of their lives, their say within their communities and the choices and influence of women parliamentarians in government and policy matters. A study on women leaders from different parts of Pakistan that includes 50 women leaders and activists; reveals that women are less likely to have opportunities to make decision, to participate economically and politically, they are less likely safe in their homes and they have less access to justice as well (Repila J. 2013). Women empowerment is enhanced if they find the opportunities to decide about their education career and personal life. Jejeebhoy, S. J., & Sathar, Z. A. (2001) has argued that Pakistani women has less autonomy and choices to make decisions while they have compared it with women of south India and Tamil Nadu. They have explained the factors which refer to multiplication of identities and existence of cultural and religious bindings to control women with in male defined domains. Naqvi, Z. F., Shahnaz, L., & Arif, G. M. (2002) has revealed that decision making about work even after higher education, is linked to permission from family i.e. father, brothers or husband decides about the women's participation in labour force. Keeping women unemployed makes them economically dependent on their family men and in any kind of violation of their right they are unable to voice and resist such violations and violence. They have analysed labour force participation data from 1991 to 2000 that indicates female labour force participation at 13.7 as compared with male 70.4 %. This means that women have no choice to make their economic decision. Decision about health care services availing of are also influenced by family member including elder women and male family members. Kadir et.al (2001) found in

a study in Karachi that decision of marriages are strictly based on the family preferences, where males are asked to share their consent and female are rarely given this opportunity. The women who have choice of decision making about their lives, the women having an autonomous identity, the urbanized modern women has a different status because they find opportunities and support from their families to utilize their potential to excel in career. Their identity is not ambiguous with the jumble of cultural and religious identities. Instead they know themselves as the rightful citizen of Pakistan who can avail of every opportunity according to availability, need and individual capacity.

## 8.3. Multiple Identity and Women Participation

Women participation in familial, communal and national affairs is another indicator of empowered status of the women. Participation at different level has variety of efforts, achievements and provision of rights. At family level women participation is a responsibility not a prestige or choice to involve women in important matters relating to decision making and property ownership. In Pakistan it exist unlikely, majority of women participate in social and political events by the choice of their male family members. Participation in political matters like contesting elections and voting, holding meetings with other women groups is rare. Although women in Pakistan has awarded suffrage with the creation of Pakistan in 1947, reaffirmed in 1956 interim constitution which allows them to vote for any candidate and also participate in politics by contesting elections. Despite having these rights women could not make reasonable participation in local, provincial and national level politics because of the dominant patriarchal culture in politics of Pakistan. Later it was necessitated to reserve quotas for women to initiate their participation in politics. If we analyse the reasons behind lack of women participation we encounter with the influence of male dominant culture and a perception of women as weaker identity who is unable to deal with the political matters. (Moghadam, V. M. 1992) Only the women from upper class families who were supported by their family influences, came forward as leaders including Fatima Jinnah, the Quaid-e-Azam's Sister, Begam Rana Liqat Ali Khan, the wife of First Prime minister of Pakistan and Benazir Bhutto the Daughter of Prime Minister and Founder of Pakistan People's Party Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. List of the women leaders is not limited to the above mentioned personalities but there are less likely example of such women who came out as leaders with their struggle from rural areas and rigid cultures (Fridi & Anwar, 2009).

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Women political participation increased during last two decades due to increased reserved quotas for women and introduction of local government system during Pervez Musharraf's era. Women were give 33% seats in local government that encourages local women to participate in elections and voting. It also helped women to participate in local level decision making and proposing development of women. The local government system remained alive for 8 years till 2008 and the later government could not continue the process and it is still awaited to be enacted again.

## 8.4. Multiple Identities and Mobility Problem for women

Mobility is a basic need for development and empowerment of women for acquiring education, employment and other services. Women's mobility is restricted or limited which is a hurdle in women empowerment. Most the issues reported in education, health and employment which are influenced due to limited mobility. Roomi, M. A., & Parrott, G. (2008) has mentioned that mobility is one of the most important and influencing factors for women while starting a business and employment. Shabbir, A. (1995). Has explored the influencing factor in women entrepreneurship in Pakistan, assuming that in most research it is a contradictory argument that gender discrimination is a factor to hinder women while his research has also concluded such barriers like mobility, as difficulties in women business development. Khan, A. (1999) explains that women's mobility for education and job outside is severely controlled that also became a problem while working on health and family planning. He also refer to the reason as status and honour is linked to mobility and women's health which is culturally not encouraged. In presence of such restrictions how could the process of women empowerment flourish, while it remains limited to only those women who have autonomy and resource for establishment of their business and also get support from their families. Agarwal, B. (1994) has mentioned that women do want to have access and control over resources but they are not allowed to have that control. Either by the state or by the local culture they cannot control even they can own property. The reason is to have a weaknesses in women's management of the property, insecurity, women independence and self-reliance and a threat to male dominated systems.

The possibilities of empowerment are decreased and kept limited by declaring women a weaker identity who cannot participate in decision making due to the emotional factors, cannot participate publicly due to insecurities and family honour, cannot establish business and

employment outside due to the fear of losses threats to patriarchy, cannot participate in politics due ti have less understanding and political socialization. Women cannot control and sell property because of expected influences on family structure and values, cannot move out in public sphere due to the fear of abduction, rape and harassment; she cannot access to health and other legal services due to limitation placed by families. All of these problems are created due to the perception of weaker identities of women and these are also the actual obstacles in women empowerment in Pakistan. Though there are policies for development and empowerment of women but institutions are either weak or dominated by patriarchal mind-set so they are not supporting women led activities as much as they are supposed to be.

## 8.5. Women Socialization and Hegemonic Masculinity

The interviewee female respondents shared details of their understanding about the social structures and experiences while living as a secondary being to men. The answers revealed that the training and socialization of women is patterned to make male dominance acceptable with soft tools like using the emotional characters of the people. The very first question asked to interviewee, was to know their understanding of the women identities created through multiple legal system referring to the existence of cultural, religious and state laws to govern the lives of individuals. Respondents shared that the existence of multiple laws becomes problematic and creates differences that maintain discriminatory practices against women. Normally it is not forcefully applied but it is hegemonic masculinity that helps to train the girls and women act according to the codes defined by males for social practices. It is also shared that men involve in gender crimes /violence and get away using the cultural laws, while the state laws do not allow them to commit violence. It doesn't happen only to the Muslim women but also to the women of minorities. Refereeing to the misuse of blasphemy laws in Pakistan, A respondent shared that personal clashes are converted into interfaith clashes by applying blasphemy allegations on some of the members of minorities. The cultural law here doesn't speak about the blasphemy but state law is used by manipulating information by politicizing. It is exemplified by the case of 11 years old Christian girl Rimsha Masih in Islamabad also reported in in local media.[17] So the problem is

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[17]    **11-year-old Christian girl accused of blasphemy** Qaiser Zulfiqar / Web Desk Published: August 18, 2012 (**http://tribune.com.pk/story/423815/11-year-old-christian-girl-accused-of-blasphemy/**)

not only for the Muslim women but also for the women of other religions in Pakistan. Such events support the hegemonic masculinity to perpetuate by creating fears for other women who are not victimized directly but are feared by the case examples. This fear restricts women to involve in public sphere activities, so they cannot avail of the education and economic opportunities independently.

S.M talked about the male control over women as "Definitely! Women are controlled, monitored, instructed and intimidated through religion and its misuse. Religion is exploited to serve patriarchy and subjugation of women in all spheres. If we explore our very own Islamic history, from the house of Prophet Muhammad, *Hazrat* Khadija was a successful business woman, *Hazrat* Ayesha a narrator, orator, scholar and a warrior".

While the other respondent S.J. shared that "Pakistan is a patriarchal country and general thinking and perception of women is not positive. Women are perceived as of a person with little intelligence, value, and status. Situation is even worse in rural areas, where ignorance is rampant because of low literacy level and deep routed patriarchal social norms and culture. Word 'women' is used as a slang to taunt a man, if he fails to fulfil some pre conceived expectations being a man and doesn't demonstrate a macho image. A common man in Pakistan imposes his masculinity and power by abusing, oppressing and dominating women folk. Woman is conceived as a property, and ownership right is in the hands of men, they are considered physically and mentally weak who do not have the power and capability to make decisions of their own and do not have any roles rather than rearing and nurturing and obliging to men. They are discriminated, violated, abused, victimized and oppressed in every structure of the society. In professional sphere educated women of high calibre are restricted form getting top level positions, females face glass ceiling, and they get less pays as compared to male counterparts".

A.A. the respondent shared that "Yes, women are controlled by using religion as a political instrument. Wrong interpretation of religion has deprived women from their inherent rights provided by religion.  In the time of ayatollah Khomeini 1979 family protection la was declared as non-Islamic and such amendments were made that left women marginalized. Pakistan has also witnessed it in the different time periods when misuse of religion disregarded women".

The other Respondent S.M shared that "Plenty! I have seen many cases in family where women are not just subjugated to violence, domestic, physical verbal etc. but also they are putting up with it happily compromising just because they are made to feel and believe that it is obligatory for them to tolerate and sacrifice their self-esteem to protect their marital status".

State laws which are derived from the religion and if govern with its purity and unbiasedness are better in favour of women as told by the respondents. Giving the reason that the religions gives much respect, protection and opportunities to women. It is misinterpreted by the patriarchal mind-set that promotes hegemonic masculinity, to maintain their dominance over women. One of the respondent explained the "As culture varies from place to place and women possess different status and roles in each society, so laws based on culture differs from place to place as well. In Pakistan context, patriarchal system rules masses, men are dominating Jirga systems that are working in rural settings to resolve conflicts. Women get discriminated in the rulings, as they are vulnerable and considered of low status and insignificant. Men take decisions on women's behalf so women hardly get a chance to voice their part of the issue or to argue to their innocence. Jirga system is the most discriminatory and cruel system of addressing conflicts. We have witness some horrific incidents of human rights violations in these proceedings for the last few years, thanks to media's for highlighting this issue. In majority of the cases if two tribes get in conflict and some members of the family got killed, such cases are resolved by exchanging female folks of the family, whether they are just infants or grown-ups. Women are presented to ask pardons, so in my opinion cultural system is the most discriminatory and unjust one". It also refers to the tribal conflicts, they are generally initiated and maintained by males due to the egos but at the end women of the tribes suffer more than the men. Jalal Udin M & Munir Khan (2006) conducted research on women status and barriers to development and found that;

*"The socioeconomic status of women was worse because of low literacy rate, lack of educational facilities, awareness, and poor economic condition, lack of skills and insecure environment of the society for working women. Men have more decision-making power than the women regarding family, choice of selecting male partners and household expenditure. In certain cases only elderly women were consulted for opinion in decision-making. Women were culturally constrained to remain at home and care for their children."*

Evidence from the existing research confirms that women access and opportunities for development and empowerment are limited by cultural barriers which are maintained by hegemonic masculinity.

Respondent S.M. Answered *"Pakistan supports a multi-layered legal system. This sets forth multiple challenges for the gendered, ethnic, cultural and the religious other. It demands deeper understanding and legal prudence to identify existing lacunas which have penetrated into each of its layers. This very coexistence of customary, statutory, religious and family laws lacks effective implementation"*.

# Chapter 9        Conclusion and Recommendation

## 9.1. Conclusion

Linking identity pluralism with women empowerment is a complex task and difficult to distinguish many other factors which exists in literature to be responsible for either better status of empowerment or decreased and poor status of empowerment of women because there are not many researchers conducted on such concepts. The basic concept of multiple identity is formed on the basis of existence of three kind of laws which also touches to the concept of legal pluralism but not the same as I have tried to construct. In fact it originates from the legal pluralism but is a resultant factor. Existence of multiple legal systems to guide individual and social life is legal pluralism which creates multiple identities and these multiple identities have confused status at one hand and differentiated status at the other. An individual may have multiple roles at the same time but the dominant one makes her/his character and recognition. In the same way it happens with women in Pakistan. A rural women who is Muslim and obey the religious laws, at the same time she is having cultural norms, values and customs which she has to follow and the third layer is she is a citizen of Pakistan which gives her fundamental rights to live with dignity, can get education, can decided about her marriage and even in Punjab; legally she is allowed to live anywhere in Pakistan after the age of 18 years. Among these laws what is the most appropriate to facilitate the women status, and which one is the strongest to protect her, these questions are not often raised when they live in an environment where male dominated mind set exist and women have to follow the cultural laws only which makes them subordinate to their men. Resistance to cultural laws are not always successful to remove identity barriers however it depends on the context, that sometime it may go in favor of the women and can also harm them to make more worsen.

The indicator selected for identification of empowerment status included the women participation in different level of decision making, their participation in private and public, social political and economic events, their mobility and access to public sphere and control over resources and the existence of gender based violence. These indicator / variable were used to answer the research questions by using qualitative research methods by document review and

qualitative data collections and analysis at very small scale to supplement the answers with primary and fresh information. A number of reports on gender issues, documents on legal and religious guidelines published researches are used to find connections and to build connections between multiple identities and women empowerment.

It is clear at the end that women identities are socially created and maintained by the dominant patriarchal system that maintains a process of socialization through a number of customary practices and it also use religion and state laws by manipulation wherever it needs to maintain the patriarchal powers. This is the situation of majority women in Pakistan but it cannot be generalized to all women in Pakistan. Because in some parts of Pakistan especially in developed urbanized areas, though women face problems but they have somehow managed to overcome the cultural barriers to education and development and are able to participate, decide, get jobs and develop their self-identity with dignity.

Women's access resources and availing of the publicly provided services is hindered by restricted mobility. It leads to inability of making choices, reproductive health challenges, loss of investment in education due to lack of opportunity and family permission to job outside; are the factors which influence the rate women empowerment. Numerous researches have been found, indicating health issues for women and problems in labor force participation due to mobility restrictions and lack of control over inherited properties.

## 9.1. Recommendation

- Although laws are present for women empowerment status and providing of rights but their implementation and awareness is weaker it needs to be more actively implemented so that women in rural areas could be informed about their legal rights provided by the state.

- Cultural barriers to women development needs to be re-examined to find the ways which can adjust the customary practices in positive ways to enable women to encourage their decision making at different levels, enhancing their public participation in social, economic and political matters.

- Developing policies to respond rural women needs instead of making concentration of such policies to urban areas only; by giving women opportunities and power to negotiate with the patriarchal structures and system to understand their rights and to make their lives by their own choices.

- Targeting male communities to reduce stereotypic perceptions about women's identities to influence the patriarchal socialization of the new generation to initiate a process of transformation that would lead to removal of multiple identities and will also result in gender equality.

- Provision education and employment facilities to women specifically to overcome the literacy and labor force participation gap through increased participation in education and economic fields.

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