

## **Realization of Women Rights in Pakistan**

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### **Abstract**

*Though, Pakistan came into being with pledge to provide human rights to all its citizens without any discrimination but presently the situation is otherwise. It is very discouraging to see that in reality women are not enjoying the human rights, which are available to them in black and white. Though laws exist in favour of women in the country but most of legislation is confined only to the papers and male dominated society is least interested in its implementation. Neither legal provisions nor Qura'anic principles are followed in letter and spirit, rather the same are tried to be twisted by men in their own favour. This paper elaborates the legislation, which exists in favour of women in papers, the current status of women in our country and also provides some suggestions towards the implementation of human rights. It is after empowerment of weak segment of society, that we can become a strong and progressive nation.*

**Keywords:** Sharia Bill, Hudood Ordinance, CEDAW, Gender Inequality Index

### **Introduction**

Pakistani society is not too much dissimilar from those close-minded and male besotted states, which rarely provides an opportunity to women to get on and become self-sufficient. Consequently, these inclinations, results in a civilization, which places women in belittling, position in practice; Pakistan is one of the classic instances of those countries.

Pakistan is the first Islamic country, where a female i.e., Ms. Benazir Bhutto was elected as Prime Minister. Similarly, we have other renowned politicians like Shireen Mazari, Bushra Gohar, Sherry Rehman, Marvi Memon, Kashmala Tariq etc but at the same time, we have examples of the sufferers like Malala Yusafzai, Kainat Soomro, Mukhtaran Mai and Tehmina Durrani.<sup>1</sup>

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These women are not the part of any exacting group or area but are victims who suffered brutal acts of man mainly due to societal and biased reasons. The report of 2012 of World Economic Forum's shows Pakistan's position at one hundred thirty four out of total countries, which were one hundred and thirty five in number among the most terrible areas of the world. Out of 148 countries Pakistan stands at 123 number as per report in 2012 Gender Inequality Index (GII), United Nations Development Program.<sup>2</sup> One of the reasons why women are suffering from deficiency and aggression is due to lack of education. Lack of education has resulted in little contribution in the financial, political and communal activities. Women are unable to get their due rights and enter in suitable services. This state of affairs has made women economically dependent on male members in society<sup>3</sup>. The meager learning amenities, which are available to this neglected segment of society, are far distant from excellence. Besides educational infrastructure, which are unsatisfactory; the collective conduct of the community and perceptions of the society are also generally found against female education. A low standard of living condition has also contributed in none or less admissions and far above the ground-abandoning tempo amongst women learners<sup>4</sup>.

This paper, is thus trying to discover different motivation of society, their performance and interaction. The study thus embarks on the standing of women as provided in Laws and proceeds to discuss that whether in reality women enjoy all these human rights? The study also spotlight on social, political and legal features and terrorism upsetting women in the society.

### **Laws made for protection & security of women in Pakistan**

Since independence in 1947, several laws have been framed in Pakistan to give safety and shelter to the women. At the time of preparation of Constitution of Pakistan, no difference was made between the rights that were enjoyed by men and women<sup>5</sup>. The Pakistan's Constitution thus provides that there shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone (Constitution of Pakistan, 1973, Art. 25) the government will guarantee complete involvement of women in every orb of state (Constitution of Pakistan, 1973, Art.34) and the state will guard the family (Constitution of Pakistan, 1973, Art. 25).

Through 18<sup>th</sup> amendment in the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan in the year 2010, greater autonomy was granted to the provinces for the betterment and improving the matters pertaining to women besides other issues<sup>6</sup>. The main problem, from which

almost all organizations of the country are suffering, is the poor implementation of laws. For protection of women, the government has enforced the following laws:

- Dowry and Bridal Gifts Restriction Act, 1976.
- Protection of Women Act (2006), revised the Hudood Ordinance. The crime of rape has been shifted from the Pakistan Penal Code to this Act, making a distinction of rape from sex out of marriage and takes out the requisite testimony of 04 witnesses.<sup>7</sup>
- The West Pakistan Family Courts Act of 1964.
- Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2010 (on sexual harassment).
- Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2004.  
A number of changes were made by the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act 2004, in the Pakistan Penal Code 1860 (PPC) referred to as the Honour Killings Law and the Criminal Code of Procedure 1898 (CrPC), mostly making insertions to prevailing laws to incorporate qatl-i-amd (intentional murder) under the pretext of *ehonouri*.<sup>8</sup>
- Criminal Law Act (Second Amendment, 2011), referred as Acid Control and Acid Crime Prevention Act.
- Muslim family Laws Ordinance (MFLO) of 1961. Under this Act the registration of marriage is compulsory. Strict restriction was imposed upon polygamy and without the previous consent of his existing wife husband could not get married for the second time<sup>9</sup>. Moreover, the right of *khula* (demand for divorce) for dissolution of marriage was also awarded to woman.<sup>10</sup>
- Protection against Harassment of Women at the Workplace, 2010.
- Prevention of Anti-Women Practices (Criminal Law Amendment) Act, 2011. Under this Act dealing with customary practices suggests sentences for customs like *budla-isulh*, *swara* or *wanni* in which women are traded to resolve private, family or tribal disputes, forced marriage or marriage with the Holy Quran...<sup>11</sup>.
- Enforcement of Women Ownership Rights Act 2012.
- National Commission on the Status of Women Act, 2012.
- Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection), Act 2012.
- The Women in Distress and Detention Fund (Amendment) Act, 2011.

- The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Elimination of Custom of Ghag Act 2013. The offence under this Act will be cognizable, non-bailable and non-compoundable.<sup>12</sup>
- Criminal Law Act (Third Amendment, 2011), referred to as Prevention of Anti-Women Practices.

Besides, above, our state also adopted a range of transnational and local covenants for upholding the status of females. Pakistan is also one of the participants of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW),<sup>13</sup> the Beijing Plan of Action and the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD). Pakistan consented to CEDAW in the year 1996, though with a reservation on Article 29 of Declaration and committed itself to eliminate all kind of prejudice against female population. Pakistan is therefore supposed to remove any differences, omissions or constraints made on the ground of gender for prejudicing or invalidating the identification, satisfaction or use by women... on the basis of equal opportunity between all genders, of human rights and basic self-determination".<sup>14</sup>

It is very unlucky that fundamentalism in the country distorted the atmosphere which was required for the actual realization of a range of legislations and protection of the female populace. The laws exist merely on papers as the male dominated segment is least interested in women empowerment on the one hand while on other hand the government machinery due to some other important engagements, has also no time to invest in women issues.<sup>15</sup>

There is also inconsistency in Pakistan's constitutional structure on the rights of women. When Gen. Zia ul-Haq came into power as chief executive of the country, he made up a part of constitutional structure of Pakistan, certain provisions approved under the program of Zia ul-Haq's Islamization in spite of the fact that the country was dedicated to abolish exploitation and assure all fundamental rights to all its citizens<sup>16</sup>. The main focus of Hudood Laws, a penal code, which is based on Islamic jurisprudence, is on imposing the punishments of 03 types of offenses unequivocally draw round in Islamic law: the use of intoxicants, stealing of personal possessions, fornication (*zina*) and adultery. *Zina* is the most controversial topic among all due to the reason that no legal distinction has been made in adultery and rape in the ordinance and its enforcement against women was highly discriminatory. The women were restricted from providing

evidentiary testimony in certain kinds of cases and require corroboration by another woman in other kinds of cases, in the Law of Evidence, which was enforced in the year 1983. This fact is clearly evident from this law that men and women do not stand at equal footings. In the subsequent period, when Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif came into power, no serious efforts were made for raising the status of women, which further affected women's rights, through different means. The Shariah Bill 1991 further weakened the situation, which declared Islam as the superlative law of the state. It was a great disappointment for every one in the society when the order vide which the seats were reserved for women in parliament was withdrawn and no efforts were made for its renewal either from Benazir nor Nawaz governments (The policy of reserving seats for women was reinstated by the government of Pervez Musharaf in elections held in 2001). Though, hue and cry was made at the Hudood Ordinance, and most particularly for abolishing the provision of *zina*, but of no avail. While addressing the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing 1995, Benazir Bhutto assured the participants about her government's commitment to become a Party to the Convention on Elimination of all kind of Discrimination against women and lifting up the position of females in Pakistan, however, even after becoming a party to CEDAW, nothing concrete was done towards achievement of its goals.

In Pakistan, there are three categories wherein the provisions of CEDAW do not coincide with Pakistani culture and laws. These areas are combined learning system, laws of legacy and law of evidence. The first kind, which is co-education, is usually not acceptable to people due to cultural segregation of men and women. It is worth to mention that the system of co-education remained in field in Pakistan till 1970s and students from various social, economic and religious backgrounds attended the same system but in the period of Zia-ul-haq's government, the system was dismantled for some time. Now the system of co-education has been revived again to some extent. However, at higher level, there is system of co-education in Post-graduate universities, all over the country. So far the remaining two categories, which are laws of inheritance and law of evidence, are concerned, are in conflict with the Constitution of Pakistan, as both are the derivative of the *Qur'an* and, as such, are unassailable.

Another point of debate among the public, is that whether the permission of the guardian of a girl is required at the time of her marriage. In recent times, there had been rulings of the

different Courts both in favour of a couple who contracted marriage with their own free consent but having not obtained the permission of guardian of the girl and at the same time in favor of a guardian/father who resisted/contested the marriage of a daughter. Due to rulings on both sides, ambiguity existed in case laws of Pakistan. But in late 1990s, after decision in Humaira Butt and Saima Waheed cases, the courts held (based on Hanafi school of thought's interpretation) that once the children attains the age of majority, the consent of bride and a bridegroom is relevant, who are entering into matrimony ceremony. Meaning thereby, that, the consent of the parents, to the marriage is totally irrelevant. The above-referred ruling of the court clearly pointed out that, the repeated issue in the society, is the result of custom (tradition) and not the Islamic law.

Except a few controversial laws held to be in consonance with Islam, the rest of laws in Pakistan, are not discriminatory against women. As earlier mentioned, in our country, the most of legal provisions are interpreted accordingly to *Hanafi*<sup>17</sup> school of thought, which is the most tolerant interpretation in the Muslim world despite the fact that some times the interpretations of other schools of *fiqh*<sup>18</sup> has also been made.

The Pakistan government has quite forthrightly pointed out the hurdles faced by it in eradication of biases against women and in realization the Convention such as local social customs, feudal system and other obstacles in enforcement of laws. The gigantic challenge the government is confronted with in implementation of convention at the lower level is the local customary restrictions and political need of leaders to appease certain political factions.

### **The Human Rights Status in practice**

Thorough examination of realistic aspects regarding implementation of women's rights clearly implies that these rights are abhorrently dishonored in various ways. These rights are violated by people intentionally or unintentionally in deviation of directives and instructions of Islam<sup>19</sup>.

All the rules and laws in Pakistan are Islamic in nature for the reason that Pakistan is an Islamic country but the people also practice some customs and traditions, which are contradictory to laws of Islam<sup>20</sup>. Women cannot enjoy their legal and religious rights in Pakistan due to their cultural patterns. Though, Pakistan is an Islamic state which guarantees rights to its citizens but while interpreting the women rights it recurses to cultural values, customs and traditions<sup>21</sup>. The system like *Jirga*<sup>22</sup> and *panchayat*<sup>23</sup>

in the society, which are parallel justice systems, further add to the miseries and grievances of women and consequently, the subsistence of religious and national laws protections and actions do not infiltrate into the communal composition. Women usually do not claim their rights due to fear of the male members. In a lot of cases women were illegally punished, who claimed their privileges against the set rules of the clan or the society<sup>24</sup>. In areas like FATA and PATA,<sup>25</sup> such tribal judicial system is recognized by our Constitution but this tribal judicial system is practiced illegally in other areas of Pakistan as well. In FATA and PATA, state enforced system of justice/courts has no control over a *Jirga* decision; therefore, violations of women legal and fundamental rights are rampant. As *Jirgas* are headed by men, who are already biased and unwilling to acknowledge the rights of women, therefore, they give decisions in most of cases, on austere preconceived notions and bigotry against females as per customs.<sup>26</sup>

As clarified earlier, women are almost totally neglected in Pakistan's society due to the element of patriarchy. Women are facing violence due to male domination and control over the society. As women are considered inferior in the society, therefore, their superiority/high position is unacceptable to men. Due to their lower status in society, they cannot move up, in case of any violence, against their male members, in whose custody they are<sup>27</sup>. The main reason of discrimination and violence against women in society is its general acuity that a daughter has no important position in a family unit. She can neither give protection to her family nor can she earn for them. Islamic religion on the other hand regards family an important unit for protection of women's rights. Islam gives immense importance to Marriage and parenthood and considers these as objectives of its system of justice. Too much importance has been given to matrimonial life and family and has considered these like to worship God<sup>28</sup>.

Besides family, another factor responsible for pathetic condition of women in the society is the feudal system. Woman is considered as the source of all evils. Usually they are condemned and blamed even for the objectionable activities done by men<sup>29</sup>. Majority of Pakistani women face harassment/ aggression or its threat at home, or outside in daily routine<sup>30</sup>. A man, who has preconceived biased perceptions regarding women rights, is the custodian of family affairs and respect. Thus, if the behavior of a woman is perceived to threaten the patriarchal order, the punishments like sexual exploitation, blinding, beatings, and honor killing is inflicted on her body<sup>31</sup>. Some Pakistani women accept

their condition as fate, and choose to bear the burden of violence because they fear losing the support of their family, community, and ultimately, for the sake of family honor<sup>32</sup>.

This is a reality that women do experience inequality and injustice sometimes in the name of customs and sometimes under the attire of religion. This phenomenon can be ascertained from the gender violence suffered by women in form of murders in name of honor, acid attacks, marriages by force, minors marriage, burning of brides, etc<sup>33</sup>. The detailed summary of the yearly report of Amnesty International, (2012) on women position reveals that women have very terrible condition in Pakistan. It has been reported that Aurat Foundation acknowledged the registration of forty four acid attacks, seven hundred and five murders in name of honour, six hundred and ten family aggression cases, eight hundred and twenty seven rape cases, fifteen hundred and seventy five cases of murders and eight thousand five hundred and thirty nine cases of violence<sup>34</sup>.

Certain serious offences like Ghag<sup>35</sup> or Forced Marriage, honour killing, selling of 'brides', bride burning due to less dowry, Marriage to *Qura'an* or *Haq Bakshish*, surrendering the right to marry for relinquishment of property rights and acid attacks are committed by men against women under the garb of certain laws and customs, just to keep women oppressed and under their control and for extracting their own benefits.

### Political Situation

The political condition of women in Pakistan is not too much different from as that of her social conditions. The local customs and traditions have also great impacts on the politics of women. Women are always discouraged to participate in politics on the basis of local customs like *Pakhtun*<sup>36</sup> code of conduct (*Pakhtunwali*), *Tor* (stigma) and *Peghor* (satire)<sup>37</sup>. The females are put off from casting of votes to the representative of their choice and in this way women are secluded from politics. Women cannot use their right to vote due to coercion and aggression of men, through out the country. The concept of men about the place of women in our society is that she should be within the four corners of their home and at the time when she goes outside her home, she must be in full veil<sup>38</sup>. It is worth to mention here that such restrictions on women are the results of customs and traditions of the society and not that of law or Islamic religion.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, the Constitution of Pakistan also does not impose any bar on women politics but the restrictions are from the society<sup>40</sup>. Less



representation of women in the assemblies of the country is a constant lacuna.

### **Conclusion**

Pakistan is the country, which came into being in the name of Islam and for providing the basic and fundamental rights to all men and women, which were not available to them before partition. But it is very discouraging to see that in reality women are not enjoying the rights which are available to them in black and white. Though laws exist in favour of women in the country but most of legislation is confined only to the papers and male dominated society is least interested in its implementation. Neither legal provisions nor *Qura'anic* principles are followed in letter and spirit, rather the same are tried to be twisted by men in their own favour.

In such a situation, there is need to arrange frequent training and awareness programmes occasionally to make women aware of their rights and equip them for exercising just demands. As earlier mentioned various job opportunities should be provided to women to become self sufficient (Jalal-ul-Din and Khan, 2008: 489). There is need that the government should take concrete steps in implementation of CEDAW and national legal provisions in letter and spirit for empowering the weak segment of society. At the same time, it is also the responsibility of the government to eliminate all kinds of illegal customs affecting the rights of women. The government should facilitate women to participate in main stream political affairs. It is after empowerment of weak segment of society, we can become a strong and progressive nation.

## Notes & References

- <sup>1</sup> ,Kashmala is a Famous Politicians of different political parties of Pakistan. Malala, The brave-heart of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), who challenged the existing anti-women tribal dictum of Taliban and was brutally wounded by them. She has since become the face of 'Courage' not only in Pakistan but also at international level. The UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon has dubbed her 16th birthday (July 12, 2013) as 'Malala Day' in honour of her heroic stand to ensure education for all. In 2007, Kainat Soomro a 13-year-old was kidnapped at gunpoint and gang raped. Her family faced widespread condemnation for refusing to "honor" kill their daughter and faced several attacks which resulted in the death of her brother. Her rapists were all acquitted and she was put under trial for premarital sex which is a crime under Islamic law. Mukhtaran Bibi (Mai) is the author of the book *In the Name of Honor: A Memoir*. She is a 'honour revenge-rape' survivor and an ardent women's rights activist of Pakistan. Mukhtar Mai Women's Organisation (MMWO), established in the year 2003, is also lead by her. She has become a champion of women's cause and Pakistan's representative in international arena. Tehmina, Though born in an affluent family, Tahmina did experience marital trauma and violence while being married to Ghuman Mustafa Khar. She is the acclaimed author of three books, *My Feudal Lord*, *A Mirror to the Blind* and *Blasphemy*. Among other social causes she is involved with, from the year 2001 to 2012, till the suicide of Fakhra Yonus, an acid attack victim, Tahmina gave all-round support to her.
- <sup>2</sup> Malik, Khalid. "Human development report 2013. The rise of the South: Human progress in a diverse world" (2013).
- <sup>3</sup> Sayeda Wadiat, "Role of Education in Globalization: A Case for Pakistan", SAARC Journal of Human Resource Development, (2005) 90-107.
- <sup>4</sup> Sheikh, Shafaq, "Problems of Pakistani Women", Lecture delivered on 14 May, 2009 at Institute of Policy Studies: Islamabad, (2009).
- <sup>5</sup> Weiss, Anita M., "Moving Forward with the Legal Empowerment of Women in Pakistan"(2013). [Online: web] Accessed on 14 Dec. 2017. URL: <http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR305.pdf>
- <sup>6</sup> UN, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, "Concluding observations on the fourth periodic report of Pakistan adopted by the Committee at its fifty fourth session" (2013). URL: [www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/docs/.../CEDAW.C.PAK.CO.4.do](http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/docs/.../CEDAW.C.PAK.CO.4.do)
- <sup>7</sup> Critelli, Filomena M. "Women's rights= Human rights: Pakistani women against gender violence." *J. Soc. & Soc. Welfare* 37 (2010): 135.
- <sup>8</sup> Aurat Foundation, "Honour Killings in Pakistan and Compliance of Law" (2011), Accessed on 19 Oct. 2017. URL: [http://www.af.org.pk/pub\\_files/1366345831.pdf](http://www.af.org.pk/pub_files/1366345831.pdf).

<sup>9</sup> Hakim, Abdul, and Azra Aziz. "Socio-cultural, religious, and political aspects of the status of women in Pakistan." *The Pakistan Development Review* (1998): 727-746.

<sup>10</sup> SPDC, "The Socio Economic Cost of Violence Against Women: A Case Study of Karachi" (2012). [Online :web] Accessed on 10 Nov 2017, URL: <http://gender.care2share.wikispaces.net/file/view/VAW-focus+on+cost+of+violence-Pakistan.pdf>

<sup>11</sup> SPDC, "The Socio Economic Cost of Violence Against Women: A Case Study of Karachi" (2012), [Online :web] Accessed on 10 Oct 2017, URL: <http://gender.care2share.wikispaces.net/fil>

<sup>12</sup> Ashfaq, Mohammad, "PA bans forced marriage under ghag", Dawn, Lahore, 9 January, 2013. Accessed on 16 Oct. 2017 URL:

<sup>13</sup> Prohibits any discrimination on the basis of sex ... in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.

<sup>14</sup> "Forgotten Dowry: A socially endorsed form of violence in Pakistan", Accessed on 16 Oct. 2017, URL:

[http://www.sachet.org.pk/web/user\\_files/File/Forgotten.pdf](http://www.sachet.org.pk/web/user_files/File/Forgotten.pdf).

<sup>15</sup> Bhattacharya, Sanchita, "Pakistan: Woman: Unseen, Unheard, Targeted" (2013), [Online: web] Accessed 27 Aug. 2017, URL: [http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/sair/Archives/sair12/12\\_2.htm#assessment](http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/sair/Archives/sair12/12_2.htm#assessment)

<sup>16</sup> The Islamization program focused on four areas: economic programs, judicial reforms, an Islamic penal code, and a new education policy. A discussion of particular details of Zia's Islamization program is in Weiss 1986:11-16; for an updated discussion refer to *ibid*, pp. 586-590.

<sup>17</sup> Fiqh Hanafi is the oldest of all four Sunni Fiqhi schools. This Fiqh is attributed to Imam Abu Hanifah and therefore is called Hanafi. It came in to being at Kufa and the compilation was carried out by collective research and interpretations. This Fiqh is originally based on the opinions, fatwas, judgments and thinking methods of the outstanding Companion Hadhrat Abdullah bin Mas'ood and fourth Caliph Hadhrat Ali bin Abu Talib. These opinions, fatwas, judgments and thinking methods reached Abu Hanifah by the channel of Hammad bin Abi Sulaiman, Hadhrat Ibrahim Nakh'ee and Hadhrat Alqamah. . The Fiqhi rules and matters were first compiled in this school. This school spread the most in the Islamic world and it was followed by a majority of the Muslims. (<http://www.deoband.net/blogs/hanafi-school-of-fiqh>)

<sup>18</sup> The word fiqh is an Arabic term meaning "deep understanding" or "full comprehension". Technically it refers to the body of Islamic law extracted from detailed Islamic sources (which are studied in the principles of Islamic jurisprudence) and the process of gaining knowledge of Islam through jurisprudence.

<sup>19</sup> Khan, Tahseen Ullah, "Women's Right in Islam" (2013). Accessed on 24 Dec. 2017, [Online: web] URL:

<http://www.nrdf.org.pk/publications/Women-Rights-in-Islam%20Final.pdf>

<sup>20</sup> “Forgotten Dowry: A socially endorsed form of violence in Pakistan”, Accessed on 16 Oct. 2017, URL:

[http://www.sachet.org.pk/web/user\\_files/File/Forgotten.pdf](http://www.sachet.org.pk/web/user_files/File/Forgotten.pdf).

<sup>21</sup> Ibrahim, Fariqa, Honour Killings under the Rule of Law in Pakistan, Master of Laws Thesis, Montreal: McGill University, (2005). [Online: web] Accessed on 19 Nov. 2017, URL:

[http://digitool.library.mcgill.ca/R/?func=dbin-jump-full&object\\_id=83953&local\\_base=GEN01-MCG02](http://digitool.library.mcgill.ca/R/?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=83953&local_base=GEN01-MCG02)

<sup>22</sup> Jirga is an assembly of rural set-up, in the Pashtun/Pakhtoon belt of Pakistan and Afghanistan. It is also important to note that there are three types or levels of jirgas: a maraka (local jirga), a qawmi (tribal jirga) and a loya jirga (national assembly) (Grant and McCallister, 2010:2).

Bhattacharya, Sanchita. "Status of women in Pakistan." *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 51, no. 1 (2014).

<sup>23</sup> Panchayat is an indigenous local-level governing body of the Indian sub-continent. In Pakistan, post 1947 it continued. A number of them are run by local elites, feudal lords and the powerful, often run the Panchayats. These bodies are not accountable to anyone and do enjoy unlimited power in the rural areas over under-privileged sections of society like women, low ranking clan members, landless tenets etc.

<sup>24</sup> Bari, Farzana and Khattak, Saba Gul, “Power Configuration in Public and Private Arenas: The Women’s Movement’s Response”, in Anita M, Weiss and S. Zulfiqar Gilani (eds.) *Power and Civil Society in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, (2001), .

<sup>25</sup> The Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) are Pakistani administrative subdivisions designated in the Article 246(b) of the Constitution of Pakistan. It include few specified districts in Balochistan and KP. The complexities of PATA’s legal framework still make upholding the rule of law a daunting task (ICG Report: 2013).

<sup>26</sup> Ibrahim, Fariqa, Honour Killings under the Rule of Law in Pakistan, Master of Laws Thesis, Montreal: McGill University, (2005).. [Online: web] Accessed on 19 Oct. 2017, URL:

[http://digitool.library.mcgill.ca/R/?func=dbin-jump-full&object\\_id=83953&local\\_base=GEN01-MCG02](http://digitool.library.mcgill.ca/R/?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=83953&local_base=GEN01-MCG02)

<sup>27</sup> Akram, Kashif, and Haim Hilman. "Empirical Investigation of Organizational Cultural, Societal and Personality Barriers of Female Employees to Become Leaders in Pakistan." *International Journal of Innovative Knowledge Concepts* 5, no. 8 (2017).

Ibrahim, Fariqa, Honour Killings under the Rule of Law in Pakistan, Master of Laws Thesis, Montreal: McGill University, (2005).. [Online: web] Accessed on 29 Oct. 2017, URL:

[http://digitool.library.mcgill.ca/R/?func=dbin-jump-full&object\\_id=83953&local\\_base=GEN01-MCG02](http://digitool.library.mcgill.ca/R/?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=83953&local_base=GEN01-MCG02)

<sup>28</sup> Osman, Mohamed Fathi, “Muslim Woman the Family and the Society” (1990), [Online: web] Accessed 18 Dec. 2017, URL:

[http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/private/cmje/issues/MUSLIM\\_WOMEN.pdf](http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/private/cmje/issues/MUSLIM_WOMEN.pdf)

<sup>29</sup> Ali, Parveen Azam, and Maria Irma Bustamante Gavino. "Violence against women in Pakistan: framework for Analysis." *Journal-Pakistan Medical Association* 58, no. 4 (2008): 198.

<sup>30</sup> Ali, Rabia, "The Dark Side of Honour" (2001), Shirkat Gah, URL: [http://www.pk.boell.org/downloads/the\\_dark\\_side\\_of\\_honour.pdf](http://www.pk.boell.org/downloads/the_dark_side_of_honour.pdf)

<sup>31</sup> Noor, Muhammad Jehanzeb. "Daughters of Eve: Violence against women in Pakistan." PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2004.

<sup>32</sup> Noor, Muhammad Jehanzeb. "Daughters of Eve: Violence against women in Pakistan." PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2004.

<sup>33</sup> Critelli, Filomena M. "Women's rights= Human rights: Pakistani women against gender violence." *J. Soc. & Soc. Welfare* 37 (2010): 135.

<sup>34</sup> Bhattacharya, Sanchita, "Pakistan: Woman: Unseen, Unheard, Targeted" (2013), Accessed 27 Nov. 2017, URL: [http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/sair/Archives/sair12/12\\_2.htm#assessment](http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/sair/Archives/sair12/12_2.htm#assessment)

<sup>35</sup> Ghag, which roughly translates as 'avaaz lagana' or 'to make something known', is when a man announces his intention to marry a particular woman. The announcement can be done in many ways. Often a messenger is sent to the house of the bride to be to inform her family that the man in question has decided to marry her. Sometimes the announcement is more dramatic and exaggerated. There have been instances where the groom-to-be has fired gunshots from the stoop of the local mosque while shouting the name of his chosen bride.

<sup>36</sup> The Pashtuns are an ethnic group who mainly live in the region of southern and central Asia, in Afghanistan and North-Western Pakistan. They speak the Pashto language and adhere to Pashtunwali, which is a traditional set of ethics guiding individual and communal conduct.

<sup>37</sup> Naz, Arab, and Waqar Ahmad. "Socio-cultural impediments to women political empowerment in Pakhtun society." *Academic Research International* 3, no. 1 (2012): 163.

<sup>38</sup> South Asian for Human Rights, Report on issues faced by minorities in Pakistan, (2009). [Online: web] Accessed on 02 Nov. 2017, URL: <http://www.southasianrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/10/IEP-Pakistan-Final.pdf>

<sup>39</sup> Islam encourages women to be active politically and to be involved in decision-making. Aisha and Umm Salama (the wives of the prophet) are clear cases in point. Umm Salama was a shrewd political adviser to the Prophet and very often acted as imam for women. Aisha, on the other hand, played a dominant part in the political arena she lived in (Jawad, 1998: 10-11).

Jawad, Haifaa. *The rights of women in Islam: An authentic approach*. Springer, 1998.

<sup>40</sup> Bano, Saira. "Women in parliament in Pakistan: Problems and potential solutions." *Women's Studies Journal* 23, no. 1 (2009): 19.