GENDER STUDIES

For CSS

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PREFACE

To me the discipline of Gender studies and gender related concepts became a source of interest when I started my M.Phil. research on Gender based violence, it not only gave me an opportunity of studying gender at length but also enabled me to write this book for CSS aspirants which is equally useful for the students of gender studies as well.

It was not a task to write this manuscript for the CSS aspirants because of sheer difference in the requirements of CSS candidates and students of Gender Studies, so efforts have been made to address the felt needs of the both.

Here I am indebted to all the teachers and friends who were source of guidance and encouragement during the course of writing this book

I am thankful to Dr. Farzana Bari for her concern in designing such a comprehensive outline and recommending books and material with the help of which it became feasible to compile this book for CSS aspirants.

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I'm thankful to Mr Atif Ali, CEO NOA Publishers Islamabad for his kind consideration and consistent motivation towards writing this book.

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What is Gender?

Originally 'gender' is a grammatical term borrowed from linguistics; it is the collective term for the categories of masculine or feminine or neuter into which nouns of many languages are allocated. Anthropology borrowed the term to discuss the social roles occupied by males and females in society. The gendered roles in society were assumed to be the 'natural' result of one's sex, but cross-cultural studies demonstrate that while sex is a universal condition of humans, gender roles vary across culture.

"Gender is seen as the process by which individuals who are born into biological categories of male or female become the social categories of men and women through the acquisition of locally-defined attributes of masculinity and femininity"

Gender refers to the attitudes, feelings, and behaviors that a given culture associates with a person's biological sex. Behavior that is compatible with cultural expectations is referred to as gender-normative; behaviors that are viewed as incompatible with these expectations constitute gender non-conformity.

Difference between Sex and Gender

Sex refers to a person's biological status and is typically categorized as male, female, or intersex (i.e. typical combinations. There are a number of indicators of biological sex, including sex chromosomes, gonads, internal reproductive organs, and external genitalia.

Sometimes it is hard to understand exactly what is meant by the term 'gender' and how it differs from the closely related term 'sex'. Understanding of the social construction of gender starts with explaining the two concepts, i.e., gender and sex. Often these two terms are used interchangeably: however, they bear different meanings as concepts. "Sex" refers to the biological and physiological characteristics that define men and women. It is defined as the anatomical and physiological characteristics that signify the biological maleness and femaleness of an individual.

"Gender" refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women. Gender emphasizes that masculinity and femininity are products of social, cultural and psychological factors and are acquired by an individual in the process of becoming a man or woman.

'Gender' is the term widely used to refer to those ways in which a culture reformulates what begins as a fact of nature. The biological sexes are redefined, represented, valued, and channeled into different roles in various culturally dependent ways.

Sex as defined earlier is the concept that emerges from anatomical and physiological characteristics that differentiates males and females biologically whereas gender can be seen as a social construct manifested by masculine and feminine roles prevalent in a culture or a society. Thus gender can be seen as an artifact of social, cultural and psychological factors which are attained during the process of socialization of an individual.

What is the significance of the concept 'gender'? In talking about the social and cultural construction of masculinity and femininity, gender allows us to see these dimensions of human roles and personalities as based not on nature but on social factors. It then allows us to address issues like subordination and discrimination as issues where change is possible.

Therefore the meaning of sex and gender, femininity and masculinity fluctuates within societies and cultures across the globe. The key differences between these two terms are:

SEX	GENDER
It is natural	It is a social construct.
It is biological. It denotes to visible differences in genitalia and related differences in procreative function	It is a socio-cultural construct and it refers to masculine and feminine qualities, behavior patterns, related roles and responsibility, etc
It is a universal term.	It is variable it changes under the influence of time, geographical and socio-cultural settings.

Defining Gender Studies

1. Gender Studies investigates the actual (physical and biological) gender differences between women and men, but thinks especially critical about what these differences mean in a socio-cultural context. Gender is a classifying principle in society and culture. It is a remarkable discriminating tool in the distribution of labour, care, possession, income, education, organizational qualities or diseases.

Opinions about what is male and what is female colour material and immaterial human products, from clothes and computer design to the image of god and mythology. Social and cultural gender patterns are internalized to an extent where our self-image is partially determined by the fact that we are male or female. Academic scholars who do research on people or their products cannot neglect gender.

2. Women's and Gender Studies is an interdisciplinary field that examines gender as a social and cultural construction. Drawing upon academic areas such as history, psychology, popular culture, literary criticism, and anthropology, the major crosses and blends the boundaries of traditional disciplines.

3. The academic discipline which analyses constructions of gender in society, often with reference to class, race, sexuality and other sociological characteristics.

Understanding Gender Studies

Gender studies looks at the manner in which the norms and patterns of behavior associated with masculinity and femininity come into being. It studies the features of these norms and patterns – which traits are considered masculine, which feminine, and why? How do stereotypical models of men and women develop? How do they change over time, and what factors contribute to changes? Also, and very importantly, what impact do such stereotypes have upon actually existing men and women?

Gender studies also has a focus upon actually existing men and women – is significant because within gender studies, there is a recognition that men and women do not exist in isolation from their other social roles and positions. A women is not only a woman – within our society, she also has a certain class position, caste position, religious identity, sexual identity, and many more. All of these factors impact her life – therefore while studying her life, all these factors need to be taken into consideration. Another feature of gender studies is that it examines how the world is gendered. Some examples can explain this concept in more clear terms.

Women Studies

Women's studies is an interdisciplinary academic field devoted to topics concerning women, feminism, gender, and politics. It often includes feminist theory, women's history (e.g. a history of women's suffrage) and social history, women's fiction, women's health, feminist psychoanalysis and the feminist and gender studies-influenced practice of most of the humanities and social sciences.

History

Women's studies is a term used to refer to the theory and practice of feminist research and teaching in the academy.

- The first women's studies course is purported to have been created by American historian Mary Ritter Beard, who in 1934 constructed a 54-page syllabus for a course titled "A Changing Political Economy as it Affects Women" .

- Although the course was never taught, it prepared the foundation for the development of the first Women's Studies program in the United States: San Diego State University's program, formally approved in 1970. Some twenty years later, 621 such programs existed, including both undergraduate and graduate programs

This growth in academic programs has been paralleled, and perhaps exceeded, by a tremendous growth in the published literature on women's studies, much of which has dealt with descriptions and analyses of the emerging field. At present, the consensus is that women's studies is, and has always been, interdisciplinary, a field akin to American, black, urban, and ethnic studies.

Women's studies, as an area of academic study, came into being during the emergence of feminism's second wave and a new dawn of political activism.

- The first courses were developed in the late 1960s in the USA, and although some courses were present in adult and higher education in the UK, it wasn't until 1980 that the first MA in women's studies was offered at the University of Kent, followed by other master's and undergraduate degrees elsewhere.

Development Gender Studies as a Discipline

The academic study of gender has a relatively short history. Its emergence can be dated as recently as the late 1960s, and its development triggered by second wave feminism. Along with developing a critique of gender inequalities, in both personal

relationships and in social positioning (especially economically and politically), second wave feminism began to draw attention to the ways in which academic disciplines and sets of knowledge acted to exclude the experiences, interests and identities of women. For example, prior to the 1970s, the social sciences in general, and sociology in particular, largely ignored gender.

 The 'people' it studied were mainly men and the topics it focused on were aspects of the social world especially significant for men, such as paid work and politics. Women were almost invisible in pre-1970s' gender-blind sociology, only featuring in their traditional roles as wives and mothers within families.

Differences and inequalities between women and men at this time were not recognised as an issue of sociological concern and were not seen as problems to be addressed. In the context of second wave feminist critiques, however, a number of disciplines across the social sciences, the arts and humanities began to pay increasing attention to gender. Thus, in sociology during the 1970s, differences and inequalities between women and men came to be regarded, especially by women sociologists, as problems to be examined and explained. Initially, studies were focused on 'filling in the gaps' in knowledge about women, gaps left by the prior male bias. Attention gradually moved to those aspects of experiences especially significant to women, including paid work, housework, motherhood and male violence.

Evolution and Development of Women/Gender Studies

as a Discipline

The History of Women's Studies

Women's Studies courses began to appear in colleges and universities in the late 1960s. The first official women's studies program was at San Diego State University in 1970. Women's Studies is a global undertaking. It began almost simultaneously around the world. Ewha University in Seoul, South Korea began its first Women's Studies program in 1977.

In the United States, Cornell University and California State University, San Diego, began Women's Studies programs in 1969; more generally in the United States, Women's Studies grew from several courses in individual universities across the country in the late 1960s to more than 600 degree-granting majors and programs today. India established vigorous Women's Studies research in the early 1970s and became one of the most active countries in the world to investigate women's experience and thought. Even this phenomenal growth hardly captures the excitement that continues to motivate those in Women's Studies.

The founding of Women's Studies was full of drama, as the positive energy of the first students and teachers met with disapproval from male administrators, male authors, and male leaders of established departments in the West. Some governments pushed for Women's Studies programs as part of generally moving their countries forward, while the decades of the 1970s and 1980s saw women at the grassroots fighting established dictators.

It was also a time when celebrated Western intellectuals in sociobiology and anthropology were asserting women's biological and intellectual inferiority as scientific fact and pointing, in contrast, to the risk-taking and intellectual originality of men. Women's Studies were a fad, other naysayers claimed, and one without the slightest intellectual merit.

Development of Women's Studies in USA

The first accredited Women's Studies course was held in 1960 at the University of Kansas. The first two Women's Studies Programs in the United States were established in 1970 at San Diego State College (now San Diego State University) and SUNY-Buffalo. The SDSU program was initiated after a year of intense organizing of women's

consciousness raising groups, rallies, petition circulating, and operating unofficial or experimental classes and presentations before seven committees and assemblies. The first scholarly journal in interdisciplinary women's studies, Feminist Studies, began publishing in 1972. The National Women's Studies Association (of the United States) was established in 1977. The first Ph.D. program in Women's Studies was established at Emory University in 1990.

As of 2012, there are 16 institutions offering a Ph.D. in Women's Studies in the United States. Courses in Women's Studies in the United Kingdom can be found through the Universities and Colleges Admissions Service

"When we speak of the 'evolution' of Women's Studies, it is important to emphasize that this is a multifaceted process. Women's Studies have differed widely over time, and across identities, disciplines, and institutions."

TIMELINE

- 1953: Rise of the second-wave of feminism brought on with the help of the English translation of Simon de Beauvoir's book The Second Sex.
- 1970: First official women's studies program was at San Diego State University.
- 1970s: Men's Studies, sometimes known as masculinity studies, emerges in response to perceived advantages brought to women by feminist political action.
- "Women's Study truly is and always will be a field in motion."(Bonnie Zimmerman, president of National Women's Studies Association)
- 1972: The Women's Studies Quarterly and Feminist Studies journals are founded as interdisciplinary forums for the exchange of emerging perspectives on women, gender, and sexuality.
- 1974: The Women's Educational Equity Act (WEEA) is established to fund research, professional development, and a variety of resources to schools to bring attention to gender equity issues.
- 1977: The National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) is created.
- 1978: Congress includes educational services in the Civil Rights Act designed to eliminate sex bias in school and society.
- 1979: The first meeting of the National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) discusses the subject of whether women's studies were a discipline in its own right.
- 1980s: Women's studies undergoes an intensely self-reflective period as it grapples with the issues of how to identify the concept of "women," which had largely been defined as white, middle-class, heterosexual, Christian, education women of privilege.(Betty Friedan)

- 1980: The National Institute of Education commissions a series of eight monographs on women's studies as well as the Women's Studies Evaluation Handbook.
- 1983: The Task Group of Men's Studies is formed.
- 1984: The National Organization for Changing Men (NOCM) institutes the "Men's Studies Newsletter."
- "Women's studies will one day fill libraries and create whole new courses in psychology, sociology, and history."–Betty Friedan, author of the Feminine Mystique
- 1990s: Development of "queer theory" moves to include sexuality studies in women's/gender studies.
- 1990: Rise of third-wave of feminism seeks to challenge or avoid what it deems the second wave's "essentialist" definitions of femininity and uses a post-structuralist interpretation of gender and sexuality as its central ideology.
- 1991: The American Men's Studies Association (AMSA) is founded.
- 1992: The Courage to Question: Women's Studies and Student Learning is published after The Fund for Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE) funded a comprehensive evaluation of women's studies programs.
- 2000s: The great naming debate over Women's Studies versus Gender Studies**.

Some of the most predominant institutions to have women's studies programs at the undergraduate or graduate level include the University Of California system, Emory University, and universities in Michigan, Wisconsin, New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and New York.

Many women's studies courses are designed to explore the intersectionality of gender and other topics. For example, in gender and science research, the sciences are explored and critiqued through feminism, as when Anne Fausto-Sterling, Professor of Biology at Brown University, explores biology through the feminist lens.

Presently, Women's studies is engaged in a heated debate over the move to eliminate the term women and replace it gender. The change to gender studies suggests that the field needs to be paying attention to the relationships between men and women rather than focusing predominantly on women's experiences and knowledge itself.

The main argument against the change to Gender Studies is the claim that this shift will undo the past forty years in bringing women and women's standpoints to the forefront in research, knowledge, and cultural production. But there are also many arguments for the change to Gender Studies. One is that it is a more appropriate title as it also includes gay, lesbian, and transgendered individuals.

Another is the thought that the title change will open up the women's studies environment to include Men who will feel more comfortable in something called gender studies. In the end, though, the change from women's studies to gender studies will ultimately be up to the universities and colleges in which they are offered.

Gender Studies in UK

At this time in the 1960s and early 1970s, the sheer number of women concentrated in the humanities in comparison to other academic fields made it an area ripe for feminist critique, since women's existence in such numbers here was itself the result of the gendered logic of the workplace. It is at this stage, during the late 1960s in the US and from the mid- to late 1970s in the UK, that women's studies as a specialised area of academic interest began to develop, as well as rapidly spreading elsewhere around the globe (the first British women's studies programmes were all taught MAs, emerging first in Kent (1980) and then York and Warwick). Thus women's studies as a discrete area of study was born, even though the early days were characterised by a huge rush of energy, where 'such courses began to be taught, quite spontaneously and without substantial prior organization, at many US colleges and universities beginning in 1969'

It was a similar story in the UK and it was only retrospectively that teachers in the field communicated nationally and internationally and debated what women's studies was and could be (the first national women's studies conference in the UK took place in 1976). Early on the link to feminist politics was tangible – these scholars were often found beyond the academy, in women's liberation newsletters, at conferences and generally networking with like-minded thinkers. They saw women's studies as not only challenging the boundaries of existing knowledge and developing new areas of study, but also as legitimizing the differing social and cultural experiences of women. Many women's studies courses contained a consciousness raising (CR) component where the experiences and identities of the students themselves determined the dynamics of the classroom.

Firmly interdisciplinary in perspective, women's studies initially resided mainly (if uneasily) within the disciplines of English, history and sociology, and was dependent upon the energies of sometimes isolated individuals working within a generally male-oriented curriculum.

Once women's studies programmes emerged, often gathering together the work of scholars across the disciplines into one center or as the core team of a master's or undergraduate degree, the area developed a clearer identity. Rather than seeing its major role as casting a critical eye over the traditional disciplines, women's studies could become more broadly a contestation of knowledge under patriarchy and allow a

revaluation of knowledge, art and experience that had formed the basis of women's lives.

Even though the 'women's studies' identity suggests a degree of empowerment for feminist knowledge, it is always pulled in two directions – as a critique that transforms existing disciplines and as a specialist, even separatist, area of academic concern. Within the disciplines, this critique sometimes amounted to 'adding women in' rather than recognizing that men too are gendered beings. Gradually, though, and arising out of men's pro-feminist politics, there began to develop in the 1980s a body of knowledge and theorizing around men as 'men'. Consequently, books (both popular and academic) on men and masculinity proliferated in the 1990s, to the extent that 'men's studies' is now recognized as a specialist area of academic focus.

Conclusion

Women's studies programmes, courses or modules have also developed across Europe Australia, Asia and the Middle East, until it has become in Mary Maynard's words, 'something of a global educational phenomenon' even though the scope of the framework of such courses will depend on cultural context and social and institutional attitudes to the field. Because second wave feminism focused much more on the way ideas and knowledge itself exclude women's interests and identity, the establishment of women's studies

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Moreover, much as students still flock to women's studies classrooms, it is also true that many seek the security of the established disciplines when it comes to naming their degrees, suspecting, perhaps rightly that future employers may be more willing to take on graduates with qualifications in disciplines that they recognize and whose value they understand.

From Women Studies and Men's Studies to "Gender Studies"

'Gender studies' is seen by many to further open up the field of women's studies, beyond its beginnings in the politics of the Women's Liberation Movement. At the same time that women's studies and, later, men's studies

Men's Studies

(Men's studies is an interdisciplinary academic field devoted to topics concerning men, masculism, gender, and politics. It often includes feminist theory, men's history and social history, men's fiction, men's health, feminist psychoanalysis and the feminist and gender studies-influenced practice of most of the humanities and social sciences)

Then it became established as specialized areas of academic inquiry, broader theoretical developments began to undermine their very rationale. In postmodernist and post-structuralism approaches, the very idea of 'women' and 'men' as discrete and unitary categories is challenged.

The individual status and position of those we group together and call 'women' and of those we call 'men' are argued to vary so greatly over time, space and culture that there is little justification for the use of these collective nouns. Similarly, in post-structuralism analysis, 'women' and 'men' are regarded as constructions or representations, achieved through discourse, performance and repetition rather than being 'real' entities.

Gender Studies as all inclusive

Together, these theoretical approaches have had a great impact on feminism, women's studies and men's studies, and have been a key driver of the increased recognition of diversity and difference. Inequalities and differences, not just between genders but within genders, based on class, sexuality, ethnicity, age, disability, nationality, religion, and citizenship status, for example, are now attended to. In this context, 'women's studies' and 'men's studies' have become increasingly contested terms. As understandings of gender have developed as a complex, multi-faceted and multi-disciplinary area, involving the study of relationships within as well as between genders, the term 'gender studies' has gained currency, albeit not uncontested.

For some women's studies proponents, 'the rise of gender studies can take the form of making women per se invisible in the study of masculinity or male/female relations'

Concurrent with this is the sense that the fact of women's continued social inequality becomes obliterated, resulting in the depoliticisation of a subject that grew out of controversy and political radicalism. Women's studies has had to accept that a monolithical model of 'woman' can exclude and affirm inequality, and gender studies is one way of addressing this concern.

Whatever label given to the academic study of gender relations in the twenty-first century, there are a number of features that have endured. First, the study of gender remains resolutely multi and inter-disciplinary and that is its key strength, and has had the most profound impact on contemporary theory and attitudes to the production of knowledge. Second, alongside the more focused, if varied, constellation of texts, knowledge and theorizing on and about gender that constitutes gender studies, gender issues continue to penetrate mainstream disciplines more widely (though not always with ease) and are enthusiastically embraced by students. Third, feminism remains a central perspective for the study.

Furthermore, many women's/gender studies academics now in the academy constitute the first generation to be educated in gender as students themselves and are correspondingly distant from the heady politics and campus activism of the 1960s and 1970s.While challenges can be made from within the institution from a gendered perspective, these are performed with an awareness that gender/women's studies remains itself dependent upon the academy (and the means by which it receives funds) for survival and for the support of feminist and gender-related research.

To conclude, It was the goal of many feminist scholars to question original assumptions regarding women's and men's attributes, to actually measure them, and to report observed differences between women and men. Initially, these programs were essentially feminist, designed to recognize contributions made by women as well as by men. Soon, men began to look at masculinity the same way that women were looking at femininity, and developed an area of study called "men's studies." It was not until the late 1980s and 1990s that scholars recognized a need for study in the field of sexuality. This was due to the increasing interest in lesbian and gay rights, and scholars found that most individuals will associate sexuality and gender together, rather than as separate entities. So the "Gender Studies" addressed all together at one place.

Gender Studies as Multidisciplinary in Nature

Textbooks, program descriptions, and course syllabi proclaim this with the regularity of a finely tuned Swiss clock. As early as 1976, Florence Howe, in her introduction to High School Feminist Studies, announced that "all women's studies courses are, by their very nature, interdisciplinary. By 1991, the term was still used prominently; for example. The National Women's Studies Association announced that year that women's studies and women's studies programs are fundamentally interdisciplinary.

But if the profession is so convinced of its interdisciplinary character, why bother to Women's studies, emerging as the academic arm of the women's movement in the 1960s, exists in tandem with feminist scholarship, which, as Marian Lowe and Margaret Lowe Benston explain, has functioned to develop a woman-oriented understanding of the world, to seek out explanations for women's oppression, and to identify strategies for change. Women's studies has operated as one of these strategies for change, primarily as a way of disseminating information and "educating for change," based on the actual experiences and languages of women

Women's and Gender Studies explores women's past and present contributions to societies as persons, creators and thinkers. It also explores the cultural, racial, and economic diversity of women's experiences as well as the scholarship concerned with the factors that affect women's and men's lives. The minor prepares students to think critically about issues with which they will be faced all of their lives. Thus, Women's and Gender Studies is an essential component of a liberal arts education.

Women's and Gender Studies draws upon methods and content from a wide range of disciplines, including anthropology, literature and the arts, biology, economics, history, political science, psychology, religion and sociology. It seeks to extend students' intellectual development by helping them to understand women's accomplishments and capabilities, and by looking beyond the limits of traditional gender-differentiated roles.

  The mission of Women's Studies is to study women and gender from a feminist perspective, recognizing women's experiences and ambitions by placing women at the centre of inquiry. The primary aim of Women's Studies is to make women visible and to seek social justice for the marginalized sections of the society. Students in Women's Studies are expected to adopt Women's Studies as a change-making exercise. It also seeks to engage students in the production of knowledge that emerges from feminist critique of social, cultural and institutional structures that promote and strengthen patriarchy, for the elimination of gender biases.

The field of gender studies explores the ways that femininity and masculinity affect an individual's thought process. This is relevant in a variety of realms, such as social organizations and institutions, interpersonal relationships, and understandings of identity and sexuality .Gender studies is a discipline created originally by activists,and those who study it today see it as their mission to identify, analyze, and correct social inequities both locally and globally.

Gender Studies explores power as it relates to gender and other forms of identity, including sexuality, race, class, religion, and nationality. Gender Studies encompasses interdisciplinary fields, which include exploration of the histories and experiences of diverse women and men as well as studies of sexualities, masculinities, femininities, and gender systems in society.

 It also analyzes how gender plays out in politics, intimate life, culture, the workplace, athletics, technology, health, science, and in the very production of knowledge itself. College courses emphasize critical thinking and analysis along with social justice activism. These courses teach interdisciplinary methods, relate debates in the field to key intellectual and social movements, explore intersections of feminist studies, masculinity studies, and queer studies, and assist students with professional development. Gender Studies emphasis on the relationships between gender and society historically and cross-culturally, and on the changes now occurring in the roles of women and men, on the participation of women in the major institutions of society, and on women themselves.

Gender is then understood as not a freestanding category, but rather one that takes shape through its intersection with other relations of power, including sexuality, race, ethnicity, class, nationality, and religion. It offers historical, contemporary, and transnational analyses of how gender and sexual formations arise in different contexts such as colonialism, nationalism, and globalization. Globalization understands the ways that gender operates in different national and cultural contexts.

 Through this understanding, many graduates get advanced degrees in a profession such as law or business. Graduates report working in a range of areas including communications and media, arts and education, business, politics and government, the law, health, and non-profit sector. In addition to its focus on the history and achievements of women, gender scholarship has inspired research and curricula that address men's lives, masculinity, and the lives of people who identify as Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual or Transgender.

The increasing global concern about the equal rights of sexes, their obligations and opportunities in all fields and at all levels of development warrant first the understanding of the present state of women with reference to the inequalities in various spheres of life

starting from basic human rights of food, health, clothing and education to women access and participation in economic and political activities, decision making and other matters.

Women's and Gender Studies provides critical thinking skills and an understanding of women's diverse contributions to society, which are valuable for a wide variety of careers. Women's and Gender Studies Programs are committed to realizing the equality of women and men in all areas of life so that our relationships, both personal and social, are characterized by the freedom and mutuality which can only occur among equals. Increasingly, specialists in Women's and Gender Studies are being used as consultants in industry, higher education, insurance companies and personnel firms – even state and federal government agencies require people who have special training in understanding gender relations.

Now this discipline is helpful in sustainable gender development activities with strong commitment for human rights, faith in the potential of women, complementarily of gender roles, and mutual gender respect.

Multidisciplinary Nature of Gender/Women's Studies

Intellectually, the origin of Gender/Women's Studies can be traced to the Humanities, that is, to History, Literature and Philosophy. While the liberal social sciences, such as Psychology, Sociology, Anthropology, Economics and Political Science, have played important roles in furthering the discipline, the main methodological and theoretical contributions are traceable to the humanistic disciplines. Feminist historians pointed out the essential absence of women from historical accounts. History has been written traditionally as his-story leaving her out.

Historical accounts written from male perspectives, and primarily concerned with celebrating heroic pursuits in war, conquest and the display of brute force, have overlooked the important contributions of women in all fields, particularly agriculture and crafts. Feminist historians have sought to reinsert women into history by highlighting their many contributions to human industry and creativity. Literary Studies have primarily contributed the methods of deconstruction, and taught feminist researchers how to read the social sub-text and the silences that speak beneath the layers of repression in language. The fields of Philosophy and sociology of knowledge have enormously influenced feminist research methodology, which rejects the strict separation of subject and object in the process of critical inquiry.

Feminist researchers and Gender/Women's Studies academics reject the idea of an impersonal and abstract science that is ethically or morally irresponsible. Gender/Women's Studies academics adhere to the idea that all knowledge is ideological as it depends upon human labour for its production and representation. Knowledge is, therefore, not neutral but always political as it invariably represents a specific vantage point and is dependent upon the methods used in its construction. Knowledge is thus partial and cannot be entirely objective or detached from the object of inquiry. It is the ethical and moral responsibility of the researcher to take the knowledge back to those who were engaged in producing it. Feminists debunk the notions of complete objectivity, impartiality, detachment, and methodological binaries such as subject/object and pure/applied.

There is a great deal of emphasis in Gender/Women's Studies on subjectivity and inter-subjectivity as two or more people interact in complex ways. Gender/Women's Studies is about knowledge, about how we view the world, understand it and act upon it in order to change it. One of the basic guiding principles in Gender/Women's Studies is that all knowledge is deeply inter-related and cannot be compartmentalised into separate subject areas. The fragmentation of knowledge first into science and arts, and further into physic

Since Gender/Women's Studies is so deeply related to all other social disciplines, there has been a debate about whether it is better to have separate Gender/Women's Studies departments in universities, or to integrate Gender/Women's Studies and feminist understandings into the various areas of knowledge within existing departments. The advantage of separate Gender/Women's Studies departments is that feminist perspectives would not be lost or de-prioritised in relation to other concerns. Rather, such perspectives would inform research and teaching in all the disciplines. On the other hand, the danger of separate Gender/Women's Studies departments is that of ghettoization. Feminists have feared that by creating separate departments, universities simply appease women and the subsequent treatment of such departments is that of a stepchild.

Such departments are often considered superfluous and unnecessary and expenditure on them is regarded as wasteful. Very often, there is miniscule funding for Gender/Women's Studies departments, with the result that they are often cash-strapped and cannot offer lucrative scholarships or funding to eager or deserving students. This in turn reinforces the idea that such departments merely duplicate the work that can best be done within existing departments. Some feminists also believe that since feminism is about holistic and inter-disciplinary perspectives, making separate islands contradict the very purpose of Gender/Women's Studies.

Feminist perspectives should be integrated within existing fields of knowledge instead of creating ghettos that serve no purpose. Since Gender/Women's Studies as a discipline is so centrally concerned with re-conceptualising and reinterpreting the world from alternative perspectives, it is not only about women as is commonly believed. The work of feminists has ranged all the way from studies of individual women and the family, to analyses of the gendered nature of states, religions, militaries, wars, and political and economic structures. It is a vast area and any issue, structure, idea, movement or event can become the subject matter of Women Studies

The main difference from general social science, which also covers any area of social concern, is that Gender/Women's Studies would look at the gendered nature of the subject being examined. This is because of the fundamental premise on which feminists work, namely that social 'reality' and language, and knowledge itself are gendered phenomena. As 'reality' is apprehended in language, which is gendered, the very way in which human beings have come to view the universe (knowledge) is gendered to the core. According to a feminist understanding of knowledge, the world is divided by language and knowledge into mutually exclusive categories such as inner/outer, subjective/objective, passive/active, feminine/masculine, irrational/rational or inferior/superior. In each binary division of the world, there is a hierarchisation, in that one category is perceived as higher than, better than or superior to the other. Women, and all that is considered feminine, are relegated to the categories of inner, lesser,

passive, inferior, lower, subjective, emotional, irrational, categories, which are considered negative.

By contrast, men and all this is deemed to be masculine, are associated with positive categories such as outer, rational, active, objective, better or higher. One category as a whole is privileged over the other and this inequality permeates all thinking, understanding and imagining. Feminists believe that since one of the first divisions that human beings experience is that of gender (we learn that we are male or female), all subsequent divisions and inequalities are experienced within this first sense of 'otherness' and alienation. Our minds, our work, our activities and the social structures we construct, whether it is the state, nation or religion, come to be informed at some level by the first distinction and inequality that characterizes our lives and being.

This, in a nutshell, constitutes a feminist understanding of the world. Based on a feminist understanding of the world, Sabeeha Hafeez offers the following comprehensive definition of Gender/Women's Studies: Gender/Women's Studies is concerned both with the examination and restructuring of knowledge itself, the social and historical conditions in which knowledge is generated produced, legitimised as valid or true, transmitted through formal and informal education and consumed by both women and men of various social class backgrounds, ethnicity and age levels. In this way, its aims are similar to those of sociology of knowledge.

But Gender/Women's Studies is further concerned with the radical restructuring of the processes for production, transmission and consumption of knowledge for transforming patriarchal, authoritarian and hierarchical society. In other words, the aim of Gender/Women's Studies is to create and imbibe anti-authority, anti-hierarchy and anti-patriarchy norms in people through innovative changes in the content and process of instruction in the classroom. Hafeez contends that the discipline of Gender/Women's Studies contributes to a reinterpretation of the world as an educational mechanism of the women's movement, however the discipline itself 'originated from a certain level of awareness of the society about women's subordination and patriarchy'.

 She thus points to the important interplay of action and reflection, which is central to an understanding of feminism and Gender/Women's Studies. As a result of the dialectical relationship between action and reflection, several schools of thought developed including liberal, Marxist, Radical, Socialist and post-modern, and the lively debates between them continue to enrich the discipline.

Gender/Women's Studies in Pakistan

According to Rubina Saogol, Gender/Women's Studies, as a social discipline, arose within women's movements and feminist struggles that raged across the globe over the last two centuries. Although the discipline, as a field of study, has only been established in the last three or four decades, but it has a history that goes back much further. Women have been expressing their wants, needs, desires, sorrows, joys, love and hate for centuries, through the oral traditions of storytelling, singing and lullabies, however systematic studies of women in relation to the world go back to the 18th century Enlightenment era.

The publication of Mary Wollstonecraft's book is often taken as a starting point of women's formal entry into public political and intellectual discourse. In the 19th and 20th centuries, feminism as an intellectual discourse as well as political activism developed rapidly, and various schools of thought emerged, which contributed immensely to an understanding of women and their relationship to social, cultural, economic, political and ideological structures. As Gender/Women's Studies developed within an interaction of theory and practice, there is a unique and special emphasis in the discipline on the relation between action and reflection.

It is generally held that action gives rise to theory, which guides and limits further action, and in turn the action refines, challenges or changes the theory. Gender/Women's Studies, therefore, is not simply about academic discourse or struggles for rights and justice. It is about both, each contributing to an understanding of the other. It is a dynamic discipline, which has relied fairly heavily on women's experiences and their everyday lived realities. Ever since the realisation that women experience the world in ways that are sometimes radically different from men's ways of seeing, knowing, understanding and acting, women's oral histories, oral testimonies and personal stories have played a central role in the development of the methods that are employed in Gender/Women's Studies.

Feminist Movements/Struggles in Pakistan

Although feminist struggles in Pakistan go back a long way,5 the major turning point for current struggles was the era of Zia-ul- Haq's Islamisation era when a spate of discriminatory laws were passed that affected women directly. In particular, the *Hudood* Ordinances of 1979, which include the highly controversial *Zina* Ordinance, the Law of Evidence of 1984, and the Qisas and Diyat Ordinance, raised serious questions, not only regarding the status and position of women in society, but about the direction that the state was taking more generally. These measures were accompanied by the Islamisation of the judiciary by creating a parallel religious judicial system, and major changes in education and the media in the name of Islam. All these steps threatened to

create a state dominated by the clergy, and based on a version of Islam highly detrimental for the rights of women and religious minorities.

This version of Islam, dictated by one sect, alienated large sections of society and, unwilling or unable former activists. Although WAF, as an organization, had never accepted foreign funds and had been sustained on the contributions of its own members, individual activists began to receive foreign funds for what came to be called Women in Development (WID) and later Gender and Development (GAD). The Gender and Development discourse transformed the landscape of Pakistani feminism beyond recognition. Narrow, superficial and technocratically conceived notions of both Gender and Development led to a static view of what was earlier a dynamic discourse and an impassioned movement. The World Conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985 had laid stress on what came to be called 'Gender Mainstreaming'.

The focus on so-called mainstreaming, sometimes critically called 'male- streaming' gender, distorted the very notions of gender and feminism. Gender, which initially meant the hierarchical division and dichotomizing of the world into masculine and feminine, came to be a substitute for the word 'women'. Understanding and political action came to be substituted by the concept of 'training', which implies lower order learning based on repetitive skills and mechanical tasks. Gender was combined with training to create a highly technocratic, mechanical and meaningless notion called 'gender training', which aimed to change the way people think and act within a period of three or five or ten days. Based on faulty premises both in terms of learning theory and gender struggles, 'gender training' came to substitute political action by real people on a real and unjust world. Gender training was reduced to a serious of mechanical actions and reactions, and a set of silly, childish and meaningless 'party games', which had the effect of deadening the mind and de-politicizing thought and action.

While the *Hudood* Ordinances saw hundreds of poor rural women languishing in jails, and women were being beaten, murdered, sold, bought and raped in the name of *Karo Kari, Wulwar, Swarah and Vani*, gender trainers were busy playing fun games, which involved clapping, dancing, blowing whistles and making awkward gestures with their bodies. This was done in the name of 'consciousness raising' a term borrowed from the 1960s and 1970s style encounter groups and popular psychology.

A number of Pakistani men and women became involved in the kind of 'gender training' that relies on party games and exercises called 'ice breakers' or 'energizers', since a great deal of money was poured into this form of conservative and a-political pedagogy. Apart from the gender training strand based on pop-psychology, another strand, which may be called the integrationist view, was also observed. This view was also based on a static notion of gender and meant the integration of gender concerns, ideas practices into all policies, programmes and practices. While one has no quarrel with integration in

theory, in practice it reproduced the adage: 'add women and stir'. There was a rush to insert so-called gender concerns or gender ideas into every policy and programme of the government and non-government sector.

Whether it was sanitation, health, education, drainage or elections, gender issues had to be integrated or the project would not be funded. This led to a great deal of tokenism, in that the nominal presence of women or the ineffective inclusion of women in local bodies, government or committees came to be seen as gender integration and empowerment. Oftentimes, mere numbers became indicators of women's empowerment, when on the ground no change could be discerned in women's status, power or position. This phenomenon also created a market for technocrats, experts and consultants on gender who became a part of the global political economy of gender.

Often without any experience on the ground, ideological clarity, or involvement in serious political struggles, experts and technocratic consultants produced superficial technical reports on the issues of gender equality. The Harvard Analytical Framework, which in reality is hardly analytical or even a comprehensive framework, became the dominant form of knowledge used by these experts in their work. A highly de-contextualised form of knowledge, and abstract in the extreme, the Harvard Analytical Framework could be used without regard to time and space any place, anywhere, , anytime. As a result, its categories were sterile and its concepts a-historical and useless. It is also highly static with a number of concepts fixed and frozen in time, and its dichotomous notions do not reflect 'reality'. The dichotomies between practical and strategic needs, between sex and gender, and between the condition and position of women are not static, and far too complex to be reduced to binary notions.

What suffered most as a result of the report producing culture in the area of gender and development, was activism and political critique for change. International donors openly and vigorously discouraged activism, which had been regarded by feminists as the very basis of reflection and theory building. Consultants and experts refused to acknowledge the heavy debt they owed to activists who had initially raised the issues. Over a period of time, the women's movement as a passionate, spontaneous and political movement died out. In its place, came the straitjacket of gender and gender training. Saturated in alienating terminology, suffused with ideas of game playing and manipulation, and overlaid with the notion of change as technique and method, gender training rapidly overtook all other concepts of development.

Development was now devoid of politics and stripped of meaning. Development, in this view, no longer referred to structural change, a transformation of the economic and social structures and in systems of ideology. It became a pastime in which individuals, rather than the social collective, came to be associated with patriarchy. Oppression was now a matter of individual behaviour and action, rather than a systemic feature of the

fundamental structures of society. Issues such as land reforms, the redistribution of wealth, a change in the productive and reproductive systems of society, which used to form the core of feminist critique and action, fell prey to the ubiquitous presence of gender training. The latter had nothing at all to do with social transformation and material change. It focused on a change in the behaviour and attitude of individuals in their relations with each other. According to Sabeeha Hafeez, 'the problem with these training programmes is that rather than targeting the source of patriarchy, they mostly taught the victims'.

It must be mentioned here that not all feminists and non- governmental organisations fell prey to the technocratic ideology of gender training and integration. Some NGOs and individuals remained mainly committed to the political approach, characterised by the WAF movement and continued to be engaged in serious research, academic work combined with a vigorous activism. Although such approaches diminished, they exerted their influence in the direction of political and structural change. However, the international donors by and large remain committed to the narrow and technicist approach, combined with a serious discouragement of political activism. This constrains the work of some organisations that take a more overtly political line, yet they continue their own ideological struggles independently of the donors.

Institutional Arrangements for Gender Integration the Government of Pakistan generally remains committed to an integrationist, liberal approach rather than a radical transformation of social structure. Governments tend to be much more cautious and conservative than movements, and therefore, tend to remain far behind the demands of the movements. Nevertheless, movements can compel governments to turn attention to the issues they raise.

Role and Concern of Governments for Gender/Women's Development

Although governments may often engage in lip service, tokenism or window dressing, they are forced to accede to some of the more urgent demands by social movements. In compliance with one of the demands of the women's movement, the government created the Ministry of Women's Development (MoWD) at the Federal level, coupled with Women's Development Departments at the provincial levels as the basic institutional framework for women's development. At the District level, no separate EDO was created to serve women's needs.

The main purpose of the federal and provincial structure is to ensure that gender concerns are integrated in all policies, programmes and projects of the other ministries such as finance, agriculture, health or education. One of the key policy measures of the MoWD is thus 'mainstreaming gender issues through integration into all sectors of national development'.

The vision of the MoWD includes the achievement of gender equity and equality, the social, political and economic empowerment of all Pakistani women at all levels, the creation of a just, humane and democratic society, and economic prosperity through sustainable development. The goal has been defined as 'the empowerment of Pakistani women, irrespective of caste, creed, religion, or other consideration for the realization of their full potential in all spheres of life, especially social, economic, personal and political and in keeping with our Islamic way of life'. There is a clear contradiction in this statement as the empowerment of women cannot be simultaneously 'irrespective of caste, creed or religion' and 'in keeping with our Islamic way of life'. This contradiction seems to have crept in because of the tension within the official gender and development discourse. This tension arises from the state having acceded to the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) with the reservation that anything in conflict with the constitution of Pakistan would not be accepted.

The Islamic character of the constitution allows the state to take recourse to cultural and moral relativism in applying the principles contained within CEDAW. Since cultural and moral relativism are often used to deny rights, this has been a problem for many states, including Pakistan. It is also important to note that while the state is responsible for creating the environment for women's development, as the state has acceded to CEDAW and is answerable to the UN for its actions, the women's movement is much larger than the state. It has to constantly exert itself to influence the state to ensure that it keeps its commitments. However, UN-oriented official feminism is liberal in its basic assumptions and limited by its focus on access and numbers. The work of 'democrats' has its usefulness in changing policy up to a point, but beyond that struggles on the ground are needed as the problem is social, structural and cultural, and the state's actions are circumscribed by a number of political considerations.

Nevertheless, in 1998 the government of Nawaz Sharif endorsed the National Plan of Action (NPA) prepared by the MoWD, thus committing the state to the actions suggested by the NPA regarding various areas including law, human rights, the media, the environment, the girl child, education, violence against women and health. A long-standing demand of the women's movement was the establishment of an independent commission on the status of women. In 2000, the National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW) was created through an Ordinance. Its purpose is primarily to examine, review and monitor progress in women's empowerment and rights, in accordance with obligations under CEDAW and NPA, and in the light of the recommendations of the reports on the status of women, especially the report produced in 1997.

The aim of the commission to review and suggest changes in any law, policy, project or procedure that does not conform to women's empowerment and development, or

violates any of the norms and principles enshrined in CEDAW and included in the NPA. The NCSW reviewed the Hudood laws in 2003 and made useful recommendations, however to date no change has been made. Since the role of the NCSW is that of a watchdog, some tension between the role of the MoWD and the NCSW is bound to arise. The MoWD is the implementing agency, while the NCSW monitors and evaluates the progress and implementation of policy. Therefore some conflict is likely, especially because there is some overlap of functions and roles.

Nevertheless, the two institutions are expected to work in tandem for women's development. Although the reservation with which Pakistan acceded to CEDAW, places constraints on the MoWD, there is nonetheless a commitment to the overall development of women, including education. Among the ministry's aims and objectives is included the following: 'to expeditiously and substantially enhance women's literacy rates, improve attainment levels of girls and women at all levels of education (both academic and professional) to reduce the gender gap, and to reorient existing curricula by making them gender sensitive'.

Gender/Women's Studies in Higher and Academic Education

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Thus, there is a policy commitment to higher and academic education under which Gender/Women's Studies Centers would fall. The commitment to research and analysis is also included among the roles and functions of the NCSW, which states: 'to encourage and sponsor research to generate information, analysis and studies relating to women and gender issues to provide knowledge and awareness for rational policy and strategic action'.

 Both institutions created for the development of women are thus integrally related to the state of Gender/Women's Studies as a discipline in Pakistan, especially since it is not a 'purely' academic discipline and has a strong base in activism and implementation. The National Plan of Action (NPA), endorsed by the government in 1998, also recommends the promotion of the 'inter-disciplinary field of Gender/Women's Studies in public and private educational/training institutions' and the strengthening of 'action-based, policy directed research on women's issues'.

Gender/Women's Studies Centers at Universities

The action recommended was that the funding of Gender/Women's Studies Centers at five universities throughout Pakistan should be ensured through the Ministry of Education and the UGC (now Higher Education Commission). It was also recommended that there should be 'linkages and exchange of information and expertise between public and private Gender/Women's Studies initiatives, including the Gender/Women's Studies curriculum of the Allama Iqbal Open University (AIOU).

There is thus a commitment at the state level to promote and encourage the discipline through ensured funding and support. Gender/Women's Studies Centers The Gender/Women's Studies Centers in Pakistan can be divided into public, (those funded by the government and/or international donors, and established at state universities), and those in the non-government sector funded primarily or only by international donors. In 1989, the Women's Development Division (now Ministry of Women's Development) established Gender/Women's Studies Centers in five universities, initially as a five-year project. The major objectives of these centers were:

1. Critical Examination Of Concepts, Theories, Models And Methodologies That Have Been Responsible For Excluding Or Rendering Women Invisible In Scientific Investigation And Development;
2. Redefinition Of Curricula At The University, Colleges And High Schools With A View To Incorporating Knowledge On Women And Contributions By Women Scholars;
3. Creation Of Awareness And Generating A Debate On Women's Issues;
4. Development Of Introductory Foundation Courses In Gender/Women's Studies For The University Students;
5. Promotion Of Academic And Action- Oriented Research On Women In Development;
6. Identification, Replication and Translation of Relevant Materials From Other Languages Into The National Language.
7. The initial funding for the creation of the centers came from the Women's Development Division (now MoWD) and, subsequently, some centers were able to raise independent funding through tuition fees and donations by foreign donors.

Public Sector Gender/Women's Studies Centers

The following is a brief overview of the state of the public sector Gender/Women's Studies Centres. The aims and objectives of the ***Gender/Women's Studies department of the Allama Iqbal Open University***, established in 1997 with funding from the Ministry of Women's Development, include among others; to introduce Gender/Women's Studies as an academic discipline through the distance learning

system, create awareness and sensitisation to gender issues at the community level through seminars and workshops, and to launch media programmes to emphasise women's role and their contributions in national and international development.

The aims and objectives of the **Women Research and Resource Centre (WRRC) of the Fatima Jinnah Women University (FJWU**), Rawalpindi, are 'to sensitise women on Gender issues and to focus on Fatima Jinnah Women University students for enhancement of education and employment opportunities in all disciplines'. It was established in 1999 emphasises 'research in various gender and social issues, which reflect on the academic ,and professional development of women by focusing on providing support services for women students of FJWU'.

 The Institute of Women Development Studies (IWDS) was established in 1994 by the University of Sindh, Jamshoro. The aim of the Institute is 'to replace the outmoded value system with one that emphasises equality and mutual respect and dignity among members of both sexes and to help to remove disparities in the provision of educational facilities'.

 The report by the IWDS indicates that the institute seems to conflate Gender/Women's Studies with Home Economics, which is a major problem as the discipline of Gender/Women's Studies challenges some of the basic assumptions of the ideology of Home Economics as a knowledge form that is meant to re-create and reinforce the gender division of labour. The focus on the 'uplift of rural women and enhancing the literacy rate, and installing better health practices', reflects a social welfare approach, which conflicts with a radical approach based on the transformation of material and ideological structures of patriarchy. Courses and Training Programmes There seems to be fairly wide variation in the kinds and levels of courses being taught at the Gender/Women's Studies Centres and departments in the public sector.

The courses vary from highly theoretical and historical ones to courses based on practical community work. In some cases, there seems to be immense confusion regarding Gender/Women's Studies as a discipline as courses in Home Economics, dietetics, flower making or embroidery are defined as Gender/Women's Studies courses. Whether a course is a Gender/Women's Studies course depends on how a subject matter is treated. Courses in Home Economics, embroidery and flower making are generally not considered Gender/Women's Studies courses. Occasionally, such courses contain conservative issues, and in most cases the content of such courses is not transformative or the kind that challenges existing structures of inequality and oppression.

The basis of such courses in some public sector centres comes from the erroneous assumption that Gender/Women's Studies pertains to anything that deals with women,

irrespective of how conservative it might be. Although the subjects of art, crafts, literature, poetry, dance, music and drama certainly form a part of the Gender/Women's Studies approach, the difference lies in the manner in which they are addressed. Arts, crafts and literature and poetry that contain the potential for transformation are normally considered a part of Gender/Women's Studies, but not when arts and crafts are designed to reinforce patriarchal and dominant values that define what a 'good housewife and mother' must know.

Some centres, such as the one run by **Karachi University**, reflect a serious and rigorous Gender/Women's Studies approach in their course contents, while others, such as the **centre in Jamshoro, Sindh or the Punjab University,** are not based on a clear conceptual understanding of Gender/Women's Studies. The Gender/Women's Studies Centre, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, has offered three certificate courses attended by 64 participants.

The courses were interdisciplinary in nature and content. Currently, the Centre offers a six-week introductory course in Gender/Women's Studies, which is constrained due to a severe shortage of funds. However, 24 students have enrolled for the course. The Centre has proposed to integrate Gender/Women's Studies into the other social science departments of the University. It has sought to integrate women and development into Economics, feminism and anthropology into Anthropology, the history of the women's movement in Pakistan in the History department, women and peace in the Department of Strategic Studies and Defence, gendered international relations within the International Relations department, the role of women in the Pakistan Movement at the Institute of Pakistan Studies and gender issues in management within the Department of Management and Business.

However, only the Department of Anthropology responded with a list of course contents and interest in integration was expressed only by the Department of Economics. There was general indifference by the other departments, which were not responsive to the idea of integration. The Centre of Excellence for Gender/Women's Studies programme at Karachi University reflects a comprehensive and holistic approach in its course contents. There are introductory courses in Gender/Women's Studies along with courses on feminist theories, feminist research methods, women's history in South Asia, the social construction of gender and gender and development. Additionally, there are courses on the women's movement globally and in Pakistan, as well as courses on women in Islam, reproductive health, women and media, women and the environment, women and law, women in technology and entrepreneurship, gender and development and women and work. A brief overview of the course contents indicates that the feminist perspectives underlie the courses, which have a global, national, local and cross-sectorial approach.

There has so far been no teaching activity at the **Gender/Women's Studies Centre, University of Balochistan** in Quetta. A few certificate courses were conducted earlier but the space for teaching has been given to the Islamiyat and Persian departments, with the result that all teaching activity has been suspended. The approach of the Centre seems to be currently based on gender sensitisation workshops and seminars.

The short seminar courses are focused on issues such as the social empowerment of women, Islamic, legal and constitutional rights of women, women and work, women and education, and women and decision-making. The courses offered at the AIOU include a course on the psychology of women, the role of women writers in Pakistani literature, research methods in Gender/Women's Studies and feminist theories. Apart from these, the Open University requires students to attend courses in the departments of Sociology, Social Work and Population Studies. The latter include a course in social statistics and the sociology of gender. There is thus an attempt to follow an interdisciplinary orientation. The department has also prepared two TV programmes as a part of its distance learning initiative. Additionally, there are visiting lecturers by eminent scholars in the government, private and non-government sectors.

In the future, the AIOU plans the following courses at the Postgraduate levels: gender and development, perspectives on, Gender/Women's Studies, the changing role of urban women in Pakistan, the economic contribution of rural women, women's health issues, the contribution of women in education, arts and science, and technology, and women and Islam. The WRRC of the Fatima Jinnah Women University offers various courses in gender oriented development issues, which include a course on women and development, women in management, and self-esteem and mental health. Apart from these, a Gender/Women's Studies course called 'Status of Women in Pakistan' is offered for PhD candidates of the University. Training and sensitisation workshops on issues such as 'women in higher education', 'managerial skills' and 'Gender and Governance' are held at regular intervals.

In November 2002, an international workshop on 'Women in Higher Education Management' was held in collaboration with the British Council and the Association of Commonwealth Universities. The University has an eminent lecture series in which internationally renowned scholars and practitioners make presentations for students and faculty. The only courses mentioned by the IWDS at the University of Sindh, Jamshoro, are those based on Home Economics and community development, as well as short courses in income generation activities such as fabric painting, pot painting, tie and dye, fancy arts and crafts. The latter are designed to enhance income generation and do not fall within a Gender/Women's Studies paradigm.

There are courses on social research methods, nutrition and dietetics, diet therapy, physiological chemistry, health and diseases, economic problems of Pakistan, women's

health and mental illness and gender. The courses reflect a relatively vague notion of gender and how it is related to the economy and health, but the critical edge of Gender/Women's Studies courses is lacking. However, the Institute has organised workshops and seminars including one on 'Gender and Governance' and one on 'gender sensitisation' in collaboration with the MoWD. It has also held lectures on 'women and the media' and women's economic development by prominent scholars and members of the government.

MA Programme In Gender/Women's Studies

Degrees Awarded The **Gender/Women's Studies Centre at Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad**, has prepared the curriculum for the MA programme in Gender/Women's Studies after a great deal of consultation with feminists, activists, academics and consultants working in the field. However, due to various reasons, the MA programme has not been started. In 1992 and 1994, the Centre of Excellence for Gender/Women's Studies (CEWS) at Karachi University offered two certificate courses in preparation for the degree programme in Gender/Women's Studies. In 1996, the first batch of students was admitted for the full two year MA course. In 2002, CEWS launched the MPhil and PhD programmes in Gender/Women's Studies.

The interdisciplinary nature of the courses is evident from an examination of the structure of the courses. The Centre for Gender/Women's Studies, University of the Punjab, was made a department at the initiative of the University in 2001, and offers an MA in Gender/Women's Studies. The Gender/Women's Studies Centre at Peshawar University has now become a full-fledged department of Gender and Gender/Women's Studies, which has offered certificate courses and is now ready to launch a diploma programme. The AIOU currently offers courses at two levels: a one-year Postgraduate Diploma (PGD) and certificate courses.

There are plans underway to introduce the MSc programme. In the future, Open University plans to launch the MPhil and PhD programmes in Gender/Women's Studies. In the future, the WRRC of the Fatima Jinnah Women University plans to develop an MA in Gender/Women's Studies in coordination with the University of Glasgow. The Institute of Women Development Studies at the University of Sindh, Jamshoro, offers an MA in Gender/Women's Studies, it appears that so far there has not been enrolment in the degree programme. Research and Publications

The Gender/Women's Studies Centre at the Quaid-i-Azam University has prepared a directory of theses on gender issues produced in various departments of the university and this will be published upon the availability of funds. The Centre has contributed research articles to two books published in the USA and Canada. Currently, the Director is involved in a research project on 'Continuity and Discontinuity of Women's Movement

in Pakistan', and has co-authored a book on 'Women's Contribution in the Cotton Industry', due to be published soon. The director and staff, in their individual capacities, have contributed research papers in various national and international publications and have presented a large number of papers at international conferences.

The CEWS at Karachi University has completed about 100 major and minor studies on socio-economic, legal, health and environment issues. These include studies by both the faculty and students on home-based workers since Karachi is a major industrial and commercial Centre, while others are on child trafficking, legal and health issues. However, publication seems to be a relatively less developed area as no books or periodicals of any significance have yet been produced.

The Department of Gender/Women's Studies, Punjab University has conducted a study of women's development NGOs in the Punjab, a study on the gender differentials in academic achievement from primary to higher education in Pakistan, and a review of theses related to women's issues at the MA level at the Punjab University. All three studies have been published by the University.

The Peshawar University, Department of Gender/Women's Studies has published a study on the 'UN Conventions on the Rights of the Child, Islamic Law and Pakistan Legislation' by Shaheen Sardar Ali and Baela Jamil, a comparative study of CEDAW (UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women), Islamic laws and Pakistan legislation by Shaheen Sardar Ali, a study on violence against women and honour killing in N.W.F.P. by Amirzada Asad, and a case study of Bahrain, District Swat on women and economic empowerment by Basharat Hussain. The centre staff contributed to the formation of the Gender Reform Action Plan of the MoWD.

The Gender/Women's Studies Centre at the Baluchistan University has conducted research studies on communities, rural women's access to health facilities, a survey of women in jails and their needs assessments, the economic contribution of women in development, ,of women in Katchi abadis (squatter settlements), violence against women, employment of women in the public and private sectors (sponsored by the NCSW) and the Asian Development Bank, and has contributed to the development of the Gender Reform Action Plan of the MoWD funded by the Asian Development Bank.

The Centre has also been deeply involved in the Beijing +5 and +10 processes as a facilitator in organising consultative meetings at the provincial, national and local levels. The Allama Iqbal Open University has published two research studies, 'Voiceless Melodies', and 'The Case Studies of Successful Women in Pakistan'. Currently, the AIOU is in the process of carrying out the following studies based on the priorities within the NPA and in collaboration with the MoWD: needs assessment of both rural and

urban women in income- generating skills development, impact of electronic and print media in changing the image of women in rural areas of Pakistan, evaluation of credit schemes and linkages with First Women Bank and entrepreneurs, analysis of gender gaps in access to education and training, international armed conflicts and impact of refugees on Pakistani women, the impact of the structural adjustment package on women in Pakistan, women in politics in the past and present, and women and decision-making in Pakistan.

Research and Publications in Gender/Women's Studies

The WRRC of the Fatima Jinnah Women University has supervised the writing of 16 theses on gender issues at the MA levels. A monograph serious is being published, which includes 'A Critical Analysis of Government Policies, Plans and Funding of Education for Women from 1971-2001', and 'Status of Women in the Light of Four Major Religions (Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam) in the Subcontinent with Special Reference to Pakistan'. Institutional research studies in socio-cultural and economic areas are regular feature of the centre's activities.

 The faculty of Institute of Women Development Studies at the University of Sindh, Jamshoro, has published two studies both by Professor Parveen Shah. Journals The Gender/Women's Studies Centre at the Quaid-i-Azam University brought out the first issue of the Journal of Gender/Women's Studies based on the theme 'Women and the Family' in 1994. The second issue has not been published due to lack of funds for honoraria for writers, although papers for the second issue have been collected. Similarly, the Centre has published a quarterly newsletter, which was discontinued in 1997 due to lack of funds.

The feminist and Gender/Women's Studies periodicals to which the CEWS at Karachi subscribes include Gender/Women's Studies International Forum, Feminist Review, SIGN, Studies on Women, Abstracts, and Gender/Women's Studies Quarterly. The AIOU plans to publish a Gender/Women's Studies Journal, which will focus on contemporary gender issues within a national and international perspective. The work of the students of the Open University will be recommended for publication in social research journals of repute. Professional Associations The idea of setting up a Pakistan Gender/Women's Studies Association (PWSA) was first conceived by Sabeeha Hafeez in 1987.

The main aim of PWSA was 'to introduce and promote the discipline of Gender/Women's Studies in Pakistan by providing a forum for exchange of ideas among experts, policy makers, programmers, NGOs, teachers, other concerned organisations and the general public'.15 However, on account of the pressing previous commitments of various members, the association could not be established. Five years

later, in March 1992, Pakistan Gender/Women's Studies Association (PAWS) was set up by Tahira Aftab, Professor of History and Director of the Women's Study Centre at Karachi University. It was intended to provide 'a forum of interaction and coordination for those engaged in teaching, research or action forewoman's development, national and internationally'.

Role of Publuc Sector Organizations/NGO

The Association has organised national seminars on 'Women's Struggle for Survival', 'Human Rights Abuse in the Family' and 'Women's Work Experiences'. The journal Alam-e-Niswan (Pakistan Journal of Gender/Women's Studies) is brought out by the Association. It also brings out a quarterly newsletter called Panghat. The latter is distributed free of cost to non-government organisations, grass roots workers, and concerned people working on women's issues in rural and semi- urban Sindh. PAWS has 72 members and has developed close links with women at the grassroots level, in particular with self- employed women. It has also published other works.

Affiliations and Linkages

The Gender/Women's Studies Centre at the Quaid-i-Azam University has not reported any formal linkages with other institutes, however a large number of eminent scholars and practitioners in the field of Gender/Women's Studies, such as Maria Mies, the well-known German feminist, have lectured at the Centre. However, the Centre has worked in collaboration with the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI), the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), and Pattan Development Organisation (PDO). There are informal links with women's NGOs and institutes, which are not currently institutionalised.

The Centre of Excellence for Gender/Women's Studies at Karachi University runs collaborative ventures with both International organisations and Pakistani non-government organisations. It also works closely with government and semi-government institutions. It had academic linkages with the University of East London between 1975 and 1997. Additionally, CEWS has linkages with Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada and the University of Jakarta, Indonesia. These linkages involved an exchange of students, faculty as well as the collaborative holding of workshops, training programmes along with formal and informal visits.

CEWS worked with the legal organisation, Lawyers for Human Rights and Legal Aid (LHRLA) on a study on trafficking of female children and this was launched in 2002. Other research and training linkages include a collaborative study of female home-based workers with the International Labour Organisation (ILO), workshops on reproductive health issues with Shirkat Gah and documentary preparation with Pakistan Women Lawyers' Association (PAWLA).

Funding Sources

The Gender/Women's Studies Centre at the University of Baluchistan maintains regular liaison with other Gender/Women's Studies Centres as well as government departments in order to keep abreast of intellectual or policy level developments.

The WRRC of the Fatima Jinnah Women University is linked with Glasgow University, UK with help from the British Council under the Department for International Development (DFID) programme. Funding Sources the Gender/Women's Studies Centre at the Quaid-i-Azam University has received a total of PRs. 2,896,345 since 1989 from the government. The full budget was never disbursed and as a result the activities of the Centre were severely affected. Teaching, research, publication and acquisition of materials have all been hampered by the excessively low allocation of funds.

The CEWS at Karachi University was set up by the government in 1989 as a research centre. While its initial funding came from the University Grants Commission through the

Women's Ministry (earlier Women's Division), it subsequently received funds from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), ILO, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and United Nations International Children's Fund (UNICEF).

The source of funding for the Department of Gender/Women's Studies, Punjab University, is the government and the funding is channelled through the Higher Education Commission and the University. The University of Peshawar has taken up the recurring budget of the Department of Gender and Gender/Women's Studies. The Gender/Women's Studies Centre at Baluchistan University is federally funded through the Ministry of Women's Development and the Higher Education Commission.

The WRRC of the Fatima Jinnah Women University, has been funded for its capacity building programmes by CIDA, USIS, the British Council and DFID. These donors have funded the higher study of faculty abroad as well as the organising of workshops, seminars and conferences. The IWDS of the University of Sindh, Jamshoro, is funded primarily by the University of Sindh, however funding for specific programmes was supplied by the MoWD.

Faculty

The faculty of the CEWS at Karachi University consists of a Director, a Research Associate, two Cooperative Lecturers and part-time visiting external lecturers. The faculty is diverse in its interests and interdisciplinary in orientation as it belongs to various branches of the social sciences including Social Work, Geography, and History.

One faculty member has an MA in Gender/Women's Studies. One faculty member, the Director, holds a PhD in Social Work.

The Department of Gender/Women's Studies, Punjab University has two permanent staff members, one a PhD from the USA and the other an MA from Punjab University. Most of the adjunct faculty hold doctorates from Pakistan and the US. The Department of Gender and Gender/Women's Studies at Peshawar University has four full-time faculty members, a full- time Director and two lecturers have been sanctioned. The usual qualification for faculty members is MA in the social sciences, however there is one MPhil faculty member who has qualified from the University of Manchester, England.

The Gender/Women's Studies Centre at the University of Baluchistan currently has one Director along with support and technical staff. The AIOU Department of Gender/Women's Studies has one Associate Professor, and one Lecturer, apart from technical and support staff. The Associate Professor has an MPhil in History from Quaid-i-Azam University and a PhD in Gender/Women's Studies from the University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia. The lecturer holds an MSc in Anthropology from Quaid-i-Azam University and an MSc in Gender/Women's Studies from the University of London.

Currently, she is pursuing a PhD from Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand. Most of the faculty member of the IWDS of the University of Sindh, Jamshoro, is economists, while one member holds a degree in food and nutrition. Currently, the Institute has a director, two lecturers and two research associates apart from technical staff. Students The majority of the students of CEWS, Karachi, are now placed in various administrative positions in NGOs, international welfare organisations, research organisations, Planning and Development, and government and semi-government and private teaching institutions at the local and national levels.

Degree/Syllabus and Programmes

The MA at the Punjab University is a two-year course in which the third batch of students has been enrolled in 2004. The number has doubled from 37 students in 2001 to 74 in the batch enrolled in 2003. About 35 students are enrolled each year in the short arts and crafts courses of the IWDS of the University of Sindh, Jamshoro. In most cases, Gender/Women's Studies students find employment in the non-government sector, research institutes, government social sector departments, and welfare organisations.

Books and Teaching Materials The Gender/Women's Studies Centre at the Quaid-i-Azam University regularly maintains newspaper clippings and its library has approximately 200 books. However, most of the books lack any relevance to

Gender/Women's Studies and the Centre is unable to expand the library once again due to financial constraints. However, various international donors including UNICEF, UNIFEM and the Asia Foundation have donated books for the Centre.

CEWS, Karachi has over 3000 books in the fields of Women and Development, Women's Status Law, Work, Education, History, Cross-cultural works, Health, Technology, Media, Economics and Feminism. Apart from these, there is a collection of encyclopedias, rare books, reports of NGOs and research institutes, bibliographies and official documents of relevance. There is a significant collection of rare books in Urdu so that a larger number of women can gain access to the materials. Apart from books, reports and documents, the centre regularly keeps newspaper clippings from major dailies. The Centre is in the process of developing a documentation centre, which would contain audio-visual materials for use in seminars and workshops

The Centre also has a student advisory service, which addresses their intellectual guidance needs as well as conducting personal and vocational counseling. The students of the Punjab University Department of Gender/Women's Studies use the library of the University for their Studies. The Peshawar University Department of Gender/Women's Studies has a well-stocked library for the use of the students. The Gender/Women's Studies Centre at the University of Baluchistan, Quetta, has it own resource centre/library equipped with the available material on gender. The AIOU is in the process of preparing textbooks and readers as well as support material for teaching.

The Allama Iqbal Open University is currently establishing a resource centre within the University's central library. The resource centre is being equipped with books, journals and internet facilities for which both students and faculty may benefit. Summary and Reflections on Gender/Women's Studies in the Public Sector The overall picture that emerges from the above account of the Gender/Women's Studies Centres in the public sector is bleak, although it must be kept in mind that the information provided by some of them is sketchy and incomplete.

There is an immense variation in course design and content, which stems from the incoherence, which plagues the subject in Pakistan. Some departments offer a course in feminist theory and feminist research methods, while others do not run courses at all. One or two departments focus on history and literature, especially the history of women's movements, while others are concerned purely with development.

Nature vs. Nurture: a Gender Debate on Gender Differences

A gender difference is an ongoing debate which contains arguments that gender differences are caused by different biological or social differences. Both arguments are filled with controversy and have been subjected to different theories that have stemmed from various researches with an attempt to articulate and explain the causes of ones gender and how their differences manifest into either different social realms, or scientific biological realms.

As it stands today, gender in our current society is rather ambiguous; however, different factors pertaining to different research discoveries, involving neuroscience studies, evolutionary psychology, social learning theory, and other biological factors have attributed to the notion that gender development is in fact closely related to biological factors. This development is also closely associated with heterosexuals, but also provides a plausible relation to gender roles with homosexuals due to containing a strong link to not only their sexual preference, but also their biological gender roles.

Evolutionary Psychology

The primary concept of evolutionary psychology caters to the notion that the differences between genders and sexuality are a result of evolution and the different factors in men and women strategies for success. This concept also contains the thought that reproductive success is achieved through maximum sustainable of offspring and the generational success of genes being passed on between each generation. This theory not only sets a foundation for unions and the desire to obtain viable offspring, but also proposes the that men prefer short term relationships for the purpose of generating more offspring, but interestingly enough, both men and women typically are involved in a marital position with each other that becomes more increasingly desired as men and women age .

Cognitive Social Learning Theory

Factors of gender associated as a learned behavior is a result of the cognitive social learning theory. This theory purposes that gender is attributed to different social and learning factors that influence ones gender role and predicts that individuals express and explore their gender roles based on what is deemed socially acceptable, or popular in the media.The cognitive social theory also predicts that when the media portrays numerous accounts of sexuality and promiscuous sexual encounters that

gender differences will decrease and there will be a different attitude towards premarital sex and the amount of one's sexual partners .

Genetic Factors and Gender

Genes play a major role in how one physically looks as well as if a person is born male or female. Most individuals have two sex chromosomes that are inherited from each parent. Girls contain the XX and XY for boys. However, genes and chromosomes sometimes contain differences that can lead to different physical features that can appear abnormal. One of these syndromes is called Turner's syndrome and this syndrome causes individuals to only inherit one chromosome. When this occurs, ovaries or testicles will not be developed. Many different genetic discoveries are being made and some scientist conclude that our genes can essentially tell our future for physical appearance as well as different predispositions to illnesses that will develop based on one's genetic code. Genes also show a correlation between ones gender role and cannot be altered by nurture.

Homosexuality and Gender

Homosexuality and gender plays a significant role in the debate between nature and nurture primarily due to gender being viewed as being nature or nurture, but also because of the significant findings that have been established to the cause of homosexuality, the cause being if homosexuality is something biological, or socially learned.

Homosexuality Cause Debate

There has been numerous cultural wars not only in the United Stated, but also worldwide as to the cause of homosexuality. This debate has raised significant questions as to the cause of homosexuality and if homosexuals have the ability to be nurtured into homosexuality, or if certain biological factors attribute to one being a homosexual. This argument has been established not only by use of different social learning theories, which are similar to the genetic social learning theory, but also with different neuroscience evidence and aspects of rearing children in a homosexual environment.

Brain Development

The advancements of neuro scans have shown plausibility that there is a difference in homosexual brain scans as compared to heterosexual brain scans. The part of the brain that is associated with behavior and reproductive physiology known as the interstitial nuclei of the anterior hypothalamus is shown to be larger in heterosexual

males compared to homosexual males. This shows there is a structural difference between heterosexual males and homosexual males, which allows for plausibility that this significant difference is associated with homosexuals being biological and not part of different learning theories.

Parent Sexual Orientation

While some researchers argue that homosexuality is a learned behavior, there is significant evidence to support that children raised by homosexuals do not necessarily become homosexuals. The conclusions of these studies have showed there is no direct correlation with children being raised by homosexuals as learning the behavior or gender roles of the rearing couple's sexual preference, or gender roles. In fact, studies showed the majority of children that grew up with lesbian or gay parents, grew up establishing their own identities as a heterosexual. Though some argue the test subjects pertaining to homosexual couples raising children is vague and difficult to isolate and identify more test subjects, the plausibility remains that there has been more evidence to support there is correlation between individuals that were raised by homosexuals as learning the behavior from their homosexual parents.

Discussion a Gender Debate on Gender Differences

Though many argue that gender is a learned behavior, I stand to believe that gender roles associated with homosexuality is biological and genetic. Some arguments I would like to impose would be that thus far genes cannot be altered, so if gender is established by nurture then how can so many correlations with genetics be altered to make this a learned behavior. The cognitive social learning theory also implies that media and other popular social dynamics influence gender roles and development.

However, I found it difficult to find any relativity in this theory because there has been no significant research to show that learning plays a role in sexual, or gender orientation development. Most research I found in the significance of the learning theory contained personal perception which is probably motivated by strict morals and typically strict morals are difficult to change ones perception of their desired thoughts.

The evolutionary psychology theory, though it contains some discrepancies and what some may deem as archaic, I think that the evolutionary standpoint contains more aspects of gender being biological in nature. This is due to some of the key elements of the evolutionary psychology theory containing less bias and more plausibility towards gender being linked to biological factors. Though significant arguments were made on both ends but I feel the learning components of gender research was plagued with more fallacy and personal opinions rather than supportive evidence like the biological theory imposes.

Social Construction of Gender

The idea that gender difference is socially constructed is a view present in many philosophical and sociological theories about gender. According to this view,

"Society and culture create gender roles and these roles are prescribed as ideal or appropriate behaviour for a person of that specific gender. Stronger versions argue that the differences in behavior between men and women are entirely social conventions, whereas weaker versions believe that behaviour is defined by biological universal factors to some extent, but that social conventions also have some effect on gendered behavior".

Other theories claim that there are more genders than just the two most commonly accepted (male and female).

Judith Butlers View Point

Judith Butler is one of the most prominent social theorists currently working on issues pertaining to the social construction of gender. Butler is a trained philosopher and has oriented her work towards feminism and queer theory. Butler's most known work is Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity, published in 1991, which argues for gender performativity. This means that gender is not an essential category.

The repetitious performances of "male" and "female" in accordance with social norms reifies the categories, creating the appearance of a naturalized and essential binary. Gender is never a stable descriptor of an individual, but an individual is always "doing" gender, performing or deviating from the socially accepted performance of gender stereotypes. Doing gender is not just about acting in a particular way. It is about embodying and believing certain gender norms and engaging in practices that map on to those norms. These performances normalize the essentialism of gender categories. In other words, by doing gender, we reinforce the notion that there are only two mutually exclusive categories of gender. The internalized belief that men and women are essentially different is what makes men and women behave in ways that appear essentially different. Gender is maintained as a category through socially constructed displays of gender.

Doing gender is fundamentally a social relationship. One does gender in order to be perceived by others in a particular way, either as male, female, or as troubling those categories. Certainly, gender is internalized and acquires significance for the individual; some individuals want to feel feminine or masculine. Social constructionists might argue

that because categories are only formed within a social context, even the effect of gender is in some ways a social relation. Moreover, we hold ourselves and each other for our presentation of gender, or how we "measure up." We are aware that others evaluate and characterize our behavior on the parameter of gender. Social constructionists would say that gender is interactional rather than individual—it is developed through social interactions. Gender is also said to be omnirelevant; meaning that people are always judging our behavior to be either male or female.

Talking about gender for most of people is the equivalent of fish talking about water. Gender is so much the routine ground of everyday activities that questioning it's taken-far-granted assumptions and presuppositions is like thinking about whether the sun will come up. Gender is so pervasive that in our society we assume it is bred into our genes. Most people find it hard to believe that gender is constantly created and re-created out of human interaction, out of social life, and is the texture and order of that social life. Yet gender, like culture, is a human production that depends on everyone constantly "doing gender".

Gender is such a familiar part of daily life that it usually takes a deliberate disruption of our expectations of how women and men are supposed to act to pay attention to how it is produced. Gender signs and signals are so ubiquitous that we usually fail to note them unless they are missing or ambiguous. Then we are uncomfortable until we have successfully placed the other person in a gender status; otherwise, we feel socially dislocated.

For the individual, gender construction starts with assignment to a sex category on the basis of what the genitalia look like at birth. Then, babies are dressed and adorned in a way that displays category because parents don't want to be constantly asked; whether their baby is a girl or a boy. A sex category becomes a gender status through naming, dressing, and the use of other gender markers. Once a child's gender is evident, others treat those in one gender differently from those in the other, and the children respond to the different treatment by feeling different and behaving differently.

As soon as they can talk, they start to refer to themselves as members of their gender. Sex doesn't come into play again until puberty, but by that time, sexual feelings and desires and practices have been shaped by gendered norms and expectations. Adolescent boys and girls approach and avoid each other in an elaborately scripted and gendered mating dance. Parenting is gendered with different expectations for mothers and for fathers and people of different genders work at different kinds of jobs. The work adults do as mothers and fathers and as low-level workers and high-level bosses, shapes women's and men's life experiences and these experiences produce different

feelings, consciousness, relationships, skills-ways of being that we call feminine or masculine. All of these processes constitute the social construction of gender.

Gendered roles change today, fathers are taking care of little children, girls and boys are wearing unisex clothing and getting the same education, women and men are working at the same jobs. Although many traditional social groups are quite strict about maintaining gender differences in other social groups but they seem to be blurring. Then why the one-year-Old's earrings? Why is it still so important to mark a child as a girl or a boy, to make sure she is not taken for a boy or he for a girl? What would happen if they were? They would quite literally have changed places in their social world.

To explain why gendering is done from birth, constantly and by everyone, we have to look not only at the way individuals experience gender but at gender as a social institution. As a social institution, gender is one of the major ways that human beings organize their lives. Human society depends on a predictable division of labour, a designated allocation of scarce goods, assigned responsibility for children and others who cannot care for themselves, common values and their systematic transmission to new members, legitimate leadership, music, art, stories, games, and other symbolic productions. One way of choosing people for the different tasks of society is on the basis of their talents, motivations, competence and their demonstrated achievements. The other way is on the basis of gender, race, and ethnicity-ascribed membership in a category of people.

Although societies vary in the extent to which they use one or the other of these ways of allocating people to work and to carry out other responsibilities. Every society uses gender and age grades. Every society classifies people as "girl and boy children," "girls and boys ready to be married," and "fully adult women and men," constructs similarities among them and differences between them, and assigns them to different roles and responsibilities. Personality characteristics, feelings, motivations, and ambitions flow from these different life experiences so that the members of these different groups become different kinds of people. The process of gendering and its outcome are legitimated by religion, law, science, and the society's entire set of values.

Western society's values legitimate gendering by claiming that it all comes from physiology-female and male procreative differences. But gender and sex are not equivalent and gender as a social construction does not flow automatically

from genitalia and reproductive organs-the main physiological differences of females and males. In the construction of ascribed social statuses, physiological differences such as sex, stage of development, color of skin, and size are crude marks. They are not the source of the social statuses of gender, age grade, and race. Social statuses are carefully constructed through prescribed processes of teaching, learning, emulation,

and enforcement. Whatever genes, hormones, and biological evolution contribute to human social institutions is materially as well as qualitatively transformed by social practices. Every social institution has a material base but culture and social practices transform that base into something with qualitatively different patterns and constraints. The economy is much more than producing food and goods and distributing them to eaters and users; family and kinship are not the equivalent of having sex and procreating; morals and religions cannot be equated with the fears and ecstasies of the brain; language goes far beyond the sounds produced by tongue and larynx. No one eats "money" or "credit"; the concepts of "god" and "angels" are the subjects of theological disquisitions; not only words but objects, such as their flag, "speak" to the citizens of a country.

Similarly, gender cannot be equated with biological and physiological differences between human females and males. The building blocks of gender are socially constructed statuses. Western societies have only two genders, "man" and "woman." Some societies have three genders-men, women, and berdaches or hijras or xaniths. Berdaches, hijras, and xaniths are biological males who behave, dress, work, and are treated in most respects as social women; they are therefore not men, nor are they female women; they are, in our language, "male women." There are American and American Indian societies that have a gender status called manly hearted Women-biological females who work, marry, and parent as men; their social status is "female men" (Amadiume 1987; Blackwood 1984). They do not have to behave or dress as men to have the social responsibilities and prerogatives of husbands and fathers; what makes them men is enough wealth to buy a wife.

Modern Western societies' transsexuals and transvestites are the nearest equivalent of these crossover genders, but they are not institutionalized as third genders (Bolin 1987). Transsexuals are biological males and females who have sex-change operations to alter their genitalia. They do so in order to bring their physical anatomy in congruence with the way they want to live and with their own sense of gender identity. They do not become a third gender; they change genders. Transvestites are males who live as women and females who live as men but do not intend to have sex-change surgery. Their dress, appearance, and mannerisms fall within the range of what is expected from members of the opposite gender, so that they "pass."

They also change genders, sometimes temporarily, some for most of their lives. Transvestite women have fought in wars as men soldiers as recently as the nineteenth century; some married women, and others went back to being women and married men once the war was over.' Some were discovered when their wounds were treated; others not until they died. In order to work as a jazz musician, a man's occupation, Billy Tipton, a woman, lived most of her life as a man. She died recently at seventy-four, leaving a wife and three adopted sons for whom she was husband and father, and musicians with

whom she had played and traveled, for whom she was "one of the boys". There have been many other such occurrences of women passing as men to do more prestigious or lucrative men's work.

Genders, therefore, are not attached to a biological substratum. Gender boundaries are breachable, and individual and socially organized shifts from one gender to another call attention to "cultural, social, or aesthetic dissonances". These odd or deviant or third genders show us what we ordinarily take for granted-that people have to learn to be women and men....

For Individuals, Gender Means Sameness

Although the possible combinations of genitalia, body shapes, clothing, mannerisms, sexuality, and roles could produce infinite varieties in human beings, the social institution of gender depends on the production and maintenance of a limited number of gender statuses and of making the members of these statuses similar to each other. Individuals are born sexed but not gendered and they have to be taught to be masculine or feminine. As Simone de Beauvoir said: "One is not born, but rather becomes, it is civilization as a whole that produces this creature which is described as feminine."

Children learn to walk, talk, and gesture the way their social group says. Ray Birdwhistell, in his analysis of body motion as human communication, calls these learned gender displays tertiary sex characteristics and argues that they are needed to distinguish genders because humans are a weakly dimorphic species-their only sex markers are genitalia. Clothing paradoxically, often hides the sex but displays the gender.

In early childhood, humans develop gendered personality structures and sexual orientations through their interactions with parents of the same and opposite gender. As adolescents, they conduct their sexual behavior according to gendered scripts. Schools, parents, peers, and the mass media guide young people into gendered work and family roles. As adults, they take on a gendered social status in their society's stratification system. Gender is thus both ascribed and achieved.

Gender norms are inscribed in the way people move, gesture, and even eat. In one African society, men were supposed to eat with their "whole mouth, wholeheartedly, and not, like women, just with the lips, that is halfheartedly, with reservation and restraint". Men and women in this society learned to walk in ways that proclaimed their different positions in the society:

The manly man stands up straight into the face of the person he approaches, or wishes to welcome, ever on the alert, because ever threatened, he misses nothing of what happens around him Conversely, a well brought-up woman is expected to walk with a

slight stoop, avoiding every misplaced movement of her body, her head or her arms, looking down, keeping her eyes on the spot where she will next put her foot, especially if she happens to have to walk past the men's assembly.

For human beings there is no essential femaleness or maleness, femininity or masculinity, womanhood or manhood, but once gender is ascribed, the social order constructs and holds individuals to strongly gendered norms and expectations. Individuals may vary on many of the components of gender and may shift genders temporarily or permanently but they must fit into the limited number of gender statuses their society recognizes. In the process, they re-create their society's version of women and men: "If we do gender appropriately, we simultaneously sustain, reproduce, and render legitimate the institutional arrangements. , .. If we fail to do gender appropriately, we as individuals-not the institutional arrangements-may be called to account (for our character, motives, and predispositions)".

The gendered practices of everyday life reproduce a society's view of how women and men should act .Gendered social arrangements are justified by religion and cultural productions and backed by law, but the most powerful means of sustaining the moral hegemony of the dominant gender ideology is that the process is made invisible; any possible alternatives are Virtually unthinkable.

For Society, Gender Means Difference

The pervasiveness of gender as a way of structuring social life demands that gender statuses be clearly differentiated. Varied talents, sexual preferences, identities, personalities, interests, and ways of interacting fragment the individual's bodily and social experiences. Nonetheless, these are organized in Western cultures into two and only two socially and legally recognized gender statuses, "man" and "woman."lO In the social construction of gender, it does not matter what men and women actually do; it does not even matter if they do exactly the same thing. The social institution of gender insists only that what they do is perceived as different.

If men and women are doing the same tasks, they are usually spatially segregated to maintain gender separation and often the tasks are given different job titles as well as executive secretary and administrative assistant. If the differences between women and men begin to blur, society's "sameness taboo" goes into action (Rubin 1975, 178). At a rock and roll dance at West Point in 1976, the year women were admitted to the prestigious military academy for the first time, the school's administrators "were reportedly perturbed by the sight of mirror-image couples dancing in short hair and dress gray trousers," and a rule was established that women cadets could dance at these events only if they wore skirts (Barkalow and Raab 1990, 53).Women recruits in the U,S. Marine Corps are required to wear makeup-at a minimum, lipstick and eye

shadow and they have to take classes in makeup, hair care, poise, and etiquette. This feminization is part of a deliberate policy of making them clearly distinguishable from men Marines. Christine Williams quotes a twenty-five-year-old woman drill instructor as saying: "A lot of the recruits who come here don't wear makeup; they're tomboyish or athletic. A lot of them have the preconceived idea that going into the military means they can still be a tomboy. They don't realize that you are a Woman Marine"

If gender differences were genetic, physiological, or hormonal, gender bending and gender ambiguity would occur only in hermaphrodites, who are born with chromosomes and genitalia that are not clearly female or male. Since gender differences are socially constructed, all men and all women can enact the behavior of the other, because they know the other's social script: " 'Man' and 'woman' are at once empty and overflowing categories. Empty because they have no ultimate, transcendental meaning overflowing because even when they appear to be fixed, they still contain within them alternative, denied, or suppressed definitions".

For one transsexual man-to-woman, the experience of living as a woman changed his/her whole personality. As James, Morris had been a soldier, foreign correspondent, and mountain climber; as Jan, Morris is a successful travel writer. But socially, James was superior to Jan, and so Jan developed the "learned helplessness" that is supposed to characterize women in Western society:

We are told that the social gap between the sexes is narrowing, but I can only report that having in the second half of the twentieth century, experienced life in both roles, there seems to me no aspect of existence, no moment of the day, no contact, no arrangement, no response, which is not different for men and for women, The very tone of voice in which I was now addressed, the very posture of the person next in the queue, the very feel in the air when I entered a room or sat at a restaurant table, constantly emphasized my change of status.

And if other's responses shifted, so did my own. The more I was treated as woman, the more woman I became. I adapted willy-nilly. If I was assumed to be incompetent at reversing cars, or opening bottles, oddly incompetent I found myself becoming. If a case was thought too heavy for me, inexplicably I fouled it so myself,. . Women treated me with a frankness which, while it was one of the happiest discoveries of my metamorphosis, did imply membership of a camp, a faction, or at least a school of thought; so I found myself gravitating always towards the female, whether in sharing a railway compartment or supporting a political cause, Men treated me more and more as junior, and so, addressed every day of my life as an inferior, involuntarily, month by month I accepted the condition. I discovered that even now men prefer women to be less informed, less able, less talkative, and certainly Jess self-centered than they are themselves; so I generally obliged them.

Gender as Process, Stratification, and Structure:

As a social institution, gender is a process of creating distinguishable social statuses for the assignment of rights and responsibilities. As part of a stratification system that ranks these statuses unequally, gender is a major building block in the social structures built on these unequal statuses.

As a process, gender creates the social differences that define "woman" and "man." In social interaction throughout their lives, individuals learn what is expected, see what is expected, act and react in expected ways, and thus simultaneously construct and maintain the gender order: "The very injunction to be a given gender takes place through discursive routes: to be a good mother, to be a heterosexually desirable object, to be a fit worker, in sum, to signify a multiplicity of guarantees in response to a variety of different demands all at once" (Butler 1990, 145). Members of a social group neither make up gender as they go along nor exactly replicate in rote fashion what was done before. In almost every encounter, human beings produce gender, behaving in the ways they learned were appropriate for their status, or resisting or rebelling against these norms, Resistance and rebellion have altered gender norms, but so far they have rarely eroded the statuses.

Gendered patterns of metrication acquire additional layers of gendered sexuality, parenting, and work behaviors in childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. Gendered norms and expectations are enforced through informal sanctions of gender-inappropriate behavior by peers and by formal punishment or threat of punishment by those in authority should behavior deviate too far from socially imposed standards for women and men....

As part of a stratification system, gender ranks men above women of the same race and class. Women and men could be different but equal practice, the process of creating difference depends to a great extent on differential evaluation.

Queer Theory

Definition of Queer Theory:

"An approach to literary and cultural study that rejects traditional categories of gender and sexuality"

Queer theory is a set of ideas based around the idea that identities are not fixed and do not determine who we are. It suggests that it is meaningless to talk in general about 'women' or any other group, as identities consist of so many elements that to assume that people can be seen collectively on the basis of one shared characteristic is wrong. Indeed, it proposes that we deliberately challenge all notions of fixed identity, in varied and non-predictable ways.

Queer Theory originated in Judith Butler's 1990 book *Gender Trouble* and was first described with the term in Case (1971).The immediate effect of Queer Theory is to destabilize all other notions of gender and sexuality. Even various forms which are commonly seen as perversion may be framed as temporary destinations.

Butler was influenced by Michel Foucault, who argued that homosexuality was a subject position within culture, rather than a personality type per se. He argued that this position developed within 19th century psychological sciences.

To understand queer theory, one must first understand what is meant by queer and bisexual. Each of these terms denotes a history that is at once political and academic. Further, both words are difficult to pin down as both lack singular or simple definition.

Queer can be, and is, used in multiple different ways, in academia and in Western culture. Most obviously, it can be used as a derogatory noun or adjective for homosexuality or effeminacy. Relatedly, it can also be used to describe something that is somehow out of the ordinary or not quite right. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, queer was "taken back" by activists concerned with gender and sexual freedom and became a word that described a particular type of politics. Groups like Queer Nation practiced a "politics of provocation, one in which the limits of liberal tolerance [were] constantly pushed"

Butler is one of the most important figures in queer theory. Queer theory emerged from gay/ lesbian studies, which in turn emerged from gender studies, in the 1980s. Until the 1980s, the term "queer" had a derogatory connotation, meaning "odd" or "peculiar" or "out of the ordinary." However, queer theorists, including Butler, appropriated this term, insisting that all sexual behaviors, all concepts linking sexual behaviors to sexual

identities and all categories of normative and deviant sexualities are social constructs, which create certain types of social meaning.

In short, "sex is a norm". Thus, the undergirding emphasis in all these projects (gay/lesbian, queer, feminist) is that the categories of normative and deviant sexual behavior are not biologically but rather socially constructed. In contrast to those who see sexuality as biological and gender as a social construction, Butler sees sex as no more a natural category than gender. She conceptualizes gender norms as structuring biology and not the reverse, which informs the more conventional view.

Butler does not deny certain kinds of biological differences, but she seeks to explain the discursive and institutional conditions under which certain arbitrary biological differences become salient characteristics of sex. She emphasizes that sexuality is a complex array of individual activity and institutional power, of social codes and forces, which interact to shape the ideas of what is normative and what is deviant at any particular moment, and which then result in categories as to "natural," "essential," "biological," or "God-given."

She seeks to show how a norm can actually materialize a body—that is, how the body is not only invested with a norm, but also in some sense animated by a norm or contoured by a norm. Specifically, Butler describes a heterosexual matrix in which "proper men" and "proper women" are identified as heterosexual.

She shows that the essential unity between biological sex, gender identification, and heterosexuality is not dictated by nature; indeed, this unity is an illusion, mediated through cultural systems of meaning that underlie our understanding of material, anatomical differences. According to Butler, heterosexual normativity "ought not to order gender". The subversion of gender performances (e.g., drag performances) indicates nothing about sexuality or sexual practice. "Gender can be rendered ambiguous without disturbing or reorientation normative sexuality at all"

Thus, for instance, Butler points out that discrimination against gays is a function not of their sexuality, but rather of their failure to perform heterosexual gender norms. Because heterosexuality is based on a binary difference between male and female (a person is either one or the other), there is a socially constructed gender in which heterosexuality is central, which informs our understanding of biology. Interestingly, then, akin to Harold Garfinkel's "breaching" experiments, which exposed taken-for-granted normative expectations, cross-dressing, "kiss-ins," gender parodies, and so on can be used to transgress and rebel against existing sexual categories.

In short, queer politics seeks to explicitly challenge gender norms to show their lack of naturalness and inevitability and to celebrate transgressions from them, while postmodern queer theorists seek to upend and "re-signify" our gender expectations.

To conclude, Queer theory focuses on "mismatches" between sex, gender and desire. Queer has been associated most prominently with bisexual, lesbian and gay subjects, but its analytic framework also includes such topics as cross-dressing, intersex, gender ambiguity and gender-corrective surgery.

Queer theory's attempted debunking of stable (and correlated) sexes, genders, and sexualities develops out of the specifically lesbian and gay reworking of the post-structuralist figuring of identity as a constellation of multiple and unstable positions. Queer theory examines the constitutive discourses of homosexuality developed in the last century in order to place "queer" in its historical context, and surveys contemporary arguments both for and against this latest terminology.

FEMINSM

If it is difficult (perhaps impossible) to define feminism in terms of a set of core concepts then can feminism be defined better or further in terms of its historical origins and development?

Origin

The term feminism is a relatively modern one – there are debates over when and where it was first used, but the term 'feminist' seems to have first been used in 1871 in a French medical text to describe a cessation in development of the sexual organs and characteristics in male patients, who were perceived as thus suffering from 'feminization' of their bodies.

The term was then picked up by Alexandre Dumas fils, a French writer, republican and antifeminist, who used it in a pamphlet published in 1872 entitled l'homme-femme, on the subject of adultery, to describe women behaving in a supposedly masculine way.

Thus, as Fraisse points out, although in medical terminology feminism was used to signify a feminization of men, in political terms it was first used to describe a civilization of women. This type of gender confusion was something that was clearly feared in the nineteenth century, and it can be argued that it is still present in a modified form in today's societies where feminists are sometimes perceived as challenging natural differences between men and women.

It is interesting to note, though, that feminist was not at first an adjective used by women to describe themselves or their actions, and one can certainly say that there was what we today would call 'feminist' thought and activity long before the term itself was adopted. In the 1840s the women's rights movement had started to emerge in the United States with the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848 and the resulting Declaration of Sentiments, which claimed for women the principles of liberty and equality expounded in the American Declaration of Independence.

Development of Feminism

This was followed by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony's founding of the National Woman Suffrage Association. In Britain, too, the 1840s onwards saw the emergence of women's suffrage movements. But even before the emergence of organized suffrage movements, women had been writing about the inequalities and injustices in women's social condition and campaigning to change it. In 1792 Mary Wollstonecraft had published A Vindication of the Rights of Women and at the same

time in France women such as Olympe de Gouges and Théroigne de Méricourt were fighting for the extension of the rights promised by the French Revolution to women.

The terms "feminism" or "feminist" first appeared in France and The Netherlands in 1872 (as les féministes), Great Britain in the 1890s, and the United States in 1910. The Oxford English Dictionary lists 1894 for the first appearance of "feminist" and 1895 for "feminism". The UK Daily News first introduced "feminist" to the English language,

<u>Defining feminism</u> can be challenging, but a broad understanding of it includes the acting, speaking, writing, and advocating on behalf of women's issues and rights and identifying injustice to females in the social status quo.

<u>Definition</u>

Feminism is a range of movements and ideologies that share a common goal: to define, establish, and achieve equal political, economic, cultural, personal, and social rights for women. This includes seeking to establish equal opportunities for women in education and employment. A feminist advocates or supports the rights and equality of women.

Feminist movements have campaigned and continue to campaign for women's rights, including the right to vote, to hold public office, to work, to earn fair wages or equal pay, to own property, to education, to enter contracts, to have equal rights within marriage, and to have maternity leave. Feminists have also worked to promote bodily autonomy and integrity, and to protect women and girls from rape, sexual harassment, and domestic violence.

WAVES OF FEMINISM

First Wave of feminism stemmed primarily from writings published in Canada, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and the United States. This wave focused on the struggle for women's political rights; in particular, it emphasized the right to vote.

Two important dates emerged during the time of First Wave feminism: 1848, when the first Women's Rights Convention was held in Seneca, New York and 1920, when passage of the 19th Amendment ended women's suffrage in the United States. Throughout the era of First Wave feminism, women fought for and won the right to execute wills, the right to choose their professions and own property in their name, the legalization of divorce, the right to be granted custody of their children in a divorce, educational access, and the right to vote in an education setting

Second Wave feminism began in the 1960s in the United State States and is referred to as the Women's Liberation Movement. In 1963, Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique identified the issues, expectations, and roles that women play in society as "the problem that has no name," and Second Wave feminism turned its focus to sexuality and identity, family roles, workplace inequity, abortion rights, and the ability to control reproduction. This wave of feminism encapsulated the Equal Pay Laws and Equal Rights Amendment. Additionally, it established marital rape laws, domestic violence centers, aid for battered women, and the National Organization for Women.

Third Wave of feminism began between 1980 and 1990 and is referred to as postmodern feminism. It originated as a backlash to critical deficiencies perceived throughout the era of Second Wave feminism.

Four major theoretical perspectives contribute to postmodern feminism: intersectionality theory, postmodernist and poststructuralist approaches, global feminism, and the agenda of a new generation of younger feminists that were discontent with the previous state of feminist theory .Third Wave feminist theorists reject the traditional idea of femininity and incorporate components of queer theory, transgender politics, intersections between race and gender, and individualist feminism in their studies of women.

1st wave feminism: voting rights, property rights, birth control (that existed at the time - condoms or sponges and, just as important, education about sexuality and how to prevent conception.

2nd wave feminism: sexual freedom, legislative work to change sexist law, integration into the workplace, equal funding, integration into the political arena.

3rd wave feminism: sexual freedom, inclusion of gendered females, diversity, inclusion of women of color and women from other cultures - plus the issues surrounding both 1st and 2nd wave feminism.

The First Wave Of Feminism

In broad historical terms, the period of first wave feminism may be dated to include pre-nineteenth-century expressions of concern about the rights of women. In particular, the French Revolution of 1789 is often identified as the arena in which the first concerted demands for women's rights were made. Moreover, it was an important influence on Mary Wollstonecraft, who's Vindication of the Rights of Women, published in Britain in 1792, is widely recognised as the first substantial and systematic feminist treatise.

However, first wave feminism (in Britain and the USA) is most often dated as occurring between c.1880s and the 1920s. It had as its principal concern women's attainment of equality with men and therefore feminist analyses and campaigning centred on securing legislation change.

First-wave feminism refers to a period of feminist activity during the 19th and early 20th century throughout the world, particularly in the United Kingdom, Canada, the Netherlands and the United States. It focused on legal issues, primarily on gaining women's suffrage (the right to vote).

Introduction

The first wave of feminism in the United States was characterized by diverse forms of intervention that have continued to inspire later feminist movements. But despite the activist talents of Alice Paul, the organizational skills of Carrie Chapman Catt (1859–1947), president of NAWSA, and the splendid oratory of Anna Howard Shaw (1847–1919), also a former president of NAWSA, it was a long struggle before women won the vote in 1920 (Campbell, 1989).

Historical Development

The struggle went as far back as the Seneca Falls Convention in New York in 1848, during which more than 300 men and women assembled for the nation's first women's rights convention. The Seneca Falls Declaration was outlined by Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902), claiming the natural equity of women and outlining the political strategy of equal access and opportunity. This declaration gave rise to the suffrage movement.

In the early stages, the first wave of feminism in the United States was interwoven with other reform movements, such as abolition and temperance, and initially closely involved women of the working classes.

Contributors

However, it was also supported by Black women abolitionists, such as Maria Stewart (1803–1879), Sojourner Truth (1797–1883), and Frances E. W. Harper (1825–1911), who agitated for the rights of women of color. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and several others from the more radical parts of the women's rights movement appeared as delegates to the National Labor Union Convention as early as 1868, before any successful attempts to organize female labor

When women's rights activists gradually realized that disenfranchisement severely hampered reformatory efforts, they became determined to rectify this obvious injustice. Still, for women to gain the vote was a highly controversial issue. Even well-meaning skeptics feared that it would mean a setback for men of color, who were also at that time campaigning for enfranchisement, not to mention southerners' fears that the thousands of illiterate women of color would also claim their rights.

Thus, although women of color continued to participate and representatives such as Ida B. Wells (1862–1931) and Mary Church Terrell (1868–1954) also strove to show how the linkage of sexism and racism functioned as the main means of White male dominance, the first wave of feminism consisted largely of White, middle-class, well-educated women (Campbell, 1989). This tendency was only reinforced by the counterstrikes of both the abolitionist movement and the working unions to also keep women involved in these movements. Furthermore, the Civil War in the United States and, later on, both World War I and World War II meant a severe backlash for women's rights, as the focus then became demands of national unity and patriotism.

Objectives

Some first-wave feminists pursued the argument of women's innate moral superiority, thus embracing what might be called "difference first-wave feminism." This argument was part of a sophisticated rhetoric of equity, developed simultaneously in Europe and in the United States, which shared the modern, Western political framework of enlightenment and liberalism, anchored in universalism. From this point of view, patriarchy was understood as a fiasco that was both non-rational and non-profitable and thereby illegitimate, but nevertheless reinforced women's marginal societal status and domination and made women a cultural emblem of deficiency.

Politically, this view led to the claim that women and men should be treated as equals and that women should not only be given access to the same resources and positions as men but also be acknowledged for their contributions and competencies. This concept is often called "equal-opportunities feminism" or "equity feminism," and it is characterized by the lack of distinction between sex and gender.

Even though biological differences were understood to form the basis of social gender roles, they were not considered a threat to the ideal of human equity, and biological differences were therefore not accepted as theoretically or politically valid reasons for discrimination.

Liberal Feminist During First Wave and Writings/Contribution

One of the earliest manifestations of liberal first-wave feminism in Europe, Mary Wollstonecraft's A Vindication of the Rights of Woman (1792), was written in the wake of the French Revolution and is still read as a seminal text. Virginia Woolf's A Room of One's Own (1929) and Simone de Beauvoir's The Second Sex (1949) are central to the canon as well, even though both authors were also laying the groundwork for radical second wave feminism. Woolf introduced the notion of female bisexuality and a unique woman's voice and writing, Beauvoir the notion of women's radical otherness or, rather, the cognitive and social process of "othering" women as the second sex in patriarchal societies. We would say that Beauvoir thereby produced an authoritative definition of patriarchy.

Conclusion

Throughout the era of First Wave feminism, women fought for and won the right to execute wills, the right to choose their professions and own property in their name, the legalization of divorce, the right to be granted custody of their children in a divorce, educational access, and the right to vote in an education setting.

The Second Feminist Wave: "The Personal Is Political"

Second-wave feminism is a period of feminist activity that first began in the early 1960s in the United States, and eventually spread throughout the Western world and beyond. In the United States the movement lasted through the early 1980s It later became a worldwide movement that was strong in Europe and parts of Asia, such as Turkey and Israel, where it began in the 1980s, and it began at other times in other countries.

Introduction and Definition

The term second-wave feminism refers mostly to the radical feminism of the women's liberation movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s. We start our presentation of second-wave feminism with the first harbinger of feminism and the most publicized event in the United States: the protests associated with the Miss America Pageants in 1968 and 1969. Inspired by the tactics of the more activist parts of liberal feminism, radical second-wave feminists also used performance (e.g., underground or Guerilla Theater) to shed light on what was now termed "women's oppression."

Development of Second Wave of Feminism:

In 1963 Betty Friedan wrote a book "The Feminine Mystique", known for her contribution in the beginning of second wave of feminism.

Coining of term Second Wave of Feminism;

In 1968 Martha Lear wrote an article "The Second Feminist Wave" in NY Times magazine. She termed era of feminist struggle until that time as "First Wave of Feminism" and from there onwards was named as "Second Wave of Feminism".

Claims

- Predominately white middle class American based, educated women, eventually moves into academy (National women's studies association)

- Organization of women's liberation groups in major US cities.

- Activist activities: consciousness raising (CR) groups and speak outs occur in major cities across US.

- Women step into make dominated political arenas.

- ERA moves to congress (loss by three votes)

- Successful passing of title IV. (Equal funding of girls and boys activities in educational settings that are federally funded).

- Women health issues are recognized. : Or bodies, ourselves, 1971.

- Legal and social recognition of domestic violence, sexual harassment, sexual assault, child sexual abuse, women in the workplace, women in the military, women reproductive rights, rape, pornography, homophobia.

Activism during Second Wave

The Redstockings, the New York Radical Feminists, and other significant feminist groups joined the 1969 protest to show how women in pageant competitions were paraded like cattle, highlighting the underlying assumption that the way women look is more important than what they do, what they think, or even whether they think at all . Marching down the Atlantic City boardwalk and close to the event itself, feminists staged several types of theatrical activism: crowning a sheep Miss America and throwing "oppressive" gender artifacts, such as bras, girdles, false eyelashes, high heels, and makeup, into a trash can in front of reporters.

Carrying posters reading, "Cattle Parades Are Degrading to Human Beings," "Boring Job: Woman Wanted," and "Low Pay: Woman Wanted," feminists made their message loud and clear: Women were victims of a patriarchal, commercialized, oppressive beauty culture (Freeman, 1975). It was a perfectly staged media event. A small group of women bought tickets to the pageant show and smuggled in a banner that read "WOMEN'S LIBERATION," while shouting "Freedom for Women" and "No More Miss America," hereby exposing the public to an early second-wave feminist agenda.

Simone de Beauvoir and The Second Sex

The French author and philosopher Simone de Beauvoir wrote novels; monographs on philosophy, politics, and social issues; essays; biographies; and an autobiography. She is now best known for her metaphysical novels, including She Came to Stay and The Mandarins, and for her treatise The Second Sex, a detailed analysis of women's oppression and a foundational tract of contemporary feminism. Written in 1949, its English translation was published in 1953. It sets out a feminist existentialism which prescribes a moral revolution.

 As an existentialist, she accepted Jean-Paul Sartre's precept existence precedes essence; hence "one is not born a woman, but becomes one." Her analysis focuses on

the social construction of Woman as the other. This de Beauvoir identifies as fundamental to women's oppression. She argues women have historically been considered deviant and abnormal and contends that even Mary Wollstonecraft considered men to be the ideal toward which women should aspire. De Beauvoir argues that for feminism to move forward, this attitude must be set aside.

The Feminine Mystique

Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique (1963) criticized the idea that women could only find fulfillment through childrearing and homemaking. According to Friedan's obituary in the "The New York Times", The Feminine Mystique "ignited the contemporary women's movement in 1963 and as a result permanently transformed the social fabric of the United States and countries around the world" and "is widely regarded as one of the most influential nonfiction books of the 20th century.

Organizations

- National Conference of New Politics (NCNP)

- Chicago Women Liberation Union

Legal Victories

- The book published by Betty Friedan proved effective and in 1963 John F. Kennedy formulated presidential commission on the status of women.

- Equal Pay Act 1963.

- Civil Rights Act 1964.

- Women Education Equity Act 1972.

- Equal Credit Opportunity Act 1974.

- Pregnancy Discrimination Act 1978.

Major Achievements & Milestones

This movement remained very successful and achieved most of its goals. It changed social attitude towards gender roles, repelling oppressive laws based on sex.

Women were seen in entirely new fields and professions

- Military Academy

- US Armed Forces

- NASA

- Supreme Court

- Education, Colleges, Universities etc.

Campaign for Equal Rights Amendment was successfully taken up and propagated by the activists during second wave feminism. But the failure was seen when activists couldn't get the Equal Rights Amendment passed.

Criticism

As a consequence, difference feminism gradually grew into what is now often referred to as "identity politics." Identity second-wave feminism was marked by a growing criticism from Black, working-class, and lesbian feminists, outlined by, among others, bell hooks in Ain't I A Woman? Black Woman and Feminism (1981) and Trinh T. Minh-ha in Woman, Native, Other: Writing

Postcoloniality and Feminism (1989)

In the context of the complex power relations of a postcolonial but still imperial and capitalist world, they questioned what they saw as a predominantly White, middle-class, and heterosexual feminist agenda and raised the issue of a differentiated-identity politics, based on the contingent and diversified but no less decisive intersections of gender, class, race/ethnicity, and sexuality.

Conclusion

Second-wave feminism is not one, but many. As expressed by feminist communication scholar Julia Wood (1994), the question may not be whether you are a feminist, but which kind of feminist you are. This question is multiplied by the emergence of third-wave feminism. But before we turn to emergent feminisms, let us conclude that second-wave feminisms have been highly theoretical and consequently have had strong affiliations with the academy. Starting in the 1970s, second-wave feminisms have generated an explosion of research and teaching on women's issues, which has now grown into a diverse disciplinary field of women's, gender, or feminist studies.

The Third Feminist Wave: Transversal Politics

Third wave feminism has numerous definitions, but perhaps is best described in the most general terms as the feminism of a younger generation of women who acknowledge the legacy of second wave feminism, but also identify what they see as its limitations. These perceived limitations would include their sense that it remained too exclusively white and middle class that it became a prescriptive movement which alienated ordinary women by making them feel guilty about enjoying aspects of individual self-expression such as cosmetics and fashion, but also sexuality – especially heterosexuality and its trappings, such as pornography.

Moreover, most third wavers would assert that the historical and political conditions in which second wave feminism emerged no longer exist and therefore it does not chime with the experiences of today's women. Third wave feminists seem to largely be women who have grown up massively influenced by feminism, possibly with feminist mothers and relations, and accustomed to the existence of women's studies courses as the norm as well as academic interrogations of 'race' and class.

These young, mainly university-educated women may well also have encountered post-structuralist and postmodernist theories, so that their approach to staple feminist concepts such as identity and sisterhood will be skeptical and challenging.

Beginning in the 1990s, after the end of second-wave feminism and the Feminist Sex Wars, third-wave feminism began with a mixture of disgruntled and unsure feminists and feminists born into a world where feminism had always existed. Third-wave feminism began in a world with punk rock, and thus carved out the safe space of Riot Grrrl. Third-wave feminism may be the most diverse and individualistic feminist wave to date.

The movement of third-wave feminism focused less on laws and the political process and more on individual identity. The movement of third-wave feminism is said to have arisen out of the realization that women are of many colors, ethnicities, nationalities, religions and cultural backgrounds.

Cyber Grrls Get On-Line!

Lipstick feminism, girlie feminism, riot grrrl feminism, cybergrrl feminism, transfeminism, or just grrl feminism—feminism is alive and kicking. Born with the privileges that first- and second-wave feminists fought for, third wave feminists generally see themselves as capable, strong, and assertive social agents: "The Third Wave is buoyed by the confidence of having more opportunities and less sexism" Young feminists now reclaim

the term "girl" in a bid to attract another generation, while engaging in a new, more self-assertive—even aggressive—but also more playful and less pompous kind of feminism.

They declared, in the words of Karen McNaughton (1997), "And yes that's Grrls which is, in our case, cyber-lingo for Great-Girls. Grrl is also a young at heart thing and not limited to the under 18s." Karen McNaughton is only one of many who have been empowered by the new grrl rhetoric, which originated among girls-only punk bands such as Bikini Kill and Brat Mobile in the United States in the early 1990s.

In their manifesto-like recording "Revolution Girl-Style Now" (1990), Bikini Kill celebrated the self-reliance and acting out of prepubescent girls and mixed the feminist strategy of empowerment with the avant-garde or punk strategy of D.I.Y.: "Do It Yourself." This message was soon absorbed by a growing number of "riot grrl" groups all over the United States and Europe and further spread by "fanzines" and net-based "e-zines."

Some riot grrls made the new information technologies the primary point of departure for their activism and as cybergrrls or Net grrls introduced them to other girls and women in books such as The Cyberpunk Handbook (1995), Friendly Grrls Guide to the Internet–Introduction (1996), and Cybergrrl! A Woman's Guide to the World Wide Web (1998).

Activism During third Wave

The movement has simultaneously criticized sexist language, appropriated derogatory terms for girls and women, and invented new self-celebrating words and forms of communication. As such, third-wave feminists have followed in the footprints of groups like Queer Nation and Niggers with Attitude by deploying a kind of linguistic jujitsu against their enemies. Instead of condemning the stereotypes used against them, they exaggerate them, beginning with the very word girl.

Third Wave Direct Action Corporation was founded by American feminists Rebecca Walker and Shannon Less as a multiracial, multicultural, multi-issue organization to support young activists. The organization's initial mission was to fill a void in young women's leadership and to mobilize young people to become more involved socially and politically in their communities.

Objectives

Third-wave feminists are motivated by the need to develop a feminist theory and politics that honor contradictory experiences and deconstruct categorical thinking. In To Be Real: Telling the Truth and Changing the Face of Feminism, editor Rebecca Walker described the difficulty that younger feminists experience when forced to think in

categories, which divide people into "Us" and "Them," or when forced to inhabit particular identities as women or feminists .

Walker claimed that this is not because they lack knowledge of feminist history or because of the media's horrific one-sided portrayal of feminism. Quite to the contrary, younger feminists honor the work of earlier feminists while criticizing earlier feminisms, and they strive to bridge contradictions that they experience in their own lives. They embrace ambiguity rather than certainty, engage in multiple positions, and practice a strategy of inclusion and exploration. Meanwhile, they propose different politics, one that challenges notions of universal womanhood and articulates ways in which groups of women confront complex intersections of gender, sexuality, race, class, and age related concerns.

The common denominator is the will to redefine feminism by bringing together an interest in traditional and even stereotypically feminine issues, while remaining critical of both narratives of true femaleness, of victimization and liberation. They flaunt their femininity and seek to reclaim formerly derogatory labels such as "slut" and "bitch," while stubbornly venturing into male-dominated spaces with third-wave confidence to claim positions of power: We—the new feminists—embrace power, said new feminist Natasha Walter in The New Feminisms.

Third-wave feminists want to avoid stepping into mutually oppressive static categories, and they call for acceptance of a chaotic world, while simultaneously embracing ambiguity and forming new alliances. Thus, third-wave feminisms are defined not by common theoretical and political standpoint(s), but rather by the use of performance, mimicry, and subversion as rhetorical strategies.

Gender theorist Judith Butler signaled this paradigmatic feminist shift in her books Gender Trouble and Bodies That Matter. She fueled new emergent movements such as queer and transgender politics, which take an interest in the intersections of gender and sexuality and helped articulate "performance third-wave feminism" as a theoretical framework of the politics of transgression.

Another significant perspective that has contributed to third-wave feminism is Donna Haraway's (1987/1991) "cyborg," which has also inspired the development of cyber feminism. What makes this perspective unique is Haraway's appropriation of technology and her post human acknowledgment of the interaction between humans and nonhumans, which blurs the distinctions between humans, animals, and machines.

Claims

1. Broader inclusion of recognition, spoken of color, sexual diversity, age (recognition of young girls and older women), and men.

2. Inclusion becomes more trans global; activist activities become a fight for all women everywhere, beyond US borders.(Transnational/ global feminism)
3. Volunteerism is new force activist activities.
4. Consciousness raising groups through new texts: the zone movement gives way to the use of writing, new technologies(internet, filmmaking, music)
5. Women began stepping into male dominated cultural arenas.
6. Women health issues are recognized through activist activities.
7. Legal and social recognition of: date rape, sexual identity issues (custody battles, gender reassignment, marriage rights), reclamation of language (bitch, slut), objectification (body image is a major issue).
8. Shifting of second wave ideals on proper feminism: marriage, pornography.
9. Voter registration among women becomes driving force for many activist activities.

Some Third-Wave Writers and Feminists of Note:

- Joan W. Scott – "Deconstructing Equality-Versus-Difference: Or, the Uses of Poststructuralist Theory for Feminism"
- Jennifer Baumgardner & Amy Richards – "Manifesta"
- Rebecca Walker – "To Be Real"
- Gloria Anzaldua & Cherrie Moraga – "This Bridge Called My Back , All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave: Black Women's Studies"
- Elizabeth Wurtzel – "Bitch: In Praise of Difficult Women"
- Susan Faludi – "Backlash"
- Eve Ensler – "The Vagina Monologues"

Victories and Achievements

- In 1991, opportunity 2000 was launched in UK for more opportunities to women
- 1992 year of women
- 1992 four women entered US Senate
- 1993 family and medical leave act
- 1994 marital rape was declared illegal
- 1994 violence against women act in US
- 1995 fourth world conference on women by UN

Conclusion

Third-wave feminism is tied up with the effects of globalization and the complex redistribution of power, which challenge feminist theory and politics. It also mirrors the diversification of women's interests and perspectives and the breakdown of master

stories of oppression and liberation. For example, postcolonial, third-wave feminism is concerned with establishing a new critical global perspective and creating alliances between Black, diasporic, and subaltern feminisms, whereas queer theory and politics create a platform for what has now split into the lesbian, gay, bi-, and transsexual and transgender movements. Queer and transgender feminists attack what they see as the crux of the problem: heteronormativity.

Feminist Theory

Definition

Feminist theory is the extension of feminism into theoretical or philosophical discourse. It aims to understand the nature of gender inequality. It examines women's social roles, experience, interests, chores, and feminist politics in a variety of fields, such as anthropology and sociology, communication, psychoanalysis home economics, literature, education, and philosophy.

Feminist theory focuses on analyzing gender inequality. Themes explored in feminism include discrimination, objectification (especially sexual objectification), oppression, patriarchy, stereotyping, art history and contemporary art, and aesthetics.

It encompasses work in a variety of disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, economics, women's studies, literary criticism, art history, psychoanalysis and philosophy. Feminist theory aims to understand gender inequality and focuses on gender politics, power relations and sexuality.

While providing a critique of these social and political relations, much of feminist theory focuses on the promotion of women's rights and interests. Themes explored in feminist theory include discrimination, stereotyping, objectification (especially sexual objectification), oppression and patriarchy.

Origin and Development of Feminist Theory

Feminist theories first emerged as early as 1794 in publications such as A Vindication of the Rights of Woman by Mary Wollstonecraft, "The Changing Woman" "Ain't I a Woman", and "Speech after Arrest for Illegal Voting" and so on. "The Changing Woman" is a Navajo Myth that gave credit to a woman who, in the end, populated the world. In 1851, Sojourner Truth addressed women's rights issues through her publication, "Ain't I a Woman." Sojourner Truth addressed the issue of women having limited rights due to men's flawed perception of women.

Truth argued that if a woman of color can perform tasks that were supposedly limited to men, then any woman of any color could perform those same tasks. After her arrest for illegally voting, Susan B. Anthony gave a speech within court in which she addressed the issues of language within the constitution documented in her publication, "Speech after Arrest for Illegal voting" in 1872.

Liberal Feminism

According to Rosemarie Tong, Liberal Feminism began in the 18th and 19th centuries and has continued through to the present day. Throughout its history the liberal feminist movement has been and continues to be focused on eliminating female subordination, "rooted in a set of customary and legal constraints blocking women's entrance to and success in the so-called public world." Its long history is a testament to how well it has been able to adapt and change to the many issues confronting women.

Liberal Feminist Thinkers

Marry Wollstonecraft, John Stuart Mill, and Harriet Taylor (Mill)

Movements

Woman's suffrage movement in the US

Organizations

Berry Friedan and the National organization for Women (NOW)

Goal of Liberal Feminism

Its goal is creating a "just and compassionate society in which freedom flourishes". Only in such as society can women and men thrive equally.

Mary Wollstonecraft

She talked about educational disparities laid stress on education of women and said that the truly educated women will be a major contributor to society's welfare. In 'A Vindication of The Rights of Women', she celebrated the rational thought of women to attain full personhood. She urged women to become autonomous decision-makers. What Wollstonecraft most wanted for woman is personhood. Women should not be reduced to the 'toy of man'. Rather, she is an 'end in herself' his rattle.

19th Century Thought (Equal Liberty)

John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor (Mill) joined Wollstonecraft in celebrating rationality.

They wanted women to pursue their desires. If society is to achieve sexual equality, or gender-justice, then society must provide women with the same political rights and economic opportunities as well as the same education that men enjoy.

They coauthored "Early Essays on Marriage and Divorce" (1832). Taylor wrote "Enfranchisement of Women" (1851). Mill wrote "The subjection of Women" (1869)

Mill claimed that society's 'ethical' double standards hurt women, mill challenged men's alleged intellectual superiority.

19th Century Action (The Suffrage)

Both John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor believed women needed suffrage in order to become men's equals. They claimed that the vote gives people the power not only to express their own political views but also to change those systems, structures, and attitudes that contribute to their own or other's oppression.

Seneca Falls Convention (1848), New York led by Elizabeth Cady Stantan and Lucretia Mott. Declaration of Sentiment was produced. It was a vintage point of the 20th century (Sojourner Truth (1851), powerful feminist projected 'womanhood'). Susan B Anthony and Cady Stanton established the National Women Suffrage Association Lucy Stone founded "American Women Suffrage Association". It confined its activities gaining the vote for women. Nineteenth amendment was passed.

Twentieth Century Action (Equal Rights)

By the mid-1960s, most liberal feminists had joined National Organization for Women (NOW), the National Women Political Caucus (NWPC), and Women's Equity Action League (WEAL). These groups aimed to increase women's consciousness about women's oppression 1961. Press John F Kennedy established the commission on the status of women which resulted in the passage of Equal Pay Act (NOW). It was the first feminist group in the US in the 20th century to challenge sex discrimination in all spheres of life; social, political, economic and personal.

The aim of NOW's 1967 Bill of Rights for Women was to secure for women the same rights men have. Betty Friedan, author of The Feminine Mystique "that the gut issued of this resolution involves employment and education and new social institution and not sexual fantasy". The feminine Mystiques overall message: 'women's liberation hinged on women becoming like men', the dialectic of sex.

Contemporary Liberal Feminism

Elizabeth Holtzman, Bella Abzug, Eleanor Smeal, Patsy Mink.

Liberal feminists wish to free women from oppressive gender roles. All liberal feminists (both classical liberal feminists and welfare liberal feminists tend to agree a person's biological sex should not determine his or her psychological/social gender.

Critiques of Liberal Feminism

1. Reason, freedom and autonomy are not as good as they sound. In feminist Politics and Human Nature Alison Jaggar formulated a powerful critique of liberal feminism.
2. Women as Men?

This claim aspires to masculine values. Jean Bethke formulated this critique.

3. Racism, Classism, Heterosexism:

Liberal feminism mainly focused on the interests of white, middle-class, heterosexual women. The feminine mystique addresses white, middle-class, heterosexual women.

Conclusion

Sexual equality cannot be achieved through individual women's will power alone. Also necessary are major alterations in people's deepest social and psychological structures. Sexual oppression and social system that perpetuate oppression are morally evil because they limit/deny women's capacity to reflect on and determine their lives. Sexism causes immeasurable harm to people (women).

Women owe to liberal feminists many of the civil, educational, occupational and reproductive rights they currently enjoy. They owe to liberal feminists the ability to walk increasingly at ease in public domain.

Radical Feminism

(Cultural Perspective and Libertarian Perspective)

Tong defines a radical feminist as one who "insist(s) the sex/gender system is the fundamental cause of women's oppression." Unlike the liberal feminists who work within the system for change, the radical feminists want a new system altogether. The current state of affairs promotes a sexism which "is the first, most widespread, deepest form of human oppression," so it must be changed.

Introduction

Radical feminists, these revolutionary feminists introduce feminist thought the practice of conscious-raising: Women came together in small groups and shared their personal experiences as 'women' with each other. Radical feminists proclaimed that 'the personal is political' and that all women are 'sisters'.

View of Alison Jaggar and Paula Rothernberg

1. Women were, historically, the first oppressed group.
2. Women's oppression is the most widespread existing in eventually every aspect of society.
3. Women's oppression is the hardest form of oppression to eradicate and cannot be removed by other social changes such as the abolition of class society.
4. Women's oppression causes the most suffering to its victims, qualitatively and quantitatively.
5. Women's oppression provides a conceptual model for understanding all other forms of oppression.

Introduction to Radical Feminism

Radical feminism is a perspective within feminism that calls for radical reordering of society in which male supremacy is eliminated in all social and economic contexts.

Radical feminists seek to challenge patriarchy existing in social norms and institutions, through purely political process. This includes challenging traditional roles, opposing the sexual objectification of women and raising public awareness about violence against women.

Theory and Ideology

Patriarchy

Early radical feminism, arising with second-wave feminism in the 1960s, viewed patriarchy as a 'trans historical phenomenon' deeper than other sources of oppression. Radical feminists locate root of cause of women's oppression in patriarchal gender relations as opposed to legal systems or class conflicts.

They posit that because of patriarchy, women have been systematically oppressed and marginalized.

Patriarchal Theory

It maintains that the primary element of patriarchy is a relationship of dominance. Radical feminists believe that men use social systems to keep women suppressed. They believe that eliminating patriarchy will liberate everyone from an unjust society.

Radical Feminists

Andrea Dworkin, Mary Daly, Phyllis Chesler, Jill Johnston, Monique Witting

They called for women to govern men and women.Ellen Willis writes in 1984 that radical feminists "got sexual politics recognized as a public issue".

Movement

The ideology of radical feminism in the United States developed as a component of the women's liberation movement. Chronologically, it can be seen within the context of second-wave feminism that started in the early 1960's.

Many local women's groups in the late 60's, such as the UCCA (Women's Liberation Fund) WLF offered diplomatic statements of radical feminism's ideologies. UCCLA's WLF co-founder Devra Weber calls:

"Radical feminists were opposed patriarchy, but not necessarily capitalism. In our group at least, they opposed so called male dominated national liberation struggles".

They took up the cause and advocated for a variety of women issues, including abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, access to credit, and equal pay.

Second-wave radical feminism saw greater numbers of black feminists and other women of color participating.

In US

In the US radical feminism developed as a response to some of the perceive failings of both New Left Organization such as NOW. Initially concentrated in big cities like New York, Chicago, Boston, Washington, DC, radical feminists groups spread across the country rapidly from 1868 to 1972.

In UK

In the UK, radical feminism is developed out of discussion with community based radical women's organizations and discussions by women within Trotkyist left.

Consciousness Raising (CR) Groups

Radical feminists introduced the use of consciousness raising groups. Consciousness raising group sessions allowed early radical feminists experience women faced with male supremacy.

Radical feminism claimed that a totalizing ideology and social formation do dominated women in the interest of men.

In 1969, there was "politico-feminist split". Politico saw capitalism as a source of women's oppression and 'feminist' saw male supremacy as a source of oppression. The feminist side of the split began referring to itself as 'radical feminists', soon constituted the basis of a new organization, Redstockings.

Kate Millet's sexual Politics emerged during this time and in this milieu.

Action

In 1968, they protested against the Miss America pageant by throwing high heels and other feminine accoutrements into the garbage bin, to represent freedom. In 1970, they also staged a sit-in at the Ladies Home Journal. In addition, they held speak outs about topics such as rape.

Aims of Radical Feminism

1. Expanding reproductive rights. It includes not only the right to abortion and birth control but also her right to make those choices freely without pressure from individual men.

2. Changing the organizational sex culture e.g. breaking down traditional gender roles reevaluating societal concepts of femininity masculinity.

Views on Prostitution

Radical feminists argue that, in most cases, prostitution is not a conscious and calculated choice. Most women, they say, who become prostitutes because they were coerced/forced by a pimp or by human trafficking, or when it is an independent decision, it is generally the result of the serious underlying problems such as drug addiction or past trauma.

Radical feminists see prostitution as a form of male dominance and it affirms and reinforces patriarchy as a form of slavery resulting in sexual subjugation of women.

Views on Pornography

Radical feminists e.g. Catherine Mackinnon charge that the production of pornography entails physical, psychological, and/or economic coercion of the women who perform in it even when the women are being presented as enjoying themselves. Radical feminists say that women in pornography are brutalized in the process of its production. Pornography contributes to sexism. Robin Morgan summarizes; "Pornography is the theory, and rape is the practice."

Radical Lesbian Feminism

Radical lesbians are distinguished from other radical feminists through their ideological roots in political lesbianism. Radical lesbians see lesbianism as an act of resistance against the political institution of heterosexuality, which they view as violent and oppressive towards women.

Criticism

1. During the early years, radical feminists were criticized for emphasizing sex-based discrimination at the expense of race and class-based discrimination.

2. According to Ellen Willis's 1984 essay "Radical Feminism and Feminist Radicalism", radical feminists were accused of being 'Bourgeois', 'antileft' or even 'apolitical'.

3. Radical feminism was criticized because it tended to be white and middle-class.

4. Ellen Willis also criticized radical feminism's inability to integrate a feminist perspective with an overall radical politics.

Kate Millett's Sexual Politics (1970)

She claimed that male-female sex relationship is the paradigm for all power relationships. Because male control of the public and private worlds maintains

patriarchy, male control must be eliminated if women are to be liberated. To eliminate male control, men and women have to eliminate gender.

Millet singles our authors D.H Lawrence, Henry Miller and Norman Mailer as some of the most articulate leaders of patriarchy's (1930-1960) assault on feminist ideas.

Millet observed in contemporary feminism a determined effort to destroy the sex/gender system- the basic source of women's oppression and to create a new society in which men and women are equals at every level of existence.

Shulamith Firestone's Dialectic of Sex

She claimed the material basis for the sexual/political ideology of female submission and male domination was rooted in the reproductive roles of men and women. Firestone's reflections on women's reproductive role led her to a feminist revision of the materialistic theory of history offered by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

Firestone proposed to make up for this oversight by developing a feminist version of historical materialism in which sex class rather than economic class, is central concept.

Marxist Feminism

Marxist theory attempts to explain the structure of modern industrial society with special emphasis on class and labor. According to Marx, society is broken up into two classes containing those who own the means of production (factories, tools, capital) and the laborers who are exploited to produce the items demanded by the ruling classes. This exploitation is extended to women with the addition of sexism and gender inequality. Marxist feminists are primarily concerned with the division of labor that keeps women in the domestic sphere and men in the work place. In addition to this, when women do enter the workforce, they are delegated to jobs that are deemed appropriate for their gender and are usually underpaid for their work.

Introduction

Marxist feminism is a branch of feminism focused on investigating and explaining the ways in which women are oppressed through systems of capitalism and private property.

According to Marxist Feminism, women's liberation can only be achieved through a radical restructuring of the current capitalist economy, in which much of women's labor is uncompensated.

Theoretical Background in Marxism

Influential work by Karl Marx in "A contribution of the Critique of Political economy" and both by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 'The Communist Manifesto' laid the foundation of the discourse between capitalism and oppression. The theory of historical materialism termed by Karl Marx recognizes the ways in which economic systems structure society as a whole and influence everyday life and experience.

Historical Materialism

It places a heavy emphasis on the role of economic factors in determining the basic structure of society. The base structure provides a range of systems which is set by ruling class to exploit the working class.

Engel's 'The Origin of Family, Private Property and The State' (1818)

According to Engel the shift from feudalism to private ownership of land has huge effects on status of women. He argues that subordination is not a result of her biological disposition but of social relations. Men's efforts to achieve their demand for control of women's labor and sexual faculties have gradually become institutionalized in the

nuclear family. Through a Marxist historical perspective Engel analyzed the social phenomenon associated with female sexual morality. As such gender operation is closely related to class operation and the relationship between men and women is similar to the relationship between Proletariat and Bourgeoisie

Productive and Reproductive Labor

Productive labor is compensated in the form of paid wage while reproductive labor is associated with private sphere and is not for the purpose of receiving a wage.

Women are assigned to domestic sphere where the labor is reproductive and thus un-compensated and un-recognized in capitalist system. It is in the public and private institution to exploit the labor of women as an inexpensive method of supporting a workforce. Marxist feminists argue that exclusion of women from productive labor leads to male control to both private and public domains.

Accomplishment and Activism

The militant nature of Marxist feminists and their ability to mobilize to promote social change has enabled them to engage in important activism. Marxist feminists challenge hegemonic capitalism and shed light on status of women.

Wages for Housework

Marxist feminists devoted their activism to fighting for the inclusion of the domestic work within the waged capitalist economy. The idea of creating compensated reproductive labor was present in the writing of socialists, such as Sharlotte Perkins Gilman (1898) who argued that women's oppression stemmed from being forced into the private spheres.

International Wages for Housework Campaign

An organization launched in Italy in 1972, important women of this organization were Selma James, Della Costa, and Birgitte Galtier. They published a range of sources to promote their message in academic and public domain. This organization became successful in mobilizing on an international level.

Sharing the Responsibility of Reproductive Labor

Heidi Hartmann (1981) believes that traditional discourse has ignored the importance of women's operations as women and instead focused on women's operation as member of capitalist system.

Gayle Rubin rose to prominence through her 1975 essay "The Traffic in Women: Notes on The Political Economy of Sex" in which she coins the phrase sex/gender system and criticize Marxism as incomplete analysis if sexism under capitalism.

Nancy Folbre proposes that feminist movement began to focus on women's subordinate status to men both in reproductive (private) spheres as we as in work place (public) spheres.

Sylvia Federici (2013) urges that feminist movements to consider the fact that woman are now forced into productive and reproductive labor resulting in a double day.

Marxist feminist Critiques of Liberal Feminism

Calara Zetkin and Alexandera Kollontai are opposed to forms of feminism that reinforced class status. They believed that liberal feminism would undermine the efforts of Marxism to improve conditions for working class. Marxist supported the more radical political program of liberating women through socialist revolution with special emphasis on work among women and materially changing their positions.

Juliet Mitchell

In the early 1970's, she sketched a plausible two system explanation of women's oppression. She suggested women's status and functions are determined by their roles in not only production but also reproduction, the socialization of children, and sexuality. Her thesis; because of the ways in which patriarchal ideology has constructed men and women psyche women would probably continue to remain subordinate. To men until their minds and men minds had been liberated from the idea that women are somehow less valuable than men.

Critiques of Marxist Feminism

Mitchell rejected liberal feminists claim that social reforms aimed at giving women more educational and occupational opportunities will make men's equal

Women suffrage co-education studies and affirmative action policies might change the way femininity is expressed but these practices could not significantly change the overall status of women.

Conclusion

The fundamental goal of these feminist needs to remain constant was to encourage women everywhere to unite in whatever ways the can to oppose structure of oppression, inequality and injustice.

Psycho Analytic Feminism

Psychoanalytic and gender feminists believe "women's way of acting is rooted deep in women's psyche." For the psychoanalytic feminist, the ideal "human person is a blend of positive feminine and positive masculine traits."

Introduction

Psycho analytic feminism is a theory of oppression, which asserts that men have an inherent psychological need to subjugate women. The root of men's domination and women's subjugation lies deep within the human psyche. This branch of feminism seeks to gain inside into how our psychic lives develop in order to better understand and change women's oppression. This pattern of oppression is integrated in society thus creating and sustaining patriarchy. Societal change can be developed through discovering the source of men's domination and women's subjugation, which largely resides unrecognized in individual's unconscious.

Early Childhood Development

Psycho analytic feminism concentrates on early childhood development, explaining how gender is constructed and practiced on societal, familial and individual levels. Sigmund Freud's theories of human psyche as well as Lacan's reworking of Freud's theories provide a foundational framework for this body of feminism.

Two Main Sections Psycho Analytic Feminism;

Micro Level

This section/branch focuses on examining differences between women and men, particularly on women psychology as well as the environment in which the personality of child develops. This includes;

1. Childhood learning and formation
2. Relationships with parents
3. Early sexuality traits
4. It also explores the establishment of masculinity and femininity.

Macro Level

It investigates the construction of gender. It encompasses:

1. Examination of masculinity and femininity
2. Emergence of adult sexuality
3. Continual reinforcement of patriarchy

It also studies societal institutions such as economy and employment, science and knowledge, arts and language.

Central Topic in Psycho Analytic Feminism

The exploration of women's role as mother and daughter is a central topic in psycho analytic feminism. Early theorists such as

Jessica Benjamin   ;   Jane Flax

Dorothy Dinnerstien ;   Nancy Chodrow

They viewed mothering as a mean for understanding the continual production and reproduction of the status quo and therefore a place where social change can occur.

Utilizing Freud's techniques, many psycho analytic feminists examine people pre-oedipal and oedipal experiences in relation to gender and identity formation.

Masculinity and Femininity

Utilizing Freud's object relation theory, Chodrew's examines the relationships of mothers and their children and concludes that femininity is the strong representative of the strong tie to the mother, whereas the masculinity manifests itself as distance from mother and father. Masculinity represents the possibility of gratification and femininity signifies the impossibility of a union.

Gender Role

It is based on household practices of the parents as well as how the children are socialized on conscious and subconscious levels. This reinforces boy's desire to dominate girls and girl's willingness to cooperate and compromise in their agency. Psycho analytic feminists suggest that the key to changing gender construction can be achieved through altering parenting practices.

Development of a Person's Sexuality

The development of a person's sexuality also began at an early age. Many psycho analytic theorists recognized that children have the potential of bisexuality during the pre-oedipal stage of their lives. Through the combination of parenting and the development of boy's masculinity and girl's femininity, they are socialized to be

heterosexual. This combination reinforces the sexual and familial division that the children witness from birth. Boys and girls adopt their fathers and mothers role respectively. Thus boys join a larger collective group of males, who in turn dominate women, whereas girls remain closed to their mothers, remaining on the margin of the society, being ruled by men.

Psychoanalytic feminism describes society as a representative of men's ego, their sense, of self-importance and desire for immortality.

Classic Psychoanalytic Feminist Texts

1. Judith Butler, "Gender Trouble"

It explores influence of maternal care on the emerging self, social oppression of women on the basis of presumed gender differences, oedipal conflict and heterosexual identification.

2. Nancy Chodrow, "The Reproduction of Mothering"
3. Helene Cixous, "The Laugh of the Medusa"
4. Teresa Delauretis, "Alice doesn't and the Practice of Love"
5. Dorothy Dinnerstein, "The Mermaid and the Minotaur"
6. Elizabeth Grosz, "Volatile Bodies"
7. Luce Irigaray, "The Sex Which is Not One"
8. Julia Kristeva, "Desire in the Language and Tales of Love"
9. Juliet Mithcell, "Women's Estate and Psychoanalysis and Feminism"
10. Jacquline Rose, "Feminine Sexuality"

Critique

1. Due to focus on early human development, the few strategies offered for creating change primarily concentrate on this parent and reliant upon parent raising their children.
2. The theories that provide foundation for most of this kind of feminism rely on Freud and Lacan. Many of these theorists are misogynistic and place men in position of superiority over women.
3. Psychological theory interpreted the feminine experience largely on relation to masculinity, which is one of the critiques of science and technology offered by psychoanalytic feminism.

Conclusion

Like liberal, radical and Marxist feminism, psychoanalytic feminists have not provided a totally satisfying explanation for female subordination.

Dual parenting is not a panacea for all women woe's and nor Mitchell's, Irigaray's attempt to resolve the Oedipal tale is sufficient.

Post Modern Feminism

Introduction

Despite the diversity in post-modern feminist thought, it is often claimed that a large number of postmodern feminists take their intellectual cues from psychoanalysts like Jacques Lacan, existentialists like Siomone de Beauvoir, deconstructionists like Jacques Derrida and post-culturists like Michael Foucault.

Jacques Derrida

Like Jacques Lacan, Jacques Derrida focused much of his work on the mechanisms of the Symbolic Order, i.e., the series of interrelated sign, roles and rituals a child must internalize in order to function adequately in society. The more a child submits to the linguistic rules of society, the more those rules will be inscribes in his/her unconscious. In other words, the symbolic order regulates society through the regulation of individuals; as long as individuals speak the language of the symbolic order-internalizing its gender, race and class roles-society reproduces itself in constant forms.

Helene Cixous

Cixous primarily a novelist experimenting with literary style. She contrasted feminine writing with masculine writing. Viewed within a psychoanalytic framework, she observed, masculine writing rooted in a man's genital and libidinal economy which is emblemized by the phallus. For a variety of sociocultural reasons, masculine writings have reigned supreme over feminine writing.

Cixous has objected to masculine writing and thinking because there are cast in binary oppositions. Man has unnecessarily segmented reality by coupling concept and terms in pairs of polar opposites, one of which is always privileged over the other. In her essay sorties, Cixous listed some dichotomous pairs:

Activity/Passivity   ;   Sun/Moon

Culture/Nature   :   Day/Night

        Thought has always worked through opposition.

Speaking/Writing   ;   High/Low

Through Dual, Hierarchical Oppositions.

According to Cixous, each of these dichotomies finds its inspiration in the man-woman. Man is associated with all that is active. Cultural light, high, or generally positive, whereas woman is associated with all that is passive, natural, dark, low or generally negative. Man is the self; woman is the other. Thus, woman exists in man's world on his terms. She is either the other for man, or she is unthought-of.

Cixous challenged women to write themselves out of the world men constructed for women. For Cixous, feminine writings is not merely a new style of writing, it is: "The very possibility of change, the space that can serve as a springboard to subversive thought, the precursory movement of a transformation of social and cultural standards."

By developing feminine writing, she insisted, women can change the way Western world thinks, speaks and acts.

Michel Foucault

Like Derrida and Cixous, Michel Foucault, saw the individual person as the product or effect of a variety of power relations manifested through plurality of discourses. According to Foucault, discourse about sexuality is primary site of power in contemporary society. He said, we are literally "policed" nu society's discourse about sexuality. Madam Surap commented that in Foucault's view "complex differential relationships extend to every aspect of our social, cultural and political lives."

Foucault claimed that often, we are unaware of the social forces that have constituted our sexual subjectivity. For this reason, we operate on the unquestioning assumption that our subjectivity is our own. He conducted this analysis to permit others to help us transform our realities.

Judith Butler

Although Judith is influenced by many thinkers, she is certainly influenced by Freud, Derrida and Foucault. In Gender Trouble, Butler challenged the general view that sex, gender and sexuality constitute a web such that if a person is biologically female (xx chromosomes), she will display feminine traits and desire men as sexual partners. Instead, Butler claimed that there is no necessary connection between as person's sex and a person's gender.

She said, within the discursive territory of heterosexuality, not only is gender constructed but so too is se constructed. Gender and sex, said Butler, are more like verbs that nouns. She further said that gender and sex are identities one chooses to perform.

Critique of Postmodern Feminism

1. Some critics reject all 'postmodern feminism for academicians'. As they see it, postmodern feminism/feminists are deliberately opaque, viewing clarity as one of the seven deadly sins of the phallogocentric order. According to these critics, postmodern feminists "use language and ideas in such a specific way that no one else can understand what they are doing."

2. Convinced that Butler's thought in particular is more than jargon for an elite group of feminists and other social critics, Nussbaum trivialized Butler's ideas about resistance. Nussbaum main disagreement with Butler is that Butler seems to reduce resistance to 'jabbing' at one's oppressors. Indeed, in Nussbaum's estimation, Butler delights in the role of being oppressed. Specifically, Nussbaum claimed that the central thesis of Butler's book 'The Psychic Life of Power' is, "that we all eroticize the power structure that oppresses us, and can thus fund sexual pleasure only within their confines."

In other words,

"Real social change would be so uproot our psyches that it would make sexual satisfaction impossible."

We would be forced to give up our sexual pacifiers if we were to engage in bona fide social resolution, and above all, we don't want to lose what personally "turns us on".

Nussbaum found this conclusion about us truly sad. She asserted that personal sexual pleasure is not our objective. Rather, doing well for others is the purpose of our lives.

Conclusion

Postmodern feminists and feminists of today share a common tendency to thin non-binary, non-oppositional whether postmodern feminists can by carving the block and by speaking and writing, help overcome binary opposition, phallocentrism and logo centrism, is not certain. What is certain, however, is that the time has come for a new conceptual order.

Feminist Movements in Pakistan

Outline:

- **Background**
- **Evolution**
- **Famous Organizations**
- **Famous Contributors**
- **Current Situation**
- **Future**
- **Conclusion**

Background:

Women in developing countries have played an active role in challenging their unequal status by taking part in collective actions for change. In Pakistan as well as in many countries across the globe, the women movement has been vibrant by the issues of gender violence due to the deep violation of women's rights to life, health and society with in the civil society , women activists are implementing approaches to limit gender violence through advocacy. In Pakistan women face a lot of gender prejudice due to a male dominated society, tribal systems, religious interpretations and feudal mindset.

Evolution:

The history of activism for women rights in Pakistan as its roots in the colonial era of nineteenth century. The extreme discrimination faced by women increased men to state a movement for the education, basic rights and to attain a better status in society for them.

Post-independence, women were given several rights, such as the right to vote, to e a part of legislature and inherent property, in order to eliminate elements of discrimination and empower women to be a part of the public sphere. The Zia era had a defining impact on the working dynamics of women's movement. The impression of women rights as human rights and violence as crime against women emerged in this time period. This movement was not found to express the purpose of addressing violence against women. The connection between violence against women and human rights became clear in context of the oppressive laws that were responsible for increased violence and constant new proposals to terminate women rights and curtail their spaces.

Unlike feminists experiences in other parts of the world Pakistani women never had to convince the women rights movement of the need for the inclusion of women's concerns in their agenda. Rather women were among the first articulating public opposition to the Marshall Law regimes and civil society activism in the early 1980's was driven by these women activists who were among the founders of the human rights commission of Pakistan.

Through the passage of time, with the help of activists, numerous laws were established for a better status for women. These laws include among numerous:-

- Dowry and bridal gift restriction act (1976)
- Criminal law act (2004)
- Protection of women act (2006 , revise the hadood ordinance)
- Protection of harassment of women at work place (2010)
- Prevention of anti-women practices act 2011.
- Domestic violence act 2012
- Enforcement if women ownership rights acts 2012

Inspire of all the mentioned and numerous other laws women still face discrimination. The women movement in Pakistan has noted that upper and middle class urban and educated professional status of women activists. They have been criticized as an elite group of westernized women who are out of touch with the problems facing the majority of Pakistani women. Only a small number of women could benefit the laws and policies established. For majority of women their boundaries and limitations are still shaped by the domestic environment

Famous Organizations:

1. All Pakistan women association (APWA) was established in 1949. It aimed at providing moral, social, and economic welfare for women.
2. Women Action Forum (WAF) was found in 1981 in response to the Hadood ordinance. it focuses on strengthening women position in society .
3. Aurat foundation (AF) was founded in 1986. it works to provide information and undertake advocacy for women issues and good governance.
4. The human rights commission of Pakistan (HRCP) was established in 1987. it has established a leading role in the struggle for the provision of human rights for all and democratic development in the country.
5. The AGHS legal and cell was established in 1980 and focuses on the rights of women, children and minorities.
6. National commission on the status of women NCSW) was established in 2000. The NCSW examines policies, programs and measures taken by the state for women development and gender equality.

7.

Famous Contributors:

1. Raána Liaqat Ali Khan, established APWA and Pakistan women national guard (PWNG).
2. Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz and Shaista Ikram Ullah ware members of the first legislative assembly of Pakistan. Their first led to the Muslim Personal Law (1948), charter of women rights (1956) and the Muslim family law Ordinance (1961).
3. The following women contributed to the feminist movement in the Urdu Literature.
   - Ishrat Afreen
   - Ada Jafri
   - Hajra Masroor
   - Fehmida Riaz
   - Parveen Shakir
   - Begum Akhtar Riaz Uddin
4. Zaib-un-Nisa, a writer and journalist is considered as the pioneer of feminism in Pakistan. She is served as the face of independence, professional Pakistani women and defined the role of women in the term of contribution towards society.

Current Situation:

Although the constitution of Pakistan caused for gender equality, prohibits discrimination and ensure full participation of women in all spheres of life. Women still face numerous challenges to survive in the society. A report published and Aurat foundation claimed that violence against women has increased by 4.97 % in 2013. Other independent international organizations like Thumpin Reuters Foundation declared Pakistan as third most dangerous for women in 2011. UNDP's gender inequality index ranks Pakistan 146th out of 186 countries. The global gender gap report ranked Pakistan 141th out of 142 countries in 2014, in terms of the gap between man and women in economic participation, education, health, and political empowerment.

There are individual contributions by numerous women in the progress of the country, but the overall status of women empowerment is unpleasant. Women have taken active part in several fields throughout history. They have been part of politics, sports, medicine, education, economy and even armed forces.

Pakistan's media has progressed rapidly with in the last decade. It has introduced a vibrant and free electronic and print media. A variety of TV, radio channels and newspaper are available to the citizen. The media has taken initiative on many

issues and generate awareness on numerous subjects regarding gender discrimination. On the other hand, it is also criticized for glamorizing and presenting women as a commodity or exploiting their grievances.

Today the women's movement in Pakistan is categorized by a fragmented political freed, with a diverse political, cultural and discrete distribution of power that enables political autonomy of women's organizations. Politically independent groups are able to search more explicitly feminist agendas. They have been able to focus more centrally on gender, especially violence. Been independent from state and having no political affiliations leaves the organizations free to criticize injustice failure to implement laws and pressure for action.

Future:

In Pakistan steps forward are frequently undermined by steps backward. Still resistance to the violence and activism of women rights can be found in many places and many forms. A strong consent has emerged that the outreach, educational efforts of women has resulted in challenges that are visible at micro level and more women are coming forward to claim their rights. Organizing women across class and social locations poses many challenges. The risk of arrest, stigma and family alienation that may result from public activism is more easily accepted by women who have the advantage of social and political connection to the elite class of country. Nevertheless, normalizing women have resulted in some positivity.

For the sake of a balanced society it is needed that we understand that humans are mentally equally capable, but their fields of responsibilities are different. Men are responsible for earning while women has to manage house hold affairs on priority but they are also free in their decision making and earning. Investment in mass education is little to get rid of the paradoxes of gender discrimination and craving is true perception of women status in the society. Pakistan remains grossly underinvested in education, especially in girl's education which can be considered as a basis for broad change of a society in order to decrease discrimination.

Conclusion:

Feminism in Pakistan has raised question about the man dominated system, in which women find themselves formally and informally excluded of power. Though it is true women has played a significant role, throughout history. It is still felt that the real power still lies with men and the customs of the legally feudal and tribal culture.

UN Conferences on Women

OUTLINE

1. Introduction.
2. Establishment of commission on the status of women.
3. Four conferences by UN on women.
   - First world conference   (1975)
   - Second world conference (1980)
   - Third world conference   (1985)
   - Fourth world conference   (1995)
4. The follow up conferences are:
   - Beijing review conference +5
   - Beijing review conference +10
   - Beijing review conference +15
   - Beijing review conference +20

Introduction

UN took gender concern as the integration of women rights in very beginning.

Establishment

UN institute ECOSOC was established. The member states of UN were 51 in 1951, Out of 51 only 13 allowed women to right of equal vote and right to hold public office.

Objectives of CSW

- Political rights
- Economical rights
- Civil rights
- Social and educational rights

In June 1946, the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) established the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) to ensure the empowerment of women and gender equality (E/RES/2/11, 21 June 1946), and to provide recommendations to the Council on the obstacles relating women's rights in political, economic, civil, social and education fields.

Over the years, the CSW has organized different conferences in order to assert and improve the rights of women. So far, four world conferences on women have taken place. The conferences have sought to unite the international community behind a set

of common objectives with an effective plan of action for the advancement of women everywhere, in all spheres of public and private life.

The Commission on the Status of Women has been responsible for organizing and following up the world conferences on women in Mexico (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995). Over the past decade, the Commission has systematically reviewed progress in the implementation of the twelve critical areas of concern identified in the Beijing Platform for Action at its annual sessions, and has adopted action-oriented recommendations, in the form of agreed conclusions, to facilitate increased implementation at all levels.

The Commission acted as the Ad-hoc Preparatory Committee for the twenty-third special session of the General Assembly (Beijing+5). The outcome identified persistent gaps and challenges and provided new recommendations for action to ensure full implementation of the commitments made in Beijing in 1995.

Four Conferences on Women

1. First World Conference   (A Global Dialogue is opened)1975

Outline:

- Introduction
- Major concerns and issues
- Establishment of new divisions and branches under UN
- Overall description

Introduction

The first world conference on the status of women was convened in Mexico City to coincide with the 1975 International Women's Year, observed to remind the international community that discrimination against women continued to be a persistent problem in much of the world. The Conference, along with the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985) proclaimed by the General Assembly five months later at the urging of the Conference, launched a new era in global efforts to promote the advancement of women by opening a worldwide dialogue on gender equality. A process was set in motion a process of learning â€" that would involve deliberation, negotiation, setting objectives, identifying obstacles and reviewing the progress made.

The Mexico City Conference was called for by the United Nations General Assembly to focus international attention on the need to develop future oriented goals, effective strategies and plans of action for the advancement of women. To this end, the General Assembly identified three key objectives that would become the basis for the work of the United Nations on behalf of women.

Major Concerns And Issues

- Discrimination against women
- Ensuring full gender equality
- Participation of women in development
- Social and economic integration for women
- Increased contribution of women in global peace

- The attention of global community to be drawn to develop the future oriented goals, effective strategies and plans of action for advancement of women

Establishment Of New Divisions

UN established two divisions;

- INSTRAW (International Research And Training Institute for The Advancement of Women)
- UNIFEM (United Nation Development Fund for Women)

OBJECTIVES

- Research
- Training
- Operational activities in the area of women development

OVERALL DESCRIPTION

It was the largest international forum in which women themselves participated. Out of 133 states, 130 were headed by women. Women also organized NGO forums at that time. It was stressed on countries to make policies for women. Eastern states were more concerned on peace but western states were more concerned on the role of women in development.

Second World Conference

(The Review Process Begins)1980

Outline:

- Introduction
- Adaption of CEDAW
- Major concerns
- Overall description

Introduction

There was a general consensus that significant progress had been made as representatives of 145 Member States met in Copenhagen in 1980 for the second world conference on women to review and appraise the 1975 World Plan of Action. Governments and the international community had made strides toward achieving the targets set out in Mexico City five years earlier.

An important milestone had been the adoption by the General Assembly in December 1979 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, one of the most powerful instruments for women's equality. The Convention, which has been termed "the bill of rights for women", now legally binds 165 States, which have become States parties and obligates them to report within one year of ratification, and subsequently every four years, on the steps they have taken to remove obstacles they face in implementing the Convention. An Optional Protocol to the Convention, enabling women victims of sex discrimination to submit complaints to an international treaty body, was opened for signature on Human Rights Day, 10 December 1999. Upon its entry into force, it will put the Convention on an equal footing with other international human rights instruments having individual complaints procedures.

Despite the progress made, the Copenhagen Conference recognized that signs of disparity were beginning to emerge between rights secured and women's ability to exercise these rights. To address this concern, the Conference pinpointed three areas where specific, highly focused action was essential if the broad goals of equality, development and peace, identified by the Mexico City Conference, were to be reached. These three areas were equal access to education, employment opportunities and adequate health care services.

The deliberations at the Copenhagen Conference took place in the shadow of political tensions, some of them carried over from the Mexico City Conference. Nevertheless, the Conference came to a close with the adoption of a Programme of Action, albeit not by consensus, which cited a variety of factors for the discrepancy between legal rights and women's ability to exercise these rights, including:

ADOPTAION OF CEDAW

An important milestone has been the adoption of CEDAW. It stands for Convention for Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. It is the most powerful instrument for women equality.

165 signatory all over the world took part in it. The country which signatures CEDAW is responsible for implementation of this.

Major Concerns

- Involvement of men in improving women's role in society
- Political participation and rights for women
- Addressing women's need in planning
- Women in decision making
- Extending the facility and services related to women at national level

- Day care services
- Credit services
- Provision of financial services of women
- Education and awareness among women

Some Further Concern

In the conference Copenhagen program of action was introduced. List of activities are;

- Ensure women's ownership
- Control of property
- Right to inheritance
- Child custody
- Elimination of stereo type attitudes towards women

Overall Description

To address women related concerns, the Copenhagen Programme of Action called for, among other things, stronger national measures to ensure women's ownership and control of property, as well as improvements in women's rights to inheritance, child custody and loss of nationality. Delegates at the Conference also urged an end to stereotyped attitudes towards women.

Third World Conference (The Birth of Global Feminism)1985

Outline:

- Introduction
- Sharing experiences and reports
- Narobi forward looking strategies and concerns
- Overall Description

Introduction

The UN's Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi represented the culmination of ten years of work on gender empowerment. Attended by approximately 1,400 official delegates from 157 countries and 15,000 NGO representatives, the conference aimed to evaluate the progress made during UN Decade for Women and devise a new course of action for the advancement of women. While substantial progress had been made in the last ten years, it was clear that there was still a great deal to be done. Participants were especially vocal on the subject of violence against women, which they felt had not been given the attention it deserved. At the same time, many others believed that the

conference needed to focus on finding ways to strengthen the role of women in Peace and Development initiatives. At the Nairobi conference, participants set their differences aside and awarded equal consideration to these interrelated and mutually reinforcing goals.

The Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies, adopted by the conference, provides a blueprint for action until 2000 that link the promotion and maintenance of peace to the eradication of violence against women throughout the broad spectrum of society. The document urges member states to take constitutional and legal steps to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women, and tailor national strategies to facilitate the participation of women in efforts to promote peace and development. At the same time, it contains specific recommendations for gender empowerment in regard to health, education and employment.

The greatest achievement of the Nairobi conference is that, despite the acute differences dividing the 157 member states, representatives were able to find a common ground on all the issues addressed and unanimously adopt the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies.

Forward Looking Strategies

A strategy was made on previous experiences. Three basic measures of categories were identified in this forward looking strategy. The main points are;

- Constitutional and legal steps
- Equality in social participation
- Equality in political participation and decision making

Further Recommendation And Concerns

- Employment
- Health
- Education and social services
- Industry and science
- Communication and environment

Over All Description

At the Third World Conference held in Nairobi in 1985, the UN revealed to Member States that only a number of women benefited from the improvements and participants were asked to find new areas to ensure that peace, development and equality could be achieved. Three sectors identified in Nairobi include equality in social participation and equality in political participation and decision-making. The conference further

recognized the necessity of women to participate in discussions in all areas and not only on gender equality.

Fourth World Conference (Legacy of Success)1995

Outline:

- Introduction
- Establishment of BPFA
- The platform for action and its 12 areas
- The role of NGO's were recognized and appreciated
- Overall Description

Introduction

This conference was held in 1995 in Beijing. And it is known as "legacy of Success". 189 governments and states participated. 17,000 participants, 6,000 government delegates, 4,000 representatives of NGO's and 4,000 representatives of media were present.

Establishment Of BPFA

189 countries signature on adoption which is known as "BPFA" stand for Beijing Platform for Action. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action were adopted by consensus on 15 September 1995. The Declaration embodies the commitment of the international community to the advancement of women and to the implementation of the Platform for Action, ensuring that a gender perspective is reflected in all policies and programmes at the national, regional and international levels. The Platform for Action sets out measures for national and international action for the advancement of women over the five years until 2000.

If implemented, the Platform for Action will enhance the social, economic and political empowerment of women, improve their health and their access to relevant education and promote their reproductive rights. The action plan sets time-specific targets, committing nations to carry out concrete actions in such areas as health, education, decision-making and legal reforms with the ultimate goal of eliminating all forms of discrimination against women in both public and private life.

12 Ares of Platform For Action

- Women And Poverty
- Education And Training Of Women
- Women And Health
- Violence Against Women
- Women And Arm Conflict
- Women And The Economy
- Women And The Power And Decision Making
- Women And The Mechanism For Advancement
- Women And The Rights For Human
- Women And The Media
- Women And The Environment
- Women And The Girl Child

The Role Of Ngo's

4,000 NGO's representatives were there. They were recognized as change makers with regard to equality, violence and discrimination.

Over All Description

The overriding message of the Fourth World Conference on Women was that the issues addressed in the Platform for Action are global and universal. Deeply entrenched attitudes and practices perpetuate inequality and discrimination against women, in public and private life, in all parts of the world. Accordingly, implementation requires changes in values, attitudes, practices and priorities at all levels.

The Conference signaled a clear commitment to international norms and standards of equality between men and women; that measures to protect and promote the human rights of women and girl-children as an integral part of universal human rights must underlie all action; and that institutions at all levels must be reoriented to expedite implementation. Governments and the UN agreed to promote the "mainstreaming" of a gender perspective in policies and programmes.

Follow Up Conferences

1. Beijing Review Conference +5

After 5 years in 2002, 23rd session on UN general assembly achievements were seen on the regional and national point

2. Beijing Review Conference +10

49th session on commission of status of women in 2005. In this conference BPFA was implemented.

3. Beijing Review Conference +15

It was the 15th anniversary of Beijing conference in 2010. The agendas discussed in this conference were

- Including grass root women
- Experience sharing
- Achievement of millennium development

4. Beijing Review Conference +20

The Beijing+20 Regional Review Meeting was held in 2015 before this on 6 – 7 November 2014 at the Palais des Nations in Geneva. The meeting addressed key areas of progress and challenges in the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action in the UNECE member States. It focused on such issues as long-term trends in gender equality and the empowerment of women, women's representation and leadership in decision-making, eliminating violence against women, anti-discriminatory legislation and gender justice. As it marked the 20-year anniversary of the adoption of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, the meeting was an opportunity to highlight key achievements and setbacks over the last two decades and discuss how to strengthen gender equality in the post-2015 development agenda.

Gender and Development

Historical Background and Origin

The United Nations Charter of 1945 and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 established the first official worldwide recognition of women's equality and non-discrimination on the basis of sex. However up until the late 1960's the focus was on women's reproductive roles, as women were seen as wives and mothers and their main issues were supposed to be obtaining access to food, contraceptives, nutrition and health care.

The 70's and 80's marked a new phase, in which the debate moved beyond women's equality and the domestic sphere of women's role as wives and mothers onto the global stage, where the role of women was promoted as an aid for economic development.

Introduction and Definition

The term "Women, Gender and Development" could be seen as a discipline much like every other area of knowledge. However, what sets it apart from various disciplines is that, its major contributors are individuals that raise issues and concerns, concerning women, gender and development. These are academics, feminist activists and development practitioner.

The important events such as the First World Conference for Women held in Mexico 1974, the UN decade for women "76-85" and the promotion of the Women in Development (WID) approach emphasized women's right to development, recognition of women's economic role in national economies and, most significantly, gave a voice to women in developing countries.

Some of the shortcoming of the approaches such as the WID applied in the 70's were that they fell short of improving unequal relationships, and a significant number of projects were unsustainable as development projects failed to consider the multiple roles carried out by women, leading to a development model that in the end disadvantaged women.

In the late 80's the Gender and Development (GAD) approach was developed with the idea of improving the development model by "removing disparities in social, economic, and political balances between women and men as a pre-condition for achieving people-centered development".

However, since the 1990's the gender perspective is still struggling to be clearly set into the development agenda of international treaties or objectives such as the Millennium Development Goals. The principles only focus on gender equality and do not concentrate enough on women's centrality to other development areas.

Over the years development programs have been criticized for ignoring gender roles and the impact it has on women in the global south. However we see a shift to integrate women into development programs in hopes of eradicating poverty and low social economical status.

The six main theoretical approaches are:

(1) The Welfare Approach;

(2) Women In Development (WID);

(3) Women And Development (WAD)

(4) Gender And Development (GAD)

(5) The Effectiveness Approach (EA)

(6) Mainstream Gender Equality (MGE)

Martinez tries to understand the various outcomes and effectiveness of all 6 development theories.

In 1972 Ann Oakley, was able to distinguish the difference between sex and gender. Gender refers to one's sexuality based on masculinity and femininity and sex refers to the biological features of one physiology. With the rise and popularity of the term gender, came with its misusage of its actual meaning. For example, as most development agencies and NGO's supported its terminology, however they used it as a reference point when talking about mainly women issues. Today the term gender has become more popularized, that it is usually linked to a wide range of sectors like politics, economics, environment and health.

Social Assistance Or The "Welfare Approach"

Social assistance or the "welfare approach" originated back 1950s to the 1970s during the era of decolonization and political transitioning in most African and Asian countries. The welfare approach was a response to the outcomes of inequality among the local elites and the common man in each nation, by most of the newly independent countries.

Most international development agencies applied a very western approach that helps these nations to develop. Some of these theories were the modernization theory and the Malthusian theory (Population vs. Resources). It brought about a negative impact and outcome towards the most developing nations' development and also help to further impede on its progress.

Women In Development (WID) Approach

Women in development (WID) approach, was originated as a result of three major feminist moments/waves concerning feminine conditions. The first wave also known as women's suffrage movement, originated in the North America back in the late 19th century, when women fought for the equal right to vote and participate in politics.

The second-wave of feminism sought to deal with the remaining social and cultural inequalities women were faced with in everyday affair i.e. sexual violence, reproductive rights, sexual discrimination and glass ceilings. The second wave was very controversial however it was influential that the UN organized the first global conference on women back in 1975 at Mexico. The conference sought to address nations role on fighting gender inequalities and support for women's right.

The third wave was influenced by Ester Boserup (1970) publication on "Women's Role in Economic Development". The book sent a shock wave through northern development agencies and humanitarian organization. She states and gave empirical results of how increasingly specialized division of labor, associated with development, undermines or neglects the value of women's work and status especially in the developing world. As it explains why women were being deprived an equal share among men in social benefits and economic gains. Boserup book had an influence on making women more visible in development approach and as a specific category when addressing women in development. It went influential, as in 1973 the US congress implemented a bill, which required the USAID to include women in development programs.

The WID approach helped to ensure the integration of women into the workforce and increase their level of productivity in order to improve their lives. However some have criticized this approach as being very western. Since it is a perception of the global south from global north perspective, as it fails to acknowledge the collective and cultural concerns of women in the developing world. It approach has been tagged as being rather cumbersome on women, as it fails to understand the dynamics of the private sphere but focus solely on the public sphere.

The Women And Development (WAD) Approach

The women and development (WAD) approach originated back in 1975 in Mexico city, as it sort to discuss women's issues from a neo-Marxist and dependency theory perspective. Its focus was to "explain the relationship between women and the process of capitalist development in terms of material conditions that contribute to their exploitation". WAD is often misinterpreted as WID and what sets it apart is that, WAD focuses specifically on the relation between patriarchy and capitalism. The WAD perspective states that women have always participated and contributed towards economic development, regardless of the public or private spheres.

The Gender And Development (GAD) Approach

The Gender and Development approach originated in the 1980s by socialist feminism and served as a transitioning point in the way in which feminist have understood development. It served as a comprehensive overview of the social, economic and political realities of development. Its origin relates back to the Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era, when it was first initiated in India. It was then officially recognized in 1986 during the 3rd UN conference on women in Nairobi. The conference brought about activist, researcher and development practitioners globally. As the conference discussed about the achievements made from the previous decade's evaluation of promoting equality among the sexes, and a full scope of the obstacles limiting women's advancements, especially in the developing world.

The forum discussed about the effectiveness of the continuous debt crisis and structural adjustment program implemented by the IMF and the World Bank, and how such concept of neo-liberalism tend to marginalize and discriminate women more in the developing countries. The diversity of this approach was open to the experiences and need of women in the developing world. Its two main goals were to prove that the unequal relationship between the sexes hinders development and female participation. The second was, it sort to change the structure of power into a long-term goal whereby all decision-making and benefits of development are distributed on equal basis of gender neutrality.

The GAD approach is not just focused on the biological inequalities among sexes: men and women, however on how social roles, reproductive roles and economic roles are linked to Gender inequalities of: masculinity and femininity.

The Effectiveness Approach (EA) originated in the 1980s

The Effectiveness Approach (EA) originated in the 1980s. Its ideas are linked to the concept surrounding WID, which was the inequalities women faced and how

societies fail to acknowledge the impact of women in economic development. However EA sort to not just include women into development projects but also reinforce their level of productivity and effectiveness in the labor market. So this required the development of infrastructure and equipment that aided to increase women's earnings and productivity (especially women in the rural areas).

Mainstreaming Gender Equality (MGE) approach

Mainstreaming Gender Equality (MGE) approach also commonly referred to, as gender mainstreaming is the most recent development approach aimed on women. Gender mainstreaming ensures that all gender issues are address and integrated in all levels of society, politics, and programs. It originated in 1995 at the 4th UN conference on women in Beijing, China. At the forum, 189 state representatives agreed that the inclusion of both women and men in every development project was the only way to succeed and progress in a nation economic growth and development.

The WID approach had been drop by various aid agencies like CIDA, due to its negative interpretation from supporters, as being too feminist and brought about hostility from men towards such programs. So basically organization like CIDA now has to include men and women in their annual development report concerning the allocation of funds spent towards education, health care, and employment of both sexes.

Conclusion

Despite the effort to reinforce gender mainstreaming into society we still see a vast number of gender inequality especially in the developing world. Women make up the 70% of individuals living in poverty and in sub-Saharan Africa 57% of HIV infected individuals are women. This also includes the disproportionate ratio of women to men in the job market and at leadership position, low level of education among women, and low socio-economic status among women.

The Three Schools Of Thought/Approaches of

Gender And Development

WID,WAD and GAD

The field has thus been fertile for a fundamental shift in the perspectives of and approaches to women in development discourse and policy. Eva Rathgeber (1990) identifies three distinct schools of thought on gender and development, namely, Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD) and Gender and Development (GAD). As the oldest and most dominant approach, the WID arose out of the search for practical solutions to the failures of development concept and the growth of feminism based on a more systematic assessment of the roots of women's disadvantage. It was born as a trans-national movement; hence its emergence was built upon a strong sense of cohesion among women across national boundaries. Below we outline a brief account of these three schools:

I. Women in Development (WID)

In popular discourse, Women in Development(WID) is associated with the wide range of activities concerning women in the development domain, which donor agencies, governments and NGOs have become involved in since the 1970s. The 1975 World Conference of the International Womenís Year at Mexico City, and the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985), gave expression to the major preoccupations of women around the world: improved educational and employment opportunities; equality in political and social participation; and increased health and welfare services. In sum, the WID movement that emerged during this period demanded social justice and equity for women.

In this section we focus on a dominant strand of thinking within WID discourse, one that has attempted to make a connection between equity issues and development concerns. Instead of approaching policy makers with a range of demands for women, these WID advocates have adopted a strategy of relevance. In other words, their demands for the allocation of development resources to women hinge on economic efficiency arguments about what women can contribute to the development process. The convergence of equity and efficiency concerns in this strand of WID thought has provided the basis for a powerful political strategy. It has also had a lasting impact on the way in which development planners think about women. In the discussion that follows, we concentrate primarily on this strand of WID thought.

The origins of WID

The term woman in development was coined in the early 1970s by a Washington-based network of female development professionals. On the basis of their own experiences in overseas missions, they began to challenge trickle down theories of development, arguing that modernization was impacting differently on men and women. Instead of improving women rights and status, the development process appeared to be contributing to a deterioration of their position.

Drawing on such evidence, women's circles in the United States lobbied Congressional hearings, resulting in the 1973 Percy Amendment. A major formative influence on WID was the resurgence of the women's movement in northern countries in the 1970s.

In addition to the WID agenda, there was the simultaneous effort by liberal feminists to get equal rights, employment, equity and citizenship for women in the United States in other words, the idea of getting a just political system in place for American women. The liberal feminist approach has been very important globally, and was critical in determining the language of political strategy used by WID advocates. Central to liberal feminism was the idea that women is disadvantages stem from stereotyped customary expectations held by men and internalized by women, and promoted through various agencies of socialization. The second formative influence on WID was the emerging body of research on women in developing countries; here the work of the Danish economist, Ester Boserup, was most influential. From the perspective of the WID movement, the importance of Boserupís Womenís Role in Economic Development (1970) was that it challenged the assumptions.

II.   **Women and Development (WAD)**

Out of the disillusionment with the explanatory limitations of modernization theory that stood as the basis of WID arose a new movement, Women and Development (WAD), based on neo-Marxist feminism, in the second half of the 1970s. It draws some of its theoretical base from dependency theory, which, in opposition to the optimistic claims of modernization theory, maintained that the failure of the third world states to achieve adequate and sustainable levels of development resulted from their dependence on the advanced capitalist world.

In essence, the WAD approach begins from the position that women always have been an integral part of development processes in a global system of exploitation and inequality, and it is from this perspective that we need to examine why women had not benefited from the development strategies of the past decades, that is, by questioning the sources and nature of women's subordination and oppression. In this respect, both the Marxist and liberal feminists share the view that structures of production determine

the inferior status of women; while the liberals solely focus on technological change as the causal mechanism, the Marxists consider its impact on class differentiation.

The studies of the Marxist feminists show that the changing roles of women in economic production are determined by the confluence of a number of historical factors: the sexual division of labour in reproduction, local class structure, the articulation of specific regions and sectors of production within national economies and the international economy. The result is a great diversity and complexity in the integration of women into the processes of capitalist development.

The WAD approach recognizes that the Third World men also have been adversely affected by the structure of the inequalities and exploitation within the international system, and discourages a strict analytical focus on the problems of women independent of those of men, since both the sexes are disadvantaged within the oppressive global structures based on class and capital. Thus there is little analytical attention to the social relations of gender within classes. It fails to undertake a full-scale analysis of the relationship between patriarchy, differing modes of production, and women's subordination and oppression. That is, it gives scant attention to the sphere of reproduction and household level relations between men and women.

The WAD perspective appears to implicitly assume that women's position will improve with more equitable international structures, and it sides with WID in solving the problem of underrepresentation of women in economic, political, and social structures by carefully designed intervention strategies rather than by more fundamental shifts in the social relations of gender. Such common WID-WAD focus on intervention strategies in terms of the development of income-generating activities, without caring for the time burdens that such strategies place on women, shows the singular preoccupation of these approaches with the productive sector at the expense of the reproductive side of women's work and lives.

The labor invested in family maintenance, including childbearing and -rearing, housework, care of the ill and elderly, and the like, has been considered to belong to the "private" domain and outside the purview of development projects aimed at enhancing income-generating activities. In essence, this has been a reflection of the tendency of both modernization and dependency theorists to utilize exclusively economic or political-economy analyses and to discount the insights of the so-called 'softer' social sciences.

III. Gender and Development (GAD)

As already mentioned, feminists in general, when assessing the past decades of WID policy implementation, have pointed out that although WID policies have been to some extent successful in improving women's economic condition, they have been

much less effective in improving omen's social and economic power relative to men in development contexts.

The concern over this problem led to a consensus to reform the WID, with arguments for approaches informed by a gender analysis of social relations and aspiration for the ultimate empowerment of women. Hence the shift came to Gender Analysis in Development or simply Gender and Development (GAD) in the 1980s. The focus on 'gender' rather than 'women' was influenced by the feminist writers such as Oakley (1972) and Rubin (1975), who were worried about the general way of perceiving the problems of women in terms of their sex, their biological difference from men, rather than in terms of their gender, the social relationship between men and women, where women have been systematically subordinated.

The focus on gender rather than women makes it critical to look not only at the category 'women' – since that is only half the story – but at women in relation to men, and the way in which relations between these categories are socially constructed. GAD draws its theoretical roots from the strands of socialist feminism that challenged the orthodox Marxist assertion that only class analysis could explain women's oppression, and has complemented the modernization theory by linking the relations of production to the relations of reproduction and by taking into account all aspects of women's lives.

More than just a change of name, it involves a change of approach and a challenge to the development process as a whole. WID approach was based on a politics of access, getting women into development programmes. The GAD approach on the other hand recognizes the significance of redistributing power in social relations. Beyond improving women's access to the same development resources as are directed to men, the GAD approach stresses direct challenges to male cultural, social and economic privileges, so that women are enabled to make equal social and economic profit out of the same resources. It involves leveling the playing field, in other words, changing institutional rules.

The GAD was grounded in the argument that an analysis focusing on women alone could not adequately capture the nature of subordination without looking at the concerned social and institutional rules and practices through which gender relations are constructed. And 'power' is a general characteristic of gender relations. Hence an analysis of social relations of gender and development must start from domestic arena and go beyond the broader economic arena in which these relations are articulated and reconstituted.

Gender subordination is embedded in the hierarchic structures of division of labor and gender, as one aspect of social relations, is not the only form of inequality in the lives of women and men as there are other forms of social inequalities resulting from

class and race differentiation. Hence, a holistic framework that looks at the totality of social organizations and economic and political life is needed to understand any particular aspect of relations. The WID strategy of groupings is necessary, insofar as its productive purpose stands to increase women's bargaining power in the economic system, but the emphasis is on women's self-organization, which helps to increase political power within the economic system. The process of production alone would not put an end to women's subordinate position in the society. Investigation of the position of women in socialist countries highlighted the inadequacy of 'economistic analyses' of gender relations.

Women are agents, but may not have perfect knowledge or understanding of their social situation or structural roots of discrimination and subordination. Thus 'conscientization' has been seen as an important step in the struggle through which women increase their capacity to define and analyze their subordination, to construct a vision of the kind of world they want, and to act in pursui tof that vision. This social relation approach accepts that the welfare and anti-poverty approaches are often necessary preconditions for equity.

They critically consider, to subvert welfare for equity, whether relying on fighting for reforms is sufficient or whether radical social change is imperative. Critics argue that while this line of argument has had considerable influence on academic arena, in reality, it has only rarely been integrated into development planning .The GAD approach thus signals three departures from WID. First, it shifts the focus from women to gender and identifies the unequal power relations between women and men. Second, it re-examines all social, political and economic structures and development policies from the perspective of gender differentials. And third, it recognizes that achieving gender equality and equity demands 'transformative change' in gender relations from household to global level.

With this conceptual reorientation, the development programmes have started to focus on the politics of gender relations and restructuring of institutions, rather than of just equality in access to resources, and 'gender mainstreaming' has emerged as the common strategy for action behind these initiatives. Gender mainstreaming was first formulated as a 'transformative strategy' to achieve gender equality at the Fourth World Conference on Women at Beijing in 1995. In 1997, the Economic and Social Council adopted the following definition, meant as a guide for all agencies in the United Nations system: Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for men and women of any planned action, including legislation, policies and programmes, in all areas and at all levels.

It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of

policies and programmes in all political, economic and social spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.

Comparative Analysis of WID,WAD,GAD

Changing Perspectives on Women, Gender and Development

	Women in Development (WID)	*Women and Development (WAD)*	*Gender and Development (GAD)*
Origins	Early 1970s after the publication of Ester Boserup's book Women's Role in economic Development. Term WID articulated by American liberal feminists.	Emerged from a critique of the modernization theory and the WID approach in the second half of the 1970s.	As an alternative to the WID focus this approach developed in the 1980s.
Theoretical Base	Linked with the modernization theory of the 1950s to 1970s. By the 1970s, it was realized that benefits of modernization had somehow not reached women, and in some sectors undermined their existing position.	Draws from the dependency theory.	Influenced by socialist feminist thinking.
Focus	Need to integrate women in economic systems, through necessary legal and administrative changes. Women's productive role emphasized. Strategies to be developed to minimize disadvantages of women in the productive sector.	Women have always been part of development processes – therefore integrating women in development is a myth. Focuses on relationship between women and development processes.	Offers a holistic perspective, looking at all aspects of women's lives. It questions the basis of assigning specific gender roles to different sexes.
Contribution	Women's questions became visible in the arena of development theory and practice.	Accepts women as important economic actors in their societies. Women's work in the	Does not exclusively emphasize female solidarity – welcomes

		public and private domain is central to the maintenance of their societal structures. Looks at the nature of integration of women in development which sustains existing international structures of inequality.	contributions of sensitive men. Recognizes women's contribution inside and outside the household, including non-commodity production.
Features	WID was solidly grounded in traditional modernization theory which assumed wrongly that women were not integrated in the process of development. It accepted existing social structures – it did not question the sources of women's subordination and oppression. Non-confrontational approach. It did not question why women had not benefitted from development strategies. It treated women as an undifferentiated category overlooking the influence of class, race and culture. Focused exclusively on productive aspects of women's work, ignoring or minimizing the reproductive side of women's lives.	Fails to analyze the relationship between patriarchy, differing modes of production and women's subordination and oppression. Discourages a strict analytical focus on the problems of women independent of those of men since both sexes are seen to be disadvantaged with oppressive global structure based on class and capital. Singular preoccupation with women's productive role at the expense of the reproductive side of women's work and lives. Assumes that once international structures become more equitable, Women's position	GAD rejects the public/private dichotomy. It gives special attention to oppression of women in the family by entering the so-called 'private sphere'. It emphasizes the state's duty to provide social services in promoting women's emancipation. Women seen as agents of change rather than passive recipients of development assistance. Stresses the need for women to organize themselves for a more effective political voice. Recognizes that

		would improve. WAD does not question the relations between gender roles.	patriarchy operates within and across classes to oppress women. Focuses on strengthening women's legal rights, including the reform of inheritance

Gender Critique of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs)

Introduction

"It is clear that it is women who, as workers, producers, consumers, wives, and mothers, are the shock absorbers of adjustment efforts at immense cost to their well-being". Although women have many roles to play in the economic and societal make-up of society, their gender specific roles and impacts are largely ignored or unseen by the international community. Due to this "invisibility," women may often bear the brunt of the burden when developing countries receive financial aid from international institutions due to the" conditionality" of these loans.

In this paper, through the use of several feminist theories, I will evaluate and explain the detrimental effects of structural adjustment policies put in place by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in developing countries on women.

Explanation of Structural Adjustment Policies

IMF describes its "core responsibility" as being to "provide loans to countries experiencing balance of payments problems" In other words, IMF loans money to countries that are in high amounts of debt and find themselves unable to pay. The economies of these countries are weak and unstable. IMF explains the financial assistance helps countries to "rebuild their international reserves, stabilize their currencies, continue paying for imports, and restore conditions for strong economic growth" .

The type of loan most likely given to these countries is called the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF) loan, a loan with the written objective of making "poverty reduction central to lending operations in its poorest member countries" . This means that not only does IMF work with the country to stabilize the economy but also attempts to reduce poverty in that country. It seems like the perfect solution, an international institution lending money to

poor countries, while at the same time placing them on an economic regulation pro-gram that will get their economy back on track. All that the country needs to do is to follow the structural adjustment policies (SAPs) set by IMF, which are widely used and continually effecting populations worldwide. "In nearly every developing coun-try in the world today, short-term stabilization measures, structural adjustment pro-grams, liberalization efforts, and economic reforms are to be considered, attempted, or adopted" Because SAPs are so widely accepted as the solution to indebted nations' problems, it is important to understand what they are, what they do, and what effects

they have both on the country and international community. The overall goal of SAPs is to reduce the current account deficit and improve the overall economy of a country. They stem from the idea of the "conditionality" of IMF loans .

In order for IMF to give monetary loans to a country, the government must agree to put in place and implement the policies IMF specified. SAPs "typically mean significant changes in economic policies to ensure that the country's domestic and external deficits are drastically lowered or even elim-inated. Failure to meet those conditions results in suspension, renegotiation, or even cancellation of the program". The different policies and regulations specified may vary slightly from case to case, but the overall ideas behind them are the same. The goal is to follow the principles originally stemming from the Washing-ton consensus, liberalization, and privatization .

These principles translate into reducing the state's economic influence and creating circum-stances for the private market to flourish. There are several policies used to increase a country's overall GDP so the country may begin to pay off debts. IMF so delicately calls the benchmarks that must be obtainted and followed for funding "performance criteria" (pes). There are two types of pes, quantitative and structural. "Quantitative pes typically refer to macroeconomic policy variables such as monetary and credit aggregates, international reserves, fis-cal balances, or external borrowing" . A country must build up its financial reserves by decreasing spending, increasing output, and attracting foreign investment. "Structural pes are also clearly specified structural measures. These vary widely across programs but could, for example, include measures to improve financial sector operations, reform social security systems, or restructure key sectors such as energy". Structural reforms are for the government programs that are allowed to stay in place. They must become more efficient, better managed, and cost less money.

The typical components of an SAP include policies that encourage price stability to control inflation and encourage savings, as well as the "macroeconomic policies of fis-cal austerity" to cut state spending and subsidies. IMF does not specify which programs to cut or reduce in funding, however it does require a net decrease in government expenditures. The country's necessary decrease in spending must come from somewhere in the budget. More often than not, countries begin the budget cuts with social programs and subsidies. They typically cut from programs such as health care, welfare programs, social security, education, and agricultural subsidies. Usually other state programs' budgets such as the military and police force are left unchanged. A decrease in spending could mean everything from decreasing the staff size of a program or cutting funding from the program itself. Either way, these social programs usually take a substantial hit under the conditionality of fiscal austerity. IMF also encourages privatization of many state industries Privatization is considered necessary because the private sector is viewed as more economically efficient than the state. Any

state-owned industries, such as coal or steel, must become privatized and handled completely by the free market. Many social programs, such as education and healthcare, may privatize as much as possible so that they may be handled in a way that seems more economically efficient.

Macroeconomic policies of "monetary contraction and devaluation" are also instituted to generate trade, and higher interest rates are instituted to attract investment in the short run . The country should cater to foreign investors by devaluing their currency and instituting higher interest rates to increase the amount of investment in their country. Usually, this process encourages multinational corporations or foreign-owned businesses to set up in that country because of the new policies. The goal of this process is to increase exports as well as foreign investment. Microeconomic policy changes include the deregulation of labor markets, financial markets, agricultural prices, and the removal of trade barriers.

An overall policy of liberalization is aimed at using all resources in the most efficient manner to maximize output by reducing state intervention in the economy. State intervention in areas like the labor market is seen as a hindrance to market growth and should therefore be reduced. Examples of state intervention could be wage regulation, working condition requirements, environmental condition requirements, and regulating prices. The logic of IMF is to reduce the current account deficit short-term; this will be accomplished by increasing exports and reducing imports by financing the capital account and limiting borrowing needs. The hope is that in the long run the changes will stimulate overall economic growth and create a situation for the nation to have the ability to repay old debts and not need assistance in the future.

Not only does IMF require specific economic criteria to be met, but it also re-quires specific political criterion be met. The introduction of political conditionality stemmed out of the Cold War and fear of communism. The new "political conditionality" threatened to cut development assistance to countries that failed to show progress in democratization. Democratization is viewed as necessary to the country's economy because democracies typically allow for a freer market to buy and sell items with much less state involvement and intervention. Also, communism was considered to be economically inefficient.

Explanation of Feminist Theory

Feminism, known as a critical theory, stresses the importance of rendering women visible to the world scene and addresses the needs and concerns of those women. "Feminism is both an intellectual commitment and a political movement that seeks justice for women and the end of sexism in all forms". It is focused on gender-based analysis relating to societal norms and relations between men and women. However,

there are many different branches and disagreements within feminism. "Feminists disagree about what sexism consists of, and what exactly ought to be done about it; they disagree about what it means to be a woman or a man and what social and political implications gender has or should have". Although feminism is a highly fragmented theory with many different camps, I will attempt to use it in my evaluation.

The branch of feminism I will use in my evaluation is neo-feminism. Neo-feminism focuses on the "study of women's roles in the international political economy" and how ave been "overlooked because women are trivialized". This theory discusses how the experiences of women, whether purposely or not, are not viewed as important as those of men. Due to this gender bias, women's issues are ignored or seen as unimportant. Neo-feminists say the trivialization of women's roles stems out of the patriarchy of society and that this male dominance is a key reason why women are not rendered as visible as they should be in order for their issues to be addressed. Neo-feminism is important to my evaluation because it gives a theory explaining why the grave issues women face often go ignored or trivialized due to a patriarchal system in which women do not get adequate representation.

This understanding will later tie in to my evaluation of IMF-sponsored SAPs. Neo-feminism is often referred to as having an agenda to end patriarchal domination in society. Maggie Humm defined patriarchal society as: a system of male authority which oppresses women through its social, political and economic institutions. Patriarchy has power from men's greater access to, and mediation of, the resources and rewards of authority structures inside and outside the home.

Men control and dominate women through social, economic, and political institutions, because they have more access to resources and authority. Men's and women's unequal access to resources and authority is important to understanding the effects of structural adjustment programs on women.

Neo-feminism also claims that women and their issues are objectified or trivialized when integrated into IPE research. In fact, E. Fuat Keyman claimed that women are often viewed in four destructive ways when included in research: as an empirical or cultural object, as a being, as a discursive construct, or as difference. Women are often unfairly viewed in research as a cultural or scientific object, a historical being in existence, a subject to be stated and passed over, or a difference from the norm. Keyman claimed that none of the current views of women in research truly grasp the woman as a living, growing, integral contributor to society. Instead, she is seen as an object in research, which misses out on her character and nature. Or she is seen simply as a being that existed in history, which misses out on her growing and changing nature. Or she is seen as a subject to be momentarily discussed and passed over, which misses the integral role she plays in the IPE. Or she is viewed as different justice for women and the end of

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changing nature. Or she is seen as a subject to be momentarily discussed and passed over, which misses the integral role she plays in the IPE. Or she is viewed as different from the norm, which misses the integral role she plays in the shadow of men as the norm. He stated: It is through a relational idea of identity that IPE creates a space for those whose experiences have been marginalized and served simply as an object of theory to act as active subjects of political economic research. Herein lies the significant contribution that the problematic of identity/difference makes to our under-standing of international political economy.

I will next evaluate structural adjustment policies in terms of neo-feminism. I will focus on how IMF trivializes or ignores women's issues, how the patriarchal domination of society and IMF set women up for greater abuse and neglect when SAPs are instituted, and how the research done on women is often an unfair representation.

The Invisibility of Women at IMF

Women are shockingly underrepresented at IMF. Of the thirty senior officials at IMF, only three are women. Their positions are African department director, external relations department director, and statistics department director. Of the ten managing directors of IMF, not one has ever been a woman. Of the twenty-four-person executive board, only two are women. Of the four-person management team, not one is a woman .IMF does have a diversity statement emphasizing that: Effective engagement in all member countries-in the context of globalization, the increasing prominence of emerging-market and low-income countries, and the changing role of women in the economy-makes diversity increasingly critical to all activities of the Fund.

Although it has made statements valuing diversity and have set benchmarks for diversity, IMP's 2007 Diversity Report stated, "With the Fund's current recruitment and promotion practices, we will be far from reaching our diversity benchmarks by 2010, let alone in 2008" . In other words, what IMF says it will do and what it actually does are different. The diversity report outlined the lack of recruitment and promotion practices of women in IMF. All of these statements and evidence show that although IMF has set goals for having more women, it has not taken the necessary steps to actually achieve the sup-posed goals.

Does this mean it will eventually? Perhaps, but most likely the statements are made simply to pacify women in the international community. This exemplifies the idea in neo-feminism that women are ignored or trivialized. Those women who are at IMF go ignored and are not promoted to senior levels. Those women fighting for gen-der parity at IMF are trivialized by being given word with little action.

Not only are the women ignored and trivialized, but the lack of women in senior roles also seriously impacts the amount of weight and discussion women's issues have at

IMF. Without women on the board to either fight for women's issues being trivialized or bring forward women's issues being ignored, the effect of SAPs on women will continue to go unseen or trivialized.

Invisibility of Women's Issues at IMF

In order to determine whether or not women's issues are being discussed and evaluated by IMP, I looked at IMP's published magazine of journal articles. A search of the Finance and Development database brought up 135 articles with the word "women." This may seem like a large number, but compared to the roughly thousand plus articles in the database, it is relatively small. Not only was it a small number, but the majority of the articles with the word "women" were reader commentaries, not actual articles.

In the June 2007 issue entitled Unleashing the Economic Power of Women, there were several good articles that discussed women and the economy. One article called "Budget-ing with Women in Mind" discussed gender inequality and the importance of gender parity. It explained the importance of incorporating women into macroeconomics and how to address the different needs of women in development planning.

Another entitled "Smart Economics" discussed benefits that could arise out of gender parity in society and gender-conscious economic policies. Despite this glimmer of hope that IMF seriously considers women's issues in their publications, none of the articles offer specific evaluation of IMF policies or specific critiques to help IMF be more gender conscious in their policies. This glaring lack of information helps to show that IMF is currently not addressing the issue of structural adjustment programs and the effect that they have on women in developing countries. There is little evidence that any such research has been discussed let alone carried out by IMF.

Detrimental Patriarchal Constructs that are Exacerbated by SAPs "There is a gulf between the rhetoric and reality of the IMP's role, a gulf that has been emerging since the fixed exchange rate system broke down in the early 1970s but which is proving increasingly hazardous" (Minton-Bed does 1995). IMF may say many things regarding helping the developing countries and the poor within those countries, but actions speak louder than words. Despite having a loan entitled "Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility," little is done to actually alleviate poverty. The only thing focused on is economic growth.

There are many detrimental effects on the poor, particularly on women, due to structural adjustment programs. With the patriarchal society that exists in the world, cultural constructs ensure that women have less access to resources and power than men do. The structural adjustment programs exacerbate women's already unequal access, which further harms women. Initially, it may appear that SAPs are working. GDP appears to be increasing and debts are being paid off. However, this data is misleading.

Structural adjustment programs have been characterized, through growing amounts of evidence, as creating an economic and social environment in which the rich become richer and the poor become poorer. In fact, recent World Bank evaluations of the results of SAPs acknowledge that while macroeconomic stabilization policies are necessary for growth, they are not sufficient in reducing poverty or income inequality in all countries.

Despite the goal of IMF loans being to help poor developing countries grow, the programs do nothing to alleviate poverty. There is now a ... growing volume of literature that not only shows how gender bias in neoclassical economic theory renders the effects of SAPs on women invisible, in any standard measure of policy evaluation, but also provides empirical evidence of the heavy transitional costs of adjustment on women.

Basically, there are two main problems regarding the effects of SAPs on women. First, the effects are largely ignored or unseen by the international community, and second, those effects are empirically supported to be detrimental to women and society. First, in order to truly grasp the way that structural adjustment programs affect women, it is necessary to evaluate the way that women's labor is viewed and evaluated by IMF developers. Through a neo-feminist perspective, I will look at the labor done by women and how it is trivialized in the international community. Economists focus overwhelmingly on the "productive economy;" in other words, they focus on those aspects of the economy that make profits and cover costs. By viewing the economy in this way, they ignore a huge portion of the economy-the "reproductive economy," which meets the needs of and sustains human life.

This sector of the economy is where the majority of women work. The economists assume that the reproductive economy will continue the same way it always has despite a reallocation of resources that occurs during adjustment. By viewing the economy in this way, women's labor is "invisible" and therefore, "obscures the economic and social costs of structural adjustment on women's work and lives".

How much could this oversight of labor actually be? "Women do 70 percent of the world's work but receive only 10 percent of the revenues, and own only 1 percent of the wealth" (Mothering 2003). Women's work, although extremely important, of-ten goes ignored and unpaid. For example, women in Africa produce 78 percent of the food-both meat and agriculture (World Vision 2000). "Eight out of ten working farmers in Africa are women. In Asia, the ratio is six out of ten".

However, the majority of these women do not gain cash directly for their work, and their labor is discounted in censuses and statistics .Daily work for women in subsistence economies includes everything from household work such as child care, cooking, cleaning, gathering water, and fueling the home to working in the bam and field labor.

Women have primary responsibility over the care of all the animals including feeding, tending, gathering eggs and milk, and gathering fodder. Women also have primary responsibility over post-harvest work, as well as helping during pre-harvest and harvesting.

Also, women generally work more hours a day than men in developing coun-tries. In Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, women work twelve to thirteen more hours a week than men. This translates to twelve to eighteen hours a day for women compared to men's eight to twelve hours of work each day. Not only do women work more hours, they also "spend twice as many hours per week working to support their families". Even though women contribute "a lion's share of work," it is viewed as "unproductive in the eyes of government statisticians, economists, development experts, and even their husbands".

Such an oversight in acknowledging women's labor has a grave impact on women and society when structural adjustment programs are put into place. Women and female-headed households are the most at-risk group for poverty. There are ap-proximately 700 million women living in poverty in developing countries. Women comprise a greater portion than men of those living below the poverty line and those living without the basic essentials. "The number of women in rural communities living below the poverty line rose more than the number of rural men living below the poverty line-increasing by 47 percent for women versus 30 percent for men". Not only are women more at risk for poverty, but house-holds headed by women are as well. Female-headed households are on the rise across the world. "Data compiled by the Population Council show a rise in female-headed households in eighteen out of twenty six censuses and surveys reviewed globally".

The International Center for Research on Women reviewed sixty-one headship studies conducted in developing countries over the last decade and in fifty-three of them found greater poverty in female-headed families (Buvinic 1997). By under-standing that it is the women who are the majority of the poor and impoverished, we can begin to see the detrimental effect of IMF not focusing on the effect that SAPs have on women. If one of the goals is poverty alleviation and not enough research is done on those who make up the poor harm is likely to follow. Also, "women's industries" are often unseen when compared to the actual GNP. For example, in India, after the SAPs were instituted, the Indian economy achieved a 1.5 percent growth rate. However, there was a recession in the agricultural and industrial sectors. This recession signified that "millions of workers . have been retrenched and have lost the purchasing power to procure the bare necessities of life" . What is unseen in this picture is not only the poor but the majority of women that work in these two industries. The majority of employed women work in either the agricultural or industrial sector-the recession and loss of buying power hurt women the most. However, it was unseen due to an overall GNP rise.

Evaluation of Structural Adjustment Policies

Next, I will evaluate some of the specific policies used in SAPs to spur growth in the economy. I will evaluate how a patriarchal society creates cultural constructs for women, which greatly exacerbate the effects of structural adjustment programs. I will focus particularly on the privatization of state-owned industries, decreased spending to social programs such as health care and education, decreased agricultural subsidies dies, effects of an increase in the export driven economy, and the currency devalua-tion and high interest rates used to encourage foreign investment, and the way they affect women. By looking at these SAP parts and the way they affect women, I will evaluate specific economic policies and their detrimental effects.

One of the most detrimental effects of SAPs on women is the aspect of IMP's con-ditionality requirement for fiscal austerity. As stated earlier, IMF does not necessarily specify where the budget cuts must come from, just that spending must be decreased. More often than not, countries begin the budget cuts with social programs and subsi-dies. They typically cut from programs such as health care, welfare programs, social security, education, and agricultural subsidies. Social programs are seen as unnecessary, high cost expenses that must be cut in order for a state to decrease its debts. The ramifications of the loss of social programs are huge and are felt especially by women. Due to the patriarchal societies in which women live, they have less access to public resources, such as health care and education, than men do.

In Tanzania, for example, seventy-one mothers died in the first thirteen weeks of 1988, when economic reforms were in force-four times the maternal death rate of previous years. The deaths were attributed to poor hospital conditions as well as a short-age of blood, drugs, and transport facilities; more tellingly they were an indication of the deteriorating physical conditions in which women carried out their reproductive roles.

Although the government was responsible for decreasing the health-care budget, IMF ensured that the budget was cut in order to give them funding. It did not matter where the money was cut from as long as there was a decrease in spending. Moth-ers died because of inadequate health care, which stemmed from a lack of sufficient funding. Those who had access to medical attention were unable to get adequate care to save their lives, and this number does not include the women who were unable to access medical care because of high costs or not being allowed to seek medical care.

A cut in government funds to education has a much greater impact on girls than on boys. This occurs because of the patriarchal cultural constructs already in place regarding female education. The patriarchal society denies access to education for women. In general, women are much less likely to have access to or complete even a basic primary education. "In fourteen of the developing countries with literacy data, only

one out of five adult females can read, and in less developed countries only 5 percent of women are literate" Overall literacy statistics show the educational discrepancy between men and women; the literacy rate for the world in 2005 was 18.3 percent illiteracy (13.3 percent male and 23.3 percent female) . This shows that even though there are both men and women who are illiterate, the number of illiterate women is almost double that of men.

Given all of these statistics, an overall budget decrease in education forces many schools to shut down. A decrease in the number of schools decreases the already slim availability of schools for women. The privatization of schools leads to higher costs of schooling as well. In the patriarchal society, families are much less likely to educate their girls if the costs are higher due to privatization and lack of funds. Though the increased cost of school and decreased availability cannot be directly tied to SAPs, they occur due to the required fiscal austerity. A decrease in the amount of funding for education will put an even greater economic burden on those families hoping to send their girls to school, and without government aid, a greater proportion will be unable to afford the cost of getting an education. Families would rather opt to keep their girls at home in order to help on the farm or send them to a factory to earn money, rather than spend money on education.

Another SAP requirement is for a country to increase its exports. In a developing country, this usually means that agricultural exports must increase. This leads to an increase in cash crops, crops that are grown primarily to sell to foreign countries for cash back to the farmer. Cash crops are grown in the place of subsistence crops, crops grown to sustain the family that grows it. The promotion of cash crops over subsistence crops has many ramifications: women's workload doubles, food and income for women and families decreases, malnutrition increases, and women's land ownership decreases. Although IMF does not force the government to have the people engage in cash crops, a country must increase its exports. Developing countries have little to offer the world beyond agricultural products. The ramifications of cash crops may be linked to SAPs because of the required increase in outgoing trade.

First, cash crops double the workload burden of women. Women must bear full responsibility for food crops and also help their husbands with cash-crop cultivation without getting any share of the income. Women must now farm two farms at once instead of just the single subsistence farm she once had to cultivate. This double workday takes considerable tolls on the health and well-being of the mother as well as the family. She may not have time to prepare clean drinking water, get enough fuel for the house, take her children to get medical care, or do many other necessary things. The farm must take precedence over other responsibility which often leads to serious consequences, such as death or disease.

Cash crops also decrease the amount food and income for women and their families as a whole. For example, in Ghana, due to an increase in the number of cash crops and an increase in the amount of land used to grow cash crops, Ghanaian women are left with smaller holdings and poorer soil, without the ability to practice crop rotation. "As a result, soil becomes eroded and less fertile. Food production declines and malnutrition deepens". Men use more land for cash crops, and there is less land leftover for women to farm to feed their families. Not only is there less land available, but they can only use the least productive and least fertile land.

The cash crop promoters say that instead of the women having to farm food, the men will have enough money to buy food for the family. Unfortunately, this is not the reality of the situation. "In Africa, according to a World Bank report, it is not uncommon for children's nutrition to deteriorate while wrist watches, radios, and bicycles are acquired by the adult male household members". Men are buying extravagant items for themselves instead of spending money buying food for their wives and children. This is a ramification of SAPs because of the requirement to increase foreign exports. Although IMF does not force men to buy fancy things for themselves rather than food for their family, it is the reality of what men do with their export money. The link between required increased trade and cash crops is real.

Therefore, the link between the results of cash crops can, indirectly, be linked to SAPs. As hinted above, malnutrition becomes rampant when cash crops begin to take over a country. Malnutrition takes the greatest toll on the women. Due to the patriarchal society, women regularly eat last-after all the men in the family-and do not get enough food to sustain their basic nutritional needs. If there is less food, the men receive the same amount of food, while the women receive even less.

Also, women regularly give their male babies more food than their female babies because men are considered to be more valuable than women. "There is a consistent pattern-where rates of malnutrition are high, gender discrimination is prevalent" In fact, due to chronic malnutrition in children, up to 50 percent of girls are stunted.

Perhaps the most worrying part of increased female malnutrition due to cash crops is that it is cyclical in nature. Malnourished girls become malnourished adolescents who then marry early, have children early, and have low-birth-weight babies who then become malnourished children and adolescents. The cycle of malnourishment is extremely dangerous and detrimental to the health of women and their children. Due in part to SAPs and cash crops, female mal-nutrition is not going away; increase in the downward trend of malnourishment is falling at less than 1 percent a year.

Another worrying part of cash cropping is that it decreases the possibility of a woman owning farmland. Nearly all land is taken up by the government or private enterprises

and sold to men for cash cropping. Very rarely will land be sold to a woman for cash crop pin, let alone subsistence farming. In fact, "Despite World Food Program findings that women produce 90 percent of all food consumed in the homes of the Third World, they own only 1 percent of the farmland".

Cash cropping decreases the already low possibility for women to own land, which has many social and economic impacts. Finally, SAPs encourage governments to allow currency devaluation and increased interest rates in order to promote foreign investment. In order to increase foreign currency, governments respond to the needs of the multinational corporation's (MNC) need for cheap labor. Also, a deregulation of the market allows foreign companies to pay what they want or have whatever working conditions they want. The combination of these two consequences creates a dangerous exploitative environment for women in the workplace. Due to the patriarchal society, "Women are rigorously socialized to work uncomplainingly, under patriarchal control, at any allotted task however dull, laborious, physically harmful or badly paid it may be" .

In India, for example, "96 percent of the female workforce is in the decentralized sector which has a high degree of labor redundancy and obsoleteness. These women have less control over their work and have no chances for upward mobility". This is a breeding ground for MNCs to exploit the cheap, uncomplaining labor of women.

However, despite such exploitation, the plight of women goes unnoticed. The focus lies on an increase in foreign investment and exports. Although SAPs are not responsible for MNCs exploiting women, they create further problems by forcing and encouraging the entrance of the foreign companies and investment into these developing countries' economies.

Evaluation of the Feminist Explanation

Through testing the neo-feminist theory, I have shown some of the inadvertent effects of SAPs on women due to patriarchy and the trivialization of women. Al-though I could not prove that my effects were directly due to SAPs, I could show a strong link between SAP requirements, government actions, and the effect on women. My theories get to the root of the problems of SAPs by looking at how patriarchal societies enact the policies. Although it is the government that ultimately decides how to carry out the conditionality requirements, the requirements themselves are what cause governments to make the choices that they do. The economic choices made, as shown above, often have detrimental effects on women. I have also shown how the ramifications of SAPs are largely unseen and un-researched by IMF due to a lack of senior women in the program and little desire to research the impacts on women.

Another theory that is popularly used to explain the effects of structural adjustment programs is structuralism, a theory promoted by Joseph E. Stiglitz. He explained some

of the same ideas I put forward but applied them broadly to all poor. This can be helpful because of his broader view; however, it misses the underlying discrimination of women. It does not see that women are the majority of the impoverished and why this is. It does not see that poor men and rich men alike exploit women for both their productive and reproductive labor. It leaves many of the questions unanswered by leaving the focus off of women. Therefore, although structuralism is another alternative to explaining my economic phenomenon, I think it is gender bias that harms our full understanding of the situation.

Conclusion

In conclusion, IMF's structural adjustment programs indirectly cause a severe impact on women due to patriarchy of society and the invisibility of women at IMF. Although IMF does not specify how their conditions should be carried out, governments have little choice. They must cut funding to important programs such as health care and education; they must increase cash crops; they must draw in foreign companies and investors. IMF does not force these specific actions, but it does require improvements in fiscal austerity and increases in exports and investment opportunities for different countries. The issue is that the government does not have a lot of choice in what they can do to enact these conditions. Therefore, the ramifications of decreased public funding, cash crops, and foreign exploitation can be linked to SAPs.

Throughout this paper, I have shown the disparate impact of SAPs on women and the unacceptable "feminization of poverty" in many countries in economic transition. I have shown that the disproportionate cost of SAPs borne by women violates their most basic human rights to development guaranteed by both international and national treaties. Not only is the SAP's impact on women clear, but IMF is doing nothing to change their attitude toward women besides publishing a few jour-nal articles. Without more senior women and increased research the SAP's impact on women, nothing is likely to change. Due to such overwhelming costs, it is necessary to see that development that comes with such a price is surely unsustainable.

Globalization and Gender

- ## Introduction

The 20th Century ends as the world moves towards a new era characterized by a globally integrated economy, where decisions regarding production consumption and other aspects of social relations increasingly include transnational dimensions. Forces of globalization are real and their influences are felt everywhere. It entails free trade, free mobility of both financial and real capital, and rapid diffusion of products, technologies, information and consumption patterns.

As indicated in the 1999 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development, in the age of globalization, Governments' policy choices have shifted in favour of openness of trade and financial flow. Policies calling for lighter regulation of industry, privatization of state-owned enterprises and lower public spending have characterized the programmes of governments around the world. Liberalization policies coupled with technological advances in communications accelerated the impact of economic integration, thus eroding conventional boundaries particularly that of the national state.

In many instances, governments proceeded with deregulation without the introduction of new forms of regulation to ensure the observance of social protection and provisioning of needs. This increased the risks of globalization for many social groups. Recent studies such as UNCTAD's Trade and Development Report (1997) and the UNDP's Human Development Reports (1997 and 1999) suggest that economic growth fostered by recent liberalization policies can be accompanied by increased inequality and a decline in living standards. As the East Asian crisis has revealed, failures in financial markets can cause severe dislocations in the real economy around the globe.

The Survey also points out that the cultural, political and social correlates of increasing international integration has also been profound. Populations around the world are being familiarized through economic exchanges and exposure to advertising, the media and tele-communications, to a culture of instant gratification through material consumption. Additionally, globalization is tied to momentous political changes of the present era such as the rise of identity politics, transnational civil society, new forms of governance and universalization of human rights.

The World Bank Shaping the 21st Century

World Development Report draws attention to the strong reactions provoked by globalization, both positive and negative. According to this report globalization is praised

for the opportunities it brings, such as access to markets and technology transfer, but it is also feared and condemned because of the instability and risks that can accompany it. Foreign investment and international competition can help poor economies to modernize, increase their productivity and raise living standards. At the same time, it can threaten the livelihoods of workers. It can undermine banks, and it can destabilize whole economies when flows of foreign capital overwhelm them. The globalization process thus offers opportunities, as well as challenges for human development and gender equality.

- **<u>Globalization and its impact on gender equality</u>**

The significant gender differences and disparities with respect to decision-making powers, participation, and returns for effort that prevail in different societies need to be taken into account when responding to the forces of globalization. Because of gender inequalities and discrimination in all parts of the world, women can be affected negatively by globalization processes to a greater extent than men. On the other hand, there can be significant gains for women with globalization. It is necessary to systematically monitor the gender impact of change so that the goals of gender equality and the expansion of human capabilities are not sacrificed.

The relationship between globalization and gender equality, and the relevance of globalization for transforming gender relations has been increasingly well documented. The Survey is a major contribution towards applying a gender perspective to the analysis of the globalization. While the survey focuses on the labour market participation within the changing world of work, further research is needed to assess the impact of globalization on other aspects of life.

At the policy level, the impact of globalization on women and gender relations continues to be neglected nationally and internationally. Entities of the United Nations system are taking steps to integrate the goals of macro-economic with those of social development. Yet more remains to be done to integrate gender equality dimensions in their normative, policy and operational work so as to ensure the continuing leadership of the system in promoting gender equality, development and peace within the context of globalization. The Beijing + 5 process provides an opportunity to reflect on the impact of globalization in determining further actions and initiatives for the full implementation of the Beijing commitments

Towards this end, the remainder of the paper attempts to raise awareness with regard to gender impact of globalization in select areas.

- **Globalization and the labour market**

The extension of the market can have both positive and negative effects for women's situation and gender relations. Positive effects may include increased employment opportunities for women in non-traditional sectors, thus enabling them to earn and control income. This is potentially empowering and may contribute to enhancing women's capacity to negotiate their role and status within the household and society. Negative effects can include increased exploitation and dependency on direct engagement with the market, and particularly on the vagaries of the market.

In the past two decades, the relocation of labour intensive industries from advanced market economies to middle income developing economies has increased employment of women in the latter. Even though female employment remains concentrated mainly in low skill sectors and the gender wage gap shows no signs of disappearing, the rapid increase in the female labour force participation rate has a considerable positive effect on women's economic well-being and that of their families.

Nevertheless, the issue of the poor conditions under which many women enter the labour market needs to be consistently raised. The problem is particularly acute in sweatshops in the informal sector, which through arrangements such as sub-contracting and outsourcing became an integral part of the formal economy and has experienced an explosive growth in recent years.

In the developed countries, on the other hand, as industries relocate elsewhere in search of cheaper labour and production, labour demand has been shifting towards relatively high-skill manufacturing, while employment growth in traditionally low skill sectors such as relatively low-skill sectors in textiles and apparel, where women workers predominate, has been declining.

The impact of these trends as observed, in both developing and developed countries, on gender relations is still not too clear. Evidence from around the world on women's labour market participation and gender inequalities (e.g. wage gap, power relations, etc.) is still mixed. Clearly this is an area requiring further research.

- **Globalization and trade in services**

For many countries, trade could be the primary vehicle for realizing the benefits of globalization. Trade policies affect employment, production, distribution and consumption patterns, cultural values, social relations and the environment, all of which engage and affect women as well as men.

Increases in world trade, particularly in the services, has increased the involvement of women in the various occupations and professions of the services sector. Women

around the world have made impressive inroads into professional services such as law, banking, accounting, and computing; in tourism related occupations; and in the information services, including offshore airline booking, mail order, credit cards, word-processing for publishers, telephone operators, and so on. The word-trade in services also favors women's labour migration in contrast to the demand for male labour in manufacturing industries during earlier periods of industrialization in Europe and United States. The ageing population in the developed countries and the corresponding decline in the state provision of welfare services indicate that the demand for female labour from the countries of the south as care gives will continue to be on the rise in the years to come.

- **Globalization and governance**

Integration of national economies into the global economy are increasingly shifting the formulation and implementation of policy away from local and national levels to the international level. Increased shift of governance to the international arena may undermine the modernist notion of citizenship, which over the years provided the women's movement with a strong ground for advancing their civil identity and claims for equal rights vis-à-vis the sovereign state. New actors above (global) and below (local) the national state are now asserting alternative identities and roles for women, thus fragmenting their political citizenship.

At the same time, however, globalization is generating an unprecedented understanding that economic and social rights are part of the international human rights discourse. Similarly, the growing force of international women's movement and their influence over the intergovernmental processes are empowering women and creating space for women's organizations at the national and local levels to grow.

- **Globalization and poverty**

The Survey shows that under conditions of globalization the limits on the states ability to provide social protection, provisioning of needs and human capital investments has become more strained. This poses a major challenge to poverty eradication programmes and the efforts to respond to the needs of the less visible segments of the population especially women and children, in responding to their right to basic services and development of their capabilities.

The withering away of the welfare state and increasing cost of social services has constituted a uniformly negative outcome for poor women, in developed and developing countries alike. The shift of societal costs of reproduction and maintenance of labour power and other welfare provisions from the public sector to a sphere where these costs are no longer visible, i.e. the household, is made possible by increasing women's workload within the household.

The shock of market fluctuations, yet another immediate impact of integration into global markets with intensifying effects on poverty, is also absorbed by poor women by working harder both inside and outside the household. In many instances, women combine home making and piece working with reproductive activities in the household and rely more extensively on the use of children's labour for domestic work, households production and cash earnings.

By and large, the adjustment costs associated with economic restructuring in many countries have increased the economic hardship for the poor. The human damage caused by economic deprivation in terms of one's capabilities and future prospects in life, is greatest for those who are least prepared to withstand it, i.e. poor women. In the long run, the impact of the shifting and adjustment costs onto society's most vulnerable groups results in disinvestment in human capabilities with far reaching effects on society at large.

- **Globalization and migration**

Emerging global trends are also significantly altering the spatial and cross-border flows of labour. Globalization has created labour demand patterns which inherently favour short-term, temporary employment. As a result, a short-term contracted labour migration appears to be on the rise with distinct gender differentiated consequences. Women, whose labour has low opportunity cost in the market and who are socially considered to be flexible labour are entering into new labour engagements more so than ever before. While migration may improve women's life chances, migrant women in some parts of the world are increasingly victim to trafficking, including for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Due to the lack of effective international mechanisms that regulate and protect the rights of labour moving across national borders both legal and illegal migrants are vulnerable to human rights abuses.

Globalization on could also promote more egalitarian gender roles and norms The changes unleashed by globalization—especially the greater access to economic opportunities and information among omen—could also influence existing gender roles and norms, ultimately promoting more egalitarian views. The evidence on this effect is more limited and tentative than that in previous sections but sufficiently suggestive (we think) to merit some discussion here, in the spirit of spurring further work on these issues.

- **Changing Gender Roles**

Women turned income earners may be able to leverage their new position to change gender roles in their households by influencing the allocation of time and resources among household members, shifting relative power within the households, and more broadly exercising stronger agency. In fact, women appear to gain more control over

their income by working in export-oriented activities, although the impact on well-being and agency is more positive for women working in manufacturing and away from their male relatives than for those working in agriculture. Women in factories feel their status has improved. They are more likely to marry and have their first baby later than other women of similar socioeconomic status and to have better quality housing and access to modern infrastructure. They also report greater self-esteem and decision-making capacity, with benefits extending to other family members. In contrast, women in agriculture have not experienced significant changes in decision-making capacity or agency as a result of commercialization and higher export orientation, even when typical "women's crops" are promoted.

- **Old problems, emerging risks**

    The rising tide of globalization has not lifted everybody. Gender differences in endowments, time use patterns, access to productive inputs, and agency have muted positive impacts for some and, at times, added to inequalities between men and women and among women.

    Even among those who have benefited from higher access to economic opportunities, old patterns of employment segregation by gender can emerge. Signs of defeminization of (formal) employment in some countries, industries, and occupations— combined with increased informality— suggest that some of the gains may not be sustainable. Public action to close gender gaps in agency, endowments, and access to economic opportunities is thus necessary for countries to fully capitalize on the potential of globalization as a force for development and greater gender equality. Women caught at the intersection of "old" gender gaps (in endowments, time availability, access to productive resources, and agency) and the new forces unleashed by globalization risk falling farther behind both men and women who have managed to benefit from trade openness, technological change, and access to information.

    First, gender differences in education have limited women's access to new employment opportunities. In agriculture, besides having a positive impact on productivity education affects farmers' capacity to adopt improved seed varieties and fertilizer and, more broadly, to comply with output standards and other important factors that determine access to the nontraditional and high-value export sector.

    Because of lower education levels, female producers experience more constraints in accessing international markets than male producers in Samoa and in Mozambique and other Sub- Saharan countries.

- **Feminization of Poverty**

Globally, 70% of the poor are women. This phenomenon is called feminization of poverty, that is, the process through which women are disproportionately more likely to become and stay poor. Feminization of poverty can occur as a result of brutal shift in the economy. When communist countries in Eastern Europe transitioned to a market economy, women were disproportionately affected: 80% of them lost their jobs, especially in highly skilled fields, such as medicine. These women were unable to find work at the same level than what they used to do. They had to settle for low-paying service jobs, including sex workers. As a result, the wage gap increased dramatically: before the fall of communism, Russian women made 70% of the average male wage; by 2005, they only made 40%.And see this graph for the United States. At every age category (except for the youngest), there is a significant disadvantage for women.

Job loss and the resulting poverty are themselves the product of another aspect of globalization: privatization. Privatization occurs when former state-owned companies are sold to private investors and owners. As mentioned before, privatization is often a required condition of structural adjustment programs imposed on countries from the Global South looking for debt relief from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund

- **Feminization of Migration**

According to Mary Hawkesworth (2006:14), "Some 60 million women, drawn predominantly from poor nations, constitute a mobile labor force criss-crossing the globe in search of livelihood. Certain migratory circuits have been well-mapped: South Asia to the Middle East, former Soviet states to Western Europe, Mexico and Central America to Canada and the United States, and Africa to Europe." This mass migration has become essential to the economies of certain countries like the Philippines where remittances from overseas workers contribute the payment of the country's debt. In addition, if these overseas workers were to try to find jobs in the Filipino labor market, the unemployment rate would go up 40%. Sending women overseas, in other words, has become essential to support the national economy.

- **Feminization of the Labor Force**

In the past 20 years, as we have seen, more and more women have entered the paid workforce. This comes in addition to the informal work they do (small scale, home-based production) as well as the subsistence work they provide for free to their families. This increase in the number of women in paid employment is referred to as the feminization of the labor force. It simply means that, by and large, the proportion of female workers has increased in different sectors of the economy, beyond household-based production. This trend is directly related to globalization.

- **Globalization and technological change**

Due to the expanding reach of new communication technologies the use of technology for the empowerment of women has been impressive. For example, many women world-wide are making effective use of Internet and e-mail for development purposes such as networking, advocacy, dissemination and exchange of information, and creative e-commerce initiatives designed to help local artisans and producers market their products globally. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that millions of the world's poorest women and men still do not have access to these facilities. Issues such as cost, locational bias, and time constraints pose impediments to the diffusion of these technologies. Mechanisms need to be developed to avoid new forms of exclusion and isolation.

Employment opportunities in information processing work – particularly in the services sector – have opened up novel opportunities in some developing countries, for women as well as men. Telematics-related distance work likewise represents new opportunities since it offers a wide range of modes of working, from home-based teleworking to employment in tele-centres or tele-cottages. These modes of working offer flexibility in location and hours of employment and thus can overcome some of the constraints facing women.

- **Concluding Remarks**

The objective of this paper was to explore into the impact of emerging global trends on the situation of women and on gender relations within the context of select areas of concern. It does not, therefore, claim to be a comprehensive discussion. The underpinnings of the above discussion emphasizes the need to sustain the global gender agenda, that is well rooted in the four world conferences on women as well as all the global conferences of the 1990's, to balance the economic agenda of globalizing market forces for women in both developing as well as developed countries.

The massive entry of women into the workforce around the world coincides with the political mobilization of women and the expansion of women's organizations of all types. The sentiments behind this growing force are well captured in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and in the Beijing Platform for Action. Safeguarding the gains made in the area of gender equality and further advancing in the full implementation of the Beijing commitments remain to be central to the goals of the gender agenda at national and international levels.

It must be borne in mind that investment in human capabilities enhances the growth potential of an economy, disinvestment lowers it. The 1999 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development argues that, national economies must be capable of continually adjusting themselves to the changing conditions of the world economy in this regard

before they can reap the economic benefits associated with globalization. The challenge for the Beijing + 5 process and the agents of gender equality, development and peace at national and international levels, then, is to establish new alliances and develop new modalities towards building an inclusive global society where the twin goals of economic growth and the expansion of human capabilities, as contained in Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, are tackled in tandem.

Status of Women in Pakistan

The Ideology- "No nation can rise to the height of glory unless their women are side by side with them…It is crime against humanity that our women are shut up with in the four walls of the houses as prisoners. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable condition in which our women have to live."

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Father of the Nation, "The Reality-Pakistan was made only for the powerful and for the men. It was not made for weak and poor women like me. What are we worth and what is our status here? Nothing at all …"

Basheeran Bibi, one of the numerous female victims of violence in Pakistan The society of Pakistan is no different from any other parochial and male obsessed country, where the dominant patriarchal set-up seldom gives a chance to the other half of human population to flourish and stand up for its own cause.

Such trend therefore, leads to a society that accord derogatory position to women in practice, Pakistan being the classical example.

The country has given International Politics –Benazir Bhutto the first Executive head of an Islamic country, and also others like: Sherry Rehman, Fehmida Mirza, Hina Rabbani Khar. On the other hand, there are instances of Mukhtaraan Bibi, Tehmina Durrani and Malala Yousaf Zae. These women are not confined to any particular socio-economic segment or any rural-urban divide. They have suffered in the hands of violent perpetrators mainly due to social and political reasons.

According to the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap, Pakistan is among the worst places for women in the world. The recent report of United Nations Development Program (UNDP), ranked Pakistan at 123 out of 148 countries in the 2012 Gender Inequality Index (GII) (UNDP, 2013). In addition, low female literacy rate is one of the main causes of women's all round deprivation and violence as experienced by them. It also causes low participation in the political, economic and social activities. They cannot achieve their rights and compete for available opportunities in the job market. This situation has led to the social and economic dependence of women which in turn ensures male domination in society.

The availability of educational facilities as well as their standard is far away from perfection. On one hand, the educational infrastructure is unsatisfactory; while on the other hand, the social conduct and perceptions are not always in favor of female education. Poverty makes another reason for low enrolment and high dropout rate, especially among female students.

The analysis begins with the status of woman as enshrined in Islam and how in course of time deviation and deterioration occurred. The study also focuses on legal, social and political aspects and terrorism affecting women in the country.

Demographic Background

Pakistan is a federation of four provinces conjoined with the federal capital area, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), the Federally Administered Northern Areas (FANA), and Azad Jammu and Kashmir. According to the census conducted in March 1998, the total population of the country is 130.6 million with an annual growth rate of 2.6 percent.

About 55.6 percent of this population is in Punjab, 23 percent in Sindh, 13.4 percent in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP), 5 percent in Baluchistan, 2.4 percent in FATA, and 0.6 percent in Islamabad. Women form 48 percent of the total population and 52 percent are men. The population of women has increased slightly more than the population of men. The latest intercensal average growth rate per annum is estimated at 2.6 percent for women and 2.5 percent for men during 1981–1998. According to the 1998 census data, 88 million people live in rural areas, whereas 42 million live in urban areas. The data revealed that 45 percent of the population is below 15 years of age. About 52 percent of adolescents are male and 48 percent are female.

The dependency ratio is approximately 87.1. On average, one person in the working age group population would have one dependent in the year 1998. The average age of women for marriage has increased from 17.9 years in 1951 to 20.8 years in 1981. About 23 percent of females between the ages of 15 and 19 are married, compared with 5 percent of the male population in the same age group. A majority of women are married to their close relatives, i.e., first and second cousins. Only 37 percent of married women are not related to their spouses before marriage. The divorce rate in Pakistan is extremely low due to the social stigma attached to it. In 1996–1997, according to official statistics, women-headed households constituted only 7 percent of total households. The share of women-headed households is less in urban areas as compared with rural areas.

The Social and Cultural Context

The social and cultural context of Pakistani society is predominantly patriarchal. Men and women are conceptually divided into two separate worlds. Home is defined as a woman's legitimate ideological and physical space, while a man dominates the world outside the home. The false ideological demarcation between public and private, inside and outside worlds is maintained through the notion of honor and institution of *purdah* in Pakistan. Since the notion of male honor and *izzat* (honor) is linked with women's sexual behavior, their sexuality is considered a potential threat to the honor of the

family. Therefore, women's mobility is strictly restricted and controlled through the system of purdah, sex segregation, and violence against them.

In the given social context, Pakistani women lack social value and status because of negation of their roles as producers and providers in all social roles. The preference for sons due to their productive role dictates the allocation of household resources in their favor. Male members of the family are given better education and are equipped with skills to compete for resources in the public arena, while female members are imparted domestic skills to be good mothers and wives. Lack of skills, limited opportunities in the job market, and social and cultural restrictions limit women's chances to compete for resources in the public arena.

This situation has led to the social and economic dependency of women that becomes the basis for male power over women in all social relationships. However, the spread of patriarchy is not even. The nature and degree of women's oppression/subordination vary across classes, regions, and the rural/urban divide. Patriarchal structures are relatively stronger in the rural and tribal setting where local customs establish male authority and power over women's lives. Women are exchanged, sold, and bought in marriages. They are given limited opportunities to create choices for themselves in order to change the realities of their lives.

On the other hand, women belonging to the upper and middle classes have increasingly greater access to education and employment opportunities and can assume greater control over their lives. The most powerful aspect of social and cultural context is the internalization of patriarchal norms by men and women. In learning to be a woman in the society, women internalize the patriarchal ideology and play an instrumental role in transferring and recreating the gender ideology through the process of socialization of their children. This aspect of women's lives has been largely ignored by the development initiatives in the country.

Educational Status
- Despite the improvement in Pakistan's literacy rate since independence (1947), its overall literacy rate of 45% (56.5% for males and 32.6% for females in 1998) is still far behind most of the countries in the region.
- With increase in population, the number of illiterate Pakistanis has more than doubled since 1951, while number of illiterate women had tripled.
- Strong gender disparities exist in educational attainment between rural and urban areas among the provinces. In 1996-1997, literacy rate in urban areas was 58.3% while in rural areas it was 28.3% and only 12% among rural women. Despite the higher rate of female enrollment, the gender gap in literacy rate is widening.
- At present, 3% of age groups between 17-23 have limited opportunities to acquire higher education and attain professional degrees due to lesser quota in the universities.

This is due to cultural prescription of gender roles and inadequate number of training and professional institutes.

- Interestingly, however, women have more educational achievements as compared to men.

Health Status

- Majority of women don't have access to basic health care due to inadequate health facilities.
- Pakistan is one of the few countries where women' life expectancy is lower than that of men. There are 108 men for every 100 women.
- Female infant mortality rate is higher (85 per 1000 live births) than of male children (82 per 1000 live births). More than 40% of total female population is anemic.
- The fertility rate 5.4 per woman, one woman in 39 dies from child births. Only 20% women are assisted by a trained provider during delivery.
- Social and familial control over women's sexuality, their economic dependence upon men and restrictions on mobility determines differential access of male, and females to health services.
- Intra household bias in food distribution, early marriages, excessive child bearing, high level of illiteracy adversely affects women's health.
- The rise of poverty exacerbates conditions of oppression for women and children. Women thus go out to work harder and earn for their families which further deteriorate their health.

Economic Status

- Women in Pakistan participate fully in economic activities in productive and reproductive spheres. However the role of women as an unpaid, full-time laborer in their homes is not accounted for National Statistics.
- The 1997 labor free survey reported the "refined activity rate" for women as 1.6% and 70% for men, while the crude activity rate was 9% and 47% respectively.
- In the cultural context of Pakistan, woman's wage work is considered as a threat to make ego and identity.
- Pakistan's women and girls spend their time in doing the daily house hold chores. Not only are they physically hard and time consuming, they also rob girls for the opportunity to study.
- Women do not enter the labor market on equal terms as men. Their occupational choices are limited due to social and cultural constraints, inherent gender bias in labor market and lack of facilities such as child care, transport and accommodation in female sector of labor market.
- Women are normally considered as house works so their opinion and presence in generally not required in labor market.

- Rural women, however, are generally found very active in the agricultural sector.
- Gender discrimination, vulgar environment due to harassment by men and low wages of women tend to restrain women from participating in the economy development in Pakistan.

Legal Measures Taken in Pakistan /Women and Law

- Pakistan is a country where parallel judicial systems are operating. Some of them are exclusively applicable to tribal areas and others are applicable throughout the country.
- The constitution guarantees equality of rights to all citizens of sex, race and class and empowers government to protect women's rights. However, some laws are highly discriminatory.
- Under the Muslim family law, women have unequal right to inheritance, termination of marriage, minimum age of marriage and natural guardianship of children; polygamy has not banned and there are inadequate provisions for women's financial security after termination of marriage.
  - *Muslim family Laws Ordinance (MFLO) of 1961.*
  - *The West Pakistan Family Courts Act of 1964.*
  - *Dowry and Bridal Gifts Restriction Act, 1976.*
  - *Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2004.*
  - *Protection of Women Act (2006), revised the Hudood Ordinance.*
  - *Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2010 (on sexual harassment).*
  - *Protection against Harassment of Women at the Workplace, 2010.*
  - *Prevention of Anti-Women Practices (Criminal Law Amendment) Act, 2011.*
  - *Criminal Law Act (Second Amendment, 2011), referred as Acid Control and Acid Crime Prevention Act.*
  - *Criminal Law Act (Third Amendment, 2011), referred to as Prevention of Anti-Women Practices.*
  - *The Women in Distress and Detention Fund (Amendment) Act, 2011*
  - *Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection), Act 2012.*
  - *National Commission on the Status of Women Act, 2012.*
  - *Enforcement of Women Ownership Rights Act 2012.*
  - *The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Elimination of Custom of Ghag Act 2013.*

In addition, Pakistan has been party to various international and regional conventions for protecting women and giving them equal status. Pakistan is a signatory to the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), the Beijing Plan of Action and the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Pakistan acceded to CEDAW in 1996, making a declaration on the Convention and entering a reservation on Article 29, Declaration:

"The accession by Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan to the (said Convention) is subject to the provisions of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan." Reservation: "The Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan declares that it does not consider itself bound by paragraph 1 of article 29 of the Convention."

Pakistani women do face seclusion and exclusion due to socio-cultural norms based on patriarchy which ultimately denies access to benefits of development. One of the main factors which curtail the empowerment and autonomy of women in Pakistan is the male perception of the role of women.

Women do experience dominant forms of social evils at times under the garb of religion and sometimes as part of custom. The phenomenon can also be identified in terms of gender violence meted out to women in form of honor killing, forced marriage, child marriage, bride burning, acid attacks, etc. The Annual Report of the National Commission on the Status of Women, Amnesty International, 2012, provides a detailed profile of various indicators for the appalling situation of women in Pakistan. The Report states that the *Aurat* Foundation documented 8,539 cases of violence against women, including 1,575 murders, 827 rapes, 610 incidents of domestic violence, 705 honor killings and 44 acid attacks. These needs further elaboration:

Conclusion

A country that came into existence with the pre-text of Islam, it is very disheartening to see that religious and Qura'anic principles are frequently avoided and twisted, especially regarding status of women. Incidentally the social evils, against which Prophet Muhammad fought for the entirety of his life, are deep-rooted in the Pakistani society. And the so-called guardians of the faith take them as customary to 'punish' women and ostracize them. The common practice of justifying violence and brutality in the name of Islam needs to be impeded.

Under such situation, frequent training and awareness programmes are needed to be arranged periodically to make women aware of their rights and equip them for exercising just demands. As has been suggested, various cottage industries by the public as well as private sectors should be established to provide job opportunities to rural women so that they can earn income and help their heads in household's expenses.

Moreover, according to HRCP Report, the needs of rural women were acknowledged as economic empowerment projects were introduced through both government and civil society groups. As part of attempts to improve the economic situation of women in the countryside, the Benazir Income Support Programme introduced a vocational skills development agenda in which each participant was to be given a USD 12 cash grant every month along with health insurance.

In addition, the existing laws need to be reviewed. More importantly, adequate implementation of laws is very crucial to provide safe and secure environment to women for prospering themselves, in a dogmatic society of Pakistan. And there is need to establish a legal assistance Centre for female at National and district level.

In the context of Pakistan, the vital problem is Religion has not been able to abolish the centuries old un-Islamic and also inhuman social evils, practiced in the land. Therefore, tribal, clan, village symbolism has become more dominant and convenient than the faith of Islam. The ill-practices of *Jahiliyyah* are still continuing in Pakistan.

They are conditioned to be ignorant not only about legal rights but, also about the "true tenets of Islam". Thus, while discussing the status of women, it becomes very obvious that Pakistan is juggling between repressive customs and borrowed modernization. Because of lack of knowledge the religion has taken up the 'non-Islamic' traditions of the land and is justifying such continuance. On the other hand, one can say that like any other post-colonial society modernization has been imposed on Pakistan, therefore the society has not fully changed from within. Therefore, the constant tussle between the two is taking its toll on the female population.

Status of Woman Education in Pakistan

Status of Woman in Education:

Education must provide the opportunities for self-fulfillments it can at best provide a rich and challenging environment for the individual to explore, in his (her) own way. Although, Pakistan is a signatory of UN Education for All Frame Work for Action Documents, which places considerable emphasis on women education, particularly the elimination of gender disparities in primary, secondary and higher education, but the target of achieving education for all in Pakistan is still far from satisfactory. The state of education especially female education is still abysmal.

Current Situation

Pakistan has the third highest number of out of school female students in the world: 55% of out of school children in Pakistan are girls. However, it should came as no surprise that Pakistan is listed as one of the countries have large gender gaps in education, and therefore requires hefty investment in girls education for a socioeconomic uplift.

Picture of educational condition is grim in Pakistan. More than 40% of girls never enroll in school. The situation is especially alarming in rural areas due to social and cultural obstacle.

More specifically in KPK and Baluchistan women are severely bonded to cultural constraints and prejudices. They are involved in productive, reproductive and community work for 14-18 hours, in these areas the female literacy rate stand between 15% and 25% a day as well as in northern tribal areas the education of girls is strictly prohibited as religious grounds. Those girls who go to schools their attendance rate in primary, secondary, and post-secondary schools are lower than boys. This is a gross misinterpretation of Islam.

Pakistan is a Muslim country, the dominant religion is Islam and 96% of the population is Muslim, just like all religion urges men and women to acquire education. In Islam, it is clearly mentioned that it is obligatory for every man and woman to receive the quality education.

Problems of Access to Education

Inaccessibility of primary education is a result of distance, child labor, male preference, scarcity of teachers, local leaders' fear of losing power and frequent policy changes. The problem of access applies to both girls and boys however it is more serious for girls. Girls' schools are far away from the homes in many rural areas, girl

child because culturally they are supposed to stay close to home and they cannot travel alone in our society freely, many families cannot afford travelling expanses for their children. Those who can afford transport, it is often not available. Moreover teachers that do not belong to the same community are sometimes unable to attend school daily due to above mentioned problems.

Gender Gaps

According to Global Gender Gap Report (2014) published by the world economic forum ranked Pakistan 141st out of 142 countries in terms of gender gap in four key areas: economic participation, education attainment, health and political empowerment.

UNDP gender index for Pakistan is 0.5% which rank 127th out of 187 countries. Only 19% of females in Pakistan above the age of 25 have reached secondary education compared with 46% counterpart males.

Problem of Separate Schools

In our society coeducation is not accepted even in primary schools, family and parents don't allow their girls to study in coeducation schools due to several reasons. The government often failed to take measures to provide separate schools and classrooms for girls.

Fear of Extremists

In Pakistan, Particularly in KPK militant group have blasted thousands of schools, especially girls schools thousands of children have lost their lives during studying. Extremists groups are against girls and women education as well as they have given threats and threatening letters to several government and private girl schools for stopping girls education

In short, women, which are 51% of the country's population, have been forced to just bear children for their husbands and remain within the house.

Fear of Losing Power

Local land lords oppose girls' education out of fear of losing power. They oppose the measures taken by the government and non-governmental organization, apparently out of fear that people who become literate will cease to follow them with blind path. In this condition government has not so far taken any steps to promote literacy or girls' education.

Frequent Change in Education Policies

Government announced different plans and policies to promote literacy, especially among women, as governments have announced various programs to achieve its educational objectives but they have been unable to translate their words in to action because of various social, cultural, economic and political obstacles.

Solution
1. Change of mind of leaders.
2. Changing policies of education.
3. Bring change in local level through awareness.
4. Equal access of education to male and female.

Government should take solid steps on this issue of education system of Pakistan. If government focuses on implementation instead of projecting policies then this problem will be solved within no time.

Ray of Hope
In the recent decades it has been observed that a significant proportion of girls are getting education at higher level despite cultural barriers. Even in some cases, girls out number boys at higher educational level. This trend seems to be good for a development of Pakistani Society because significant proportion of population is coming out and taking part in academic activities.

According to UN, women perform 66% of world's work, produce 50% food but earn 10% income and comprise world's 70% poor beings.

Post-colonial writers display the kind of sensibility that also works to weaken colonial, patriarchal, and capitalist claims. Thus it was seen that imperialism remained in culture at large.

Global Feminist Activism and Modernity
In 1992, Guatemala the newly elected government backed a "One Million Signature" campaign devoted to mobilizing the Moroccan citizenry to back women rights, both political and personal. The backing of government as a part of national modernization and advancement made a big difference.

In 2000, a big march in support of National Plan of Action for integrating women into development was proposed to the national assembly. This law would modify family law as embodied in *Shariah*, Islamic law of family, personal and other relations in order to bring those more in line with western "Universal" law.

Non-state Governmental Organizations (NGO's)
NGO's can also empower women to enter politics to change their social behavior that is harmful to them and their families. They emphasized that women should be strong enough to participate in politics and thus ensure that the transition to democracy would not be all male event.

Status of Women's Health in Pakistan

Status of Women in Pakistan

In Pakistan status of women varies considerably across classes, regions and rural urban divide due to uneven socioeconomic development and the significant impact of tribal, feudal and capitalist social formation of women's life.

Although there have been attempts by the governments and enlighten groups to elevate the status of women in our society but on average, situation is not well in Pakistan. A famous writer says that "Man is a moment but woman is a life". All these beautifully constructed sentences take a 180 degree turn while considering the status of specifically women in Pakistan. Our women still seem to be living in dark ages. It is a matter of deep sorrow that being Muslim we have completely forgotten the status of women given by the Islam. Annie Besant in her book, "The life and Teachings of Muhammad (PBUH)" says, "I often think that women are free in Islam than in Christianity. Women are more respected by Islam than by the faith which preached monogamy".

Islam was the first religion to recognize the equality of sexes and granted women rights unheard 1400 years ago. In Pakistan the story of women's deprivations start even before their birth, because the girl child is not a particularly wanted child. Her life is a journey of subordination. Main problem is that this is only possible when women are educated and supported by the government as equal and feeling beings to benefit from the latest technology and contribute efficiently to the country's uplift.

Status of Women's Health

Health is a state of complete mental, physical and social well-being and doesn't mean the mere absence of disease infertility. Health is actually something related to pyscho-social and physical satisfaction.

The health is merely considered as an important issue because women as a gender have little respect in the community. In the name of culture, tradition and religion they were never given equal status in society. The health of families and nations is interlinked with the health of women. Health or death of women can have serious implications for the health of her children and family.

Culture Pattern Define Health

Standards of health vary from place to place. In the early 20th century, some doctors warned women not to go to college because higher education would strain the female brain. We know that this idea is false. Though, the idea about health acts as a form of social control, encouraging conformity to cultural norms.

Gender Inequality

A system which is based on gender inequality will not adopt policies for the well-being of women who are poor, powerless, pregnant and weak as a class. It is also disturbing to note that religio-political parties and traditional political parties with lethal image have little time for women and their issues.

In Pakistan we are losing three women per hour because of pregnancy associated complications. More than 30,000 young women die every year in Pakistan, 375,000 women suffer every year from pregnancy related complications.

Health Issues

Pakistan ranks third largest in the world with the number of maternal deaths. There are many factors responsible for such problems. However, more important is the lack of resources even for those who wish to seek treatment. Many children lose their mothers to frequent pregnancies and complications. Reproductive health is among the most serious problem that women face in Pakistan. They have no right to take any decision regarding their health which affects the development of the children.

More than eighty percent women are delivered at home in the presence of unskilled birth attendants. Majority of our Basic Health Units (BHUs) and Rural Health Units (RHUs) are not functional.

Women from Conception to Old Age

1. Termination of pregnancy after diagnosis of female conceptions.
2. Increased rate of female infant death because of lack of care for female child, fewer opportunities for girl child for education.
3. More girls are child labors as domestic workers, field child farmers and cottage industry workers.
4. No choice for girls in getting married in majority of cases.
5. Women are held responsible for giving birth to girls.

Girl Child

Girl child is not enjoying all rights in Pakistan. From the time of conception till her adolescence she remains under threat. The girl child has no equal opportunity in the society. They have limited opportunities for primary and secondary education. They have less access to playground, social functions and other community activities as compared to their male partners. Often girl children are sold and bartered and given so compensations to resolve family and tribal feuds.

Girls are also given as "Blood-Money" to settle crimes such as murder, and are exploited sexually and physically. A huge number of girl children are living under threat and need help. It is also disturbing to note that traditions like *VANI, SWARA, WATTA SATTA, DUNDEE, KARO KARI* and other kind of activities directed to girl child.

Menopausal Women

The majority of menopausal women have no access to health care in Pakistan. For menopausal women living in rural areas and city slums face problems associated with Osteoporosis. Menopausal elderly women have also limited access to health facilities. They are victims of quackery as they often receive unscientific treatment from dais and quacks because of economic reason.

Abortion

Un-safe induced abortion is a major cause of women suffering in Pakistan. Health professionals, not well-sensitize, about the care of women with induced abortion and miscarriage. Estimated abortion per year is approximately 1 million (Natural and induced). Medical students, nurses, midwives and health workers should be sensitize about this major health related issue by change in curriculum.

Anemia in Women

Anemia in women is very common in low socio economical class. Anemia during pregnancy is associated with maternal death and morbidity. Iron deficient nutrition is majorly responsible for anemia. Lack of proper sewerage system and clean water is a cause of worm infestation which causes iron deficiency (anemia) in women living in city slums and rural areas.

Literacy Rate

Another major issue is that literacy rate of rural women is very low. She cannot understand complications of reproductive cycle and face a lot of problems which not only disturb her family but also affect the development of Pakistan. Women's education is not only important for mother's health but very important for her baby. Available information from 68 countries with data on less than five mortalities by mother's education indicates that a women's education is a key factor in determining whether their children will survive past the first five years of life.

Concerns of Women

Breast, cervical, ovarian and colon cancers are the leading causes of women's death in Pakistan. The department of health has no screening program to prevent breast, ovarian, colon and cervical cancers in the country. Chemotherapy is extremely expensive and it is not possible for women to afford this kind of expensive therapy.

Radiotherapy is available free of cost in government hospitals but they are crowded with patients. So there isn't any kind of possibility to provide quality treatment.

Women in Community and Violence against Women

Women are facing extreme social conditions in Pakistan. They are not well represented in judiciary, bureaucracy, assemblies and armed forces. The private, multinational and national corporate sector is hostile towards women.

Violence against women is a national phenomenon. Men are killing women in the name of honor and family traditions.

Domestic violence is common and there is no help available to those women who are victims of this kind of sub-human treatment.

In health sector, the government is receiving a huge amount of grant, loan and help from donor agencies (UNICEF, UNFPA, WHO, UNDP, USAID, DIFID, ADBP) and many others to improve the women health care in Pakistan. Unfortunately, the government has failed in proper healthcare system in Pakistan.

Women's Mental Health

Depressive disorders accounts for close to 41.9% of the disability from neuropsychiatric disorders among women compared to 29.3% among women.

Depression, anxiety, psychological distress, sexual violence, domestic violence and escalating rates of substance use affect women to a greater extent than men across different countries.

Research is not privilege, it is a necessity

Pakistan is a developing country of some 199 million people. A majority of its population lives below the poverty line. Access to even the most basic health care is limited.

"It is said that a problem identified is a problem solved".

It is a high time acknowledges that there is a dire need for research both at clinical and basic sciences level. Every Pakistani have to get education at least up to graduation particularly girls education must be necessary. Female doctors should be appointed in rural areas. Pakistan is said to produce some 14,000 doctors each year. Through research we will be able to identify areas where resources must be allocated, equitably. There should be a hospital in every village. Health to women is responsibility of government and basic health and emergency health care should be available to them without any cost. A country has no future with a huge population of uneducated, unhealthy and battered women.

Pakistan remains poor in resources, research, therefore is not a privilege, it is a necessity. The government and civil society should immediately take actions to rectify the present situation on emergency basis.

Gender and Governance

Defining Governance

Governance refers to decision-making by a range of interested people (or 'stakeholders') including those in formal positions of power and 'ordinary' citizens. These decisions have a huge impact on the ways in which women and men lead their lives, on the rules they are expected to abide by, and on the structures that determine where and how they work and live. They also shape how public resources are allocated and whether services take account of both women's and men's needs and interests.

Yet women are often excluded from decision-making, from the household to the highest levels of government and beyond to the global level. Governance processes - emphasizing accountability, transparency, responsiveness and inclusiveness - should be a mean to social transformation. But they are failing to deliver. This Cutting Edge Pack hopes to inspire thinking on gender and governance, including how we can ensure that the principles of inclusive, accountable governance go beyond rhetoric. It includes an Overview Report outlining key challenges and opportunities for change, a Supporting Resources Collection providing summaries of key texts, tools, case studies and contacts of organizations, and a Gender and Development In Brief Bulletin with three short articles on the theme.

The Relationship between Gender and Governance

With their focus on democracy, transparency, accountability, inclusive citizenship and participatory processes there is huge potential in the ideas and practices of governance to catalyze real change in terms of gender equality. However, this potential remains largely untapped. This Overview Report points to the failure to challenge the entrenched unequal, gendered power relations and other forms of exclusion that have been built into governing processes and institutions for centuries.

It argues that gender equality in these decision-making is vital, both for enabling far-reaching social change and for empowering people excluded from decision-making on the grounds of their gender. There has been some progress in redressing the gender imbalance in national and local governance processes and institutions - most notably, electoral reform has meant the inclusion of more women in government institutions, particularly at a local level. But these mechanisms do not guarantee quality and equality of participation in governance institutions and processes.

The relationship between gender and governance has too often been neglected in both theoretical and empirical work. Until very recently, most influential political thought has been built around a conceptual distinction between the "public" realm of politics, military affairs, and administration, and the "private" realm of family and domestic life. Women's role, in a wide range of traditions and in theoretical work influenced by them, has typically been associated with the "private" realm, and men's role with the "public" realm. The public/private distinction has been thoroughly criticized as being in many ways misleading and untenable.

Nonetheless, it continues to influence both theoretical and empirical work, with the result that women's efforts to gain a voice in governance have often been ignored. These papers aim to set the record straight. They advance a theoretical structure, both positive and normative, within which the question of gendered governance may usefully be pursued. They also analyze some current developments that indicate many ways in which women are actively participating in governance, in both government and the institutions of civil society, and the obstacles that remain.

Gender Inequality and Governance

Gender equality depends on democratic and gender-sensitive governance since typically women, who are or feel marginalized from the public sphere and administration do not feel empowered to take action or participate in governance. More importantly, they do not take steps to make changes to ensure that governance is gender-sensitive. As a result, laws, policies and government institutions do not reflect the needs of all citizens, nor may they be conducive to encouraging progress, and protecting women's rights.

Some women may feel that they cannot participate in the public sphere due to concerns over male/female socially acceptable roles. In studies of South Asia, for example, cases of women who sought to enter public life faced intimidation or even violence by male members of their family or kin group due to traditional notions of female domestic duties which were in conflict with any participation in public life.

UN agencies like UNDP and UNIFEM and other non-governmental organizations invest in programmes that strategically build the capacity of women and democratic systems to encourage women's political empowerment. Improving literacy, training future women leaders and helping women into all levels of government are key tools. In addition, ensuring that legislation is gender-sensitive is also a priority. Gender justice requires every dimension of justice to incorporate gender perspectives. It rests upon the full participation of women in shaping legal institutions that promote their rights, equality and inclusion. UNIFEM supports women's efforts to change discriminatory laws, address violations of human rights and war crimes, and eliminate the injustices stemming from political, economic and social inequalities.

How gender-sensitive are current governance institutions and processes?

It is difficult to generalize but certain markers indicate that, despite governance reforms, there has been a fundamental failure to challenge entrenched unequal gendered power relations and other forms of exclusion that have been inbuilt in governing processes and institutions. Such markers include:

Gender Imbalance in Decision-Making

ender-sensitive reforms in national and local government in the form of electoral quota systems and the establishment of women's ministries have resulted in some progress in achieving a better gender balance in governance – for example, the fact that Rwanda has one of the highest figures for women's representation in its national assembly is largely due to the application of quotas. However, there are still far fewer women than men in decision-making positions at global, national and local levels of governance – including the micro-levels of the community and household.

Who Are The Decision-Makers?

- The world average of women in Parliaments in April 2008 was only 17.8 per cent, with the highest number in Nordic countries (41.4 per cent) and the lowest in the Pacific and Arab states.
- There were nine female presidents (in India, Ireland, Finland, the Philippines, Liberia, Chile, Argentina, Bosnia Herzegovina and Reunion) and five female prime ministers (in New Zealand, Mozambique, Germany, Ukraine and Moldova) as of 2008.
- In the highest decision-making bodies of EU central banks there are five times as many men as women.
- Across UN agencies, between 1999 and 2007, the share of female Secretariat staff in professional and higher categories increased by an average of only 0.35 per cent per year between 2004 and 2006, in spite of the UN's commitment to a 50–50 gender balance in its staff.

Women are not treated equally in governance institutions and processes

Even when women are actively involved in governance, their struggle for equal treatment and recognition is not over. Women are often kept on the margins of decision-making in government, confined to "soft" policy areas such as health and education. Existing systems of governance reinforce this marginalization, with important decisions often made between men in closed "inner circles".

. Governance institutions also continue to discriminate against lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people on the grounds of their sexuality. These forms of

marginalization are just as prevalent in local government and processes designed to include ordinary citizens as they are in national and global institutions.

Governance institutions fail to take women's 'double burden' into account

The working arrangements of governance institutions are usually inflexible, making it very difficult for women to balance work with the additional caring responsibilities they are often expected to take on. This is as true for citizen-focused participatory processes as it is for state-level and global institutions. Governance policies fail to challenge gender inequalities and to take the different needs of men and women into account - As a result of these inequalities in decision making; governance policies often remain blind to the different needs of men and women.

For example, there is a vast amount of evidence indicating that women and other marginalized groups have been negatively affected by trade policy led by the WTO. At the local level, services such as the provision of health, water and education often still fail to meet the needs of women and men.

Poor institutional accountability on gender equality and women's rights

Even when institutions commit to gender equality in their policies and practices by ratifying CEDAW, developing a gender equality action plan or promoting gender-sensitive electoral reform, they often fail to take responsibility for these. There can be many reasons for this, including inflexibility within the institution, but a major factor is often that there are no clear mechanisms in place to ensure that gender equality remains a priority. And gender equality may not be an indicator against which the performance of governance actors is assessed.

What are the roots of the gender imbalance in governance?

While many reasons have been identified for the gender imbalance in governance, the most common argument is that the division between "public and private spaces" has created a barrier to women's participation in governance. Politics has traditionally been considered a male arena because it operates in the public domain, while in many societies women are expected to restrict their activities to the household and immediate community.

It is important to bear in mind that these distinctions between private and public are not given – they are themselves part of a set of accepted ideas about the male and female place in society that have been frequently used as a justification – often by partners, families, communities and women themselves – for women's absence from public life .

The public–private argument does little to counteract fixed views on female and male social roles, and may conceal gender inequalities within household or family governance that may prevent women from becoming involved in more formal governance institutions and processes.

These inequalities may be reinforced by cultural or religious practices – for example in some countries there are strict rules about interactions between men and women who are not related. And women may be prevented from voting or 21 participating in other aspects of governance by male partners or relatives who are concerned their social power will be eroded if their wives, daughters or mothers are equal partners in traditionally male arenas.

There are other external constraints that prevent women from being fully integrated into governance structures, including lack of financial resources, lack of confidence and a lack of personal or family contacts often needed to make it into governance positions. Gender-sensitive governance reforms, such as gender quotas, have facilitated women's entry into politics to an extent, but are considered by many to be an imperfect and superficial solution that cannot tackle the roots of unequal access.

What are the social roots of gender inequality in governance?

The low number of women engaged in governance institutions partly fuels poor levels of commitment to challenging gender inequality, but existing social inequalities and unequally gendered power relations at the micro level also present barriers to change within these institutions. Households' implicit governance structures revolve around decision-making power, from which women may be excluded. Communities often have social rules and informal governance processes that may differ from those promoted by national or local government.

Individuals working in governance institutions live in households and communities and bring values and experiences from this sphere to negotiations and working relationships. For example, men who receive more privileges than the female members of their families may assume this should also be the case at work. Similarly, perceptions of the roles women should play in governance may be colored by the roles they are expected to play within the household and community.

Governance Cannot Be Effective Unless It Has Gender Equality at Its Centre

Governance must lead to a more equitable world, where women also have choices and their rights are realized. It cannot be effective if there is no understanding of the differing needs of women and men in public spending, policies, legislation and treaties. Nor can it be effective if women cannot exercise their right to participate equally in the decisions

that affect their lives. In short, governance cannot be effective, or good, unless it is gender sensitive.

What Is Gender-Sensitive Governance?

Transformation requires more extensive change than simply increasing the influence of previously excluded groups. Interpretations of gender-sensitive governance will depend on the institutions concerned and their understanding of governance. Broadly, gender-sensitive governance begins with putting gender equality and social justice issues at its Centre. It needs to recognize the different needs, interests, priorities and responsibilities of men and women and challenge entrenched gender inequalities.

Gender equality issues, such as equal pay, women's right to participate in decision-making, domestic violence, and the recognition of unpaid care work, must be taken seriously. Its institutions and processes need to be designed to identify and integrate gender differences into all aspects of decision-making so that policies, plans and programmes equally benefit all women and men across societies. Importantly, gender-sensitive governance means women and men must have equal involvement in planning and implementing these institutions and processes. As noted in chapter 1, work on gender and governance tends to equate increased representation of women in government with more gender-sensitive governance.

Certainly, enabling a diverse, "critical mass" (Ashworth 1996) of women to enter government via mechanisms such as quota systems, enabling them to exercise their citizenship by voting and be part of national and local decision-making bodies is a good starting point – not least because this may create enough strength in numbers to make it impossible to ignore women's collective demands or the gender-focused concerns of certain groups. Involving women in the accountability processes that are linked to initiatives promoting effective or good governance is also an important step forward. But it should not be assumed that these types of strategies will automatically result in gender-sensitive governance. To be effective, such strategies need to be rooted in a change of culture across governance institutions, processes and relationships. These changes need to happen at all levels, from global governance to the household, and from schools to the media.

Achieving these changes requires a multi-dimensional approach which involves assessing current gender imbalances and barriers to women's participation, and developing effective solutions. If agencies and institutions at any level are serious about achieving a more gender-sensitive approach to governance, they need to start with the concepts themselves – what is their definition of gender-sensitive governance and how are they framing their goals? Second, they need to critically analyze the various elements that constitute the "what" of governance – the mechanisms through which

governance is done. These elements can be broken down broadly into: institutions and processes of governance and the human relationships within and between institutions. They also need to carefully consider the principles against which they assess the "how" or the quality of governance.

To what extent does the way they understand and put principles of accountability, responsiveness and so on into practice reflect the situations of men and women; and how gender-sensitive are the indicators used to measure governance against these principles? Finally, governance institutions and agencies need to consider the practical approaches they will use to bring greater gender equality to their institutions and practices, including how they will apply more gender-aware principles to bring about effective governance

Reframing the goals of governance through a gender lens

Once organizations have a clearer notion of the mechanisms of governance that need to be gender-sensitive to enable change, they need to clarify what they mean by good or effective governance. What are their goals of effective governance, and are they sufficiently focused on gender equality? What are the principles they see as crucial for achieving these goals, how gendered are their understandings of these principles, and how will they assess progress towards the goals through the application of the principles?

Gendering democracy

Institutions promoting decentralized, democratized governance approaches grounded in the governance principles of accountability, transparency, inclusiveness and so on may see democracy as a primary goal. Yet, how gender-sensitive is their understanding of democracy? Does it put rights and equality – particularly gender equality – at its Centre? Does it specify the need for governance institutions to be accountable for their performance on achieving gender equality and for their commitment to creating equal partnerships between men and women in governance processes? Does it stress the need for responsiveness to men's and women's needs?

Gendering poverty reduction

The way institutions define and understand poverty will affect the effectiveness of their strategies in addressing gender inequalities. If they view poverty reduction purely as an increase in material goods and financial resources for individuals and societies, they may not address the social dimensions of poverty, such as unequal access to resources or opportunities that reinforce gender inequality. A capabilities approach to poverty, on the other hand, requires institutions to focus on whether citizens have equal access to resources and opportunities, including education, good health and rights and choices –

which are seen as necessary for well-being. According to this approach, gender inequality is an aspect of poverty, and needs to be addressed before poverty reduction can be achieved.

Gendering the realisation of rights

International human rights legislation provides a formal structure – a set of universal "norms" and standards against which countries" legislation and procedures can be assessed, albeit often informally. It is important, however, that governance institutions address women's rights explicitly. Too often, rights are considered gender neutral – i.e. that they apply to all people regardless of their gender. But when the "rights-holder" is a woman, the ability to claim those rights can be significantly compromised. While there are few official channels for ensuring state's compliance, governments ratifying conventions such as CEDAW nonetheless have an obligation to promote the realization of rights within their constituencies. They are also mandated to provide the enabling conditions for people to claim their rights, including national laws grounded in rights, democratic legal systems and effective accountability mechanisms).

Gendering social justice

Social justice refers to societies where everyone enjoys full citizenship and is treated with equal respect. This means women and men should be entitled to an income, shelter and other basic necessities, and the same opportunities and life chances. They should also not be subject to discrimination for any reason.

Gender equality

Gender equality entails women and men having equal opportunities and equal outcomes in life, including equal access to, ownership of and control over resources and decision-making. It also entails that women and men are equally valued and have the freedom to develop their personal abilities and make choices without the limitations 27 set by rigid gender roles, prejudices and discrimination. Further, it requires that all human beings – women and men – are able to realize their fundamental human rights

Gender-sensitive budgets are needed to ensure greater responsiveness

Gender-sensitive budgets are viewed by many as an essential strategy towards ensuring resource allocation takes into account the different needs of women and men. They are not a gender-sensitive addition to existing budgets but an integral part of main budgeting processes, based on an initial gender-sensitive analysis that is conducted by gender advocates. Lessons learned from the South African Gender Budget Initiative showed that alliances between parliamentarians and CSOs – who are internal and

external to government – were more productive in bringing about successful gender budgeting.

Women's Political Participation

Introduction

According to Dr. Farzana Bari, Women constitute slightly more than half of the world population. Their contribution to the social and economic development of societies is also more than half as compared to that of men by virtue of their dual roles in the productive and reproductive spheres. Yet their participation in formal political structures and processes, where decisions regarding the use of societal resources generated by both men and women are made, remains insignificant. Presently, women's representation in legislatures around the world is 15 percent. Despite the pronounced commitment of the international community to gender equality and bridging the gender gap in the formal political arena, reinforced by the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Platform of Action, there are only twelve countries where women hold 33% or more seats in the parliaments.

This chapter attempts to investigate the conceptual and material bases of women's historic exclusion from the formal arena of politics; analyze strategies adopted around the world to promote women's political participation/representation; identify internal and external conditions and factors that facilitate or hinder the creation of an enabling environment for women's political empowerment; and finally draw policy recommendations for the national and international actors. The development context of women's political participation at the community and national levels will be reviewed for nuanced understanding of the nature of women's participation and their share in development processes and outcomes.

Need and Importance of Women in Politics

With an increasing recognition among international community of women's historic exclusion from structures of power, a global commitment has been made to redress gender imbalance in politics. Women's enhanced participation in governance structures is viewed as the key to redress gender inequalities in societies. The global debate on the promotion of women's political participation/representation has been surrounded by intrinsic and instrumentalist argument. The former argues for equal participation of women in politics from the human rights perspective. Women constitute half of the world population and therefore, it is only fair that they should have equal participation and representation in world democracies.

Instrumentalist argument pushed for women's greater participation on the essentialist ground that men and women are different. Women have different vision and concepts of

politics owning to their sex and their gender roles as mothers. Therefore, it is assumed that women in politics will bring a special caring focus and female values to politics. There is an extensive research literature produced in support of the varied rationale or theoretical approaches to women's inclusion in politics. However, without debating the merit and demerit of various approaches, his paper is grounded in the broad agreement that proponents of varied approaches have arrived at -women must be included in politics. The challenge facing all advocates of gender equality in politics today is the wide gap between shared values reflected in the national and international policies and practices.

Before identifying the key strategies for the promotion of women's political participation and the vital elements in the enabling environment for women's political empowerment we need to strive for a deeper understanding of the structural imperatives of a society in which women's political participation is instituted.

Women's historic exclusion from political structures and processes is the result of multiple structural, functional and personal factors that vary in different social contexts across countries. However, beyond these specificities of national and local contexts, there is a generic issue in women's political participation that relates to the wider context of national and international politics, liberal democracy and development. It is, therefore, imperative to critically review these constructs and decode the gendered nature of Democracy as well as Development, which poses limitations on women's effective political participation. The elements of enabling environment for women's participation in politics and development cannot be discussed and identified without putting the current development and political paradigms under scrutiny.

Another contextual issue in women's political participation relates to the nature of politics in general and the liberal democracy in particular. Democracy has historically served men better than women. As a political system from the ancient Greece to the modern times of the 21st century, it has built on the public-private dichotomy and excluded women from citizenship. Women have been kept outside the public domain of politics as most of the political thinkers and philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, John Lock, Thomas Hobbes and Hegel considered women fit only for domestic roles in the private sphere and maintained that there was no place for women in politics because of their suitability in caring roles as mothers and wives.

Women's political participation is compulsory for the development and progress of Pakistan because women constitute almost half of the population. Despite their huge share in the population, the women of Pakistan have been discriminated both economically and politically and even in some parts of the country, they are not even

registered as voters. The patriarchal and male dominating society of Pakistan is providing more economic and political power to men in all the spheres of public and private life. The power and economic resources are mainly controlled and owned by men members of the society. The position of women in this regard is secondary and they could not have any say in the economic and political affairs because they are not included in the decision making processes. Owing to this complex structure of society, women in Pakistan could not have easy access to take part in the political activities and to poll even their votes. They are barred from taking an active part in politics in parallel to men, and if they do on ad hoc basis, they are never made part of the legislative and decision making bodies.

Factors Hindering Women's Political Participation

Women's participation and access to formal political power structures vary across countries. There is a steady upward trend in women's political participation and representation in developed countries particularly in Nordic countries. Out of twelve countries where women representation in parliament is more than 33%, nine of them are ranked in the high human development category. However, the improvements in medium and low human development countries are not significant. The structural and functional constraints faced by women are shaped by social and political relations in a society. The common pattern of women's political exclusion stem from
 (A) Social and Political Discourses
 (B) Political Structures and Institutions
 (C) The Socio-Cultural and Functional Constraints That Put Limits on Women's Individual and Collective Agency.

Ideological Factors

Patriarchy as a system of male domination shapes women's relationship in politics. It transforms male and females into men and women and constructs the hierarchy of gender relations where men are privileged. Adrienne Rich defines patriarchy as:
 "A familial-social, ideological, political system in which men by force, direct pressure or through ritual, tradition, law, and language, customs etiquette, education, and the division of labor, determine what part women shall or shall not play in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male."

The Gender Role Ideology

It is used as an ideological tool by patriarchy to place women within the private arena of home as mothers and wives and men in the public sphere. This is one of the vital factors that shape the level of women's political participation globally. However, this ideological divide is not reflective of the reality. The boundaries between public and private are often blurred in the daily lives of women. Nonetheless, domestic domain continues to be perceived in the North as well as in the South as the legitimate space for women while public space is associated with men.

Women have to negotiate their entry into and claim on public space according to the discursive and material opportunities available in a given culture and society. Although the gender role ideology is not static rather remained in a flux while intersecting with economic, social and political systems of a particular society, women continue to be defined as private across countries which resulted in their exclusion from politics.

Historical Political Thinkers

Dr. Farzana Bari is of the opinion that gender deficit in politics is a global issue and its roots may be traced in the work of historical political thinkers. Women's participation in politics has historically been considered irrational and patriarchal indoctrination has been furthered by the social, cultural and political environment. Dr. Bari, while sharing the finding of her study, observed that this public-private division had been challenged by women's rights moments throughout the history and succeeded in achieving their right to vote and representation.

Political Factors

The nature of politics is an important factor for the inclusion or exclusion of women in politics. Vicky Randall defines politics as an "articulation, or working out of relationships within an already given power structure", which is in contrast with the traditional view of politics that defines it as an activity, a conscious, deliberate participation in the process by which resources are allocated among citizens. This conception of politics restricts political activity only in public arena and the private sphere of family life is rendered as apolitical. This public-private dichotomy in traditional definition of politics is used to exclude women from public political sphere and even when women are brought into politics they are entered as mothers and wives.

Nepotism and the Capture of Seats for Women by the Elite

The way reserved seats for women in the legislature are filled is a matter of grave public concern. The indirect modality of election on reserved seats with no prescribed criteria for the eligibility has led to nepotism and the capture of seats for women by the elite. In the previous two National Assemblies, as well as in the present one, the trend in treating seats for women undemocratically by political leadership has not changed. Blood relations, wives and relatives of politicians are nominated on these seats to reward party influential. Many of these women have no background either in politics or of working in women's rights movements. This trend reflects not only the dynastic and elitist nature of our politics, but also negates the very spirit of having a gender quota in politics.

Political Parties

So far, the increased participation of women within the political parties has not led to a significant number of women appointees in important positions within the parties. In the absence of regular elections within most of the political parties, leaders usually nominate party activists to party positions within the party organizations.

Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPPP), which claims to be a liberal party, has only one female and 36 male member in its Central Executive Committee (PPPP, 2004). There are five women in the history of Pakistan, namely Fatima Jinnah (PML), Benazir Bhutto (PPPP), Nusrat Bhutto (PPP), Ginwa Bhutto (Shaheed Bhutto Group) and Nasim Wali Khan (ANP), who have been the leaders of their respective political parties. However, all of them inherited their political careers from their brother, husband or father and subsequently emerged as politicians in their own right.

Male domination of politics, political parties and culture

Male domination of formal political structures is another factor that hinders women's political participation. Often male dominated political parties have a male perspective on issues of national importance that disillusions women as their perspective is often ignored and not reflected in the politics of their parties. Also women are usually not elected at the position of power within party structures because of gender biases of male leadership. Meetings of councils or parliamentary sessions are held in odd timings conflicting with women's domestic responsibilities.

The larger democratic framework and level of democratization also impact women's political participation. Secular democracies in Europe and also in some of the developing countries have created relatively more space for women's participation in politics as compared to countries where religious orthodoxy has been shaping politics and democracy.

Socio-Cultural Factors

The subordinate status of women vis-à-vis men is a universal phenomenon, though with a difference in the nature and extent of subordination across countries. Gender role ideology does not only create duality of femininity and masculinity, it also places them in hierarchal fashion in which female sex is generally valued less than male sex because of their socially ascribed roles in reproductive sphere. The gender status quo is maintained through low resource allocation to women's human development by the state, society and the family. This is reflected in the social indicators which reflect varying degrees of gender disparities in education, health, employment, ownership of productive resources and politics in all countries.

Patriarchal Structures That Place Women In Subordination

Additionally gender is mediated through class, caste and ethnicity that structure access to resources and opportunities. The state and social institutions are entwined in reproducing patriarchal structures that place women in subordinate positions. Social institutions that comprise religious institutions, educational establishments, and the media according to Sylvia Walby and Kamla Bhasin are pillars of patriarchal reproduction in which men are groomed to be the patriarchs and women the subordinates.

Social institutions are the platforms for the socialization of masculine and feminine gender representation as personal identities of male and female. From childhood, gender socialization is instilled and later it cultivates gender-based behavior. Masculinity and femininity are segregated as gender norms, disseminated through religious and educational teachings as well as the media in the public sphere. By regularly generating these messages people's patriarchal views are formed and political institutions are developed which in cooperate these perceptions.

The Socio-Cultural Dependence Of Women

It is one of the key detrimental factors to their political participation in public political domain. Women also find it hard to participate in politics due to limited time available to them because of their dual roles in the productive and reproductive spheres. With their primary roles as mothers and wives and competing domestic responsibilities and care work, they are left with little time to participate in politics.

In some of the countries, particularly in South Asia, women also face cultural constraints on their mobility. The mechanisms of sex segregation and purdah are used to restrict their mobility. Politics requires women's exposure to interact with male and female constituents and address public meeting.

Economic Factors

Politics is increasingly becoming commercialized. More and more money is needed to participate in politics. Women lack access to and ownership of productive resource, limiting the scope of their political work.

Lack of Social Capital and Political Capacities

Women often lack social capital because they are often not head of communities, tribes or kinship groups, resulting in the absence of constituency base for them and means of political participation such as political skills, economic resources, education, training and access to information.

Addressing Problems/Enhancing Women's Political Participation

Quotas for Women in Politics

The quota system aims to increase women's representation to address the problem of under representation of women. Quotas have been viewed as one of the most effective affirmative actions in increasing women's political participation. It has a positive impact on the number of women represented.

The quota system has increased the seats of women in assemblies but it is a temporary measure to achieve gender balance. It does not facilitate the real political empowerment and the democratic participation of women. Women are treated as mere fillers for statistics without real political and economic power. This system provides only symbolic representation to women.

A certain quota of seats was especially reserved for women in Parliament since the 1946 elections. This tradition of reservation of seats for women continued to be required in the 1956, 1962 and 1973 Constitutions. Although the 1973 Constitution fixed reservation for women for two more general elections or ten years, whichever came later, the provision was to expire. This provision expired in the 1990 elections and has not been revised since. Despite commitments by both the major political parties, the women's reserved seats have not been restored (Saiyid, 2001). Now General Pervez Musharraf's Government has the credit of increasing women's reserved seats to sixty.

Gender quotas emerged as a global fast tract strategy to redress the historic exclusion of women from the formal arena of politics. Over the last half of the 20th Century, many countries have instituted gender quotas either voluntarily or through legislation. The gender quota is marred with discursive controversy. Without debating the two distinct opposing views, this section summarizes some of the issues highlighted in comparative studies on gender quotas.

There is a clear consensus in literature that gender quota is an effective tool in addressing women's exclusion and ensuring their presence in formal structure of politics. However, the controversy starts around the vital question as to what extent women's presence in political structures has led to an effective mainstreaming of gender concerns in politics. This has raised issues on the nature and modalities of gender quotas and its limitation to empower women in politics.

Gender quotas are instituted within the context of gender disparities, which are structural and systemic. Without addressing the structural constraints to women's political exclusion, their inclusion through gender quota cannot lead to an effective

representation. Rai (2005) has emphasized the same point by arguing that "while quotas are important in addressing the exclusion of women from the public political sphere, they can only form one part of a multi-facetted strategy for empowering women, which must together with increased political participation also involve a redistribution of socio-economic resources within societies."

Women who lack civil and economic rights are unable to exercise their political rights fully. The gender quotas, therefore, need to be linked with the social and economic redistributive justice in the society. Gender quotas are also riddled with essentialist assumptions of women as a distinct group with a distinct perspective and the universalization of women as a category. Women are not homogeneous groups. They are divided along the line of class, ethnicity, religion and rural/urban background. The domination of elite women in political structures due to state quotas calls for locating the gender quota within the framework of diversity and difference to ensure women's political empowerment. The gender gap in politics cannot be redressed simply by bringing more women in the system. It is also a policy and outcome issue, which cannot be addressed unless supportive mechanisms are put in place and provided with an enabling environment to work effectively. This makes the nature and process of quotas systems central to an affirmative action measures. Experience shows that quota modalities must be direct, empowering and enable women to develop their constituency.

Lastly the wider context of politics and democracy is equally important to determine the success of gender quota. Quota debates are globally located within the framework of liberal democracy and citizenship. The extension of citizenship to all, irrespective of their color, creed and gender, has become the basis of modern liberal democracies. In the elite form of representative democracy being practiced in many countries, the electorates are not free to exercise their right to vote. Voting behavior of the large majority of electorate continues to be determined by primordial loyalties and patriarchal relations.

Within this political context when gender quotas are instituted, they do not necessarily bring gender equality because this is a way some these states negotiate with modernity and pluralism by bringing marginalized to the mainstream on the terms of male patriarchal elite. When women enter through quotas in politics on these terms, they are unable to transcend the public-private divide and are compelled to do politics only in the public arena. Women in politics have failed to make family a part of public arena, despite the fact that when they enter public space of politics they do not cease to be private individuals. My contention is that within this patriarchal context of modern democracies when women enter politics through gender quotas, they are unable to transform the sexual politics in the state institutions. Rather they are forced to play on

male's terms. Therefore, it is concluded that without the transformation of the wider politics, gender quotas cannot lead to women's political empowerment.

However, the quota debate is hotly contested all over the world. Justice and utilitarian arguments are offered to justify quota provisions. The justice argument is based on the principle of democracy. Women constitute nearly half of the world population, contribute to the social and economic life of their countries through their productive and unpaid reproductive labor, therefore, it is their fundamental right to have a voice in their countries' governance. The utilitarian argument takes the position that women have different experiences, interests and needs from men. They have distinct legal and national priorities due to their caring roles that they have been performing for centuries. It contends that women will bring a distinct perspective and positive values of peace and love to politics.

Networking of Women Politicians

There is an extensive documentation on experiences of collective power through networking. From the field of politics, I would like to share a success story from Pakistan where women councilors formed a network and later an election alliance.

Women's representation in governance structures has been extremely low during the fifty-five years of Pakistan's history. In the last National Assembly, women's representation was merely 3.2 percent. Within this context of exclusion and marginalization, affirmative action measure is seen and promoted as the key strategy to redress gender imbalance in politics.

A majority of women who entered local government were the first time entrants in local politics. They had no prior affiliation with political parties, women's groups or civil society organizations. They also lacked political understanding of Local Government Ordinance/System. Women councilors across the three tiers of local government faced similar institutional and social constraints to perform their roles effectively despite differences among them along the lines of class, rural/urban divide and political affiliations. They shared the commonality of experience of patriarchal resistance they met from male members of district, tehsil and union councils.

The way male members ignored women councilors, treated them with contempt, denied them development funds and expected them to confine themselves only to women's issues created a strong oppositional consciousness among women councilors. This resulted into increased awareness among them of their own gender identities as women. They were able to clearly see the interconnection between public and private patriarchy.

Their gender consciousness, which has evolved not necessarily within any feminist framework, has brought them together as women. They realized that a lot of the

problems/constraints they faced as councilors in order to perform their political role more effectively is primarily due to their gender identity as women. Therefore, women belonging to different political parties decided to create a common forum where women councilors could come together to combat these problems, share their experiences, learn from each other, find ways to become more effective in their newly assigned political roles, resist patriarchal backlash and assert themselves to have their right to access political power.

With the help of a NGO Pattan Development Organization, women councilors formed a common platform with the name of Women Councilors Network (WCN) at the provincial level to institutionalize the support functions and use it to negotiate for better working environment for women councilors.

The WCN had chapters in 16 districts in the province of Punjab with a membership of more than 2,000 councilors from UC, tehsil and district levels. The WCN worked effectively with its democratically elected working committees at district and provincial levels to articulate the problems faced by women councilors on various public for a. They resisted the reduction of seats at the UC level and raised voice against the gender biases of their male colleagues. In the absence of constituency for tehsil and district councilor, WCN as a collective body provided them with a power base. In the process, WCN helped raised the political profile of its members.

Enabling Environment for Women Participation in Politics and Development

In the interconnected world of today, external factors such as globalization, international trade and economic polices impact the development policies of the nation-states. Therefore, the creation of enabling environment for women's participation in politics and in development cannot be viewed only within the boundaries of a country. It must be linked with global factors. Thus, the responsibility to create supportive environment for gender equality and advancement of women as shared responsibility falls equally on the national and international communities. Interlocking layer of gender inequalities are rooted in the power structures at the national and international levels. Development and the globalization policies have led to increased poverty, exclusion and marginalization. Structural forces must be challenged and transform by linking them with the rights of people. Without changing socio-cultural, political and economic structural barriers at the national and international levels, the goal of gender equality or women's equal participation in politics and development will remain impossible to attain.

Another important element in the enabling environment relates to the nature of democracy and the level of democratization in society. The participative and decentralized form of governance creates greater space for citizens to participate in governance processes and structures. It also creates space for greater interaction between the state and the society. Human capacities are dependent on the availability of resources such as education, health and employment that build capabilities and

enlarge human choices. Access to education, health and employment is directly linked with women's ability to create space for themselves in politics and development.

Women's Consciousness of Their Political Rights

It is another critical element for women's individual and collective agency. Political consciousness through building transformative communities is the sustainable way to transform politics and development. A strong women's movement and civil society is another condition of enabling environment that can influence the direction of politics and development in favor of women.

Triple roles of women in productive, reproductive and community management spheres must inform the efforts for creating supportive environment for women's political participation. Provision of childcare and care work is vital to enabling women to participate in the development processes.

Reserved Seats Must Be Filled Through Direct Elections

Reserved seats must be filled through direct elections so that women on reserved seats can have their own constituency and power base. Also, an amendment to the Political Party Act should be introduced on a priority basis that should make it mandatory for political parties to grant gender quota within the party structures and in giving tickets on general seats during elections. Reform in gender quota is the only way to protect the legitimacy and credibility of quota provision and save it from the challenge posed by misogynists.

Lack of Unity among Women Parliamentarians

In Pakistan, women have a marginalized role in the parliament. During the sessions of the Senate in 2003-04, women senators raised only 201 (7%) out of a total of 2,769 questions. Similarly, out of 335 resolutions, only 43 (12%) were moved by women senators, and out of total of 400 motions, only 26 (7%) motions were passed by them.

Female parliamentarians are not keen to take up women's issues because of party politics. We must consider the role of women parliamentarians who came on the reserved seats for women. Gender quotas are argued on several grounds but the key argument for this affirmative action measure often includes:

A) The fact that women constitute half of the world population; therefore, it is simply an issue of justice to reflect their numerical strength in political institutions.

B) Women have a specific perspective on politics and political issues; therefore, their presence will make a difference to politics.

C) They have special interests due to their reproductive roles and subordinate position in society, therefore, they must be present in political decision making bodies to represent and protect women's interests.

Open Electoral System

In conclusion, we have seen that an open electoral system has created opportunities for women to participate. However, there are many barriers that hinder the achievement of gender fairness agendas in the elections, particularly in terms of affirmative action in women's quota systems.

Despite the legal support of a national law, the quota system does not necessarily eliminate patriarchal barriers and increase the number of women's representation. However, there are some alternative actions that have successfully shattered the fortress of the patriarchal state and increased female representation.

Women Candidates Participate In Elections on a Regular Basis

As women candidates participate in elections on a regular basis, it is important to understand their motivations and examine the legislative measures they may seek to empower women. This is important as a guideline of their commitment to politics, as well as their contribution to the empowerment of women. Substantive contributions by women candidates from political family back grounds is particularly needed to break the general practice of women candidates who simply replace their husbands, fathers and sons who are unable to maintain their position as the law prevents it.

There are, however, some female politicians, and even political dynasties that are committed to the empowerment of women. But as history and political lessons have shown, women members of political dynasties may sometimes break their commitment in order to sustain their political power.

Role of Women's Movements and Civil Society Movements

Women's movements and civil society movements in general, need to continue their efforts to create more room for women's participation. A new political measure is required that combines the collective power of lobbyists, and encouraging men to understand and accept the female perspective.

Until now, women politicians have had to work within a male perspective which is made harder by having to carry on the burden of household tasks which their male counterparts do not have to do, and therefore putting women at a disadvantage. In order to promote women's rights, civil society movements, especially women's movements, should organize constituencies to generate public demands for women's welfare. In particular, when raising a controversial issue, the only powerful movement is the consolidation of 'popular sentiment' (cases that touch the heart of the public) and this should be used to push legislators.

Policy Recommendations

- The United Nation should play its role to humanize globalization processes by advocating legislation that addresses imperfection of the market.
- The UN should develop a system of incentives for countries that work towards narrowing the gender gap in education, health and employment.

- Clear guidelines for modalities and implementation of affirmative measures that lead to empowering women and creating their ability to critically engage with the state and the society for a social change and gender equality should be developed.
- Research, documentation and dissemination of successful experiences in the world are needed to promote women's participation in politics and development.

The Problems Faced By Women as Voters, Candidates and Political Representatives

Pakistan came into being as a result of mutual efforts of Muslim men and women of the Sub-continent. Ideally, they should have been a part of the country's politics after independence. But it appears that it was and is more a question of whether they 'could' than of whether they 'should'. Owing to long stretched military rules followed by feudalistic politics of our country, women face a number of problems regarding participation in politics; be it as a voter, as a candidate or as a political representative.

Issues Faced By Women in Current Political Setup

Current political setup of Pakistan mostly favors men and is lest friendly towards women. Following are a few issues that women face regarding participation in politics and governance.

Issues Faced By Women as Voters

1. Absence of voter registration.
2. Problems related to CNIC.
3. Gender role perception.
4. Lack of awareness for their roles and rights.
5. Absence of decision making in voting.
6. Patriarchic mindset and dominating problems.
7. Ethnic Issues and tribal Culture
8. Terrorism and Security Threats

1. Ethnic Issues and tribal Culture Denial of right to vote

Many times women are barred by their male family members from casting vote. Same case was seen in the LG elections in Lower Dir.

2. Male dominance in deciding whom to vote

Even if women in mediocre families are granted right to vote, they are not allowed to vote according to their will. They are more than often dictated by their male family members about whom to vote. In this regard they are only used to fill the vote banks of politicians and not as a participant in social uplift.

3. Security situation at polling stations

It is a common observation that fights erupt at polling stations between any two groups. Many times male members of family do not take their women to polling stations because of this reason. They do not approve of the media coverage of such events, plus the situation gets very upsetting for women too.

4. **Issues related to CNIC and registration as a voter**

Especially in rural areas women do not hold CNIC and are thus not registered as voters.

5. **Complex procedure of casting vote**

Female literacy rate is low as compared to that of male in Pakistan. Therefore, complex voting procedures irks them the most. A similar case was seen in the polling stations of Peshawar in the recent LG elections.

6. **Low literacy rate of women and unawareness**

Rural literacy rate in Pakistan stands at 49% of which less than 50% are females. This low literacy rate keeps women unaware of their political rights and hence they do not participate as voters.

Issues Faced By Women as Candidates

1. Non participation of women.
2. Tribal culture.
3. Cultural discouragement with regards to politics.
4. Quota system serves only to the family of politicians, not to the common women.
5. Small and unequal quota for women.
6. Complicated procedures regarding participation.
7. No specific quota for women regarding eligibility.
8. No facilitation to women in eligibility criteria.
   1. **Patriarchal mindset regarding politics**
      Our society long ago described roles of men and women very stringently. Same goes for politics, which today is considered as male domain and a blot to women who wishes to contest elections.
   2. **Dynastic politics**

A delicacy of Pakistan, the dynastic politics has kept women, especially form middle class, from participation in politics. Even women who belong to political families and occupy seats in parliament have least say in decision making.

"Less than 5% of female political representatives have fathers or husbands belonging to working class."

(Farzana Bari)

3. **Complex application procedure**

Application procedure issued by election commission of Pakistan is quit complicated. Secondly, it grants a very narrow timeframe for submission of forms. As a result, offices of election commission are seen filled with men and women have to retreat.

4. **Discouraging cultural mindset**

Women are seldom encouraged by family members to join politics or contest in elections as a candidate. In fact, they are most of the times not even granted "permission" to do so.

5. Apathetic attitude of female MPAs and MNAs

Including Benazir Bhutto, most of the female MPAs and MNAs seem to be least bothered about issues faced by women in politics.

6. Absence of women in student wings of political parties

It is more than evident that women are not seen as a participant in the student wing of political parties. It not only keeps working class women out of politics but also mars their participation as candidates.

7. No quota for women in political parties for issuing tickets

"Even a liberal estimate cannot put women's participation in political parties above 5%"

(Farzana Bari)

Election campaign supporters mostly and willing support male candidates. Keeping this in view a minimal amount of tickets is issued to women activists of party. Absence of quota in this regard further aggravates the situation.

8. Economic dependence of women on men

Women are not economically independent and thus require finance for contesting an election. As financers are reluctant to spend money on female candidates, they are usually absent from the political scene.

Problems Faced By Women as Political Representatives

1. Decision making and power sharing is male domain.
2. Politics is male domain
3. Absence of networking among female politicians.
4. Female politicians are least interested towards women development.
5. Absence of women in political decision making.
6. Economic dependence on male.
7. No political support to women.
8. Women don't have political skills.
9. Absence of training institutions regarding women in politics.
10. Absence of women in grass root politics and student politics

1. Culture 0f male leadership

Strong networking is not very evident in female political representatives because our struggle for power and leg pulling culture.

2. Inequitable quote for women in assemblies

The quota given to women on seats of national assembly is not equitable to their population. It appears to be a stance taken more for the sake of visibility than for participation.

3. Limited role in decision making

Evan a political representative woman has a limited role in decision making.

4. Media consideration to some specific styled MPAs and MNAs

Of the few female political representatives seated in assemblies, media highlights those who are styled in Western attire. It hardly focuses on women who represent the common culture of our society.

The status of women in politics seems deplorable in Pakistan but with little effort and more sincere approach from decision makers, the situation can be altered. Women comprise about half of the population of Pakistan. It cannot progress until whole of its population participates in governance and social uplift.

The Woman's Suffrage Movement, Women Winning the Vote

A Means to Achieve Equal Rights

The year 1995 marks the 75th anniversary of women having the right to vote. After 72 years of struggle, the Nineteenth Amendment was passed in 1920.

There are five sections

- Background and Beginning of Movement,
- After the Civil War
- Activists,
- Opposition - Anti-Suffragists
- Victory - The Nineteenth Amendment

The Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of The United States

1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged.
2. By the United States or by any State on account of sex.
3. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.
4. Neither the United nor any state has the right to keep a citizen from voting because she is a woman.
5. Congress has the power to make laws that will make this amendment effective.

Introduction

The idea of equal rights for women is not a new one. The feminist movement of the 1970s and '80s is actually a re -emergence of a massive social reform movement, begun in 1848, at the Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention. The women's rights movement eventually focused its efforts on winning the right to vote, a campaign that reached a successful conclusion with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.

The call for more legal rights and social freedoms for women grew out of the abolitionist movement prior to the Civil War. Women abolitionists found that their work on behalf of freeing the slaves was hampered by the lack of women's own freedom. For many years, the two causes were closely linked.

In 1869, two national organizations were formed to work toward the goal of expanded legal rights for women. Eventually, the leaders of the movement became convinced that winning the vote was of primary importance, and that became their focus. In every state, thousands of women joined suffrage organizations. Public lectures, newspapers, parades, billboards, silent vigils, and every other imaginable tactic were employed by the various suffrage organizations to get their message across to the public.

During the 72 years of the campaign, hundreds of individual referenda and petition campaigns were undertaken to get woman's suffrage passed in various states. Annual pilgrimages were made by hundreds of women to lobby Congress for passage of a constitutional amendment, campaigns were mounted to unseat legislators unsympathetic to the cause, and millions of dollars were raised to support these efforts. **The Nineteenth Amendment was finally passed in 1920.**

I. Background and Beginning of Movement

What was life like for women in the 1800s?

When Lucy Stone, founder of the American Woman Suffrage Association, was born in 1818, her mother is quoted as saying, "Oh dear! I am sorry it is a girl. A woman's life is so hard!" Her mother, as a farmer's wife, baked and cooked over a wood stove for her family and the hired hands, washed, scrubbed, drew water from an outside well and heated it on the stove, canned, churned, made cheese and soap, plucked chickens, dipped candles, wove and dyed cloth, made the clothes, milked the cows, and cared for her children. Lucy became a teacher when she was 16, earning her board and one dollar a week. It took her nine years to save the $75 needed to enter Oberlin College in Ohio, the only college in the country that offered a degree for females.

- Poor women working in the cotton and woolen mills in 1846 worked 12 to 16 hours daily. Many lived six to a room and two to a bed in company boarding houses and were paid $2 a week.
- Women were not permitted to give evidence in court, nor, did they have the right to speak in public before an audience.
- When a woman married, her husband legally owned all she had (including her earnings, her clothes and jewelry, and her children). If he died, she was entitled to only a third of her husband's estate.
- Out of indignation at the condition of women, the suffrage movement was born. For 70 years it played a leading part in a great struggle to raise womankind to equality with men.

Beginning of the Movement for Women's Rights

Public Speaking

Women began to speak out against slavery in the 1830's. Sarah and Angelina Grimke were sisters who were active in the abolitionist movement. They opened the way for women to speak publicly as they traveled around addressing public meetings about the evils of slavery. They became Quakers and worked with Lucretia Mott, a minister in the Quaker Church.

Petitions

During a petition campaign against slavery, southern congressmen tried to forbid the presentation of petitions coming from anti-slavery societies (some of them from female anti-slavery societies). Abigail Adams' son, John Quincy Adams (who was a former

president of the United States) spoke for the right of women to sign petitions and collect signatures.

Seneca Falls Convention

Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton organized a Women's Rights Convention to be held at Seneca Falls, NY in 1848. A Declaration of Sentiments, modeled after the Declaration of Independence, was adopted, along with a set of resolutions calling for women's educational opportunity, equality under the law, and the right to vote. This was a declaration of woman's independence proclaiming that "all men and women are created equal." These women realized that if they had the right to vote they could change laws and customs. Of the 300 people who attended this convention, only one woman, Charlotte Woodward, lived to cast a vote in 1920. There were critics of this convention, as we see from a quote from a New York newspaper: "This bolt is the most shocking and unnatural incident ever recorded in the history of humanity. It will...prove a monstrous injury to all mankind."

Other conventions

Many conventions concerning women's rights were held throughout the country until the beginning of the Civil War. Because of the concern over the evils of slavery, this early movement for women's rights was closely allied with abolitionist concerns, and some conventions dealt with both issues.

One thousand people from 11 states attended the 1850 National Woman's Rights Convention, which was supported by liberal men and women. One newspaper denounced this convention as "a motley gathering of fanatical mongrels, or old grannies, male and female, of fugitive slaves and fugitive lunatics."

II. Post-Civil War

Amendments

Widespread agitation for woman suffrage began immediately after the Civil War. After slavery was abolished by passage of the 13th Amendment, Susan B. Anthony organized the American Equal Rights Association with the goal of attaining civil rights for all women and for black men.

The 14th Amendment in 1868 established citizenship for all those born in the U. S., but the language included the word "male" in defining citizen. Many hoped that "citizen" would be interpreted to give women the right to vote, but the wording implied that women could be denied the right to vote. Black men were assured the right to vote in the 15th Amendment, but all women were still excluded.

Organizations for Women's Rights

- Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton organized the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) in 1869, with the goal of adding an amendment to the Constitution, which would give all women the right to vote. They were also concerned about other rights for women.

- The American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), organized by Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell, was also formed in 1869. This group worked on separate referenda campaigns in each state to get the right to vote and did not get involved with other women's issues.
- After 30 years, these two organizations merged to become the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) within Elizabeth Cady Stanton as president and woman's suffrage as the main focus. For the next 22 years, this organization worked on the passage of a constitutional amendment and state campaigns for advocating the right to vote for women.

Action in Western States

- In 1867, Kansas put a woman suffrage amendment proposal on the ballot. This is the first time the question went to a direct vote; it lost.
- In 1869, the Wyoming Territory enacted the first woman suffrage legislation, and in 1890, it was the first state with woman suffrage that was admitted into the Union.
- A Look at the Growth of the Woman Suffrage Movement
- In the 17 years since Elizabeth Stanton's Seneca Falls meeting (1848 -1865), women had conducted:
1. 56 referenda campaigns.
2. 480 campaigns to get state legislatures to submit suffrage amendments to voters.
3. 47 campaigns to get state constitutional conventions to write woman suffrage into state constitutions.
4. 277 campaigns to induce state party conventions to include woman suffrage into state constitutions.
5. 270 conventions to do the same.
6. Campaigns in 19 successive Congresses.

II. Activists

The Founders	Some of the Men Behind the Women	Women Who Carried On
• Susan B. Anthony	• Henry Blackwell,	• Harriet Stanton Blatch
• Lucretia Mott	• husband of Lucy Stone	• Carrie Chapman Catt
• Elizabeth Cady Stanton	• George Catt	• Alice Paul
• Lucy Stone	• Frederick Douglass	• Anna Howard Shaw
• Victoria Woodhull	• William Lloyd Garrison	
	• James Mott	

Organizations

The American Equal Rights Association formed in 1866 and, under the leadership of Susan B. Anthony, worked for civil rights for black men and all women. The National Woman Suffrage Association held conventions every year, introducing the woman suffrage amendment in every session of Congress from 1868 to 1890. The American Woman Suffrage Association worked tirelessly on passage of a constitutional amendment and state campaigns.

Activities

- Conventions And Campaigns
- Lobbying
- Letter writing
- Picketing
- Petitioning: Examples: In 1866, Petitions with 10,000 Names Were Sent To Congress; In 1894, Petitions With 600,000 Signatures Were Sent To The New York State Constitutional Convention.
- Published Material: Examples: "The Woman's Journal" By Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell; "The Revolution" By Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.
- Rallies
- Parades: Examples: 1910, First Woman Suffrage Parade; 1912, 2000 Marched In A New York Parade; 1913, 5,000 Marched In Washington D.C. In Woodrow Wilson's Inaugural Parade;
- 1913, 10,000 Marched In New York

- Attempts to Vote: In 1868, In New Jersey, 172 Women Cast Ballots In The Presidential Election; Their Votes Were Not Counted. In 1872, Susan B. Anthony And 15 Others Tried To Vote. She Was Arrested And Fined.

Influence from Great Britain

Harriet Stanton Blatch, daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Alice Paul and Lucy Burns had visited Great Britain and seen suffragists there working toward woman suffrage in more militant ways than those in the U.S. Bringing back those ideas in 1910, they introduced outdoor rallies and parades. Lucy Burns and Alice Paul had been put in jail in England. Returning to this country with more aggressive plans, they formed a separate organization, the Congressional Union, which then formed the National Woman's Party. NAWSA did not approve of Alice Paul's militant tactics.

Women Who Worked for Woman Suffrage and Equal Rights

- Jane Addams: 1860-1935, Social Reformer, Author, Peace And Suffrage Leader; NAWSA First Vice President, 1911 -1914.
- Susan Brownell Anthony : 1820-1906, Quaker, Teacher, Temperance And Abolition Organizer,
- Editor, Hunger Striker. Carrie Lane Chapman Catt: 1859-1947, Field Organizer With Susan B. Anthony,
- Reorganized NAWSA To Be More Political, Fundraiser, Administrator, Opposed Militants, Founded League Of Women Voters.
- Anna Elizabeth Dickinson: 1842-L932, Quaker, Lecturer, Championed Black Rights.
- Emancipation of Women. Abigail Scott Duniway: 1834-1915, published A Weekly Newspaper Dedicated to the Cause of Woman's Rights, Oregon's First Woman Voter.
- Angelina Emily Grimke: 1805-1879, Woman's Rights Pioneer, Joined Quakers, Led Anti-Slavery Meetings.
- Sarah Moore Grimke: 1792 -1873, Lecturer, Writer, Outspoken Advocate Of Abolition, Early Champion Of Women's Rights, Defender Of Women's Right To Speak When It Was Challenged.
- Julia Ward Howe : 1819-1910, Author Of "The Battle Hymn Of The Republic," Founder And
- Leader of AWSA, Editor of the Woman's Journal, Lecturer.
- First Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, NY 1848, President of American Equal Rights Assoc. 1866.
- Maud Wood Park: 1871 -1955, Organizer, Civic Leader, Speaker, Lobbyist for 19th Amendment.
- Alice Stokes Paul: 1885-1977, Quaker, Chief Strategist For The Militant Suffrage Wing, Founder Of The Congressional Union For Woman Suffrage And The

National Woman's Party, Author Of The Equal Rights Amendment, International Organizer.

- Jeannette Pickering Rankin: 1880-1973, Suffrage Organizer, Elected First U.S. Congresswoman 1917 Ran For Senate.
- Anna Howard Shaw: 1847-1919, From England To America 1851, First Ordained Methodist
- Elizabeth Cady Stanton: 1815 -1902, Brilliant Woman's Rights Leader, Abolitionist, Issued Call
- Lucy Stone : 1818-1893, Spoke For Abolition And Women's Rights, Organized Own Lectures, Married
- Sojourner Truth: 1797-1883, Born A Slave, Preached Against Prostitution 1830, Encouraged
- Brotherly Love, Spoke At Women's Rights Meetings In 1850s.
- Victoria Clafin Woodhull: 1838-1927, Declared Herself Candidate For President Of The U.S.
- 1870; First Woman To Address Congressional Committee Urging Woman Suffrage In 1871; Petitioned The Judiciary Committee Of The House Of Representatives, Claiming That The Amendments To Secure The Negro Vote Had Confirmed It To Women Also.

The Men Behind the Women

- Henry Blackwell: A Constant Agitator For Women's Rights, Helped to Publish the Woman's Journal
- With His Wife Lucy Stone and Daughter Alice Stone Blackwell.
- George Catt: An Engineer Whose Support And Understanding Of His Wife Carrie Chapman Catt
- Freed Her To Devote Her Time To Leading The National Suffrage Drive.
- John Dewey: Educator
- Max Eastman: Editor
- David Starr Jordan, Stanford University President
- Senator Robert Lafollette
- James Mott: Quaker Businessman, Accompanied His Wife Lucretia Mott To The Seneca Falls
- Convention, Chaired the First Woman's Rights Meeting.
- Parker Pillsbury : Anti-Slavery Editor Who Worked On the Revolution with Susan B. Anthony
- And Elizabeth Cady Stanton.
- Rabbi Stephen Wise
- Stephen Foster, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips: Abolitionists Who Were Early Supporters

- Of Women's Rights.
- Robert Purvis, Frederick Douglass: Prominent Black Anti-Slavery Leaders Who Were Life Long
- Suffrage Allies.

IV. Opposition - Anti -Suffragists

- Religion was a factor of opposition in the beginning. Some church people said the Bible placed women under the power and authority of men.
- Moralists felt that women should devote themselves to the spiritual and family side of life; that children would go uncared for and that the morals of the nation would crumble if women got the vote.
- The liquor industry feared that women would outlaw the sale of alcohol. (Francis Willard, head of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, adopted suffrage as a major goal.)
- Heads of industry felt that if women had the right to vote, they would work for child labor laws and to improve working conditions in mills and factories.
- Some, men and women, were opposed to change. They liked life the way it was. In 1911,the

V. Victory - The Nineteenth Amendment

The House of Representatives voted for the Anthony Amendment in January of 1918, after President Wilson finally made a public statement of his support. The vote was close. Four representatives, including one who had to be carried in on a stretcher, came from their sick beds to vote for the amendment. One other representative left the deathbed of his wife, a dedicated suffragist, to be present for a yes vote. The amendment then went to the Senate, where, ten months later, the vote for the amendment lost by two votes.

The suffragists continued to lobby, speak, and write for their cause and in June of 1919, the amendment finally passed the Senate. Now, the amendment had to be ratified by 36 states. This process took 14 months of more active work. Final ratification came with the vote of the Tennessee legislature, which barely passed it on August 24, 1920. State Representative, Harry Burn, gave a deciding vote. His mother was a suffragist and wrote to him, "Hurrah! And vote for suffrage and don't keep them in doubt."

On August 24, the Secretary of State signed the 19th Amendment into law.

Twenty-six million American women had won the right to vote in all public elections! "Actually, the last threat to woman suffrage was not defeated until February, 1922, when the U.S. Supreme Court handed down the second of two decisions upholding the 19th Amendment against further challenge." Century of Struggle, p. 337,The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States, by Eleanor Flexner.

"Women won the vote. They were not given it, granted it, or anything else. They won it as truly as any political campaign is ultimately won or lost."

International Women's Suffrage Timeline

- **1893** New Zealand
- **1950** India
- **1902** Australia
- **1954** Colombia
- **1906** Finland
- **1957** Malaysia, Zimbabwe
- **1913** Norway
- **1962** Algeria
- **1915** Denmark
- **1963** Iran, Morocco
- **1917** Canada
- **1964** Libya
- **1918** Austria, Germany, Poland, Russia
- **1967** Ecuador
- **1919** Netherlands
- **1971** Switzerland
- **1920** United States
- **1972** Bangladesh
- **1921** Sweden
- 1974 Jordan
- **1928** Britain, Ireland
- **1976** Portugal
- **1931** Spain
- **1989** Namibia
- **1944** France
- **1990** Western Samoa
- **1945** Italy
- **1993** Kazakhstan, Moldova
- **1947** Argentina, Japan, Mexico, Pakistan
- **1994** South Africa
- **1949** China
- **2005** Kuwait

Violence Against Women

Understanding and Defining

Violence against women and girls is one of the most systematic and widespread human rights violations. It is rooted in gendered social structures rather than individual and random acts; it cuts across age, socio-economic, educational and geographic boundaries; affects all societies; and is a major obstacle to ending gender inequality and discrimination globally. (UN General Assembly, 2006)

United Nations definition

The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1993, defines violence against women as "any act of gender based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life". It encompasses, but is not limited to, "physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation; physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere; trafficking in women and forced prostitution; and physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the state, wherever it occurs.

The terms 'gender-based violence' and 'violence against women' are frequently used interchangeably in literature and by advocates, however, the term gender-based violence refers to violence directed against a person because of his or her gender and expectations of his or her role in a society or culture. Gender-based violence highlights the gender dimension of these types of acts; in other words, the relationship between females' subordinate status in society and their increased vulnerability to violence. It is important to note, however, that men and boys may also be victims of gender-based violence, especially sexual violence.

Violence against Women and Theoretical Foundations

1. Micro-Oriented/Individual/Direct Violence Theories

- Social Learning Theory
- Personality Characteristics and Psychopathology
- Biological Theory
- Exchange Theory
- Resource Theory

Social Learning Theory

Individuals learn how to behave through both experience of and exposure to violence. Intergenerational transmission of violence–Social learning theory can also be used to examine how the relationship between the victim and offender contributes to the cycle of violence:

- Learned helplessness
- Survivorship

Personality Characteristics and Psychopathology

Individuals who use violence against women have some sort of personality disorder or mental illness that might get in the way of otherwise normal inhibitions about using violence.

- Those who engage in violent behavior are seen as sick individuals who are different from other people.
- Focusing only on psychological factors tends to decrease the abuser's responsibility for his actions.

Biological Theory

It suggests that violence against women is related to the process of natural selection. Rape can be viewed as an extreme response to the natural selection pressure on men to reproduce combined with attempts by females to control the identity of their partner.

- Biological and Neurological factors -Childhood attention deficit disorders and head injuries as risk factors
- Eliminates responsibility for the offender

Exchange Theory

Individuals engage in behavior either to earn rewards or to escape punishment. Violence is a means by which individuals or groups can maintain or advance their interests.

Resource Theory

Violence occurs in a family in order to maintain power. Posits that the decision making power within a given family derives from the value of the resources that each person brings to the relationship. This may indicate resources such as financial, social and organizational.

2. Macro/ Cultural/ Indirect Violence Theories

- Feminist Theory
- Family Violence Perspective
- Subculture of Violence
- Cultural Acceptance of Violence
- Stress

Feminist Theory

Violence occurs as a result of a male-dominated social structure and the socialization practices that teach gender-specific roles for men and women.
- Patriarchy
- Gender roles
- Does not account for violence by women in both
- Heterosexual and lesbian relationships.

Family Violence Perspective

Violence affects all family relationships (both men and women can be violent) and the origin of the problem is in the nature of the family structure.

Subculture of Violence

Certain groups in society may be more likely than other groups to accept the use of violence in specific situations.

Cultural Acceptance of Violence

Cultural approval of violence in certain areas of life such as in movies and sporting events may spill over into other areas of interpersonal interaction and contribute to the use of violence against women.

Stress

Stress is a significant risk factor for violence against women; violence is often used in response to a stressful situation.

Types of Violence Against Women And Patterns Practiced In Pakistan

Direct Violence

Direct violence against women includes physical, sexual, psychological, and economic violence. A comprehensive picture of the different forms of direct violence against women is outlined in the EU Council Conclusions of 5 and 6 June 2014. The Conclusions refer to the following as forms of gender-based violence against women:

- Violence in close relationships
- Sexual violence (including rape, sexual assault and harassment in all public and private spheres of life)
- Trafficking of human beings, slavery, and sexual exploitation
- Harmful practices such as child and forced marriages, female genital mutilation, and crimes committed in the name of so-called 'honor'
- Emerging forms of violations, such as online harassment, various forms of sexual abuse instigated or facilitated through the use of information and communication technologies, stalking, and bullying.

Still, the Council Conclusions do not reflect the realm of violence against women in its entirety. Specifically, psychological and economic violence are not visible as they are not explicitly mentioned.

Psychological violence includes 'threats, humiliation, mocking and controlling behaviors'. Economic violence involves denying access of the victim to financial resources, property, healthcare, education, or the labor market, and denying them participation in economic decision-making.

The relationship between the victim and the perpetrator of acts of violence against women is also of great relevance. Intimate partner violence (IPV) is one of the most widespread forms of direct violence against women, and includes a range of sexual, psychological and physical coercive acts used against adult and adolescent women by a current or former intimate partner.

According to the EU-wide Survey on Violence against Women conducted by the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights, 22% of women have experienced some form of physical and/or sexual violence by a current or previous partner.

(EU Agency for Fundamental Rights, EU-wide Survey on Violence against Women 2014)

Direct violence against women must be understood through the lens of unequal power relations between women and men. Violence against women is often normalized and perpetuated due to these structural inequalities. Hence, the historical and contemporary subordination of women in economic, social and political life must be acknowledged

when attempting to explain the prevalence of direct violence against women in our societies. This means shifting the focus from an actor-oriented perspective which examines individual motivations for acts of violence, to a structure-oriented perspective which looks at the structural gender inequalities that support and justify gender-based violence against women. The structural dimension of violence against women can also be described as direct violence.

Indirect Violence/ Structural Violence

According to the UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women, institutional or structural violence is 'any form of structural inequality or institutional discrimination that maintains a woman in a subordinate position, whether physical or ideological, to other people within her family, household or community.'

(Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women 2011)

Indirect violence can be understood as a type of structural violence, characterized by norms, attitudes and stereotypes around gender in general and violence against women in particular. Indirect violence operates within a larger societal context; institutions, and the individuals within and outside these institutions, are all engaged in the production and reproduction of attitudes which normalize violence against women (United Nations 1992). Looking at these attitudes can provide insight into the way in which these indirect forms of violence are created and sustained, and even more importantly, how they contribute to and support direct forms of violence against women.

Inequalities - and the forms of violence connected to them - are intersectional. They are the result of interplay between multiple power structures that produce and reproduce hierarchical distinctions, for example regarding race, (dis)ability, age, social class, and gender. This means that while all women face discrimination based on gender, some women experience multiple forms of discrimination, of which gender is only one component.

To date, there is no consensus on the terminology adopted, or on the relationship between direct and indirect violence. While some see it as an integral part of violence against women, this is contested by others. Much work needs to be done in this area to better understand, and ultimately measure, structural inequalities between women and men.

In Pakistan, violence against women practiced more than the typical forms. A number of these facts are general across our country while others are area and region specific. Violence against Women can be classified into 4 different categories each of which has numerous types under it. The four basic forms of violence against women are: Physical, Sexual, Psychological and Economic violence.

1. Physical Violence:

This includes violence such as "slapping, beating, arm twisting, stabbing, strangling, burning, choking, kicking, threats with an object or weapon, and murder. It also includes

traditional practices harmful to women such as female genital mutilation and wife inheritance."

2. Sexual Violence:

Such as "coerced sex through threats (rape), intimidation or physical force, forcing unwanted sexual acts or forcing sex with others"

3. Psychological Violence:

This sort of violence enlists includes "behavior that is intended to intimidate and persecute, and takes the form of threats of abandonment or abuse, confinement to the home, surveillance, threats to take away custody of the children, destruction of objects, isolation, verbal aggression and constant humiliation".

4. Economic violence:

Acts such as "the denial of funds, refusal to contribute financially, denial of food and basic needs, and controlling access to health care, employment, denying inheritance right in matters of property etc. all of these amalgamate into Economic violence".

Various Patterns of Violence Against Women In Pakistan

Various forms of VAW are practiced in Pakistan, some are commonly found countrywide while others are specifically practiced in some specific geographical areas. The variety of facets of VAW in Pakistan are listed and illustrated underneath:

1. Domestic Violence
2. Rape and Sexual Assault
3. Stove burning/ Bride burning and dowry murder
4. Acid attacks
5. Sexual Harassment
6. Trafficking of women and girls
7. Honor Killing
8. Girls as compensation
9. Forced and Child marriages
10. Denial of inheritance rights
11. Injustice in marriage contract
12. Forced Hospitalization in Psychiatric Facilities

A nationwide study conducted by 'Aurat Foundation Pakistan' highlighting the prominence of the situation of violence against women in Pakistan in 2010.The study has offered a grim depiction of the state of affairs on the subject of violence against

women in Pakistan. There is wide-ranging harmony that the more vulnerable people in the country were really subjugated and made prey of violence.

Aurat Foundation carried out a national level study; "this national study was based on data collected by the Foundation's four offices in the provinces, as well as data from Islamabad. This data is mostly drawn from media reports, police records and other sources (including hospitals, support services) and therefore is believed to be an underestimation. The most recent analysis has revealed a 13% increase in VAW between 2008 and 2009. In all, 8,548 unpleasant incidents of violence against women were reported in the print media crosswise Pakistan, an increase from 7571 cases reported in 2008". (*Aurat* Foundation, 2009)

 "Of the total incidents, 2236 women were abducted; 1436 women were murdered and 557 were killed in the name of 'honor' killing; 928 women were raped; 633 women committed suicide; 32 women were made victim of acid attacks and 38 women were target of stove burning. This is a grim reminder that evil social practices persist, such as the fact that several women were exchanged like cattle to settle disputes adjudicated by illegal *jirgas,* or hundreds were killed on the pretext of so-called 'honor'.

1. Domestic Violence

 Domestic and intimate partner violence involves physical and sexual attacks against women in the home, within the family or within an intimate relationship. Domestic violence is a horrible crime, which is being committed at a larger scale in an unjust society of ours. We still have a feudal mindset that propagates ideas of dominance over others and in making others feel helpless towards us.

Women are abused, attacked, burnt, set on fire and killed for reasons of petty quarrels like not having done some small chores, matters of dowry, property, second marriages and marriage choices.

According to the study it has been found that during year 2010 in Pakistan there were 486 cases of domestic violence; 246 in Punjab; 136 in Sindh; 89 in KPK; 4 in Baluchistan and 11 in Islamabad.

2.   Sexual Harassment

Sexual Harassment takes palace when one individual persists to make unwelcome advances, requests for unsuitable favors and other oral or physical behavior, in opposition to the other persons wish.

"Unwelcomed sexual advances and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitute sexual harassment. Submission or rejection of this conduct, can explicitly or implicitly affect an individual's employment. Psychological harassment may take the form of verbal and other means of pressurizing the victim, who limits and affects his/her capability to be productive".

"According to the study it has been found that during year 2010 in Pakistan there were 928 cases of rape/gang-rape (741 in Punjab; 157 in Sindh; 5 in KPK; 6 in Baluchistan and 19 in Islamabad) raking as domestic help. 74 cases of sexual assault (39 in Punjab; 34 in Sindh; 0 in KPK; 0 in Baluchistan and 1 in Islamabad)".

3.   Stove Burning/Bride Burning And Dowry Related Murders

Burning of women by drenching them with kerosene oil or other flammable matter, inside their homes is normally identified as stove burning. This form of violence can be stanched for a number of motives together with dowry related matters. The relatives and in-laws of the casualty claim that she was accidently burnt whilst cooking. Of stove burning there are rarely any incident involving bachelor girls living with their parents.

"Bride-burning is a form of domestic violence under the category of dowry death, bride-burning occurs when a young woman is murdered by her husband or his family for her family's refusal to pay additional dowry. The wife is typically doused with kerosene, gasoline, or other flammable liquid, and set alight, leading to death by fire".

According to the study it has been found that,' during year 2010 in Pakistan there were 38 cases of burning:(33 in Punjab; 0 in Sindh; 3 in KPK; 1 in Baluchistan; 1 in Islamabad".

4.   Acid Throwing

Acid throwing identified as 'vitriol age' is throwing acid on a different person, chiefly the face area. This is committed for revenge or denial of sexual advance, marriage proposal, dowry, suspected disloyalty and even academic envy.

"In some cases, religious fundamentalists throw acids at women who are complete strangers to them, standing or sitting at public places, because they felt the women were too modern and westernized and furthermore, anti-Islam. Even if all the women had done is wear jeans instead of the Pakistani dress".

According to the study it has been found that "during year 2010 in Pakistan there were 32 cases of acid throwing (20 in Punjab; 3 in Sindh; 0 in KPK; 5 in Baluchistan and 3 in Islamabad".

5.   Sexual Assault And Rape

If A man commits rape that is sexual intercourse with a woman in situation under any of followings, "against her will; without her consent, with her consent when the consent has been obtained by putting her in fear of death or of hurt, with her consent when the man knows that he is not married to her and that the consent is given because she believes that the man is another person to whom she is or believes herself to be married; or with or without her consent when she is under sixteen years of age".

"These crimes are often committed by friends, relatives, acquaintances, neighbors, work colleagues or even strangers. It is estimated worldwide that one in every five women becomes a victim of rape or attempted rape in her life time".

6.   Trafficking Of Women And Girls

Trafficking entails the recruitment and transportation of individual by deceiving, forcing and threats to drag them in a situation of forced labor or slavery. Women are being trafficked in many sectors of financial activities like prostitution, domestic employment, farming etc.

"Trafficking is a dynamic concept, the parameters of which are constantly changing to respond to changing economic, social and political conditions. At the core of any definition of trafficking must be the recognition that trafficking is never consensual. It is the non-consensual nature of trafficking that distinguishes it from other forms of migration".

According to the study it has been found that during year 2010 in Pakistan there were 2236 cases of abduction/kidnapping (1890 in Punjab; 246 in Sindh; 77 in KPK; 2 in Baluchistan and 21 in Islamabad.

7.   Honor-Killing

Crimes committed for honor are so distinct because they take place in a social surroundings where the "ideal of manliness is underpinned by a belief of 'honor' of an individual, family and community

"Honor killing is one of the worst forms of violence against women. It is an extreme form of direct physical violence, which is marked by great suffering. In recent years, Pakistan has been criticized because of the dramatic rise in the incidence of honor killings in the country".

The meaning of honor killing is the "Un-lawful killing of a woman for her actual perceived morally or mentally unclean and impure behavior."

In Pakistan various names are associated with this heinous crime, names as per the different regions. In NWFP, it is called 'Tore', in Sindh it is called *'Karo Kari'* and in parts of Punjab it is called *'Kalla Kali'*. Honor killing is concentrated in Southern Punjab, northern Sindh; and South East Baluchistan. Interestingly there is low ratio of this form of VAW in NWFP and Pashtun areas of Baluchistan. Honor killing has no real basis in religion but is cheered and favored by traditions and misinterpretation of religion.

According to the study it has been found that during year 2010 in Pakistan there were 1436 cases of murder; 758 in Punjab; 309 in Sindh; 328 in KPK; 15 in Baluchistan and 27 in Islamabad); 557 cases of 'honor' killing; 233 in Punjab; 266 in Sindh; 22 in KPK; 36 in Baluchistan and 0 in Islamabad.

8.   **Girls As Compensation**

In regions of Pakistan where the tribal way of life and customs still prevail; there exist the cultural practice of giving away minor girls as compensation, to settle a dispute related to blood-feud or matters of honor or finance. "A council of elders or 'Jirga' may decide that the aggrieved family gets unmarried or minor girl(s) as compensation, treating them as a commodity to replace blood money. These girls may or may not be given away with or without a *Nikkah* or a marriage contract. It is very common for such girls to be mistreated in their new homes as they are seen as a constant reminder of the act for which they have been given as compensation to the aggrieved party".

"This practice of giving girls as compensation is prevalent in certain regions of all the four provinces of Pakistan with higher incidence in Khyber-Pakhtonkhwa. It is called '*Swara*' in Khyber Pakhton Khwa, '*Irjaee*' in Baluchistan, in Sindh it is known as '*Sung-Chatti*' and in Punjab as '*Vanni*'. In many cases, women or their honor are given as compensation.")

9.   **Forced And Child Marriages**

Forced marriage can be defined as:

"This is a sort of marriage performed under duress and without the full and informed consent or free will of one or both parties."

Forced marriages are rather common in Pakistan and typically the eagerness of a girl is never measured. It is obligatory In Islam to get permission and mutual willingness of the bride and groom. Girls consent is hardly ever taken In Baluchistan, and refusal will surely lead her to death. In Pakistan matchless couple can be found commonly marriages as a girl of 13 year old girls to 30 year old.

10.   **Denial Of Rights Of Inheritance**

Women in a family wives, daughters and sisters are deprived of their due share in inheritance in this form of violence, immovable assets especially. Often women are enforced to remain single to prevent family property in Sindh. Family demands results in women frequently diminishing their legal right to inheritance. Those women who moved towards court or law for their rights were killed or injured by the male of the family.

11.   **Forced Hospitalization In Psychiatric Facilities**

There were 928 shameful incidents of rape and gang-rape in 2010 with 11.6%. There were 633 incidents of suicide by women (7.9%) in 2010. There were 74 cases of sexual assault (0.925%); 70 burning & acid throwing incidents in each category (0.875%); and offences of miscellaneous nature were around (19.75%) with a total of 1580 cases of violence in four provincial regions and Islamabad.

Strategies to End Violence Against Women And Girls

Investing in Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment

As gender inequality is at the root of violence against women and girls, long-term efforts to improve women's rights, human development standing, opportunities and choices while addressing negative social norms and values related to the roles of men and women within the community at large, are critical to reducing women's risk of experiencing and escaping abuse in the short-term and ending violence against women altogether.

In addition to investments targeted directly at preventing or responding to violence against women and girls, broad strategic investments in gender equality are also necessary over the long-term.

These investments include:

Ensuring that all human rights and fundamental freedoms for women and girls

Women and girls are respected, protected and fulfilled, including by: ratifying without reservations all human rights treaties, including, in particular, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and its Optional Protocol.

Ensuring That Women Know Their Rights

and are empowered to demand and exercise them; educating men and women, boys and girls about women's human rights and their responsibility to respect the rights of others; ensuring that women have access to justice and equal protection of the law and that perpetrators of violence against women do not enjoy impunity; recognizing and protecting women's right to control their bodies and their sexuality; and securing women's rights to inheritance, property, housing and social security, among the range of economic and social rights.

Improving Girls' Access to Quality and Safe Education

Particularly at the secondary or higher levels, girls' access to quality and safe education must be improved. Education for girls can serve as a protective factor by increasing their knowledge, skills and opportunities, which can help avert early and forced marriage and can further improve prospects for avoiding or escaping intimate partner abuse. Higher educational levels are also associated with better employment and income earning opportunities which also serve as a protective factor.

Increasing Women's Access to and Control Over Economic Resources

Access to economic resources should be increased including income and assets such as land and property. Access to income involves ensuring women's right to own, inherit and use land and property, as well as women's opportunities to work in safe spaces

with equal wages and protection against exploitation and abuse. Improving women's labor conditions and access to economic assets such as agricultural land and other resources used for productive activities can contribute to increased economic support and standards of living for their families, through reinvestment of earnings, and increased levels of productivity, both for their families and at the national level.

Research has demonstrated that male economic and decision-making power is highly correlated with abuse against women. Abuse is more likely where there is clearly a dominant male partner; with men who were raised in families where men dominated and where community-level notions support men as the primary breadwinners and controllers of wealth. Male dominance and control in dating relationships has also been a strong predictor of intimate partner violence.

Women in abusive relationships often stay because they are financially dependent on their partner and lack economic alternatives. Increasing women's access to and control over economic resources can help them escape abuse and may also provide options for women to enter into a relationship on their own terms and on more equitable footing.

Promoting A Critical Mass Of Women

A critical mass of women should be promoted who can exercise their political rights and participate in political decision-making at local, national and international levels. Women's increased representation and participation in politics and institutions contributes to improved governance and policies addressing key education, health and other development issues, as well as decreased levels of corruption.

Women In Decision-Making Positions

Women should be given decision making positions which can help to advocate for and implement laws, policies and programmes to address violence against women and girls. The presence of women in certain sectors, such as in security (as police or military personnel) and health (care providers) may provide an enabling environment for women to feel more comfortable reporting and seeking assistance for the abuse that has been perpetrated against them.

Addressing the Socio-Cultural Norms And Attitudes

Socio-cultural norms should be addressed regarding men and women's roles and status within the home and community which perpetuate gender-inequality within the society, through holistic multi-sectorial interventions which engage key traditional, faith-based and other community leaders who can influence the harmful attitudes, opinions and practices that maintain unequal treatment of women and men and also perpetuate violence against women and girls.

Positive changes in these areas can help empower women and girls by expanding their development opportunities and improving their (and their dependents') economic, political and social well-being, which can reduce their vulnerability to violence and can

increase their potential to live a life free of abuse over the long-term. For example, see Investing in Gender Equality: Ending Violence against Women (UN Women, 2010)

Education

With the help of education, woman can improve their socio-economic status. Women should have equal access to education in all disciplines and at all levels. Knowledge gives awareness, and it is knowledge, which is essential to sensible decision-making in all areas of endeavor. Government machinery, nongovernmental organizations, and progressive political parties should focus on the education of women if they want to enhance the status of women in Pakistan.

There should be an education revolution in Pakistan. Everyone has a part to play-- the government, political parties, religious groups, all elements of civil society and individuals. Changing patterns of people's perception regarding women's education requires the utmost effort on the political, cultural and social fronts. The entire society will have to be restructured on new foundations. Although some well-educated women have been entering government, politics, and business and their numbers are increasing, they still have some distance to go. There is an urgent need of increase in the number of primary schools for girls and government must ensure that every girl in the country goes to school. Education in primary schools should be free. Education brings political, economic, social, cultural, religious, and environmental consciousness and prosperity. In order to educate women, many steps can be taken.

Role of NGOs

In order to minimize the high incidence of violence against women, non-governmental organizations can play an important and effective role. It is necessary for them to focus on rights based programmes. This includes establishing crisis shelters, community mobilization, counseling, providing legal aid, advocacy, working with men and boys and research and publications regarding violence against women.

Role Of Political Parties

With political will and determination, the government of Pakistan should make laws against the torture and unjust killing of women. They should also make it clear that everyone is equal before law, irrespective of gender, age, social status, and racial or ethnic origin. The government should review existing laws, including the *Hudood* law and the *Qisas* and *Diyat* law. It is not possible for female-raped victim to provide four male witnesses in court in order to prove that rape has been committed. The government can make a law, establishing a team of medical doctors who will be honest and good in character, including two male doctors and two female doctors, to check the raped victim and to testify whether or not the victim has been raped. This will be an adequate step towards the protection of women under Pakistani laws.

Media

In the contemporary world, the importance of media cannot be denied. If government of Pakistan really aims to create an atmosphere of awareness towards women's rights,

media can be used as an influential and effective tool. The government can use media in this regard. Unfortunately, in the media, women are given coverage as actresses, dancing in films, singing and existing as something pleasurable for men. The media shows women as an object for advertisements. This should be ended as, otherwise, traditional people will think that women's rights signify liberties like the one of models wearing skimpy dresses and having vulgar looks.

 Pakistani women do not want such liberty. Therefore, the media should be focused on the issues concerning true women's rights and solutions to the problems at hand. The government can use the media to undertake a legal literacy campaign, and to inform men and women of their legal rights. For example, in rural areas, most people listen to the radio; so, the radio can be an influential tool to inform people about the importance of women's rights. Seminars, talks, discussions, and debates of women's rights activists should be given coverage in media.

Role Of Religious Leaders

The role of religious leaders is also important because they have easy access to grass-roots of society. In order to change the conservative approach of religious leaders, there should be workshops' training programmes, and seminars, in which religious scholars should be invited to discuss the problems related to women's rights. For example, the dowry system is a concerning practice resulting in direct violence in form of bride burning, acid throwing, beatings. In this case, it is the moral and religious obligation of Islamic scholars to give a religious declaration (fatwa) that the practice of dowry is completely against the true spirit of Islam and that anyone who practices it will be committing a sinful act.

This declaration (*fatwa*) may contribute significantly towards a change in people's overall perception of the dowry system.

Conclusion

Violence against women is a concern of noticeably significant importance at societal and family levels. Domestic or intra-family violence perpetrated by both male and female family members and relatives deserves special attention. Domestic violence is a serious threat to women's basic human rights and physical and psychological well-being. Violence against women is a complex problem which requires coordinated solutions, involving the participation of both the state and civil society. There is a strong and urgent need for mobilizing and adequately utilizing all allied sectors of society for formulating policy and programmes. These involve the development of community networks in order to provide care and support to people who are victims of violence. These also involve the promotion of non-violent relations in public and private lives of men and women. Regressive social practices, entrenched deeply in tribal and feudal customs and traditions, coupled with an obscurantist interpretation of religious leaders, are the main hurdles in the way of women, demanding their rights.

Changing social attitudes towards women in Pakistani society requires sustained legal and social efforts. Pakistan cannot become a moderate, progressive and a prosperous Muslim country without strengthening civil society. This requires first and foremost giving men and women equal access to opportunities in life, with particular emphasis on the protection of the rights, safety and well-being of women. If half of the population of Pakistan is spending life marked by strong feelings of fear and insecurity, directly or indirectly, how can Pakistan stand among the prosperous countries of the world? How Pakistan, which was created on the name of Islam, can be a role model for Islamic countries as well.

Addressing VAW In Pakistan, Legislative Measures

Unfortunately like many other under developed countries, criminal justice system does not consider domestic violence matter for the criminal courts. Domestic violence is routinely dismissed by law enforcement authorities as a 'private dispute' and female victims who attempt to register a police complaint of spousal or familial physical abuse are invariably turned away. Worse, they are regularly advised and sometimes pressurized by police to reconcile with their abusive spouses or relatives.

Somehow, if a victim of violence succeeds to register her compliant even then the institutionalized gender bias blocks her way to get justice. Most often, the culprit is honorably acquitted of the charge for numerous lacunas in the justice and procedural system, though absolute victim! Still she is disbelieved and treated with disrespect by her owns. The state's accommodation of orthodoxy, whose agenda involves the control of women's autonomy and in particular women's subjugation within the family, has resulted in its continued resistance to challenging personal laws. Thus blatant and pervasive inequalities have been entrenched in the arena in which most women's lives are spent.

History Of Preventive Legislation In Pakistan

From the time when the Pakistan came in to being several laws were enacted to respond to violence and bias against women.

Major Laws Concerning Women: At a Glance
- *The Guardians and Wards Act, 1890*
- *The Foreign Marriages Act, 1903*
- *Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929*
- *The Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act, 1939*
- *The Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, 1961*
- *West Pakistan Rules Under The Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, 1961*
- *West Pakistan Family Court Act, 1964*
- *West Pakistan Family Court Rules, 1965*
- *Dowry and Bridal Gifts (Restriction) Act, 1976*
- *Dowry and Bridal Gifts (Restriction) Rules, 1976*
- *The Hudood Ordinances, 1979*
- *Qanun-e-Shahadat Order, 1984 (Law of Evidence)*
- *The Pakistan Citizenship Act, 1951, partial y amended in 2001*
- *Amendments in Family Courts Act for khula etc. in 200.*
- *The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2004 (on 'honor' crimes)*
- *Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendment) Act, 2006*
- *Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2010 (on sexual harassment)*

- *The Protection against Harassment of Women at the Workplace Act, 2010*
- *Prevention of Anti-Women Practices (Criminal Law Amendment)Act, 2011*
- *The Acid Control and Acid Crime Prevention Act, 2010*
- *The Women in Distress and Detention Fund (Amendment) Act, 2011*

The new country innate some good laws from the British Govt. as under;
1. *Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929*
2. *Dissolution of Muslim Marriage Act, 1939*

Firstly during 60s and 70s that some laws were endorsed to end violence against women and some improvements were launched in the traditional style.

Country that was founded in the name of religion laws existed i.e. the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, 1961, along with the Family Courts Act, 1964.

In 1973, the Constitution of Pakistan went a step advance to promote impartiality and end prejudice against women followed by the shadowy era of General Zia, who by all mean ripped off all reformative and defensive efforts and bright changes previously gained. Constitution of 1973 was not only disfigured by General Zia, furthermore he introduced the *Hudood* Laws.

A country where sexual offenses are used as revenge and for reconciling disputes, where women is representative of family honor these Islamic laws were misused. The thin-skinned nature of the sexual crimes and the social state of mind surrounding them scored mainly grave penalty for its sufferers who were not capable of getting justice owing to the faulty enforcement of system.

The 2006 'Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendment) Act' omits several provisions given in the *Hudood* Ordinance and rephrases them into PPC (Pakistan Penal Code, 1860). This Act offers 30 significant Amendments in the presented *Zina and Qazf* 'Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act', 1939.

Such provisions contain those which deal with *Zina Bil jabber* (rape) kidnapping, compel women for marriage, kidnapping/abduction with the purpose to subject the injured party to aberrant desire, selling/buying a person for sex work, deceiving cohabitation, tempting, taking away or detaining a woman with illegal intention. Shortly speaking this ordinance now deals only with adultery while all supplementary sexual crimes are now element of PPC. A new part has been placed in the CRPC (Criminal Procedure Code, 1898) according to that a protest of *Zina* can only be presented in the Court of Session Judge, along with 4 eye witnesses in partnership to be fashioned who give evidence of seeing the incidence.

Certain changes were made by Act in the process by converting the crimes of *Zina*, *Qazf* and fornication into un-knowable or perceivable offences, reduced police interference. These three crimes are now bail able and at this time the accused

(women) will not nor stay in the prison waiting for trial. Shortly after the Amendment a probable of 1300 women were unconfined from the prisoners across Pakistan.

Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendment) Act, 2006 until the introduction of this situation continued as it was, this Act makes available 30 imperative Amendments in the existing *'Zina and Qazf* Ordinance PPC'*, and The Code of Criminal Procedure and the 'Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act 1939.

The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act 2004.In the name of Honor many women have been killed across the country. The declaration of objects and causes of the Bill states that the "question of honor-killing and supplementary crimes done in the name of *'karo-kari, siah-kari, Tora Tor'* in NWFP, and similarly other taboos have always been a substance of concern to human rights organizations and other authorities. (Javaid, 2007)

The Criminal Law Amendment Act, 2004 is the alteration of the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC), 1860, which pronounces sentence for the crime of murders committed in the name of honor. Though, the word 'honor killing' has been substituted with 'honor crime' to make it meek and adequate to various sections of the society. The harmful taboo of exchange and early marriages in Pakistan throughout remained concern for the human rights campaigners. Substitute marriage is known as *Watta Satta* where two families have the same opinion to marry each other girls. In order to discourage this abuse, the parliament has forbidden exchange marriages through 'Amendment 2004' in the Pakistan Penal Code. Child Marriages: Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929.

The most all-encompassing form of domestic violence is 'stove burn' in a report of Progressive women Association of Pakistan an average of 3 women pass away in 'stove death' daily in Pakistan". A stove-death is designed and intentional murder at the hands of husband and his family. The major cause of the stove deaths are:

(1) Failure to give birth to son

(2) Noncompliance of husband

(3) Suspicion or allegations of adultery

(4) Failure to give dowry

(5) Desire to marry again

(6) Animosity or disobedience of mother in-law; and

(7) Owing to a daughter or sister does wish to wed a man of her own choice.

Though the organization has been working on a national scale since last 15 years on this problem but unluckily there are no burn centers which are destined for the deprived. The prototype of the data composed so for shows this matter is on the whole of white collar and small money-making stratum.

History Of Women Empowerment In Pakistan And Efforts Made By The Governments

Muslim reformers such as Sir Syed Ahmad Khan brought reforms in education and tried to empower women through education. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah had a positive attitude towards women rights. After the independence of Pakistan, Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah tried to eliminate socio-economic disparities against women in the country.

Before 1947, there was a tendency for the Muslim women in Punjab to vote for the Muslim League and women were organized into large-scale public demonstrations.

Pakistani women were granted the suffrage in 1947 under the Pakistan (Creation of Pakistan) Ordinance, and they were reaffirmed the right to vote in national elections in 1956 under the interim Constitution. The provision of reservation of seats for women in the Parliament existed throughout the constitutional history of Pakistan from 1956 to 1973.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Government

The democratic regime of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1970-1977) had liberal attitudes towards women. All government services which had been denied to women earlier were opened to them. About 10 % of the seats in the National Assembly and 5% in the provincial assemblies were reserved for women, with no restriction on contesting general seats as well.

Gender equality was specifically guaranteed in the Constitution of Pakistan adopted in 1973. The constitution says that "there shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone." Additionally, it affords the protection of marriage, family, the mother and the child as well as encouraging "full participation of women in all spheres of national life."

Zia-Ul-Haq's Military Regime

The martial law regime of General Zia-ul-Haq (1977-1986) took some of the steps for women's development

- The establishment of the Women's Division in the Cabinet Secretariat.
- The appointment of Commission on the Status of Women.
- A chapter on women in development was included for the first time in the Sixth Plan.
- In 1981, General Zia-ul-Haq inducted 20 women as members in the Majlis-e-Shoora.
- In 1985, the National Assembly elected through non-party elections doubled women's reserved quota (20 percent).
- However, Zial-ul-Haq initiated a process of Islamisation through discriminatory legislation against women. He banned women from participating and from being spectators of sports and promoted purdah. He suspended all fundamental rights

guaranteed in the Constitution of 1973 including the right to be free of discrimination on the basis of sex.

Benazir Bhutto Government

During her election campaigns in 1988, Benazir Bhutto voiced concerns over social issues of women, health and discrimination against women. She announced different plans to set up women's police stations, courts and women's development banks. She also promised to repeal controversial *Hudood* laws that curtailed the rights of women. However, during her two incomplete terms in office (1988-90 and 1993-96), Benazir Bhutto did not propose any legislation to improve social status of Pakistani women. She was not able to repeal a single one of Zia-ul-Haq's Islamisation laws which were protected both from ordinary legislative modification and from judicial review by virtue of the eighth constitutional amendment.

Nawaz Sharif Government

In 1997, the Nawaz Sharif government proposed a fifteenth amendment to the Constitution that would entirely replace the existing legal system with a comprehensive Islamic one and would override the "constitution and any law or judgment of any court." The proposal was approved in the National Assembly (lower house), but, it was strongly opposed by women's groups, human rights activists, and opposition political parties. They demanded that *Hudood* legislation must be repealed as it discriminates against women and conflicts with their fundamental rights.

The improvement of women's status was stated as one of the 16 goals listed in the Pakistan 2010 Program (1997), and is a critical policy document. Later on the document omitted women while listing 21 major areas of interests. Likewise, another major policy document, the "Human Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy" (1999), states women as a target group for poverty reduction but lacks gender framework.

Pervez Musharraf's Regime (1999-2008)

On September 2004, the Ministry of Women Development established an independent ministry.

- On July 2006 General Musharraf signed an ordinance for the immediate release on bail of around 1300 women who were currently languishing in jails on charges other than terrorism and murder.
- In late 2006, the Pakistani parliament passed the Women's Protection Bill, repealing some of the *Hudood* Ordinances.
- The Cabinet had approved reservation of 10% quota for women in Central Superior Services. Before this, there was a 5% quota for women in all Government departments.

President Asif Zardari Government (2008-2013)

The government's highest priority is to address discriminatory laws against women, which includes

- Adoption of Protection against Harassment of Women at Workplace Act 2010.
- Criminal Law (Amendment) Act.
- Acid Control and Acid Crime Act and Prevention of Anti Women Practices Act.
- The National Commission for Human Rights Act 2012 has been enacted to monitor the overall human rights situation.
- The Women in Distress and Detention Fund Act 2011 has been promulgated to provide financial and legal assistance to deserving women.

Moreover, 26 Shaheed Benazir Bhutto Centers for women have been established in various districts to provide immediate relief to female victims of violence. Around one million women are receiving direct assistance under Benazir Income Support Program, while the National Commission on the Status of Women has been strengthened to monitor the violation of women's rights. A proposal is under consideration to give more representation to women in the judiciary.

Nawaz Sharif Government

The government of Pakistan under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif, Having the strong belief that the country could not make progress without providing equal opportunities to women which were half part of society, was taking appropriate actions to increase women rights to help them come on par with men. Nawaz Sharif, also being a state party to the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), lead the government to take measures to ensure women's rights as envisaged in the CEDAW where as it is still taking multiple reforms to enable women to participate in all walks of life.

Nawaz Sharif has started Prime Minister's Youth Loan to help the youth of Pakistan build a brighter future for themselves, in which 50 percent of the scheme has been allocated to women to help encourage women to setup their own businesses and thus allowing women to have equal rights.

The Crux of Continuous Failure to Counter VAW

As stated time and again by various national and international observers, the performance of the Pakistani government has been no less than abysmal when it comes to protection of women. In an imitation of the theatrical performance put on by the rulers of Pakistan in their claims of protecting the rights of women, the dictator of Pakistan General Musharraf vowed his commitment to the abolition of crimes against women, particularly killings in the name of honor. But the vow remains unfulfilled even one year after the induction of the current parliament. There has been no parliamentary

discussion of making honor killing a capital offence, let alone the much-discussed law of making honor killing an offence against the state.

Lack of implementation

In every society and legal system the sole objective of the law must be to achieve justice, unfortunately Pakistan's laws fail in their true spirit when it comes to implementation and providing justice to the victims. In the long run it has been witnessed that procedural technicalities, weaknesses and inefficiency of the players of the criminal justice are some of the main reasons why victims do not get justice.

The medico legal evidence is major piece of evidence in establishing the guilt of the accused and it is the foundation to establish the guilt of the perpetrator. There are no laid down rules for the medical examination of rape victims and no standard procedure to be followed in a uniform manner Trial process.

Delayed trails and prolonged litigations

It is another factor seriously harming the justice system. A female victim seeking speedy justice and fair trail faces delays, the unchecked perjury, illegal compounding of offences outside the court room and non-availability of witnesses.

A Case Study of Mukhtaraan Mai

Who Is Mukhtaraan Mai?

Mukhtaraan (Mai) is the founder of Mukhtaraan Mai women's welfare organization to help support and educate Pakistani women and girls and is an outspoken advocate for women's rights. Before June 22, 2002 however she was not a leading women rights advocate but an illiterate, divorce living in the rural village of Meerwala, in the southern Punjab region of Pakistan.

On June 22, 2002 Mai's 12 years old brother Shakoor was accused of having illicit sexual relations with Salma a 20 years old girl member of local Mastoi tribe. As a result Shakoor was taken by several members of the clan and held against his will. A panchayat (tribe council) was held that same day to resolve the dispute and it was decided that Mai would marry Salma's brother, Abdul Khaliq, in exchange for release of her brother. Ultimately these terms were not agreed upon but it was communicated to Mai that if she came to the panchayat and ask for forgiveness for her brother, he would be pardoned. Upon her arrival Mai was forcibly taken to nearby hut and gang raped as a form of honor revenge, upon the orders of the panchayat.

After almost 10 years and multiple trials on April 21, 2011 the Supreme Court of Pakistan acquitted all but one of that accused.

. The States of Violence Against Women In Pakistan

Pakistan ratified the convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women in 1996, subject to the provisions of its constitution. However according to a 2007 report submitted by the national commission for justice and peace and the democratic commission for human development, "Pakistan has not adopted any legal framework for translating the provisions to its domestic laws." This is evidenced in part by the continuing presence of discriminatory laws against women, including remaining controversy over provision in the Offense of *Zina* (Enforcement of *Hudood*) Ordinance of 1979, 5 1984 law of evidence 6 and the *Qisas* and *Diyat* ordinance of 1990. The inability of the state to adequately and effectively implement the provision of the convention was evidence in 1999, when the Pakistani Senate rejected a resolution to condemn honor killings. It can also be evidenced by the statistics of violence against women in Pakistan such as the 4153 cases reported of women honor killings from 2001 to 2004.

In 2004, Pakistan Government implemented the Criminal Act which recognized and imposed punishments for honor crimes and in 2006 implementation of the protection of women act which addressed honor killings and gender discrimination in the *Hudood*

ordinance. However, according to the annual report of human rights commission of Pakistan 2009, more than 640 women were killed in the name of honor. In 2010 the federal shariat court of Pakistan declared several of the provisions in the 2006 act unconstitutional and sought to reinstate provisions of the *Hadood* ordinance such as the requirement that 'women who have been raped…produce four witnesses to support testimony and the reestablishment of the right of police to arrest women on a change of adultery on the basis of their report of rape'. While the court has no legal authority to overturn the provisions of 2006 act, the decision itself is an example of the ongoing discrimination at high levels of governance an important factor when analyzing the continued violence against women in Pakistan

Another reason for the continuation of honor crimes is the remaining presence of *Qisas* and *Diyat* Law which sanctions against the traditional dispute resolution practices of panchayats. This law makes any and all offenses against the body of a person compoundable by allowing compromises between the victim families and the perpetrators through retribution or comprehension. These types of compromises have traditionally been attributed to panchayat systems which still enjoy a wide range of acceptability through Pakistan especially in the rural areas. For example in 2002 a Pakistani magazine reported that "large section of the population is wedded to the custom that up holds the surrendering of women to a rival party to settle dispute", according to the human rights commission of Pakistan. The speed with which the Jirga system is expanding makes the need for strengthening the justice system all the more pressing."

Chronology of Events

The Rape of Mukhtaraan

Mai on June 22, 2002, Mai's brother Abdul Shakoor on the suspicious that he had illicit relation with mastoid woman named Salma, was abducted by three mastori men, sodomized in a sugarcane field and taken to the residence of Abdul Khaliq, Salma's brother. A panchayat was convened the same day and a decision was made that Shakoor would marry Salma and Mai would marry Khaliq in order to settle dispute. These terms were not agreed upon however and soon thereafter several of those present from Mai's tribe left the panchayat. It was then conveyed to Mai that if she was to come to panchayat and ask for her brother forgiveness, he would be pardoned. When Mai arrived at the panchayat where, according to Mai there were 200 to 250 people present, she was forcibly taken to nearby hut by Khaliq and three others and gang raped. An hour later she was released and appeared half naked in front of the villagers.

Court Proceedings

On June 30, 2002 Mai and members of her family went to Jatoi police station to file charges against those responsible for her rape. As a result 14 men were arrested and charged under various provisions of the anti-terrorism act of 1997 and offense *zina* ordinance of 1979. Four of the 14 accused were charged with the rape of Mai and the remaining ten were charge with sanctioning the rape as a member pf panchayat.

In July 2002, Pakistan chief justice publically condemned the rape and the Punjab governor ordered an inquiry into panchayat actions on the day in question the rape and possible police corruption. The special bench of the Supreme Court also rebuked police multiple times for negligence in their investigation. The government of Pakistan awarded Mai 500000 rupees in compensation prior to the start of the trial.

The trial began in an anti-terrorism court July 2002. On August 31, 2002, the court sentenced six men to death, four were sentenced for rape, two for being involved in the panchayat and eight were released. The state and Mai filed separate appeals the court's judgment on the basis of insufficient and faulty investigations. The high court acquitted five of the six men and released them.

Mai filed an appeal in the Supreme Court of Pakistan but on April 21, 2011. The court up held the Lahore high court decision arguing that the accused enjoyed a tripe presumption of innocence. The Supreme Court also questioned Mai's ability to identify her rapists, the Wight of her testimony and the Wight day delay in reporting the incident to the police. The court refused to attach accomplice liability to other members of the council or any member of the crowd of 200 to 250 people which the court own record admits were present when the incident took place. The decision cited lack evidence and the reason for upholding the acquittals. Mai has filed a petition for review.

Analysis Of The Actions Of Pakistan In Regard To Its Obligation Of Due Diligence In The Case Of Mukhtaraan Mai

By analyzing each component of the international standard of due diligence, it is evident that Pakistan has breached its duty to prevent, investigate, prosecute, and compensate in the case of Mukhtaraan Mai.

Failure To Prevent The Panchayat Sanctioned Rape Of Mukhtaraan Mai

According to Amnesty International human rights organization, in the area of prevention of violence against women,

"The government of Pakistan has not only failed to educate the public in general and women in particular about rights and freedoms laid down in the constitution and state law, it has also failed to remove widespread misperceptions that Islam sanction crimes

of honor, and has taken no measures to correct the widespread gender bias of law enforcement personnel and to provide adequate gender sensitization training to all staff likely to deal with complaints by or about women."

In recent years, Pakistan government has implemented the criminal law act of 2004 which recognize and imposed punishment for honor crimes and in 2006 implemented the protection of women act which also addressed honor killing and gender discrimination. The legislation concerning women's rights has largely proven to be ineffective in part due to existence of legislation such as *Qisas* and *Diyat* ordinance of 1990, which permits perpetrator to win their freedom at any time if they are able to come to a compromise with the victim family through retribution or compensation. The legislation allows for the continuation of traditional parallel alternative dispute system such as panchayats. According to human rights organizations within Pakistan, the government has failed to legislate or introduce policy reforms to the tribal and caste system and social norms that undermine the status of women."

In 1973, Constitution of Pakistan states that no court shall have jurisdiction unless it is authorized by the constitution or under the law but it is unclear what if any steps have been taken by the government to abolish the panchayat. Now where is this better illustration than in the case of Mukhtaraan Mai, there is no question that a panchayat took place to determine what was to be done in regards to Mai's brother Shakoor. When the panchayat decision f marrying Mai to Khaliq was rejected, Mai was told that if she came to panchayat and asked for her brother's forgiveness he would be free as per Balouch custom. The gang rape of Mai upon her arrival was a result of a form of retributive justice, sanction by a traditional, exclusively male, judicial council that not only allows but orders the bartering and rape of women to settle dispute.

While the Pakistani government has passed certain legislation regarding these councils including recently passing the prevention of anti-women practices bill 2011, but legislation alone is not sufficient to fulfill the due diligence standard. Pakistan has failed not only to effectively implement this legislation but also to promote changes and modifications to eliminate traditional customs and practices such as panchayats which results in violence against women. As a result, the women of Pakistan such as Mai are not effectively protected against honor crimes and gender based violence.

Failure to Fairly and Effectively Investigate the Circumstances of Mukhtaraan Mai's Rape

The Supreme Court of Pakistan stated that its decision of acquitting all but one of the accused was because the prosecution's evidence was not confidence inspiring. There is no doubt that the eight days between the rape and Mai, failed to mention reporting of it

to the police, made medical and DNA evidence extremely difficult to obtain (although it was reported that evidence of two semen stains was found during a medical evaluation performed after the crime which the Supreme Court failed to mention in its decision).

However there were other concerns regarding the investigation of Mai's case than the lack of medical evidence. The dissenting judge in the Supreme Court decision, justice Nasir-ul-Mulk, questioned the evidence presented from the investigation conducted, due to disparity of the tribe involved. Justice Mulk stated that,

"In order to examine and appreciate the prosecution evidence in its proper perspective one has to keep in mind the disparity levels of the social status of the complaint and accused party and the influence of the latter. The accused belonged to insufficient mastoid tribe and the complainant to a humble family of *gujjars.*"

In his dissenting opinion, justice Mulk referenced a news report by journalist Nadeem Saeed, who had visited the police station where the accused was being held and where "he observed that Faiz mastoid (the head of mastoid tribe) was being treated by the officer in charge of the police station as a special guest and was trying to help out the accused by giving a different twist to the incident." There were also complaints reported regarding negligence and corruption by the police during investigation. Mai herself has stated that the police failed to record her own statements correctly. According to the Amnesty International, "giving them wide local participation it must be assumed that local police were aware of the event as it unfolded, if not directly present during the incident. However, they did nothing to stop it and to protect the victim." Mai also revealed that federal minister for defense Sardar Abdul Qayyum jatoi pressured her to stop the rape charges against the accused which is evidence that those in position of authority had great influence over the investigation and prosecution of Mai's case.

Failure To Fairly and Unbiased Prosecute Those Responsible For Mukhtaraan Mai Rape

Ten years after the rape took place the supreme court of Pakistan acquitted all but one of the accused in Mai's case. In a press conference given after verdict in April 2011, Sarah Zaman, director of war against rape, stated that the outcome of Mai's case was "typical in a long list of rape cases tried under Pakistan criminal justice system". In an annex to her statements, Zaman provided a list of legal and procedural flaws in the Pakistani system that "makes outcomes such as that in Mai's case an inevitable reality for most rape cases in Pakistan."

These included the emphasis put on the past sexual history of the victim and the prompt reporting of the crime, extreme police bias and poor forensics, and lack of the weight given to the victim's testimony without corroborating medical evidence. The effects of these policies can be seen in the conviction rates of involving rape; from 2003 to 2009

there were only convictions in three present rape cases in Karachi. Justice Mulk brought up many of these same issues in his dissenting opinion. Questioning the emphasis, the Court placed in Mai's delay in reporting the rape, the lack of fresh injuries to her person and the insufficient weight given to the testimony due to lack of medical evidence.

The Lack of Fresh Injuries to Mai's Person

Citing to both Pakistan and India case law, justice Mulk stated that the lack of physical marks of violation on the body of the victim does not signify that a rape did occur. These cases, along with precedence from ECHR and the committee referenced previously, make it clear that the absence of fresh marks or injuries on Mai's body is the evidence that a rape did not take place. Nevertheless, the court repeatedly shared its opinion that it is normal and usual for a victim to struggle and sustain injuries during course of rape and used the lack of fresh injuries on Mai body as decisive evidence that Mai was not raped in the manner in which she had described.

Mai Eight Day Delay in Reporting the Rape

Justice Mulk also addressed the great significance that the court placed on Mai's eight days delay in reporting the gang rape. He stated that rape victims in Pakistan are not free agents, require permission or approval from the men in their families or communities and hence,

It follows that it is quite normal that crime of rape are not reported promptly. The devastating effects of rape on the victim and her family itself furnish explanation for delay in its reporting. Delay would not cast any reflection on the truthfulness of the allegations made in the report.

In Mai's case, the court based much of its decision to acquit all but one of the accused on Mai's decision to wait eight days to report the rape and alleged that this delay was not sufficiently explained. The court stated that it did not understand Mai's hesitation in reporting the rape because the fear of stigmatization that goes along with rape would not be the same for an older, divorced such as Mai as it would for an unmarried virgin of younger age and hence found that this delay was evidence detrimental to Mai case. This is exactly the kind of stereotyping that international human rights law has emphasized should not be present in decisions by the judiciary.

Lack of Corroboration for Mai's Testimony

Finally, the justice Mulk alleged that due weight was not given to the testimony of the complainant, the victim of the crime and mainstay of the prosecution case. Her testimony provided foundation. He also pointed out that the question as to whether in the absence of corroboration, conviction, on a charge of rape can be used on the sole

testimony of the victim that has been answered by a number of judgments where the courts in Pakistan as well as in India that no corroboration was required.

The court based much of its decision on its determination that Mai had no corroboration for her testimony and that her testimony alone was not enough to convict the accused which goes against not only Pakistani case law, but international law precedent as well. Along with the fact that due weight was not given to Mai testimony as the victim of the rape, there was also confusion regarding witness testimony that affected the court decision. According to justice Mulk, there were in fact witnesses to support Mai's testimony. However, while Supreme Court acknowledged these witnesses at one point in its decision, it still concluded that Mai had no corroboration for her testimony because no one had seen the rape. The lack of convictions in rape cases in Pakistani along with the assumption and gender stereotype that pervade the court decision demonstration that failure of Pakistan to properly prosecute accused of Mai's rape.

Failure To Adequately Compensate Mukhtaraan Mai

As of today, after almost ten years of trials and constant threats to her life and the safety of her family, the government of Pakistan has awarded Mai a total of 500000 rupees in damages and compensation for being gang raped. Considering the heinous nature of the crime of rape and the long suffering endured by Mai, the money awarded by Pakistan judiciary is insufficient and fails to meet the standard of adequate compensation under international law.

Malala Yousaf Zae

On October 9, 2012 a Taliban boy stopped a small school bus in the Swat valley of Pakistan and asked who Malala is? Though no one spoke, he identified Malala when the girl nervously glanced at her. Then he shot her in the head. She survived, miraculously after an ordeal that included Pakistani national helicopters a Saudi Arabian jet, a hospital in Birmingham, England and multiple surgeries. A year later, she published her memoir I am Malala and toured the world. When Malala spoke to the united nation on her sixteenth birthday, she conveyed the same message that had gained attention of the Taliban in the first place, girls, everywhere, have right to education, girls will demand it.

The media converge to Malala in the United States and Europe has been unabashedly doting. ABC Diane sawyer NPR's Michel Martin and CNN Christiane Amanpour, among many others praised her bravery. When she was a guest on the daily show, host Jon Stewart was rendered speechless but her principled response that she would not raise her shoe to a talib she said. Instead we should fight others through peace and through dialogue and through education. Stewart joked that he liked to adopt her. This interview has been viewed over two million times. I am Malala remained on the New York Times bestseller list for twenty one weeks. The European Union awarded Malala the Sakharov prize for freedom of thought. In 2014, she received the Nobel peace prize, the youngest person ever to do so.

But the response to this response has been less celebratory. Critics, while impressed with Malala and her courage question, why she is a darling of the western media "why Malala?" asks Fatima Bhutto niece to the late Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, in an otherwise positive book review in the guardian. Why not Noor Aziz eight years old when killed by a drone strike in Pakistan or other killed by drones in Yemen or Iraq? Mumtaza Hussain answered in al Jazeera in blunt since Malala was a victim of the Taliban she despite her protestation is seen as potential tool of political propaganda to be utilized by war advocates. Ibrahim khan a senator and leader in Pakistan Islam Jamaat-e-Islami party, warns in a Washington post article, she is now being used rather misused in the west by portraying a wrong image of Pakistan as a violent and anti-women society.

Because the west was able to scurry Malala out of Pakistan and into the safety of England history for a typical narrative, the west rescues poor women from the edge of civilization. Likewise, Malala cause access to education for all girls and boys around the world fits another popular western story, "education is the only necessary precursor to

democracy." The deteriorating infrastructure of Pakistani civil society is related to the harsh conditions of the international war terror.

Critic of the coverage of Malala rightly cautions viewers not to fall for the typical narratives of imperialist discourse. I understand this critique I find it accurate and valuable but I am frustrated that the critique end there. Indeed given our understanding that nay hegemonic discourse appropriates everything it can.

I find that the media coverage distressing but unremarkable that keeps on distressing me more, however, is that the analysis focuses only on how Malala has been re-written by the west. Well intentioned as it might be the critique positions appropriate activists as helpless victims. It smacks of a patriarchal nature as Omid Safi has said " no amount of analysis or concern even righteous concern should take away from agency, her resistance to negate her agency even would be allies is yet another attempt to negate her humanity". Instead of nothing only that such appropriate happens I want to look at another part of this question.

Is it possible to make visible moments of resistance moments of potential agency? More specifically when we examined Malala's actions can we identify any counter narratives? To begin answer this question I study Malala's performance in her US appearances between July 2013 and October 2013. I argue that even as Malala relies on western media to circulate her message she persistently disrupts her dominant messages. The role of critics then should be to amplify these disruptions.

Malala Yousaf Zae: A Young Female Activist

"Let us wage a glorious struggle against illiteracy, poverty and terrorism, let us pick up our books and pens, they are the most powerful weapons. One child one teacher one knock and one pen can change the world. Education is the only solution. Education first." Malala Yousaf Zae

Swat Valley and the Pakistani Taliban

Swat valley previously a tourist destination, sometimes referred to as the Switzerland of Pakistan, is located in Pakistan northwestern region. In 2007, the militant group known as Tehreek-i-Taliban (TTP) began to occupy and control parts of swat valley and to impose their version of *shariah* included a prohibited women's education and the death penalty for barbers, music shop owners and thieves, the militants also claimed that polio vaccinations were a western conspiracy. They also required women to wear shuttlecock *burqas* and banned them from going to market.

Over the years, TTP militants periodically clashed with the Pakistani army and engaged into two major campaigns in 2007 and 2009. Though the army was able to reclaim parts

of Swat including Mingora, the biggest city in the swat district, large parts of the region remain impenetrable. According to governmental estimates nearly three million civilians were displaced from their homes during the battles over the Swat valley region. The TTP was an organized, distinct from but closely related to the Taliban, based in Afghanistan and Al-Qaeda another militant group with anti-tendencies. In December 2009, the TTP bombed a mosque killing 36 and wounding 75 people and closed over 150 schools. It also claimed responsibility for attempted bombing in Times Square a popular tourist spot in New York City in May 2010. According to the director of policy and programmes at the Jinnah institute a non-profit, non-partisan organization based in Pakistan. TTP's primary target was the Pakistani state and military because "it resents the fact that it has an alliance with the west and it wants sharia to be imposed in Pakistan."

Malala Yousaf Zae's Public Profile before the Shooting

In 2009 Malala Yousaf Zae, an 11 years old girl lived in the town of Mingora Swat valley and was an outspoken education and human rights activist despite her youth. Her father Ziauddin Yousaf Zae was a poet, school owner, a member of Swat's peace Jirga and educational activist. In 2008 he had been taken his daughter to Peshawar to speak at a local press club about girls' right to basic education.

Soon after she began, anonymously blogging for BCC Urdu about what it was like to live under harsh TTP rule. These entries depicted life from a school girl's perspective during the time whilst the TTP passed formal edicts prohibiting girls from attending school. Yousaf Zae was also featured in New York tomes documentary called "class Dismissed.

The Death Of Female Education

In 2011, she was nominated for international children peace prize by South African activist Desmond tutu. Later that year Pakistani prime minister awarded her Pakistani first national youth peace prize. As Yousaf Zae's public profile grew she began receiving death threats.

The Events Of October 9 ,2012

On October 9th 2012 in Mingora Yousaf Zae now 14 years old was returning home from school when hooded TTP militant stopped and boarded the school bus. They demanded that the other school children on the bus identify Yousaf Zae asking "who is Malala" after being identified she was shot in head. Although a bullet traversed her brain and lodged into her spine she survived the shooting but was critically injured. Two other girls were also injured.

The Government Response

The Pakistani government took responsibility for her care treating her at MH Peshawar under heavy security. Her doctors and the government decided to transfer her out of country to an English hospital which is specialized in military related to trauma. Pakistani president Asif Ali Zardari stated that the violent assault on Yousaf Zae was and attack on all girls in past, an attack on education and on all civilized people. Authorities offered USD 100, 000 reward for capturing her attackers. Pakistan prime minister and top military officials also condemned the attack, calling the shooting inhuman and a heinous act of terrorism. A month later the Pakistani government pledged cash to poor families to send their children to school.

Pakistani Taliban's Response

A TTP spokesman confirms that Yousaf Zae was the specific target of the shooting and added that she was a symbol of infidels and obscenity. He went to say, she has become a symbol of western culture in the area she was openly propagating it adding that if she survived the militants would try to kill her again.

Public Response & International Outrage

Rallies and prayer sessions were held across Pakistan while social media forums bustled as people from around the world voiced their disgust with the attacked and expressed their admiration for Yousaf Zae. Fifty Islamic clerics in Pakistan issued a fatwa an Islamic religious decree against the gunmen and the *Sunni ittehad* council publically denounced the TTP religious arguments for justifying the shooting of Yousaf Zae and her classmates.

The shooting also drew significant international response. The US president Obama strongly condemn the shooting calling reprehensible disgusting and tragic. UN secretary general Ban Ki Moon also voiced his outrage and strong condemnation at this heinous and cowardly. Gabriella Giffords the representation from the US state Arizona who was shot in the head by gunman during a rally in 2011 and john Kerry the US secretary of states, former senator from the US state Massachusetts, were among the many who reached out to offer assistance.

"I AM MALALA"

In October 15 2012, Gordon brown former British prime minister, who had been appointed UN Special envoy for global education in July 2012, launched a petition in Yousaf zae name to call Pakistan "to ensure that every girl like Malala has the chance to go to school" the slogan "I am Malala" a chant was heard demonstrations across Pakistan. He also called the international community to ensure that all children have

access to education by the end of 2015. On 12 July 2013 dubbed Malala day over 500 youth from 75 nation gathered at the UN headquarters calling for every child worldwide to have the right and access to an education as Yousaf zae spoke to UN leaders to call for worldwide education.

Nobel Peace Prize

On October 10, 2014 the Norwegian Nobel Commission jointly awarded the Nobel peace prize to Yousaf Zae and Kailash Satyarthi, an Indian activist dedicated to improving children rights "for their struggle against the suppression of children and younger people and for the right of all children education." The committed note "despite her youth, Malala has already fought for several years for the right of girls to education and has shown by example that children and young people too can contribute to improving their own situations. This she has done under the most dangerous circumstances. Through her heroic struggle becomes a leading spokesperson for girls' right to education. "I want to tell all around the world that they should stand up for their rights, they shouldn't wait for someone else. This award is for all those children who are voiceless, whose voices to be heard."

Sharmin Ubaid Chinoy

Giving voice to those who cannot be heard, Ubaid Chinoy has made over a dozen award winning films in more than 10 countries. She celebrates the strength and resilience of those fighting against seemingly insurmountable odds – and winning. I dare anyone to watch this film and not be moved to tears and inspired into action. – Angelina Jolie

Shermin Ubaid Chinoy is among those famous Pakistani personalities who are serving the country pretty well. She is among those few people who are highlighting the different problems and issues. She covers both national as well as international problems. Shermin Ubaid Chinoy is a Muslim and was born in Karachi on 12th November, 1976. Her early education years were completed from Karachi Grammar School. Furthermore, she went of the studies to Smith College from where she completed her B.A. For further studies, she took part in the Stanford University.

A Bit Of Her History

From very early age, Shermin Ubaid Chinoy was considered as catchy writer. She was only fourteen when she was recognized as a prominent writer who proved to have the capacity of writing on the issues faced by people. She took her teenage as a journalist and started sharing different stories of people which needed to be shared. There were numerous people in the surroundings that were suffering from injustice and were not having all the rights that was to be enjoyed by a human. Shermin Ubaid Chinoy went to them and listened to their heart panicking stories and presented them on higher levels by the help of her beautiful writing work. She was at Smith and she worked for various Canadian as well as American publications.

She was in need of a kick to start her career of documentary making and that was given to her by the president of New York Times Television. This happened when she returned to America after visiting Pakistan and spending some in the camp of refuges. Shermin Ubaid Chinoy was not having any sort of previous experience and she wrote a letter to 80 different channels and organizations but faced rejection. This was when Bill Abraham's, The New York Times TV president gave her a shot and she capitalized on it pretty well by producing "Terror's Children".

Her Contribution

Shermin Ubaid Chinoy also served as the member of faculty in the department of sciences for the Shaheed Zulfiqar Bhutto Institute of Science and Technology

(SZABIST). In 2011; she started running her film making company SOC Films and went on the career of film making. She made a documentary which is named as "Saving Face" which was impressive enough to get her and Oscar Award. This documentary highlights the injustice with the women of Pakistan who are burned by men. The acid is used to destroy their face and body. Nobody is reporting these issues in Pakistan and it was a matter to worry about. Not only Oscar but a lot of awards were given to her by this single movie.

"3 Bahadur" Pakistani animated movie by Shermin Ubaid Chinoy

Right now she is working on a Pakistani animated movie which is named as "3 Bahadur". For the first time in Pakistan animated full feature movie is under the process of making.

"Buraaq" Pakistan animated movie

She has her service internationally and she has made documentaries in over 10 countries. She is the first non-American who has won the Livingston Award as the best international reporter. Right now, she is enjoying a successful career and the fame brought to her by over one dozen films which won several awards.

Pakistan first Oscar-Winner should be celebrated for exposing the 'bad bits'

Film maker Shermin Ubaid Chinoy has made the headlines by bringing home Pakistan's first ever Oscar for her short documentary "Saving Face". The film exposes the horrifying brutal acid attacks on women, and the amazing work of British Pakistani plastic surgeon M. Jawad, who travelled back to his country of birth to rebuild the victims' disfigured faces. Ubaid Chinoy dedicated the Oscar to "all the heroes working on the ground in Pakistan and to all the women in Pakistan who are working for change."

Unsurprisingly, Facebook and Twitter feeds were soon clogged with overjoyed, patriarchic ally proud Pakistanis, reposting the clip of her Oscar speech, with some suggesting that it was an even greater occasion then the Imran Khan raise the Cricket World Cup in 1992.

The Express Tribune, Pakistan's liberal English language newspaper, hailed Ubaid Chinoy as a role model, the "Face of More Liberal and Tolerant Pakistan". Dawn newspaper wrote of the "Welcome Change" of seeing Pakistan talked about in a positive context internationally, while the Urdu paper Nawa-e-Waqt even produced a special supplement to honor her win. "The whole of Pakistan prayed for her" it is said. "Her victory made every Pakistani happy". The government, meanwhile, will present the 33 years old with the civilian award.

But not everyone is so overjoyed alongside the praise are mumbling criticism from commentators who feel Ubaid Chinoy has brought shame on the country. They complain she is merely reinforcing the west negative view of Pakistan. As a Pakistani herself, the dissenters argue, she should not be promoting it in a bad light.

So far she is being called a "Liberal Fascist" and a "Traitor", who is "Defaming" Pakistan and "Belittling the Country" through her voice of subject matter. There are comments like this under newspaper articles; "She has made a career out of trashing Pakistan. I don't know why so many people are starting to like her, she has done nothing to improve the image of Pakistan" and blogs asking; "Was there no positive story available in Pakistan for Hollywood to enjoy?"

Sadly, this exasperating attitude is not just focused on Ubaid Chinoy, but also reflective of a lazy, myopic attitude that the minority of Pakistanis share, the kind that would rather turn a blind eye to its society's problems than acknowledge serious violation of women's rights and tackle them. When I visited a women's shelter in Lahore a few years ago, for instance, to interview women who had fled domestic abuse and forced marriage, I was implored to write "Write about the good bits, not the bad". I cannot deny the work of women's shelter was indeed fantastic, but ignoring the violence that led these women to seek shelter is irresponsible.

Ubaid Chinoy is not "Traitor"; she has honestly opened her eyes to the problems of her home country. It is possible to be patriotic to a nation, and yet critical of it at the same time. As writer Mohsin Hameed tweeted; "Upset Pakistan has won its first Oscar for a film 'critical' of the country? Your attitude might explain why it's taken so long".

In the New York Times, a Pakistani journalist wrote: "Why does it say about a country that it would rejoice at attracting global attention for rampant violations of women's right? Ubaid Chinoy's films highlight these problem-hardly a point of pride for Pakistan".

But if Pakistanis are proud, it's because Ubaid Chinoy has created history and knowing so, she is given her country hope at many levels. There is hope for young Pakistani's girls that they have options to follow a career, no matter how unconventional. There is hope for Pakistan's incredible artistic, cultural talent that it might one day be taken seriously.

But most importantly, there is hope for women like Zakia and Rukhsana, the women who was featured in the films and whose husbands threw acid on them. There is hope they don't have to live in shame because of what has been done to them. There is hope they will find justice, that the men that do this won't go unpunished. There is hope that more people like Jawad will come forward and show victims of this brutality that there is a chance to live again

And there is hope after the Oscar, Euphoria dies down, Pakistan will search its soul and look for ways to better its society for women. After winning her Oscar, Shermin Ubaid Chinoy launched an anti-acid attack campaign. Her mother explained that it was to make "our society more humane". The effort alone is something to be proud of.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Ally: Someone who advocates for and supports members of a community other than their own. Reaching across differences to achieve mutual goals.

Androgynous: Someone who reflects an appearance that is both masculine and feminine, or who appears to be neither or both a boy and a girl.

Asexual: Having no evident sex or sex organs. In usage, may refer to a person who is not sexually active, or not sexually attracted to other people.

Bias: Prejudice; an inclination or preference, especially one that interferes with impartial judgment.

Bigeneric: Refers to those who feel they have both a male and a female side to their personalities. Some "bigendered" people cross-dress; others may eventually have a sex-change.
Operation, others may do neither.

Biphobia: The irrational fear and intolerance of people who are bisexual.

Birth Sex/Sex: The sex one is assigned at birth due to the presence of whatever external sex organs. Once this determination is made, it becomes a label used for raising the child in either one gender image or other (either as male or female).

Bisexual: Also **bi**. A person who is attracted to two sexes or two genders, but not necessarily, simultaneously or equally. [This used to be defined as a person who is attracted to both genders and both sexes, but since there are not only two sexes (see **intersex** and **transsexual**) and there are not only two genders (see **transgender**), this definition is inaccurate.]

Coming out: To recognize one's sexual orientation, gender identity, or sex identity, and to be open about it with oneself and with others.

Cross Living: Living full-time in the preferred gender image, opposite to one's assigned sex at birth, generally in preparation for a sex change operation.

Direction: Refers to the way in which one is crossing the gender line. Masculine/Male to Feminine/Female (MTF) is one way; feminine/ Female to Masculine/Male (FTM) is another.

Discrimination: The act of showing partiality or prejudice; a prejudicial act.

Domestic Partner: One who lives with their beloved and/or is at least emotionally and financially connected in a supportive manner with another. Another word for spouse is lover, significant and others etc.

Dominant culture: The cultural values, beliefs, and practices that are assumed to be the most common and influential within a given society.

Drab: Means dressing as a boy, referring to men's clothes or wearing men's clothes; is used mainly by gender benders and cross-dressers of both directions.

Drag: The act of dressing in gendered clothing as part of a performance. Drag Queens perform in highly feminine attire. Drag Kings perform in highly masculine attire. Drag may be performed as a political comment on gender, as parody, or simply as entertainment. Drag performance does not indicate sexuality, gender identity, or sex identity.

Family: Colloquial term used to identify other LGBTIQ community members. For example, an LGBTIQ person saying, "that person is family" often means that the person they are referring to is LGBTIQ as well.

Family of choice (chosen family): Persons or group of people an individual sees as significant in his or her life. It may include none, all, or some members of his or her family of origin. In addition, it may include individuals such as significant others, domestic partners, friends, and coworkers.

FTM: female-to-male (transvestite or transsexual).

Gay: Men attracted to men. Colloquially used as an umbrella term to include all LGBTIQ people.

Gender: 1) A socially constructed system of classification that ascribes qualities of masculinity and femininity to people. Gender characteristics can change over time and are different between cultures. Words that refer to gender include: man, woman, transgender, masculine, feminine, and gender queer. 2) One's sense of self as

masculine or feminine regardless of external genitalia. 3) Refers to the way we perceive certain things to be masculine or feminine. These things need not be human; for example, in the language of many cultures, cups are feminine, and pencils masculine. [Traditionally, we tend to associate gender – that is, masculine and feminine meanings – with features that include: · physical sex or genitals; · other physical features (for example height, weight, and body hair); · sexual orientation (gay men are often considered more feminine than their heterosexual counterparts, and lesbian women more masculine); and · behavior or dress (a man who cries may be considered unmanly, a woman who is aggressive or wears a suit-coat and slacks may be considered unfeminine).]

Gender Binary System: A system of oppression that requires everyone to be raised either male or female, and masculine or feminine. Eliminates 5 the possibility for other gender expressions, and gives power to people whose genders do not break gender norms at the expense of transgender and intersex people manifests itself as Trans phobia.

Gender Characteristics: Refers to the primary and secondary sexual physical characteristics like height, weight, and body hair, over which the individual has no control and which do not constitute part of their expression or identification. Examples might include a man with a high voice, a woman with prominent facial hair, or a person with anomalous genitalia (more correctly referred to as "intersex").

Gender Conformity: When your gender identity and sex "match" (i.e. fit social norms). For example, a male who is masculine and identifies as a man.

Gender Expression/Gender Image: The way one presents oneself to the world, as either masculine or feminine, or both or neither. This can include dress, posture, vocal inflection, and other behavior.

Gender Identity: 1) "Gender identity" refers to an individual's self-awareness or fundamental sense of themselves as being masculine or feminine, and male or female. The phrase "gender identity" originated as a psychiatric term, and is commonly used to protect transsexual or transgender employees, particularly those who transition from one sex to another on the job. 2) The gender that a person sees oneself as. This can include refusing to label oneself with a gender. Gender identity is also often conflated with sexual orientation, but this is inaccurate. Gender identity does not cause sexual orientation. For example, a masculine woman is not necessarily a lesbian.

Genderism: Holding people to traditional expectations based on gender, or punishing or excluding those who don't conform to traditional gender expectations.

Gender-neutral: Nondiscriminatory language to describe relationships—e.g. "spouse" and "partner" are gender-neutral alternatives to the gender-specific words "husband," "wife," "boyfriend" and "girlfriend."

Gender Queer (or Genderqueer): A person who redefines or plays with gender, or who refuses gender altogether. A label for people who bend/break the rules of gender and blur the boundaries.

Gender Role: How "masculine" or "feminine" an individual acts. Societies commonly have norms regarding how males and females should behave, expecting people to have personality characteristics and/or act a certain way based on their biological sex.

Gender Stereotypes: "Gender stereotypes" are the patterns or mental templates for what we expect members of each sex to be. For instance, the stereotype for males frequently includes being tall, muscular, hirsute, solitary, and impassive. For females it might include being small, weak, social, sensitive, and emotional.

Gender-variant / Gender non-conforming: Displaying gender traits that are not normatively associated with their biological sex. "Feminine" behavior or appearance in a male is gender-variant as is "masculine" behavior or appearance a female. Gender-variant behavior is culturally specific.

Genetic: refers to the chromosomal endowment of the individual, with emphasis on the sex chromosomes (XX in women and XY in men).

Hate crime: Hate crime legislation often defines a hate crime as a crime motivated by the actual or perceived race, color, religion, national origin, ethnicity, gender, disability, or sexual orientation of any person.

Heterosexism: Assuming every person to be heterosexual therefore marginalizing persons who do not identify as heterosexual. It also believes heterosexuality to be superior to homosexuality and all other sexual orientations.

Heterosexuality: Sexual, emotional, and/or romantic attraction to a sex other than your own.
Commonly thought of as "attraction to the opposite sex" but since there are not only two sexes (see **Intersex** and **transsexual**), this definition is inaccurate.

Heterosexual Privilege: Benefits derived automatically by being (or being perceived as) heterosexual that are denied to homosexuals, bisexuals, and queers.

Homophobia: The irrational fear and intolerance of people who are homosexual or of homosexual feelings within one's self. This assumes that heterosexuality is superior.

Homosexuality: Sexual, emotional, and/or romantic attraction to the same sex.
Institutional Oppression: Arrangement of a society used to benefit one group at the expense of another through the use of language, media education, religion, economics, etc.

Internalized Oppression: The process by which an oppressed person comes to believe, accept, or live out of the inaccurate stereotypes and misinformation about his group.

Intersex: Intersexuality is a set of medical conditions that feature congenital anomaly of the reproductive and sexual system. That is, intersex people are born with "sex chromosomes,"
External genitalia or internal reproductive systems that are not considered "standard" for either male or female. The existence of intersexual shows that there are not just two 10 sexes and that our ways of thinking about sex (trying to force everyone to fit into either the male box or the female box) is socially constructed. About 1 in 2000 infants born is at risk for intersex genital mutilation. An even higher proportion of the population is intersex in some way. This word replaces "hermaphrodite", which is generally considered impolite and/or derogatory.

In the closet: Keeping one's sexual orientation and/or gender or sex identity a secret.

Invisible minority: A group whose minority status is not always immediately visible, such as some disabled people and LGBTIQ people. This lack of visibility may make organizing for rights difficult.

Lambda: The Gay Activist Alliance originally chose the lambda, the Greek letter "L", as a symbol in 1970. Organizers chose the letter "L" to signify liberation. The word has become a way of expressing the concept "lesbian and gay male" in a minimum of syllables and has been adopted by such organizations as Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund.

Lesbian: A woman attracted to women.

LGBTIQ: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Queer.

Male supremacy: A system of oppression that gives power to men and values masculinity, at the expense of women and femininity.

Marginalized: Excluded, ignored, or relegated to the outer edge of a group/society/community.

Men who have sex with men (MSM): Men who engage in same-sex behavior, but who may not necessarily self-identify as gay.

MTF: Male to Female (transvestite or transsexual).

Non-Op: Refers to transsexuals who seek sex reassignment through hormones and who cross live, but stop just short of surgery. Some have concerns about major surgery, which is not always successful, others are unable to pay for the expensive procedures surgery would entail, and still others feel that they are complete without the surgery.

On T: When a FTM takes the hormone testosterone.

Oppression: Results from the *use* of institutional power and privilege where one person or group *benefits at the expense* of another. Oppression is the use of power and the effects of domination.

Out or **Out of the closet:** Refers to varying degrees of being open about one's sexual orientation and/or sex identity or gender identity.

Pansexual: A person who is fluid in sexual orientation and/or gender or sex identity.

Pass: Means to be in your preferred gender image and to be able to do so convincingly in the eyes of those around you, for example an FTM or cross dresser or drag king who looks like a man and not like a woman.

Polyamory: The practice of having multiple open, honest love relationships.

Post-Op: A transsexual who has had their sex change operation and now has the physical anatomy which mimics that of the sex they have transitioned to.

(Institutional) Power: Means control, access and influence. In U.S. society, power means having control of and *access* to ruling institutions; freedom from the threat of being questioned or reprimanded for wrong-doing; and the ability to define standards and norms.

Present: Refers to gender expression and the process of reflecting ones gender to others; someone who is bigendered may present as female one day and male the next.

Pre-Op: A transsexual who has not yet had their sex change operation(s) but who 'plans on having it/them.

Privilege: Means a right, a favor, immunity or an advantage specially granted to one individual or group and *withheld* from another.

Queer: 1) An umbrella term used to refer to all LGBTIQ people. 2) A political statement, as well as a sexual orientation, which advocates breaking binary thinking and seeing both sexual orientation and gender identity as potentially fluid. 3) A simple label to explain a complex set of sexual behaviors and desires. For example, a person who is attracted to multiple genders may identify as queer. *Many older LGBT people feel the word has been hatefully used against them for too long and are reluctant to embrace it.* 4) Originally a synonym for "odd", this word became a derogatory expression for gays in the 20th Century. Even though many people still use "queer" as an anti-gay epithet, a movement emerged in the 1980s that calls itself queer. Used in this way, queer means sexually dissident, but not necessarily gay. Many gays, transsexuals, bisexuals and even heterosexuals whose sexuality doesn't fit into the cultural standard of monogamous heterosexual marriage have adopted the "queer" label. In academic circles, the term "queer" often refers to the approaches and sensibilities of queer theory.

Racism: Discrimination against people of color that results from the white supremacy system of domination. Racism is prejudice plus institutional power.

Rainbow Flag: The Rainbow Freedom Flag was designed in 1978 by Gilbert Baker to designate the great diversity of the LGBTIQ community. It has been recognized by the International Flag Makers Association as the official flag of the LGBTIQ civil rights movement.

Self-Identify: Refers to the process of people choosing with which identifying terms/groups they identify. (E.g. someone could self-identify as male, female or bigendered, multi-racial, etc.)

Sex: Refers to a person based on their anatomy (external genitalia, chromosomes, and internal reproductive system). Sex terms are male, female, transsexual, and intersex. Sex is biological, although social views and experiences of sex are cultural.

Sex Identity: The sex that a person sees themselves as. This can include refusing to label oneself with a sex.

Sexism: Discrimination against women that results from the male supremacy system of oppression.

Sex-Reassignment Surgery (SRS): Sex change operation.

Sexual minority: 1) Refers to members of sexual orientations or who engage in sexual activities that are not part of the mainstream. 2) Refers to members of sex groups that do not fall into the majority categories of male or female, such as intersexuals and transsexuals.

Sexual Orientation: The deep-seated direction of one's sexual (erotic) attraction. It is on a continuum and not a set of absolute categories, sometimes referred to as affection orientation or sexuality.

Socialized: Refers to the "training" process that takes place once birth sex is determined/decided upon. People whose birth sex is female are "socialized" as women although they may or may not self-identify as women.

SRS: Acronym for Sexual Reassignment Surgery, the surgery done by transsexuals to make their bodies and their sex identity match.

Stereotype: An exaggerated oversimplified belief about an entire group of people without regard for individual differences.

Straight: Person who is attracted to a gender other than their own. [Commonly thought of as "Attraction to the opposite gender," but since there are not only two genders (see **transgender**)]

Systems of oppression: Interlocking societal, economic, moral, and religious values that keep many groups of people down to ensure the power and advantage of a few groups or one group of people. Some systems of oppression in the US and Europe include: heterosexism, male supremacy, white supremacy and the gender binary system.

Trans Female/Woman: A male-to-female transition (MTF). [The medical literature tends to use the extremely demeaning term "male transsexual" to mean the same thing. Note that you can tell the preferred form is in use when the gender word comes after the "T" word.]

Transgender: 1) Transgender (sometimes shortened to Trans or TG) people are those whose psychological self ("gender identity") differs from the social expectations for the physical sex they were born with. To understand this, one must understand the difference between biological sex which is one's body (genitals, chromosomes, etc.), and social gender, which refers to levels of masculinity and femininity. Often, society conflates sex and gender, viewing them as the same thing. But, gender and sex are not the same thing. Transgender people are those whose psychological self ("gender identity") differs from the social expectations for the physical sex they were born with. For example, a female with a masculine gender identity or who identifies as a man.2) An umbrella term for transsexuals, cross-dressers (transvestites), transgenderists, gender queers, and people who identify as neither female nor male and/or as neither a man or as a woman. Transgender is not a sexual orientation; transgender people may have any sexual orientation. It is important to acknowledge that while some people may fit under this definition of transgender, they may not identify as such.

Transgenderist: A person who lives either full time, or most of the time, in a gender role different than the role associated with their biological or chromosomal sex (a gender nonconformist).

Transition: A complicated, multi-step process that can take years as transsexuals align their anatomy with their sex identity; this process may ultimately include sex reassignment surgery (SRS).

Trans Man/Male: A female-to-male transition (FTM). [The medical literature tends to use the extremely demeaning term "female transsexual" to mean the same thing. Note that you can tell the preferred form is in use when the gender word comes after the "T" word.]

Transphobia: 1) Discrimination, fear or hatred of people who blur traditional gender lines that result from the gender binary system. Often comes from one's own insecurity about being a "real man," or a "real woman." 2) Fear or hatred of transgender people; transphobia is manifested in a number of ways, including violence, harassment and discrimination.

Transsexual: Refers to a person who experiences a mismatch of the biological sex they were born as and the biological sex they identify as. A transsexual sometimes undergoes medical treatment to change his/her physical sex to match his/her sex identity through hormone treatments and/or surgically. Transexuals are included in the umbrella term transgender, but not all transgendered people are transsexual. See also gender, sex, transgender.

Transvestite/Cross Dresser: Individuals who regularly or occasionally wear the clothing socially assigned to a gender not their own, but are usually comfortable with their anatomy and do not wish to change it (i.e. they are not transsexuals).