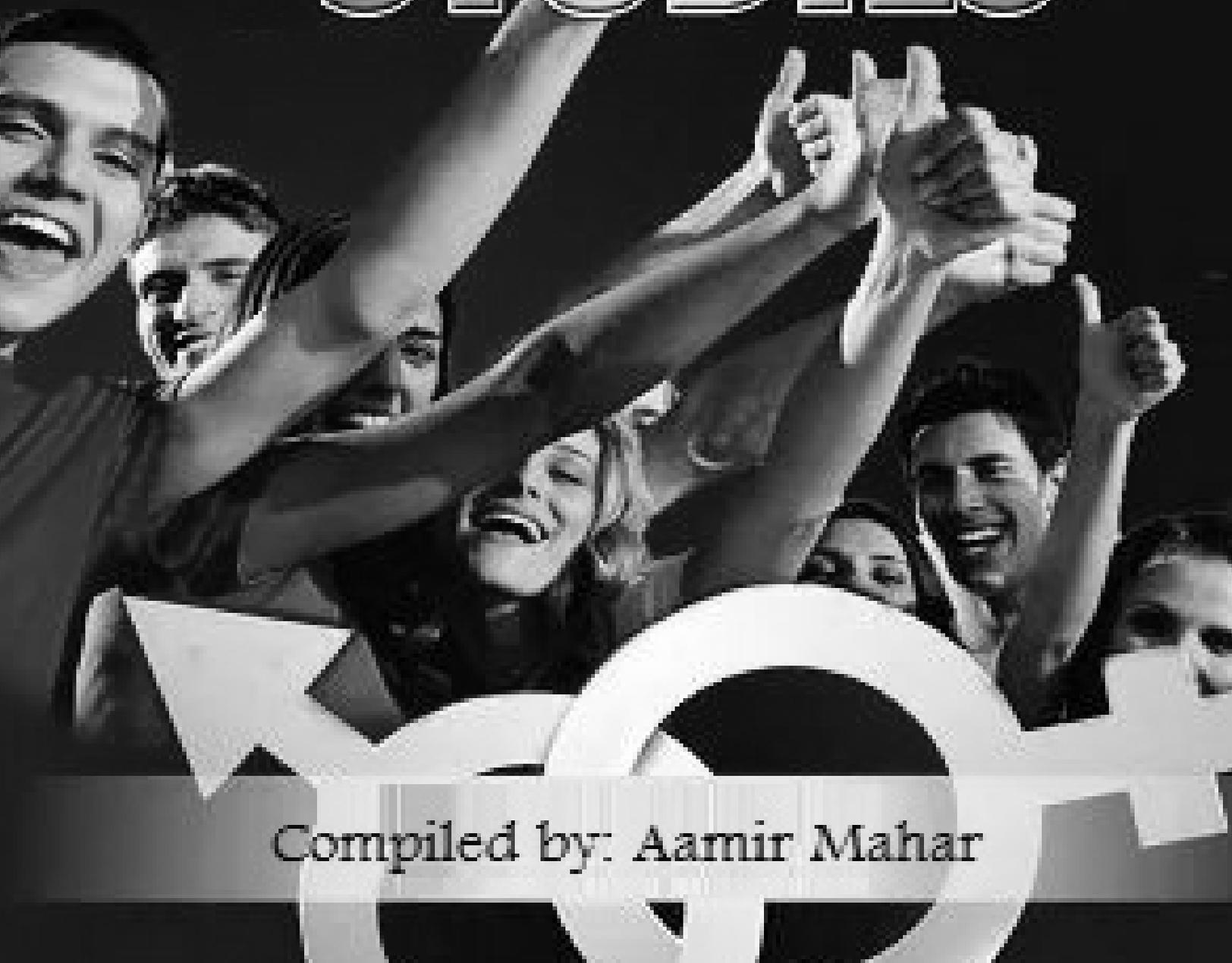


CAPSULE FOR
**GENDER
STUDIES**



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GENDER STUDIES CAPSULE

Source: EntireEducation
09 March, 2015

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GENDER STUDIES IN CSS EXAMINATION

Gender Study as a subject was introduced in Pakistan in 1990. Since then, it is being taught at many universities of the country with difference names like women studies, Gender Studies, Gender and Women studies – with almost same undercurrent s. Though late, the federal public service commission has eventually adopted this disciple to enrich it list of optional subject of CSS examination. It will be greater gender sensitization, at least amongst those who will opt it, about gender role, relationships and responsibilities. However, some important areas like Islamic feminism, Gender mainstreaming and Gender analysis etc. which should have been part of the syllabus are absent form constituents.

CSS is not just an examination; rather it is an attitude and the revised syllabus is a greater leap forward towards it realization. Gender Study is also one such which subject was first time secured a place in the list of the optional subjects and has attracted astonishingly the largest count of aspirants. Moreover, Gender Study will help the students in the understanding the Gender dimensions at large.

INTRODUCTION TO GENDER STUDIES

Gender Studies is a field for interdisciplinary study devoted to gender identity and gendered representation as central categories of analysis. This field includes women's studies (concerning women, feminism, gender, and politics), men's studies and LGBT studies. Sometimes, gender studies is offered together with study of sexuality. These disciplines study gender and sexuality in the fields of literature, language, geography, history, political science, sociology, anthropology, cinema, media studies, human development, law, and medicine. It also analyzes how race, ethnicity, location, class, nationality, and disability intersect with the categories of gender and sexuality.

Regarding gender, Simone de Beauvoir said: "One is not born a woman, one becomes one." This view proposes that in gender studies, the term "gender" should be used to refer to the social and cultural constructions of masculinities and femininities and not to the state of being male or female in its entirety. However, this view is not held by all gender theorists. Beauvoir's is a view that many sociologists support (see Sociology of gender), though there are many other contributors to the field of gender studies with different backgrounds and opposing views, such as psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan and feminists such as Judith Butler.

Gender is pertinent to many disciplines, such as literary theory, drama studies, film theory, performance theory, contemporary art history, anthropology, sociology, sociolinguistics and psychology. However, these disciplines sometimes differ in their approaches to how and why gender is studied. For instance in anthropology, sociology and psychology, gender is often studied as a practice, whereas in cultural studies representations of gender are more often examined. In politics, gender can be viewed as a foundational discourse that political

actors employ in order to position themselves on a variety of issues. Gender studies is also a discipline in itself, incorporating methods and approaches from a wide range of disciplines.

Each field came to regard "gender" as a practice, sometimes referred to as something that is performative. Feminist theory of psychoanalysis, articulated mainly by Julia Kristeva (the "semiotic" and "abjection") and Bracha Ettinger (the feminine-prematernal-maternal matrixial Eros of borderlinking and com-passion, "matrixial trans-subjectivity" and the "primal mother-phantasies"), and informed both by Freud, Lacan and the object relations theory, is very influential in gender studies.

Gender can also be broken into three categories, gender identity, gender expression, and biological sex, as Sam Killermann explains in his Ted X Talk at the University of Chicago. These three categories are another way of breaking down gender into the different social, biological, and cultural constructions. These constructions focus on how femininity and masculinity are fluid entities and how their meaning is able to fluctuate depending on the various constraints surrounding them.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GENDER

THEORY: The history of gender studies looks at the different perspectives of gender. This discipline examines the ways in which historical, cultural, and social events shape the role of gender in different societies. The field of gender studies, while focusing on the differences between men and women, also looks at sexual differences and less binary definitions of gender categorization.

After the revolution of the universal suffrage of the twentieth century and the women's liberation movement of the 1960 and 1970s promoted a revision from the feminists to "actively interrogate"

the usual and accepted versions of history as it was known at the time. 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.

A study of drivers' propensity to use traffic information system showed that income and car ownership play an important role in travel behavior for men, while education and occupation were identified significant in the women's behavior.

Although doctoral programs for women's studies have existed since 1990, the first doctoral program for a potential PhD in gender studies in the United States was approved in November 2005.[53]

In 2015 at Kabul University the first master's degree course in gender and women's studies in Afghanistan began

WOMEN'S 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.

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. Timothy Laurie and Anna Hickey-Moody suggest that there 'have always been dangers present in the institutionalisation of "masculinity studies" as a semi-gated community', and note that 'a certain triumphalism vis-à-vis feminist philosophy haunts much masculinities research'.

GENDER IN EAST ASIA: Certain issues associated with gender in Eastern Asia and the Pacific Region are more complex and depend on location and context. For example, in China, Vietnam, Thailand, Philippines and Indonesia, a heavy importance of what defines a woman comes from the workforce. In these countries, "gender related challenges tend to be related to economic empowerment, employment, and workplace issues, for example related to informal sector workers, feminization of migration flows, work place conditions, and long term social security." However, in countries who are less economically stable, such as Papua New Guinea, Timor Leste, Laos, Cambodia, and some provinces in more remote locations, "women tend to bear the cost of social and domestic conflicts and natural disasters."

One issue that remains consistent throughout all provinces in different stages of development is women having a weak voice when it comes to decision-making. One of the reasons for this is the "growing trend to decentralization [which] has moved decision-making down to levels at which women's voice is often weakest and where even the women's civil society movement, which has been a powerful advocate at national level, struggles to organize and be heard."

East Asia Pacific's approach to help mainstream these issues of gender relies on a three-pillar method. Pillar one is partnering with middle-income countries and emerging middle-income countries to sustain and share gains in growth and prosperity. Pillar two supports the developmental underpinnings for peace, renewed growth and poverty reduction in the poorest and most fragile areas. The final pillar provides a stage for knowledge management, exchange and dissemination on gender responsive development within the region to begin. These programs have already been established, and successful in, Vietnam, Thailand, China, as well as the Philippines, and efforts are starting to be made in Laos, Papua New Guinea, and Timor Leste as well. These pillars speak to the importance of showcasing gender studies.

JUDITH BUTLER: The concept of gender performativity is at the core of philosopher and gender theorist Judith Butler's work, notably in *Gender Trouble*. In Butler's terms the performance of gender, sex, and sexuality is about power in society. She locates the construction of the "gendered, sexed, desiring subject" in "regulative discourses". A part of Butler's argument concerns the role of sex in the construction of "natural" or coherent gender and sexuality. In her account, gender and heterosexuality are constructed as natural because the opposition of the male and female sexes is perceived as natural in the social imaginary.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GENDER AND WOMEN STUDIES:

GENDER STUDY: Gender study is an interdisciplinary field that concentrates on the new scholarships in men's and women's studies. It addresses the struggle for gender equality in politics, education, the family, the labour force, in literature, and the media are key topics; and in many courses

this involves cross-cultural studies of gender relations.

WOMEN STUDY: Women studies is an offshoot of second wave feminism (The term second-wave feminism refers mostly to the radical feminism of the women's liberation movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s). Women's studies addresses not only the need for a fuller understanding of women in society but also for new criteria and methods of assessing the status of women.

The Gender studies are the new subject to academics across the world because the world and elements of the culture tend to achieve the realistic approach towards the exploration of ills in society. The basic motive behind the exploration of ill is to confront the challenges of human life. The subject is not ancient one and oppositely it is new to the society. The society that is showing some endorsements towards the reality approach so that gender differentiation can come forward as truth. (Cotterill, 1992)

Gender studies are the paradigm shift in academics and this shift is being obtained through the consistent behavior of women in women struggle against freedom. Realistically speaking, the subject matter' debate does not end till date because of different viewpoints of the society about the gender studies at the same platform. It is known fact that the women studies are always considered the major elements related to the women only. Those elements that are highly considerable in the way and should be done with the immediate improvement in the timeline at women's perspective. The women issue is the one of the main elements among those that considered the women at first place in society and should be molded in the sense that may endorse the way of society towards the women.

The women issues may be same as the society said and may be highly integrated as the Hillary Clinton

thinks. The women's issues may be same as the urban women said during her daily life and may be same as the women issues buzzed up by the rural living life. The main element in which the women can think, ponder and initiates the discourse analysis is being understandable and discussed in the women studies in this society. (Cotterill, 1992) The women issues are not a static form in which the women can think and responds in the static form, it is the flexible paradigm that shows that how the women confronts the challenges in her life. The challenges that issues of friendship, the challenges of vulnerability in the society and the challenges that are confronted by the women against the power distribution in the same society.

The challenges are itself creating various issues in the women's life and women can think that people of society are still unaware the methods that show that how these issues can be resolved. The women researchers and the women responded are the two ways to think about the issues of the same community in which the both exist with almost the same mindset but in a different way. Ironically, the women study endorsed the same mindset at different levels so that the community show some integration at large scale. (Cotterill, 1992) The women researchers are doing well under the way that is highly considerable but constitutes less power than the women responded in an introspective way. The community sets a mindset that the women issues are the core purpose of both platforms so that the issues could meet the pragmatic strategies at the vast range. The power is unequally divided between the power responded and power researchers in the manner that is very useful in the manner.

The women issues can't meet the solutions in any case because the society acts differently. The Gender studies is entirely a different concept and the conceptual framework of gender needs the ways in which the respondent behaves with the researchers but in both men and women's perspective. (Cotterill,

1992) The gender's studies are always considered the issues at the front desk in which the both male and female are considerable for the discourse analysis. The women studies considered the women history and Gender studies considered the men's role in the women history. The women studies initiate the analysis at women's literature and gender studies draw attention towards the role of men in articulation and even creating it.

In the end, one can say that the women studies pondered upon the women's studies, history of women at this universe and women struggle for freedom so that the issues could meet the debate desk as soon as possible. The gender studies are the paradigm shift that shows that how the studies of men and women or interrelated activities during discourse analysis.

MULTI-DISCIPLINARY NATURE OF

GENDER STUDIES: Gender Studies is the multidisciplinary, scientific, and critical study of how assumptions and expectations about gender and biological sex influence cultural, social, and political ideas about women and men. The Gender Studies minor is open to all students and, due to its multidisciplinary nature, is suitable for students with a wide variety of majors, including health sciences, business, education, social and natural sciences, humanities and the arts.

The gender studies as the name gives taste of the thematic meaning in meaningful manner to ponder that how the studies of gender in this consistent widening population endorse the way that is highly centralized with the studies of both sexes currently in this universe. When the gender studies decided to do the relative measures with the immediate study as the research paradigm in which the studies in this manner is very descriptive it arises as the tool to make assumptions and expectation. This analysis toll provides the way through the further research is being carried out with the effective decision making.

The decision making is not so easy because the gender studies is at stake. The assumption that are providing the glaring way to make assumption about the gender at first level and influence of sex difference at other. The gender studies can not only consider the cultural difference in further way but also two other aspects that are exactly deals with the things in this manner. The social ideas that show that how the community is going to do the justification is another way to think about the course material in detail. The ideas of political mindset with the ideas of social mindset endorsed the way in which the clear difference is being considered at first level and the difference is about the men and women.

The same material of gender studies show that how the studies incorporated the ways in which the scholars thinks and the thinkers reacts. The both elements of society; masculinity and femininity are always dealing with the ways in which the society is the only way to show that the every aspect in society behaves with these elements by considering the differences that are always there and being there forever. The both elements that are integrated with the way that social constructed platform is the way to get the real maxim in the beautiful way. After the social constructed element, the other aspect is the historical touch with the manners that are highly sensitive in the history and show the struggle of later said in above text.

Particularly, the gender studies is the multidisciplinary nature in the course because the studies always considered the and even encourage the students who always a perfect match with different courses. The first course that is natural science and the students of natural science can accept and even do better while studying the gender studies. The other students who may do the health care degree before the study but can do better with the same gender study. The Students who may got excellence even in education and business may show

that the same interest in the gender studies. In the end, one can say that knowledge of almost every field can do the indirect support so that excellence could be achieved even in the sender studies.

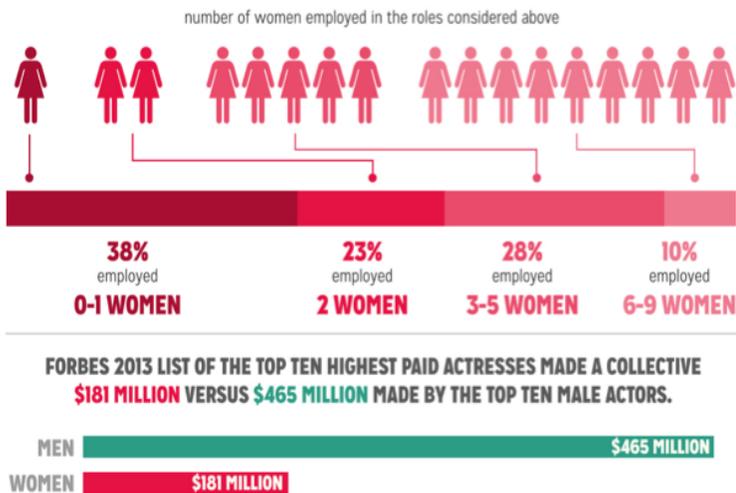
AUTONOMY V/S INTEGRATION DEBATE IN GENDER STUDIES: The Concept of autonomy is same in feminist mindset as scholars of moral psychology have their own. The moral psychology means that self-direction in one's life is explicit in a person life. The self-direction means rules, values, norms and traditions are being met ideally with a way of life.

Autonomy means that personally successfully act exactly according to norms and values in self-directive mode. For example, in autonomous attitude, the person exactly do according to his already decided motive. This is not wrong to say that autonomy was considered by early feminist not more than a suspicious activity. The only reason that was floated over there at that time, unattractive masculinity rising at the society level. At that time, personhood was halted for the sake of mild approach towards masculinist. Oppositely, there are scholars who specifically view feminist in details and have their own interpretation of autonomy. They argue that autonomous attitude is necessary to measures exactly oppression of gender in society. As gender oppression is adopting new ways so feminist thinking is exactly doing same in today environment.

Feminist thinkers believe that objectification is still there in this world and should remove. There is still an open challenge exist at feminist forums that either they should continue with previous though about autonomy or a new one. In the way, re-conceptualization of autonomy has seemed practically viable at broad perspective. The concept of relational autonomy is new one and mostly deals with alteration of feminist view about autonomy. Some thought that autonomous and self-government

is acceptable only when someone declares as normal. Internationally speaking, there is lots of difference between the discourse of man about feminist overview and discourse of women in same society. Many feminist pondered upon the way of a man thinking. Some western based minds that have the liberal point of view see some positives in masculinity. Western culture that has generated this mindset also considered it to name as autonomy. The example of gender studies according to autonomy concepts is glaring in the Indian context.

India is real times example that has shown that gender attitude was changed after the arrival of western based television. The status of women has been changed since the arrival of autonomy because it was more than the just feminist view. Patriarchy is the main element to discuss that cannot stop debate between autonomy and integration. The male-based cultural structure is never acceptable for feminists because they exactly want its opposition. The concept of Patriarchy has enhanced gender inequality that was ill of society in the previous era and still a pinching debate.



STATUS OF GENDER STUDIES IN

PAKISTAN: The emerging changes in women studies consider able for evaluating the status of

gender studies in Pakistan. Ironically, this is the same determinant that can decide status in Pakistan and same in the whole world.

That approach is always in a trend that can provide facilitation towards women studies. The facilitation that can lower gap between men and women. It is a pure outcome that women studies want to achieve. The year when women started to grow was 1989. It was the year when Center of Excellence in Women’s studies established by the ministry of Women Development.

After establishment, the first step was taken towards the goal of government to boost women role in society. The center was the initial step and now there are many steps that have been taking by the government since 1989. The center is liable to conducts research in women studies, gathers information about the gender gap and suggests initial step to lower that identified gap.

Further, the center is conducting various sample tests so that real time problem of women can explore. In June 1997, the center was involved in its full operations towards the objective as it set. That research institute has taken three years to gain the title of the only research institute of women.

The Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) has been working on the perception inculcated in the Pakistan about Gender Studies. Historically, 1999 observed the way in which “Country WID profile-Pakistan” was the biggest platform.

After the policies formulation for the gender in Pakistan, the subject matter goes with the proper implementation of those policies. The policy implementation in Pakistan is the way that shows which policy was highly beneficial in raising the status of gender or else.

The society is changing and this paradigm shift endorsed changes during the development of the

individual. This subject matter was consistent with change specifically from 1999 to 2007. This is the principle in which the policy environment was penetrating at the platform of gender studies. The socio-cultural context is the other mindset that was developed in the same manner so that gender equality could monitor. The customary practices are also monitored during the change from one level of study to another level. In the end, one can say that status of gender studies in Pakistan that was initiated with boasted behavior still continues at the same pace.

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 other versions believe that behaviour is defined by biological universal factors to some extent, but that social conventions also have some effect on gendered behaviour. Other theories claim that there are more genders than just the two most commonly accepted (male and female)

HISTORICIZING CONSTRUCTIONISM: The roots of the social constructionist movement in psychology are related to the criticism of the objectivism assumed by positivist/empiricist concepts of knowledge (Gergen, 1985). Among the most popular variations of the social constructionist theories is the gender role theory, considered by Alsop, Fitzsimmons and Lennon (2002) as an early form of social constructionism. The focus on power and hierarchy reveals inspiration stemming from a Marxist framework, utilized for instance by materialist feminism, and Foucault's writings on discourse. Social constructionism, briefly, is the concept that there are many things that people "know" or take to be "reality" that are at least partially, if not completely, socially situated. For example, Harvard psychologist Steven Pinker writes that "some categories really are social constructions: they exist only because people tacitly agree to act as if they exist. Examples include money, tenure, citizenship, decorations for bravery, and the presidency of the United States."

The basic assumptions of social constructionism, as described by Marecek, Crawford & Popp, are:

- Social constructionism is a theory of knowledge. Social Constructionism focuses on how meaning is created. Emerging from the criticism of Objectivity, Social Constructionism challenges concepts of knowledge put forward by Positivism, which postulates the externality of reality and that empirically-proved truths are mind-independent. According to Marecek, Crawford & Popp knowledge is an "account of reality produced collaboratively by a community of knowers" Thus, Social Constructionism focuses on how meaning is created.
- Knowledge is a social product. According to Marecek, Crawford & Popp knowledge is an "account of reality produced collaboratively by a community of knowers". Thus, social constructionists focus on how meaning is created and suggest that knowledge is not only a social product, but a product of a specifically situated society; various accounts of reality depend on place and time – in order to study knowledge as a social product, one has to historicize and contextualize the given description of reality.
- Power and hierarchy underlie social construction. This focus results in showing how individuals differ in status, entitlement, efficacy, self-respect and other traits based on the kind of interactions one is involved in and subjected to.
- Language is at the core of knowledge. Language is considered the building block of culture; it conveys meaning and creates the system of knowledge we participate in. Ultimately, language has a huge influence on how we perceive reality and, as a result, is the creator of this reality.
- Social construction is a dynamic process. Social constructionists emphasize the complexity of how knowledge is created in social interactions. Knowledge and meanings are not stable or constant; they are co-constructed in interactions with others, negotiated, modified and shifted. People are active in their perception, understanding and sharing of knowledge acquired from their social milieu. It is prudent

therefore to consider this process when explaining the social construction of knowledge, including knowledge concerning gender.

- The individual and society are indissoluble. Social constructionists question the Western idea of an autonomous individual who can draw a clear line between the self and the society. According to social constructionism, individuals can create meaning only in relation to what they are exposed to in their environment. Paradoxically, the same individuals co-create the meanings that are available in this environment. Marecek et al. conclude therefore that the society and the individual are indissoluble and mutually constitutive.
- Also, Fitzsimmons & Lennon[5] also note that the constructionist accounts of gender creation can be divided into two main streams:
- Materialist theories, which underline the structural aspects of the social environment that are responsible for perpetuating certain gender roles;
- Discursive theories, which stress the creation, through language and culture, of meanings that are associated with gender.
- They also argue that both the materialist and discursive theories of social construction of gender can be either essentialist or non-essentialist. This means that some of these theories assume a clear biological division between women and men when considering the social creation of masculinity and femininity, while other contest the assumption of the biological division between the sexes as independent of social construction.

PROBLEMATIZING THE CATEGORY OF “SEX”: QUEER THEORY

The origin of uncomfortable conversations draw attention of individuals towards the real myth behind the Queer theory that has been a glaring topic

in the community since its inception. The conceptual framework is not only stuck with the issues as per the required plan of action in the way. The anthology that focuses on the various debates are the best by product with other concepts as society needs. Many debates and topics has been introduced in the manner that exactly required to initiate the way in respective manner.

The important issues that has been a debate regarding the elements as the intimacy, privacy and even as the sex harassment that has been a normal topic to discuss with all formalities. The concept initialization regarding the sex and even the other elements in the gender studies are not the product of abrupt decision in gender studies. Oppositely, it has been an issue since the inception of gender and conception of gender linkage with the society. There are possible four major institutions in the society and these institutions always handles the matter of gender that has been using as the Queer theory with the same pace as the gender understand.

QUEER THEORY: The critical perspective provides the way to give the meaningful intervention to show that how the community going to consider the legal terms and regulation in the way that is highly integrated with the queer mindset. The social aspects that has been discussed since the historical background provides the way as per the relevancy endorsed the need. Later the Queer way to deal with the gender studies are highly relevant with the political and cultural institutions. The only need here to think about the sex as the traditional way to deal with the different sexes in the same paradigm shift. The same mindset that has been endorsing the queer and feminist as the main factors to evaluates the gender deeply show that the both mindsets have been in debate since the wordy war f sex, gender and sexuality is increased.

The social norms are almost away from the real thinking that directly and indirectly relate with the

subject matter as the Queer theory has been asking. Therefore, the queer and the feminist way of handling the gender are almost interlinked in several fronts but in sex front at extra ordinary level. The larger goals of empowerment and the equality show that the material approach of society towards the real meaning as the queer theory wants to give in open society.

IS “SEX” SOCIALLY DETERMINED, TOO?

There are no cultures without sex. Sexual desire is universal, it is hardwired in humans and sexual animals with only very few exceptions. Being sexual is not a choice. Sexual attractiveness is in fact one of the driving forces behind natural selection!

Of course, the specifics of our sexual behaviours and what meaning we assign to them is very much shaped by culture. But the idea that sex is altogether cultural is taking relativism two or three notches too far.

Actually, most of the subjects that people claim to be "socially determined" are really just "socially determined to a larger degree than you probably realise". I believe almost no behaviours are really completely decoupled from our biology.

Something I have heard a lot, often from well meaning people: “Gender is social, sex is biological.” Okay I’ll give you that (mostly). But then it turns into something like “So your gender can be whatever you want, your sex is the biology, and fixed.” or even “Your sex is what your genitalia are” (or less often, your genes). And that is completely bullshit.

Sex is not just genitalia. That’s something that’s really obvious when you put a couple seconds of thought into. Genitalia are one part of your body that is pretty much inevitably covered all the time. Which is to say, for most people you will probably never see their genitalia, unless you’re a doctor or

someone who has a specific reason to interact with them en masse.

Ergo, whenever you decide the sex (or gender) of a person, you’re not deciding it based on their genitalia. Unless they’re an infant who’s just been born, then that’s pretty much the only sexual characteristic you can see. For that matter, that’s pretty much the case until puberty. Hence why coercively assigned birth genders are based on that.

And genes are even less important. Certainly they decide quite a bit about how you develop, but you don’t see them. A lot of people have probably never seen their genes. Whether you have one or two X chromosomes is pretty much irrelevant to your interactions with people, except indirectly through how that manifests sexual characteristics.

(I can be pretty certain I have one X chromosome due to the genetics of colorblindness—my maternal grandfather was also color blind and my mom wasn’t, and nobody on my dad’s side of the family was, which is pretty much a situation that’s only possible if you’re genetically male. But beyond that, I’ve never seen any direct evidence either way as to what my genes are.)

Thus you cannot reduce sex to either genitalia or genetics, as in practice neither are traits used to determine what it is in interactions with people. But it isn’t just that. Sex is not one single unambiguous trait, it is composed of a large collection of different characteristics (mostly biological, but the line between sociology and biology can get really thin sometimes.) And these traits are not always unambiguous—intersex people exist for a reason—nor do they necessarily all correspond. It is entirely possible to have some traits of one sex and some of another. For example it’s not too hard for trans women to have both breasts and male genitalia, which are both really strongly associated with their

respective sexes, but with both it becomes rather hard to rely on either to dictate sex.

(You can, of course, declare people with ambiguous sexual characteristics to be one or the other sex, which you generally can and should do by asking them what they prefer to be. What you can't do is reduce their sex to one trait without consulting them on it, especially when other traits directly contradict the one you're trying to reduce them to.)

Further, many sexual characteristics are really not that unambiguous even on their own. Even breasts come in a variety of sizes on both men and women, and they can blur together. And traits like body hair, size, voice, and the like vary more between people than they do between sexes. As such, sex can become ambiguous on cis people, and what traits you reduce sex to is mostly a judgment call. And certain characteristics that do have a basis in biology (eg. regarding women as more "emotional", or men as being easily aroused) really blur the line between sex and gender.

The fact is, there is no a priori reason to treat sex as either genetics or genitalia. The decision to attempt to do so is purely a social construct, and in addition, not particularly practical as neither is readily visible. And other sexually associated characteristics are even less unambiguous. Furthermore, such ideas are inherently erasing and discriminatory to trans people who can and are attempting to alter their sex and to intersex people, who cannot really be put into even a biological box in the first place.

This is actually a normal characteristic of language. Most words refer to a really wide variety of things that may be really ambiguous as to whether the word can apply to them as you move away from the core of the semantic space. (This is also why I really hate the concept of 'definitions' because they tend to create these rigid boundaries between semantic fields that don't actually exist when you

actually speak or think. Though to be fair they can be useful for scientific jargon.) This is especially important to be aware of as the tendency for words to imply certain traits that may be pretty fuzzy around the edges or are not universal can easily be used to further oppressive systems, often unintentionally and especially when you are unaware of these things. (For instance the tendency to assume "person" implies "white" and "male" when not otherwise specified tends to lead to unintentional exclusion of POC and women.)

MASCULINITIES AND FEMINISM:

This dimension focuses on how extent to which a society stress achievement or nurture. Masculinity is seen to be the trait which emphasizes ambition, acquisition of wealth, and differentiated gender roles. Femininity is seen to be the trait which stress caring and nurturing behaviors, sexuality equality, environmental awareness, and more fluid gender roles.

social norms	ego oriented money and things are important live in order to work	relationship oriented quality of life and people are important work in order to live
politics and economics	economic growth high priority conflict solved through force	environment protection high priority conflict solved through negotiation
religion	most important in life only men can be priests	less important in life both men and women as priests
work	larger gender wage gap fewer women in management preference for higher pay	smaller gender wage gap more women in management preference for fewer working hours
family and school	traditional family structure girls cry, boys don't, boys fight,	flexible family structure both boys and girls cry; neither fight

girls don't
failing is a disaster failing a minor accident

Gender Roles

Our culture shapes our **gender roles** — expectations of how men and women are supposed to behave.

NATURE VERSUS CULTURE: A DEBATE IN GENDER DEVELOPMENT

The debate across the nature identified as the best way to create the linkage between the biological platform with the gender. The debate draw attention that the gender is biological in complete sense. The strong relationship that endorsed the reality that has been given here with the way as amalgamated in the further combination of gender and sex at broad perspective. The innate element show that gender have it at great extent. (Jensen, 2015)

The evolutionary mechanisms as per the discussion starts always be a procreation in the first priority that has been in debate since the inception of cultural aspect in this society. The nature debates always considered the gender and the gender related issues at the first priority in which the sex specification cannot ignore. The biological sense of the gender is always considerable because the nature is always deals with the biological aspects. The relationship between the person's sex and gender is definable in exploitative way. (Jensen, 2015)

NATURE VERSUS CULTURE: Evolutionary mechanisms in two ways are exploitative in nature in terms of studies, one is procreation that is highly instinctive and the meaningful debate show that gender is innate as well under this paradigm shift. There are two major cross-cultural studies named as the Buss in 1994 and Mead in 1935. The former studies the heterosexual preferences in males and not only in males. It also spreads in females. The later explains the cultural variations in gender role that is vary according to procedural changes. (Jensen, 2015)

Gender Identity — means how a person views himself or herself in terms of gender.

The later is also known as the Berdache as per the research pondered seriously. According to Best et al in 1994, he proposed that activities are confronted by both males and females are exist in this world naturally. The debate was not just ends there, these challenges and issues are different according to parenting roles of both and the distinguishes from one another. After the 3 years of this remarkable debate another researchers comes up with some hypothesis about the same debate in new paradigms. (Jensen, 2015)

The researcher names as the Pontius in 1997 who believed that males up to some or may be sometimes at great extent constitutes the superior spatial skills while discourse analysis could be done through the defined procedure. Nature always considered that the socialization provides the background to the males and even females so that they can show that gender is another thing and need to be discussed deeply. The Gender is also a result after the product creation comes in to being after socialization. (Jensen, 2015)

The socialization is highly depends upon the family upbringing as well as societal expectation in the definition of role. It can be justified in this sense that sometimes the people can show something other than expected from that particular type of gender. At that sense or one can say at nature argument, the cultural variations are explicit in defining the gender roles. The agent of socialization such as the parents, peers and even the education system in society takes

part in the gender development. In the end, one can say that the culture versus nature is an everlasting debate generally but specifically it has no limits while considering the gender development in contemporary society. (Jensen, 2015)

Gender differences 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 research with an attempt to articulate and explain the causes of one's 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 (Kirkpatrick, 2003). 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 (Petersen & Hyde, 2010). 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 (Petersen & Hyde, 2010). This theory not only sets a foundation for unions and the desire to obtain viable offspring, but also proposes 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 (Peterson & Hyde, 2013).

COGNITIVE SOCIAL LEARNING THEORY: Factors of gender associated as a learned behavior is a result of the cognitive social learning theory. This theory purports that gender is attributed to different social and learning factors that influence one's gender role and predicts that individuals express and explore their gender roles based on what is deemed socially acceptable, or popular in the media (Peterson & Hyde, 2013). 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 (Peterson & Hyde, 2013).

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 (Choi, 2001). 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 (Choi, 2001). When this occurs ovaries, or testicles will not be developed. Many different genetic discoveries are being made and some scientists 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 (Choi, 2001). Genes also show a correlation between one's 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 States, but also worldwide as to the cause of homosexuality (Silfe, 2011). 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 (Silfe, 2011). 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 (Cherin & Holden, 1995). This shows there is a structural difference between heterosexual males and homosexual males, which allows for a 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 (Patterson, 2013). 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. 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.

FEMINIST THEORIES AND PRACTICE

FEMINISM: Feminism is an interdisciplinary approach to issues of equality and equity based on gender, gender expression, gender identity, sex, and sexuality as understood through social theories and political activism. Historically, feminism has evolved from the critical examination of inequality between the sexes to a more nuanced focus on the social and performative constructions of gender and sexuality.

Feminist theory now aims to interrogate inequalities and inequities along the intersectional lines of ability, class, gender, race, sex, and sexuality, and feminists seek to effect change in areas where these intersectionalities create power inequity. Intellectual and academic discussion of these inequities allows our students to go into the world aware of injustices and to work toward changing unhealthy dynamics in any scenario.

Feminist political activists campaign in areas such as reproductive rights, domestic violence, fairness, social justice, and workplace issues such as family medical leave, equal pay, and sexual harassment and discrimination. Anytime stereotyping, objectification, infringements of human rights, or intersectional oppression occurs, it's a feminist issue.

Feminism is a range of political movements, ideologies, and social movements that share a common goal: to define, establish, and achieve equal political, economic, personal, and social rights for women. This includes seeking to establish equal opportunities for women in education and employment. Feminists typically advocate or support 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 receive 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.

Feminist campaigns are generally considered to be one of the main forces behind major historical societal changes for women's rights, particularly in the West, where they are near-universally credited with having achieved women's suffrage, gender neutrality in English, reproductive rights for women (including access to contraceptives and abortion), and the right to enter into contracts and own property. Although feminist advocacy is and has been mainly focused on women's rights, some feminists, including bell hooks, argue for the inclusion of men's liberation within its aims because men are also harmed by traditional gender roles. Feminist theory, which emerged from feminist movements, aims to understand the nature of gender inequality by examining women's social roles and lived experience; it has developed theories in a variety of disciplines in order to respond to issues such as the social construction of gender.

Some forms of feminism have been criticized for taking into account only white, middle-class and educated perspectives. This criticism led to the creation of ethnically specific or multicultural forms of feminism, including black feminism.

THEORY: Feminist theory is the extension of feminism into theoretical or philosophical fields. 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 also 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. In the field of literary criticism, Elaine Showalter describes the development of feminist theory as having three phases. The first she calls "feminist critique", in which the feminist reader examines the ideologies behind literary phenomena. The second Showalter calls "gynocriticism", in which the "woman is producer of textual meaning". The last phase she calls "gender theory", in which the "ideological inscription and the literary effects of the sex/gender system are explored".

This was paralleled in the 1970s by French feminists, who developed the concept of *écriture féminine* (which translates as 'female or feminine writing'). Helene Cixous argues that writing and philosophy are phallogentric and along with other French feminists such as Luce Irigaray emphasize "writing from the body" as a subversive exercise. The work of Julia Kristeva, a feminist psychoanalyst and philosopher, and Bracha Ettinger, artist and psychoanalyst, has influenced feminist theory in general and feminist literary criticism in particular. However, as the scholar Elizabeth Wright points out, "none of these French feminists align themselves with the feminist movement as it appeared in the Anglophone world". More recent feminist theory, such as that of Lisa Lucile Owens, has concentrated on characterizing feminism as a universal emancipatory movement.

LIBERAL FEMINISM: Liberal feminism is an individualistic form of feminist theory, which focuses on women's ability to maintain their equality through their own actions and choices. Liberal feminists argue that society holds the false belief that women are, by nature, less intellectually and physically capable than men; thus it tends to discriminate against women in the academy, the forum, and the marketplace. Liberal feminists believe that "female subordination is rooted in a set of customary and legal constraints that blocks

women's entrance to and success in the so-called public world". They strive for sexual equality via down-to-earth political and legal reform.

In the United States, liberal feminism was quiet for four decades after winning the vote in 1920. In the 1960s during the civil rights movement, liberal feminists drew parallels between systemic race discrimination and sex discrimination. Groups such as the National Organization for Women, the National Women's Political Caucus, and the Women's Equity Action League were all created at that time to further women's rights. In the U.S., these groups have worked for the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment or "Constitutional Equity Amendment", in the hopes it will ensure that men and women are treated as equals under the democratic laws that also influence important spheres of women's lives, including reproduction, work and equal pay issues. Other issues important to liberal feminists include but are not limited to reproductive rights and abortion access, sexual harassment, voting, education, fair compensation for work, affordable childcare, affordable health care, and bringing to light the frequency of sexual and domestic violence against women

RADICAL FEMINISM: Radical feminism is a perspective within feminism that calls for a radical reordering of society in which male supremacy is eliminated in all social and economic contexts. Radical feminists seek to abolish patriarchy by challenging existing social norms and institutions, rather than through a purely political process. This includes challenging the notion of traditional gender roles, opposing the sexual objectification of women, and raising public awareness about such issues as rape and violence against women.

Early radical feminism, arising within second-wave feminism in the 1960s, typically viewed patriarchy as a "transhistorical phenomenon" prior to or deeper than other sources of oppression, "not only the

oldest and most universal form of domination but the primary form" and the model for all others. Later politics derived from radical feminism ranged from cultural feminism to more syncretic politics that placed issues of class, economics, etc. on a par with patriarchy as sources of oppression. Radical feminists locate the root cause of women's oppression in patriarchal gender relations, as opposed to legal systems (as in liberal feminism) or class conflict (as in anarchist feminism, socialist feminism, and Marxist feminism)

THEORY AND IDEOLOGY: Radical feminists assert that society is a patriarchy in which the class of men are the oppressors of the class of women. They posit that because of patriarchy, women have come to be viewed as the "other" to the male norm and as such have been systematically oppressed and marginalized. They furthermore assert that men as a class, benefit from the oppression of women. Radical feminists seek to abolish patriarchy, and believe that the way to do this and to deal with oppression of any kind is to address the underlying causes of it through revolution.

While some radical feminists propose that the oppression of women is the most fundamental form of oppression, one that cuts across boundaries of all other forms of oppression, others acknowledge the simultaneous and intersecting effect of other independent categories of oppression. These other categories of oppression may include, but are not limited to, oppression based on race, social class, perceived attractiveness, sexual orientation, and ability.

Patriarchal theory is not generally defined as a belief that all men always benefit from the oppression of all women. Rather, patriarchal theory maintains that the primary element of patriarchy is a relationship of dominance, where one party is dominant and exploits the other party for the benefit of the former. Radical feminists believe that men (as a class) use

social systems and other methods of control to keep women (and non-dominant men) suppressed [citation needed]. Radical feminists also believe that eliminating patriarchy, and other systems which perpetuate the domination of one group over another, will liberate everyone from an unjust society.

Some radical feminists called for women to govern women and men, among them Phyllis Chesler, Monique Wittig (in fiction), Mary Daly, Jill Johnston, and Robin Morgan.

Redstockings co-founder Ellen Willis wrote in 1984 that radical feminists "got sexual politics recognized as a public issue," "created the vocabulary... with which the second wave of feminism entered popular culture," "sparked the drive to legalize abortion", "were the first to demand total equality in the so-called private sphere" ("housework and child care ... emotional and sexual needs"), and "created the atmosphere of urgency" that almost led to the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. The influence of radical feminism can be seen in the adoption of these issues by the National Organization for Women (NOW), [citation needed] a feminist group that had previously been focused almost entirely on economic issues.

MARXIST: 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 feminists, 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 and Frederick Engels (1848) in *The Communist Manifesto* and Marx (1859) in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* laid the foundation

for some of the early discourse about the relationship between capitalism and oppression. The theory and method of study developed by Marx (1859), termed historical materialism, recognizes the ways in which economic systems structure society as a whole and influence everyday life and experience. Historical materialism places a heavy emphasis on the role of economic and technological factors in determining the base structure of society. The base structure prescribes a range of systems and institutions aimed to advance the interests of those in power, often at the cost of exploiting the working class. Marx (1859) argues that these systems are set by the ruling class in accordance with their need to maintain or increase class conflict in order to remain in power. However, Marx (1859) also acknowledges the potential for organization and collective action by the lower classes with the goal of empowering a new ruling class. As Vladimir Lenin (1917) argues in support of this possibility, the organization of socialist consciousness by a vanguard party is vital to the working class revolutionary process.

In 1884, Engels published *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* According to Engels (1884), the shift from feudalism to private ownership of land has had a huge effect on the status of women. In a private ownership system, individuals who do not own land or other means of production are in a situation that Engels (1884) compares to enslavement - they must work for the owners of the land in order to be able to live within the system of private ownership. Engels (1884) explains that the transition to this type of system resulted in the creation of separate public and private spheres and assigned access to waged labor disproportionately to men.

Engels (1884) argues that a woman's subordination is not a result of her biological disposition but of social relations, and that men's efforts to achieve their demands for control of women's labor and sexual faculties have gradually become

institutionalized in the nuclear family. Through a Marxist historical perspective, Engels (1884) analyzes the widespread social phenomena associated with female sexual morality, such as fixation on virginity and sexual purity, incrimination and violent punishment of women who commit adultery, and demands that women be submissive to their husbands. Ultimately, Engels traces these phenomena to the recent development of exclusive control of private property by the patriarchs of the rising slave owner class in the ancient mode of production, and the attendant desire to ensure that their inheritance is passed only to their own offspring: chastity and fidelity are rewarded, says Engels (1884), because they guarantee exclusive access to the sexual and reproductive faculty of women possessed by men from the property-owning class.

As such, gender oppression is closely related to class oppression and the relationship between men and women in society is similar to the relations between proletariat and bourgeoisie. On this account women's subordination is a function of class oppression, maintained (like racism) because it serves the interests of capital and the ruling class; it divides men against women, privileges working class men relatively within the capitalist system in order to secure their support; and legitimates the capitalist class's refusal to pay for the domestic labor assigned, unpaid, to women.

PRODUCTIVE AND REPRODUCTIVE

LABOR: In the capitalist system, two types of labor exist, a division stressed by Marxist feminists like Margaret Benston and Peggy Morton. The first is productive, in which the labor results in goods or services that have monetary value in the capitalist system and are thus compensated by the producers in the form of a paid wage. The second form of labor is reproductive, which is associated with the private sphere and involves anything that people have to do for themselves that is not for the purposes

of receiving a wage (i.e. cleaning, cooking, having children). Both forms of labor are necessary, but people have different access to these forms of labor based on certain aspects of their identity. Women are assigned to the domestic sphere where the labor is reproductive and thus uncompensated and unrecognized in a capitalist system. It is in the best interest of both public and private institutions to exploit the labor of women as an inexpensive method of supporting a work force. For the producers, this means higher profits. For the nuclear family, the power dynamic dictates that domestic work is exclusively to be completed by the woman of the household thus liberating the rest of the members from their own necessary reproductive labor. Marxist feminists argue that the exclusion of women from productive labor leads to male control in both private and public domains.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS 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. Though their controversial advocacy often receives criticism, Marxist feminists challenge capitalism in ways that facilitate new discourse and shed light on the status of women. These women throughout history have used a range of approaches in fighting hegemonic capitalism, which reflect their different views on the optimal method of achieving liberation for women.

WAGES FOR HOUSEWORK: Focusing on exclusion from productive labor as the most important source of female oppression, some Marxist feminists devoted their activism to fighting for the inclusion of domestic work within the waged capitalist economy. The idea of creating compensated reproductive labor was present in the writings of socialists such as Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1898) who argued that women's oppression stemmed from being forced into the private sphere.

Gilman proposed that conditions for women would improve when their work was located, recognized, and valued in the public sphere.

Perhaps the most influential of the efforts to compensate reproductive labor was the International Wages for Housework Campaign, an organization launched in Italy in 1972 by members of the International Feminist Collective. Many of these women, including Selma James, Mariarosa Dalla Costa, Brigitte Galtier, and Silvia Federici published a range of sources to promote their message in academic and public domains. Despite the efforts beginning with a relatively small group of women in Italy, The Wages for Housework Campaign was successful in mobilizing on an international level. A Wages for Housework group was founded in Brooklyn, New York with the help of Federici. As Heidi Hartmann acknowledges (1981), the efforts of these movements, though ultimately unsuccessful, generated important discourse regarding the value of housework and its relation to the economy.

SHARING THE RESPONSIBILITY OF

REPRODUCTIVE LABOR: Another solution proposed by Marxist feminists is to liberate women from their forced connection to reproductive labor. In her critique of traditional Marxist feminist movements such as the Wages for Housework Campaign, Heidi Hartmann (1981) argues that these efforts "take as their question the relationship of women to the economic system, rather than that of women to men, apparently assuming the latter will be explained in their discussion of the former." Hartmann (1981) believes that traditional discourse has ignored the importance of women's oppression as women, and instead focused on women's oppression as members of the capitalist system. Similarly, Gayle Rubin, who has written on a range of subjects including sadomasochism, prostitution, pornography, and lesbian literature as well as anthropological studies and histories of sexual subcultures, first 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 criticizes Marxism for what she claims is its incomplete analysis of sexism under capitalism, without dismissing or dismantling Marxist fundamentals in the process.

More recently, many Marxist feminists have shifted their focus to the ways in which women are now potentially in worse conditions after gaining access to productive labor. Nancy Folbre (1994) proposes that feminist movements begin to focus on women's subordinate status to men both in the reproductive (private) sphere, as well as in the workplace (public sphere). In an interview in 2013, Silvia Federici urges feminist movements to consider the fact that many women are now forced into productive and reproductive labor, resulting in a "double day". Federici (2013) argues that the emancipation of women still cannot occur until they are free from their burdens of unwaged labor, which she proposes will involve institutional changes such as closing the wage gap and implementing child care programs in the workplace. Federici's (2013) suggestions are echoed in a similar interview with Selma James (2012) and these issues have been touched on in recent presidential elections

INTERSECTIONALITY AND MARXIST

FEMINISM: With the emergence of Intersectionality as a widely popular theory of current feminism, Marxist feminists are broadening their focus to include persons that would be at an increased risk for exploitation in a capitalist system while also remaining critical of intersectionality theory for relying on bourgeois identity politics. The current organization Radical Women provides a clear example of successful incorporation of the goals of Marxist feminism without overlooking identities that are more susceptible to exploitation. They contend that elimination of the capitalist profit-driven economy will remove the motivation

for sexism, racism, homophobia, and other forms of oppression.

SOCIALIST FEMINISM: Socialist feminism is a branch of feminism that focuses upon both the public and private spheres of a woman's life and argues that liberation can only be achieved by working to end both the economic and cultural sources of women's oppression. Socialist feminism is a two-pronged theory that broadens Marxist feminism's argument for the role of capitalism in the oppression of women and radical feminism's theory of the role of gender and the patriarchy. Socialist feminists reject radical feminism's main claim that patriarchy is the only or primary source of oppression of women. Rather, socialist feminists assert that women are unable to be free due to their financial dependence on males in society. Women are subjects to the male rulers in capitalism due to an uneven balance in wealth. They see economic dependence as the driving force of women's subjugation to men. Further, socialist feminists see women's liberation as a necessary part of larger quest for social, economic and political justice.

Socialist feminism draws upon many concepts found in Marxism; such as a historical materialist point of view, which means that they relate their ideas to the material and historical conditions of people's lives. Socialist feminists thus consider how the sexism and gendered division of labor of each historical era is determined by the economic system of the time. Those conditions are largely expressed through capitalist and patriarchal relations. Socialist feminists, thus reject the Marxist notion that class and class struggle are the only defining aspects of history and economic development. Marx asserted that when class oppression was overcome, gender oppression would vanish as well. According to socialist feminists, this view of gender oppression as a sub-class of class oppression is naive and much of the work of socialist feminists has gone towards specifying how gender and class work together to

create distinct forms of oppression and privilege for women and men of each class. For example, they observe that women's class status is generally derivative of her husband's class or occupational status, e.g., a secretary that marries her boss assumes his class status.

In 1972, the Chicago Women's Liberation Union published "Socialist Feminism: A Strategy for the Women's Movement," which is believed to be the first to use the term "socialist feminism," in publication.

Other socialist feminists, notably two long-lived American organizations Radical Women and the Freedom Socialist Party, point to the classic Marxist writings of Frederick Engels (The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State) and August Bebel (Woman and Socialism) as a powerful explanation of the link between gender oppression and class exploitation.

On the other hand, the Socialist Party USA is an example of a socialist feminist party which is not explicitly Marxist (although some members identify as Marxists). The party's statement of principles says, "Socialist feminism confronts the common root of sexism, racism and classism: the determination of a life of oppression or privilege based on accidents of birth or circumstances.

Socialist feminism is an inclusive way of creating social change. We value synthesis and cooperation rather than conflict and competition.

ANARCHA-FEMINISM: Anarcha-feminism (also called anarchist feminism and anarcho-feminism) combines anarchism with feminism. It generally views patriarchy as a manifestation of involuntary coercive hierarchy that should be replaced by decentralized free association. Anarcha-feminists believe that the struggle against patriarchy is an essential part of class struggle, and the anarchist struggle against the state. In essence, the philosophy

sees anarchist struggle as a necessary component of feminist struggle and vice versa. L. Susan Brown claims that "as anarchism is a political philosophy that opposes all relationships of power, it is inherently feminist". Bakunin opposed patriarchy and the way the law "subjects [women] to the absolute domination of the man." He argued that "[e]qual rights must belong to men and women" so that women can "become independent and be free to forge their own way of life." Bakunin foresaw the end of "the authoritarian juridical family" and "the full sexual freedom of women."

Anarcha-feminism began with late 19th and early 20th century authors and theorists such as anarchist feminists Emma Goldman, Voltairine de Cleyre and Lucy Parsons. In the Spanish Civil War, an anarcha-feminist group, Mujeres Libres ("Free Women") linked to the Federación Anarquista Ibérica, organized to defend both anarchist and feminist ideas, while the prominent Spanish anarchist and feminist leader Federica Montseny held that the "emancipation of women would lead to a quicker realization of the social revolution" and that "the revolution against sexism would have to come from intellectual and militant 'future-women.'" According to this Nietzschean concept of Federica Montseny's, women could realize through art and literature the need to revise their own roles."

In Argentina Virginia Bolten is responsible for the publication of a newspaper called La Voz de la Mujer (English: The Woman's Voice), which was published nine times in Rosario between 8 January 1896 and 1 January 1897, and was revived, briefly, in 1901. A similar paper with the same name was reportedly published later in Montevideo, which suggests that Bolten may also have founded and edited it after her deportation. "La Voz de la Mujer described itself as "dedicated to the advancement of Communist Anarchism." Its central theme was that of the multiple nature of women's oppression. An editorial asserted, "We believe that in present-day

society nothing and nobody has a more wretched situation than unfortunate women.” Women, they said, were doubly oppressed - by bourgeois society and by men. Its feminism can be seen from its attack on marriage and upon male power over women. Its contributors, like anarchist feminists elsewhere, developed a concept of oppression that focused on gender oppression. Marriage was a bourgeois institution which restricted women’s freedom, including their sexual freedom. Marriages entered into without love, fidelity maintained through fear rather than desire, oppression of women by men they hated - all were seen as symptomatic of the coercion implied by the marriage contract. It was this alienation of the individual’s will that the anarchist feminists deplored and sought to remedy, initially through free love and then, and more thoroughly, through social revolution."

Mujeres Libres (English: Free Women) was an anarchist women's organization in Spain that aimed to empower working class women. It was founded in 1936 by Lucía Sánchez Saornil, Mercedes Comaposada and Amparo Poch y Gascón and had approximately 30,000 members. The organization was based on the idea of a "double struggle" for women's liberation and social revolution and argued that the two objectives were equally important and should be pursued in parallel. In order to gain mutual support, they created networks of women anarchists. Flying day-care centres were set up in efforts to involve more women in union activities. Lucía Sánchez Saornil, was a Spanish poet, militant anarchist and feminist. She is best known as one of the founders of Mujeres Libres and served in the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) and Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista (SIA). By 1919, she had been published in a variety of journals, including *Los Quijotes*, *Tableros*, *Plural*, *Manantial* and *La Gaceta Literaria*. Working under a male pen name, she was able to explore lesbian themes at a time when homosexuality was

criminalized and subject to censorship and punishment. Writing in anarchist publications such as *Earth and Freedom*, the *White Magazine* and *Workers' Solidarity*, Lucía outlined her perspective as a feminist.

In the past decades two films have been produced about anarchy-feminism. *Libertarias* is a historical drama made in 1996 about the Spanish anarchy-feminist organization *Mujeres Libres*. In 2010 the argentinian film *Ni dios, ni patrón, ni marido* was released which is centered on the story of anarchy-feminist Virginia Bolten and her publishing of the newspaper *La Voz de la Mujer* (English: *The Woman's Voice*)

PSYCHOANALYTICAL FEMINISM:

Psychoanalytic feminism and Feminist psychoanalysis are based on Freud and his psychoanalytic theories, but they also supply an important critique of it. It maintains that gender is not biological but is based on the psycho-sexual development of the individual, but also that sexual difference and gender are different notions. Psychoanalytical feminists believe that gender inequality comes from early childhood experiences, which lead men to believe themselves to be masculine, and women to believe themselves feminine. It is further maintained that gender leads to a social system that is dominated by males, which in turn influences the individual psycho-sexual development. As a solution it was suggested by some to avoid the gender-specific structuring of the society coeducation. From the last 30 years of the 20th Century, the contemporary French psychoanalytical theories concerning the feminine, that refer to sexual difference rather than to gender, with psychoanalysts like Julia Kristeva, Maud Mannoni, Luce Irigaray, and Bracha Ettinger, have largely influenced not only feminist theory but also the understanding of the subject in philosophy and the general field of psychoanalysis itself. These French psychoanalysts are mainly post-Lacanian.

Other feminist psychoanalysts and feminist theorists whose contributions have enriched the field through an engagement with psychoanalysis are Jessica Benjamin, Jacqueline Rose

MEN’S FEMINISM: Since the 19th century, men have taken part in significant cultural and political responses to feminism within each "wave" of the movement. This includes seeking to establish equal opportunities for women in a range of social relations, generally done through a “strategic leveraging” of male privilege. Feminist men have also argued alongside scholars like Bell Hooks, however, that men’s liberation from the socio-cultural constraints of sexism and gender roles is a necessary part of feminist activism and scholarship.

History: Parker Pillsbury and other abolitionist men held feminist views and openly identified as feminist, using their influence to promote the rights of women and slaves respectively.

Pillsbury helped to draft the constitution of the feminist American Equal Rights Association in 1865, he served as vice-president of the New Hampshire Woman Suffrage Association. In 1868 and 1869 Parker edited *Revolution* with Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the majority of pro-feminist authors emerged from France, including Denis Diderot, Paul Henri Thiry d'Holbach, and Charles Louis de Montesquieu. Montesquieu introduced female characters, like Roxana in *Persian Letters*, who subverted patriarchal systems, and represented his arguments against despotism. The 18th century saw male philosophers attracted to issues of human rights, and men such as the Marquis de Condorcet championed women's education. Liberals, such as the utilitarian Jeremy Bentham, demanded equal rights for women in every sense, as people

increasingly came to believe that women were treated unfairly under the law.

In the 19th century, there was also an awareness of women's struggle. The British legal historian, Sir Henry Maine, criticized the inevitability of patriarchy in his *Ancient Law* (1861). In 1866, John Stuart Mill, author of *The Subjection of Women*, presented a women's petition to the British parliament, and supported an amendment to the 1867 Reform Bill. Although his efforts focused on the problems of married women, it was an acknowledgment that marriage for Victorian women was predicated upon a sacrifice of liberty, rights, and property. His involvement in the women's movement stemmed from his long-standing friendship with Harriet Taylor, whom he eventually married.

In 1840, women were refused the right to participate at the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London. Supporters of the women attending argued that it was hypocritical to forbid women and men from sitting together at this convention to end slavery; they cited similar segregationist arguments in the United States that were used to separate whites and blacks. When women were still denied to join in the proceedings, abolitionists William Lloyd Garrison, Charles Lenox Remond, Nathaniel Peabody Rogers, and Henry Stanton, all elected to sit silently with the women.

One argument against female participation, both at the World Anti-Slavery Convention, and commonly in the nineteenth century, was the suggestion that women were ill-constituted to assume male responsibilities. Abolitionist Thomas Wentworth Higginson argued against this, stating:

I do not see how any woman can avoid a thrill of indignation when she first opens her eyes to the fact that it is really contempt, not reverence, that has so long kept her sex from an equal share of legal,

political, and educational rights...[a woman needs equal rights] not because she is man's better half, but because she is his other half. She needs them, not as an angel, but as a fraction of humanity.

American sociologist Michael Kimmel categorized American male responses to feminism at the turn of the twentieth century into three categories: pro-feminist, masculinist, and antifeminist. Pro-feminist men, believing that changes would also benefit men, generally welcomed women's increased participation in the public sphere, and changes in the division of labour in the home; in contrast anti-feminists opposed women's suffrage and participation in public life, supporting a traditional patriarchal family model. Finally, the masculinist movement was characterized by men's groups, and developed as an indirect reaction to the perceived feminization of manhood.

MEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT: The men's liberation movement began in the early 1970s as consciousness-raising groups to help men free themselves from the limits of sex roles. Proponents of men's liberation argued that male bonding is a mechanism to conform men's identities to a single sense of masculinity, which reinforces patriarchy. In lieu of such bonding, the men's liberation movement called for open acknowledgment of the costs of masculinity: men's entrapment in their fixed role as the breadwinner of the nuclear family and the taboo against men expressing emotions. Most significantly, this movement made it acceptable for men to be open about their emotions while maintaining their masculinity.

The link between the biological male sex and the social construction of masculinity was seen by some scholars as a limitation on men's collaboration with the feminist movement. This sharply contrasted with sex role theory which viewed gender as something determined by biological differences between the sexes. Other key elements of the men's liberation

movement were the ideas that genders are relational and each cannot exist without the other, and that gender as a whole is a social construction and not a biological imperative. Thus, second-wave profeminist writers were able to explore the interactions between social practices and institutions, and ideas of gender.

ANTI-FEMINIST RESPONSES: The men's rights movement are considered by some feminists as part of an antifeminist response.

MEN'S RIGHTS: In the early 1980s, the Men's rights campaign emerged in America in response to the men's liberation movement. Men's rights activists refer to themselves as "masculinists" or are labeled as such.

Masculinists claim that feminist advances have not been balanced by elimination of traditional feminine privileges, and that they should empower themselves by revitalizing their masculinity. This argument was also echoed in religious circles with the Muscular Christianity movement.

A uniting principle was the belief that men's problems were awarded less attention than women's and that any previous oppression of women had turned, or was about to turn, into oppression of men. Men's rights activists cite men's economic burden of the traditionally male breadwinner role, men's shorter average life expectancy, and inequalities favoring women in divorce issues, custody laws, and abortion rights as evidence of men's suffering.

The campaign has generally had the most success achieving legal reform in family law, particularly regarding child custody. Activists argue that the American judicial system discriminates against fathers in child custody hearings since mothers are typically viewed as the main caregivers. They claim that the economic burden of the breadwinner role has made it more difficult for men to take part in

child rearing, and that court decisions rarely account for this obstacle.

Some organizations, such as the National Coalition of Free Men (NCFM), have made efforts to examine how sex discrimination affects men. For instance, this group argues that custody rights in favor of women discriminate against men because they are based on the belief that women are naturally more nurturing and better caregivers than men. Also, in the belief that women are somehow less culpable than men, women receive gentler treatment by the justice system for the same crimes that men have committed. Thus, groups such as NCFM promote awareness, resources, support, and openings for discussion for these issues.

POSTMODERN FEMINISM: Postmodern feminism is an approach to feminist theory that incorporates postmodern and post-structuralist theory, seeing itself as moving beyond the modernist polarities of liberal feminism and radical feminism.

Feminism has been seen as having an affinity to postmodern philosophy through a shared interest in speech acts.

ORIGINS AND THEORY

Butler: Postmodern feminism's major departure from other branches of feminism is perhaps the argument that sex, or at least gender is itself constructed through language, a view notably propounded in Judith Butler's 1990 book, *Gender Trouble*. She draws on and critiques the work of Simone de Beauvoir, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Lacan, as well as on Luce Irigaray's argument that what we conventionally regard as 'feminine' is only a reflection of what is constructed as masculine.

Butler criticises the distinction drawn by previous feminisms between (biological) sex and (socially constructed) gender. She asks why we assume that material things (such as the body) are not subject to

processes of social construction themselves. Butler argues that this does not allow for a sufficient criticism of essentialism: though recognizing that gender is a social construct, feminists assume it is always constructed in the same way. Her argument implies that women's subordination has no single cause or single solution; postmodern feminism is thus criticized for offering no clear path to action. Butler herself rejects the term "postmodernism" as too vague to be meaningful.

Arguably, Butler derives this rejection to postmodernism from misreadings of Cherríe Moraga's work. "She reads Moraga's statement that 'the danger lies in ranking the oppressions' to mean that we have no way of adjudicating among different kinds of oppressions—that any attempt to casually relate or hierarchize the varieties of oppressions people suffer constitutes an imperializing, colonizing, or totalizing gesture that renders the effort invalid...thus, although Butler at first appears to have understood the critiques of women who have been historically precluded from occupying the position of the 'subject' of feminism, it becomes clear that their voices have been merely instrumental to her" (Moya, 790) Moya contends that because Butler feels that the varieties of oppressions cannot be summarily ranked, that they cannot be ranked at all; and takes a short-cut by throwing out the idea of not only postmodernism, but women in general.

Frug: Although postmodernism resists characterization, it is possible to identify certain themes or orientations that postmodern feminists share. Mary Joe Frug suggested that one "principle" of postmodernism is that human experience is located "inescapably within language." Power is exercised not only through direct coercion, but also through the way in which language shapes and restricts our reality. However, because language is always open to re-interpretation, it can also be used to resist this shaping and restriction, and so is a potentially fruitful site of political struggle.

Frug's second postmodern principle is that sex is not something natural, nor is it something completely determinate and definable. Rather, sex is part of a system of meaning, produced by language. Frug argues that "cultural mechanisms ... encode the female body with meanings," and that these cultural mechanisms then go on explain these meanings "by an appeal to the 'natural' differences between the sexes, differences that the rules themselves help to produce." Rejecting the idea of a natural basis to sexual difference allows us to see that it is always susceptible to new interpretations. Like other systems of meaning, it is less like a cage, and more like a tool: it constrains but never completely determines what one can do with it.

FRENCH FEMINISM: French feminism from the 1970s onwards has forged specific routes in postmodern feminism and in feminist psychoanalysis, through such writers as Julia Kristeva and Hélène Cixous.

Cixous argued for a new form of writing, writing with the body — a kind of writing rooted not in biology but in linguistic change. **Irigaray** considered that "man would search, with nostalgia and repulsion, in woman for his own repressed and uncultivated natural pole" — something which would "prevent woman from truly being another for him". **Kristeva** argued that 'woman' does not exist, but is rather in a state of becoming. **Toril Moi** has stressed that issues of difference as well as of femininity are central to the concerns of all the above writers.

BORNSTEIN: Kate Bornstein, transgender author and playwright, calls herself a postmodern feminist, which is not the same as a post-feminist.

FEMINIST MOVEMENTS

FEMINIST MOVEMENTS IN THE WEST: The feminist movement refers to a series of campaigns for cultural, political, economic, and social equality for women.

The feminist movement (also known as the women's movement or women's liberation) refers to a series

of campaigns for reforms on issues, such as women's suffrage, reproductive rights, domestic violence, maternity leave, equal pay in the workplace, maternity leave, sexual harassment, and sexual violence. The movement's priorities vary among nations and communities.

Women constitute a majority of the population and of the electorate in the United States, but they have never spoken with a unified voice for civil rights, nor have they received the same degree of protection as racial and ethnic minorities.

HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT: The history of feminist movements has been divided into three "waves" by feminist scholars. The first wave refers to the feminist movement of the nineteenth through early twentieth centuries, which focused mainly on women's suffrage.

First-wave feminists marching for women's suffrage. The first wave of women's feminism focused on suffrage, while subsequent feminist efforts have expanded to focus on equal pay, reproductive rights, sexual harassment, and others.

The second wave, generally taking place from the early 1960s to the late 1980s, was concerned with cultural and political inequalities, which feminists perceived as being inextricably linked. The movement encouraged women to understand aspects of their own personal lives as deeply politicized and reflective of a sexist structure of power.

The third wave, starting in the 1990s, rose in response to the perceived failures of the second wave feminism. It seeks to challenge or avoid what it deems the second wave's "essentialist" definitions of femininity, which often assumed a universal female identity and over-emphasized the experiences of upper-middle-class white women.

One of the most important organizations that formed out of the women's rights movement is the National Organization for Women (NOW). Established in 1966 and currently the largest feminist organization in the United States, NOW works to secure political, professional, and educational equality for women. In 1972, NOW and other women activist groups fought to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the Constitution, which affirmed that women and men

have equal rights under the law. Although passage failed, the women's rights movement has made significant inroads in reproductive rights, sexual harassment law, pay discrimination, and equality of women's sports programs in schools.

In 1980, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission defined sexual harassment as unwelcome sexual advances or sexual conduct, verbal or physical, that interferes with a person's performance or creates a hostile working environment. Such discrimination on the basis of sex is barred in the workplace by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and in colleges and universities that receive federal funds by Title IX. In a series of decisions, the Supreme Court has ruled that employers are responsible for maintaining a harassment-free workplace. Legislation such as this has helped to protect the rights of women in the workplace and at schools. The proposed ERA did have unintended consequences. For example, stay-at-home women did not agree necessarily with women who worked steady schedules.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES: As a whole, the feminist movement has brought changes to U.S. society, including women's suffrage, the right to initiate divorce proceedings and "no fault" divorce, the right of women to make individual decisions regarding pregnancy (including access to contraceptives and abortion), and the right to own property. It has also led to increased employment opportunities for women at more equitable wages, as well as broad access to university educations. The feminist movement also helped to transform family structures as a result of these increased rights, in that gender roles and the division of labor within households have gradually become more flexible.

MARXIST FEMINISM: Rosemary Hennessy and Chrys Ingraham say that materialist feminisms grew out of Western Marxist thought and have inspired a

number of different (but overlapping) movements, all of which are involved in a critique of capitalism and are focussed on ideology's relationship to women. Marxist feminism argues that capitalism is the root cause of women's oppression, and that discrimination against women in domestic life and employment is an effect of capitalist ideologies. Socialist feminism distinguishes itself from Marxist feminism by arguing that women's liberation can only be achieved by working to end both the economic and cultural sources of women's oppression. Anarcha-feminists believe that class struggle and anarchy against the state.

Despite this, many American women achieved many political firsts in the 2000s. In 2007, Nancy Pelosi became the first female Speaker of the House of Representatives. In 2008, Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton became the first woman to win a presidential primary, winning the New Hampshire Democratic primary. In 2008, Alaska governor Sarah Palin became the first woman nominated for Vice President by the Republican Party. In 2009 and 2010, respectively, Sonia Sotomayor and Elena Kagan were confirmed as Supreme Court Associate Justices, making them the third and fourth female justices.

HETEROSEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS: The increased entry of women into the workplace beginning in the 20th century has affected gender roles and the division of labor within households. Sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild in *The Second Shift* and *The Time Bind* presents evidence that in two-career couples, men and women, on average, spend about equal amounts of time working, but women still spend more time on housework. Feminist writer Cathy Young responds to Hochschild's assertions by arguing that, in some cases, women may prevent the equal participation of men in housework and parenting. Economists Mark Aguiar and Erik Hurst calculate that the amount of time spent on housework by women since the 1960s

has dropped considerably. Leisure for both men and women has risen significantly and by about the same amount for both sexes. Jeremy Greenwood, Ananth Seshadri and Mehmet Yorukoglu argue that the introduction of modern appliances into the home has allowed women to enter the work force.

Feminist criticisms of men's contributions to child care and domestic labor in the Western middle class are typically centered around the idea that it is unfair for women to be expected to perform more than half of a household's domestic work and child care when both members of the relationship perform an equal share of work outside the home. Several studies provide statistical evidence that the financial income of married men does not affect their rate of attending to household duties.

In *Dubious Conceptions*, Kristin Luker discusses the effect of feminism on teenage women's choices to bear children, both in and out of wedlock. She says that as childbearing out of wedlock has become more socially acceptable, young women, especially poor young women, while not bearing children at a higher rate than in the 1950s, now see less of a reason to get married before having a child. Her explanation for this is that the economic prospects for poor men are slim, hence poor women have a low chance of finding a husband who will be able to provide reliable financial support due to the rise of unemployment from more workers on the market, from just men to women and men.

Some studies have suggested that both men and women perceive feminism as being incompatible with romance. However, a recent survey of U.S. undergraduates and older adults found that feminism actually has a positive impact on relationship health for women and sexual satisfaction for men, and found no support for negative stereotypes of feminists.

Virginia Satir said the need for relationship education emerged from shifting gender roles as women gained greater rights and freedoms during the 20th century: *"As we moved into the 20th century, we arrived with a very clearly prescribed way that males and females in marriage were to behave with one another ... The pattern of the relationship between husband and wife was that of the dominant male and submissive female ... A new era has since dawned ... the climate of relationships had changed, and women were no longer willing to be submissive ... The end of the dominant/submissive model in relationships was in sight. However, there was very little that had developed to replace the old pattern; couples floundered ... Retrospectively, one could have expected that there would be a lot of chaos and a lot of fall-out. The change from the dominant/submissive model to one of equality is a monumental shift. We are learning how a relationship based on genuine feelings of equality can operate practically."*

RELIGION: Feminist theology is a movement that reconsiders the traditions, practices, scriptures, and theologies of religions from a feminist perspective. Some of the goals of feminist theology include increasing the role of women among the clergy and religious authorities, reinterpreting male-dominated imagery and language about God, determining the place of women in relation to career and motherhood, and studying images of women in the religion's sacred texts.

The feminist movement has affected religion and theology in profound ways. In liberal branches of Protestant Christianity, women are now allowed to be ordained as clergy, and in Reform, Conservative and Reconstructionist Judaism, women are now allowed to be ordained as rabbis and cantors. In some of these groups, some women are gradually obtaining positions of power that were formerly only held by men, and their perspectives are now sought out in developing new statements of belief.

These trends, however, have been resisted within most sects of Islam, Roman Catholicism, and Orthodox Christianity. Within Roman Catholicism, most women understand that through the dogma of the faith that they are to hold within the family a place of love and focus on the family and the need to rise above that does not necessarily constitute a women to be considered less than but in fact equal to that of her husband who as well is called to be the Patriarch of the family and provide love and guidance to his family as well.

Christian feminism is a branch of feminist theology which seeks to reinterpret and understand Christianity in light of the equality of women and men (Feminine Genius, St. Pope John Paul II, Vatican.va).[incomplete short citation] While there is no standard set of beliefs among Christian feminists, most agree that God does not discriminate on the basis of biologically determined characteristics such as sex.

Early feminists such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton concentrated almost solely on "making women equal to men." However, the Christian feminist movement chose to concentrate on the language of religion because they viewed the historic gendering of God as male as a result of the pervasive influence of patriarchy. Rosemary Radford Ruether provided a systematic critique of Christian theology from a feminist and theist point of view. Stanton was an agnostic and Ruether is an agnostic who was born to Catholic parents but no longer practices the faith.

Islamic feminism is concerned with the role of women in Islam and aims for the full equality of all Muslims, regardless of gender, in public and private life. Although rooted in Islam, the movement's pioneers have also utilized secular and Western feminist discourses. Advocates of the movement seek to highlight the deeply rooted teachings of equality in the Quran and encourage a questioning of the patriarchal interpretation of Islamic teaching

through the Quran, hadith (sayings of Muhammad), and sharia (law) towards the creation of a more equal and just society.

Jewish feminism seeks to improve the religious, legal, and social status of women within Judaism and to open up new opportunities for religious experience and leadership for Jewish women. In its modern form, the movement can be traced to the early 1970s in the United States. According to Judith Plaskow, who has focused on feminism in Reform Judaism, the main issues for early Jewish feminists in these movements were the exclusion from the all-male prayer group or minyan, the exemption from positive time-bound mitzvot, and women's inability to function as witnesses and to initiate divorce.

WOMEN'S HEALTH: Historically there has been a need to study and contribute to the health and well-being of a woman that previously has been lacking. Londa Schiebinger suggests that the common biomedical model is no longer adequate and there is a need for a broader model to ensure that all aspects of a woman are being cared for. Schiebinger describes six contributions that must occur in order to have success: political movement, academic women studies, affirmative action, health equality act, geo-political forces, and professional women not being afraid to talk openly about women issues.

Political movements come from the streets and are what the people as a whole want to see changed. An academic women study is the support from universities in order to teach a subject that most people have never encountered. Affirmative action enacted is a legal change to acknowledge and do something for the times of neglect people were subjected to. Women's Health Equity Act legally enforces the idea that medicine needs to be tested in suitable standards such as including women in research studies and is also allocates a set amount of

money to research diseases that are specific towards women. Geo-political forces can improve health, when the country is not at a sense of threat in war there is more funding and resources to focus on other needs, such as women's health. Lastly, professional women not being afraid to talk about women's issues moves women from entering into these jobs and preventing them for just acting as men and instead embracing their concerns for the health of women. These six factors need to be included in order for there to be change in women's health

FIRST WAVE: First-wave feminism was a period of feminist activity, that occurred within the time period of 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).

The term first-wave was coined in March 1968 by Martha Lear writing in The New York Times Magazine, who at the same time also used the term "second-wave feminism". At that time, the women's movement was focused on de facto (unofficial) inequalities, which it wished to distinguish from the objectives of the earlier feminists.

ORIGINS: According to Miriam Schneir, Simone de Beauvoir wrote that the first woman to "take up her pen in defense of her sex" was Christine de Pizan in the 15th century. Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa and Modesta di Pozzo di Forzi worked in the 16th century. Marie Le Jars de Gournay, Anne Bradstreet and François Poullain de la Barre wrote in the 17th.

Mary Wollstonecraft published one of the first feminist treatises, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), in which she advocated the social and moral equality of the sexes, extending the work of her 1790 pamphlet, *A Vindication of the Rights*

of Men. Her later unfinished novel, *Maria*, or the Wrongs of Woman, earned her considerable criticism as she discussed women's sexual desires. She died young, and her widower, the philosopher William Godwin, quickly wrote a memoir of her that, contrary to his intentions, destroyed her reputation for generations.

Wollstonecraft is regarded as the grandmother of British feminism and her ideas shaped the thinking of the suffragettes, who campaigned for the women's vote. After generations of work, this was eventually achieved

AUSTRALIA: The first wave of Australian feminism, which dates back to the late 19th century, was chiefly concerned with suffrage (women's right to vote) and consequently with women's access to parliaments and other political activities.

In 1882, Rose Scott, a women's rights activist, began to hold a weekly salon meetings in her Sydney home, left to her by her late mother. Through these meetings, she became well known amongst politicians, judges, philanthropists, writers and poets. In 1889, she helped to found the Women's Literary Society, which later grew into the Womanhood Suffrage League in 1891. Leading politicians hosted by Scott included Bernhard Ringrose Wise, William Holman, William Morris Hughes and Thomas Bavin, who met and discussed the drafting of the bill that eventually became the Early Closing Act of 1899.

Tribute to the Suffragettes memorial in Christchurch, New Zealand. The figures shown from left to right are Amey Daldy, Kate Sheppard, Ada Wells and Harriet Morison

DENMARK: The first women's movement was led by the Dansk Kvindesamfund ("Danish Women's Society"). Line Luplau was one of the most notable woman in this era. Tagea Brandt was also part of this movement, and in her honor was established the

Tagea Brandt Rejselegat or Travel Scholarship for women. The Dansk Kvindesamfund's efforts as a leading group of women for women led to the existence of the revised Danish constitution of 1915, giving women the right to vote and the provision of equal opportunity laws during the 1920s, which influenced the present-day legislative measures to grant women access to education, work, marital rights and other obligations.

NEW ZEALAND: Early New Zealand feminists and suffragettes included Maud Pember Reeves (Australian-born; later lived in London), Kate Sheppard and Mary Ann Müller. In 1893, Elizabeth Yates became Mayor of Onehunga, the first time such a post had been held by a female anywhere in the British Empire. Early university graduates were Emily Siedeberg (doctor, graduated 1895) and Ethel Benjamin (lawyer, graduated 1897). The Female Law Practitioners Act was passed in 1896 and Benjamin was admitted as a barrister and solicitor of the Supreme Court of New Zealand in 1897. See Women's suffrage in New Zealand.

NETHERLANDS: In the Netherlands, Wilhelmina Drucker (1847-1925) fought successfully for the vote and equal rights for women through political and feminist organisations she founded.

Although in the Netherlands during the Age of Enlightenment the idea of the equality of women and men made progress, no practical institutional measures or legislation resulted. In the second half of the nineteenth century many initiatives by feminists sprung up in The Netherlands. Aletta Jacobs (1854-1929) requested and obtained as the first woman in the Netherlands the right to study at university in 1871, becoming the first female medical doctor and academic. She became a lifelong campaigner for women's suffrage, equal rights, birth control, and international peace, travelling worldwide for, e.g., the International Alliance of Women. Wilhelmina Drucker (1847-1925) was a

politician, a prolific writer and a peace activist, who fought for the vote and equal rights through political and feminist organisations she founded. In 1917-1919 her goal of women's suffrage was reached.

PERSIA: While in some distance in culture and language, the events of the Conference of Badasht (1848) presented progress on the concerns of first wave feminism. There is a synchronicity in time and a likeness in theme and events between Persia (later named Iran) and the United States between the conference at Badasht and the Seneca Falls Convention. First the conference happened over three weeks from late June to mid-July 1848 and the Seneca Falls Convention happened in mid-July 1848. Both conferences had women (Tahirih and Elizabeth Cady Stanton) take strong stances on the role of women in the public arena that some attending reacted to harshly. And lastly leading men present (Quddús and Frederick Douglass) supported these calls during the meetings healing the breach. Some even see a parallel in the background discussions that are partially documented to arrange how things would be brought up and settled.

The conference of Badasht is considered by Bahá'ís as a signal moment that demonstrated that Islamic Sharia law had been abrogated as well as a key demonstration of the thrust of raising the social position of women. Although the unveiling led to accusations of immorality the Báb responded by supporting her position and naming her the Pure (Táhirih). Modern women scholars review this kind of accusation as part of a pattern faced by women leaders and writers then and since in a way that Azar Nafisi says "...the Islamic regime today... fears them and feels vulnerable in the face of a resistance that is not just political but existential." See the Bahá'í Faith and gender equality.

SWEDEN: Feminist issues and gender roles were discussed in media and literature during the 18th-century by people such as Margareta Momma,

Catharina Ahlgren, Anna Maria Rückerschöld and Hedvig Charlotta Nordenflycht, but it created no movement of any kind. The first person to hold public speeches and agitate in favor of feminism was Sophie Sager in 1848, and the first organization created to deal with a women's issue was Svenska lärarinnors pensionsförening (Society for Retired Female Teachers) by Josefina Deland in the 1850s.

In 1856, Fredrika Bremer published her famous *Hertha* (novel), which aroused great controversy and created a debate referred to as the Hertha Debate. The two foremost questions was to abolish coverture for unmarried women, and for the state to provide women an equivalent to a university. Both questions were met: in 1858, a reform granted unmarried women the right to apply for legal majority by a simple procedure, and in 1861, Högre lärarinneseminariet was founded as a "Women's University". In 1859, the first women's magazine in Sweden and the Nordic countries, the *Tidskrift för hemmet*, was founded by Sophie Adlersparre and Rosalie Olivecrona. This has been referred to as the starting point of a women's movement in Sweden.

The organized women's movement begun in 1873, when Married Woman's Property Rights Association was co-founded by Anna Hierta-Retzius and Ellen Anckarsvärd. The prime task of the organization was to abolish covertures. In 1884, Fredrika Bremer Association was founded by Sophie Adlersparre to work for the improvement in women's rights. The second half of the 19th-century saw the creation of several women's rights organisations and a considerable activity within both active organization as well as intellectual debate. The 1880s saw the so-called Sedlighetsdebatten, where gender roles were discussed in literary debate in regards to sexual double standards in opposed to sexual equality. In 1902, finally, the National Association for Women's Suffrage was founded.

In 1921, women's suffrage was finally introduced. The women suffrage reform was followed by the Behörighetslagen of 1923 (Act of Access of 1923), in which males and females were formally given equal access to all professions and positions in society, the only exceptions being military and priesthood positions. The last two restrictions were removed in 1958, when women were allowed to become priests, and in a series of reforms between 1980 and 1989, when all military professions were opened to women.

UNITED KINGDOM: The first organized movement for English feminism was the Langham Place Circle of the 1850s, which included among others Barbara Bodichon (née Leigh-Smith) and Bessie Rayner Parkes. The group campaigned for many women's causes, including improved female rights in employment, and education. It also pursued women's property rights through its Married Women's Property Committee. In 1854, Bodichon published her Brief Summary of the Laws of England concerning Women, which was used by the Social Science Association after it was formed in 1857 to push for the passage of the Married Women's Property Act 1882. In 1858, Barbara Bodichon, Matilda Mary Hays and Bessie Rayner Parkes established the first feminist British periodical, the English Woman's Journal, with Bessie Parkes the chief editor. The journal continued publication until 1864 and was succeeded in 1866 by the Englishwoman's Review edited until 1880 by Jessie Boucherett which continued publication until 1910. Jessie Boucherett and Adelaide Anne Proctor joined the Langham Place Circle in 1859. The group was active until 1866. Also in 1859, Jessie Boucherett, Barbara Bodichon and Adelaide Proctor formed the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women to promote the training and employment of women. The society is one of the earliest British women's organisations, and continues to operate as the registered charity Futures for Women. Helen

Blackburn and Boucherett established the Women's Employment Defence League in 1891, to defend women's working rights against restrictive employment legislation. They also together edited the Condition of Working Women and the Factory Acts in 1896. In the beginning of the 20th century, women's employment was still predominantly limited to factory labor and domestic work. During World War I, more women found work outside the home. As a result of the wartime experience of women in the workforce, the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act 1919 opened professions and the civil service to women, and marriage was no longer a legal barrier to women working outside the home.

In 1918 Marie Stopes published the very influential Married Love, in which she advocated gender equality in marriage and the importance of women's sexual desire. (Importation of the book into the United States was banned as obscene until 1931.)

The Representation of the People Act 1918 extended the franchise to women who were at least 30 years old and they or their husbands were property holders, while the Parliament (Qualification of Women) Act 1918 gave women the right to sit in Parliament, although it was only slowly that women were actually elected. In 1928, the franchise was extended to all women over 21 by the Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Act 1928, on an equal basis to men. Women started serving on school boards and local bodies, and numbers kept increasing. This period also saw more women gaining access to higher education. In 1910, "women were attending many leading medical schools, and in 1915 the American Medical Association began to admit women members." A Matrimonial Causes Act 1923 gave women the right to the same grounds for divorce as men.

The rise in unemployment during the Great Depression which started in the 1920s hit women first, and when the men also lost their jobs there was

further strain on families. Many women served in the armed forces during World War II, when around 300,000 American women served in the navy and army, performing jobs such as secretaries, typists and nurses.

Many feminist writers and women's rights activists argued that it was not equality to men which they needed but a recognition of what women need to fulfill their potential of their own natures, not only within the aspect of work but society and home life too. Virginia Woolf produced her essay *A Room of One's Own* based on the ideas of women as writers and characters in fiction. Woolf said that a woman must have money and a room of her own to be able to write. New Zealand was the first country to grant women the right to vote at a national level, while Finland, as well as some American states gave women voting rights at a state level before Australian women obtained that right across the nation.

UNITED STATES: *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* by Margaret Fuller has been considered the first major feminist work in the United States and is often compared to Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. Prominent leaders of the feminist movement in the United States include Lucretia Coffin Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, and Susan B. Anthony; Anthony and other activists such as Victoria Woodhull and Matilda Joslyn Gage made attempts to cast votes prior to their legal entitlement to do so, for which many of them faced charges. Other important leaders included several women who dissented against the law in order to have their voices heard, (Sarah and Angelina Grimké), in addition to other activists such as Carrie Chapman Catt, Alice Paul, Sojourner Truth, Ida B. Wells, Margaret Sanger and Lucy Burns.

First-wave feminism involved a wide range of women, some belonging to conservative Christian

groups (such as Frances Willard and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union), others such as Matilda Joslyn Gage of the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) resembling the radicalism of much of second-wave feminism. The majority of first-wave feminists were more moderate and conservative than radical or revolutionary—like the members of the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) they were willing to work within the political system and they understood the clout of joining with sympathetic men in power to promote the cause of suffrage. The limited membership of the NWSA was narrowly focused on gaining a federal amendment for women's suffrage, whereas the AWSA, with ten times as many members, worked to gain suffrage on a state-by-state level as a necessary precursor to federal suffrage. The NWSA had broad goals, hoping to achieve a more equal social role for women, but the AWSA was aware of the divisive nature of many of those goals and instead chose to focus solely on suffrage. The NWSA was known for having more publicly aggressive tactics (such as picketing and hunger strikes) whereas the AWSA used more traditional strategies like lobbying, delivering speeches, applying political pressure and gathering signatures for petitions.

The first wave of feminists, in contrast to the second wave, focused very little on the subjects of abortion, birth control, and overall reproductive rights of women. Though she never married, Anthony published her views about marriage, holding that a woman should be allowed to refuse sex with her husband; the American woman had no legal recourse at that time against rape by her husband.

In 1860, New York passed a revised Married Women's Property Act which gave women shared ownership of their children, allowing them to have a say in their children's wills, wages, and granting them the right to inherit property. Further advances and setbacks were experienced in New York and

other states, but with each new win the feminists were able to use it as an example to apply more leverage on unyielding legislative bodies. The end of the first wave is often linked with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution (1920), granting women the right to vote. This was the major victory of the movement, which also included reforms in higher education, in the workplace and professions, and in health care.

During the First Wave, there was a notable connection between the slavery abolition movement and the women's rights movement. Frederick Douglass was heavily involved in both movements and believed that it was essential for both to work together in order to attain true equality in regards to race and sex. Different accounts of the involvement of African-American women in the Women's Suffrage Movement are given. In a 1974 interview, Alice Paul notes that a compromise was made between southern groups to have white women march first, then men, then African-American women. In another account by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), difficulties in segregating women resulted in African-American women marching with their respective States without hindrance. Among them was Ida B. Wells-Barnett, who marched with the Illinois delegation.

SECOND WAVE: 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.

Whereas first-wave feminism focused mainly on suffrage and overturning legal obstacles to gender equality (e.g., voting rights, property rights),

second-wave feminism broadened the debate to a wide range of issues: sexuality, family, the workplace, reproductive rights, de facto inequalities, and official legal inequalities. Second-wave feminism also drew attention to domestic violence and marital rape issues, establishment of rape crisis and battered women's shelters, and changes in custody and divorce law. Its major effort was the attempted passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the United States Constitution, in which they were defeated by anti-feminists led by Phyllis Schlafly, who argued as an anti-ERA view that the ERA meant women would be drafted into the military.

Many historians view the second-wave feminist era in America as ending in the early 1980s with the intra-feminism disputes of the feminist sex wars over issues such as sexuality and pornography, which ushered in the era of third-wave feminism in the early 1990s.

Numerous feminist scholars, especially those from the late 20th century into the 21st century, critique the second-wave in the United States as reducing feminist activity into a homogenized and whitewashed chronology of feminist history that ignores the voices and contributions of many women of color, working-class women, and lesbians.

OVERVIEW: The second wave of feminism in North America came as a delayed reaction against the renewed domesticity of women after World War II: the late 1940s post-war boom, which was an era characterized by an unprecedented economic growth, a baby boom, a move to family-oriented suburbs, and the ideal of companionate marriages. This life was clearly illustrated by the media of the time; for example television shows such as *Father Knows Best* and *Leave It to Beaver* idealized domesticity.

Before the second wave there were some important events which laid the groundwork for it. French writer Simone de Beauvoir had in the 1940s examined the notion of women being perceived as "other" in the patriarchal society. She went on to conclude that male-centered ideology was being accepted as a norm and enforced by the ongoing development of myths, and that the fact that women are capable of getting pregnant, lactating, and menstruating is in no way a valid cause or explanation to place them as the "second sex". This book was translated from French to English (with some of its text excised) and published in America in 1953. In 1960 the Food and Drug Administration approved the combined oral contraceptive pill, which was made available in 1961. This made it easier for women to have careers without having to leave due to unexpectedly becoming pregnant. The administration of President Kennedy made women's rights a key issue of the New Frontier, and named women (such as Esther Peterson) to many high-ranking posts in his administration. Kennedy also established a Presidential Commission on the Status of Women, chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt and comprising cabinet officials (including Peterson and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy), senators, representatives, businesspeople, psychologists, sociologists, professors, activists, and public servants. There were also notable actions by women in wider society, presaging their wider engagement in politics which would come with the second wave. In 1961, 50,000 women in 60 cities, mobilized by Women Strike for Peace, protested above ground testing of nuclear bombs and tainted milk.

In 1963 Betty Friedan, influenced by *The Second Sex*, wrote the bestselling book *The Feminine Mystique*. Discussing primarily white women, she explicitly objected to how women were depicted in the mainstream media, and how placing them at home limited their possibilities and wasted potential. Friedan described this as "The Problem That Has No

Name". The perfect nuclear family image depicted and strongly marketed at the time, she wrote, did not reflect happiness and was rather degrading for women. This book is widely credited with having begun second-wave feminism.

Though it is widely accepted that the movement lasted from the 1960s into the early 1980s, the exact years of the movement are more difficult to pinpoint and are often disputed. The movement is usually believed to have begun in 1963, when "Mother of the Movement" Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique*, and President John F. Kennedy's Presidential Commission on the Status of Women released its report on gender inequality. The report, which revealed great discrimination against women in American life, along with Friedan's book, which spoke to the discontent of many women (especially housewives), led to the formation of many local, state, and federal government women's groups as well as many independent feminist organizations. Friedan was referencing a "movement" as early as 1964.

The movement grew with legal victories such as the Equal Pay Act of 1963, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the *Griswold v. Connecticut* Supreme Court ruling of 1965. In 1966 Friedan joined other women and men to found the National Organization for Women (NOW); Friedan would be named as the organization's first president.

Despite the early successes NOW achieved under Friedan's leadership, her decision to pressure the Equal Employment Opportunity to use Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to enforce more job opportunities among American women met with fierce opposition within the organization. Siding with arguments among several of the group's African-American members, many of NOW's leaders were convinced that the vast number of male African-Americans who lived below the poverty line were in need of more job opportunities than women

within the middle and upper class. Friedan stepped down as president in 1969.

In 1963, freelance journalist Gloria Steinem gained widespread popularity among feminists after a diary she authored while working undercover as a Playboy Bunny waitress at the Playboy Club was published as a two-part feature in the May and June issues of *Show*. In her diary, Steinem alleged the club was mistreating its waitresses in order to gain male customers and exploited the Playboy Bunnies as symbols of male chauvinism, noting that the club's manual instructed the Bunnies that "there are many pleasing ways they can employ to stimulate the club's liquor volume." By 1968, Steinem had become arguably the most influential figure in the movement and support for legalized abortion and federally funded day-cares had become the two leading objectives for feminists.

Amongst the most significant legal victories of the movement after the formation of NOW were a 1967 Executive Order extending full affirmative action rights to women, a 1968 EEOC decision ruling illegal sex-segregated help wanted ads, Title IX and the Women's Educational Equity Act (1972 and 1974, respectively, educational equality), Title X (1970, health and family planning), the Equal Credit Opportunity Act (1974), the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978, the outlawing of marital rape (although not outlawed in all states until 1993), and the legalization of no-fault divorce (although not legalized in all states until 2010), a 1975 law requiring the U.S. Military Academies to admit women, and many Supreme Court cases, perhaps most notably *Reed v. Reed* of 1971 and *Roe v. Wade* of 1973. However, the changing of social attitudes towards women is usually considered the greatest success of the women's movement. In January 2013, US Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta announced that the longtime ban on women serving in US military combat roles had been lifted.

The US Department of Defense plans to integrate women into all combat positions by 2016.

Second-wave feminism also affected other movements, such as the civil rights movement and the student's rights movement, as women sought equality within them. In 1965 Casey Hayden and Mary King published "Sex and Caste: A Kind of Memo" detailing women's inequality within the civil rights organization SNCC.

In June 1967 Jo Freeman attended a "free school" course on women at the University of Chicago led by Heather Booth and Naomi Weisstein. She invited them to organize a woman's workshop at the then-forthcoming National Conference of New Politics (NCNP), to be held over Labor Day weekend 1967 in Chicago. At that conference a woman's caucus was formed, and it (led by Freeman and Shulamith Firestone) tried to present its own demands to the plenary session. However, the women were told their resolution was not important enough for a floor discussion, and when through threatening to tie up the convention with procedural motions they succeeded in having their statement tacked to the end of the agenda, it was never discussed. When the National Conference for New Politics Director William F. Pepper refused to recognize any of the women waiting to speak and instead called on someone to speak about the American Indian, five women, including Firestone, rushed the podium to demand to know why. But William F. Pepper patted Firestone on the head and said, "Move on little girl; we have more important issues to talk about here than women's liberation", or possibly, "Cool down, little girl. We have more important things to talk about than women's problems." Freeman and Firestone called a meeting of the women who had been at the "free school" course and the women's workshop at the conference; this became the first Chicago women's liberation group. It was known as the Westside group because it met weekly in Freeman's apartment on Chicago's west side. After a

few months Freeman started a newsletter which she called Voice of the women's liberation movement. It circulated all over the country (and in a few foreign countries), giving the new movement of women's liberation its name. Many of the women in the Westside group went on to start other feminist organizations, including the Chicago Women's Liberation Union.

In 1968, an SDS organizer at the University of Washington told a meeting about white college men working with poor white men, and "[h]e noted that sometimes after analyzing societal ills, the men shared leisure time by 'balling a chick together.' He pointed out that such activities did much to enhance the political consciousness of poor white youth. A woman in the audience asked, 'And what did it do for the consciousness of the chick?'" (Hole, Judith, and Ellen Levine, *Rebirth of Feminism*, 1971, pg. 120). After the meeting, a handful of women formed Seattle's first women's liberation group.

By the early 1980s, it was largely perceived that women had met their goals and succeeded in changing social attitudes towards gender roles, repealing oppressive laws that were based on sex, integrating the "boys' clubs" such as Military academies, the United States armed forces, NASA, single-sex colleges, men's clubs, and the Supreme Court, and illegalizing gender discrimination. However, in 1982 adding the Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution failed, having been ratified by only 35 states, leaving it three states short of ratification.

Second-wave feminism was largely successful, with the failure of the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and Nixon's veto of the Comprehensive Child Development Bill of 1972 (which would have provided a multibillion-dollar national day care system) the only major legislative defeats. Efforts to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment have continued. Ten states have adopted constitutions or

constitutional amendments providing that equal rights under the law shall not be denied because of sex, and most of these provisions mirror the broad language of the Equal Rights Amendment. Furthermore, many women's groups are still active and are major political forces. As of 2011, more women earn bachelor's degrees than men, half of the Ivy League presidents are women, the numbers of women in government and traditionally male-dominated fields have dramatically increased, and in 2009 the percentage of women in the American workforce temporarily surpassed that of men. The salary of the average American woman has also increased over time, although as of 2008 it is only 77% of the average man's salary, a phenomenon often referred to as the Gender Pay Gap. Whether this is due to discrimination is very hotly disputed, however economists and sociologists have provided evidence to that effect.

Second-wave feminism in the U.S. coincided in the early 1980s with the feminist sex wars and was overlapped by third wave feminism in the early 1990s.

VIEW ON POPULAR CULTURE: Second-wave feminists viewed popular culture as sexist, and created pop culture of their own to counteract this. Australian artist Helen Reddy's song "I Am Woman" played a large role in popular culture and became a feminist anthem; Reddy came to be known as a "feminist poster girl" or a "feminist icon." "One project of second wave feminism was to create 'positive' images of women, to act as a counterweight to the dominant images circulating in popular culture and to raise women's consciousness of their oppressions."

THIRD WAVE FEMINISM: Third-wave feminism refers to several diverse strains of feminist activity and study, whose exact boundaries in the history of feminism are a subject of debate, but are generally marked as beginning in the early 1990s

and continuing to the present. The movement arose partially as a response to the perceived failures of and backlash against initiatives and movements created by second-wave feminism during the 1960s, '70s, and '80s, and the perception that women are of "many colors, ethnicities, nationalities, religions, and cultural backgrounds". This wave of feminism expands the topic of feminism to include a diverse group of women with a diverse set of identities. Rebecca Walker coined the term "third-wave feminism" in a 1992 essay. It has been proposed that Walker has become somewhat of a symbol of the third wave's focus on queer and non-white women. Third Wave feminists have broadened their goals, focusing on ideas like queer theory, and abolishing gender role expectations and stereotypes. Unlike the determined position of second wave feminists about women in pornography, sex work, and prostitution, third-wave feminists were rather ambiguous and divided about these themes (feminist sex wars).

PURPOSE: The shift from second wave feminism came about with many of the legal and institutional rights that were extended to women. In addition to these institutional gains, third-wave feminists believed there needed to be further changes in stereotypes, media portrayals, and language to define women. Third-wave ideology focuses on a more post-structuralist interpretation of gender and sexuality. In "Deconstructing Equality-versus-Difference: Or, the Uses of Poststructuralist Theory for Feminism," Joan W. Scott describes how language has been used as a way to understand the world, however, "post-structuralists insist that words and texts have no fixed or intrinsic meanings, that there is no transparent or self-evident relationship between them and either ideas or things, no basic or ultimate correspondence between language and the world". Thus, while language has been used to create binaries (such as male/female), post-structuralists see these binaries as artificial

constructs created to maintain the power of dominant groups

CHALLENGES: Third-wave feminism deals with issues which appear to limit or oppress women, as well as other marginalized identities.

Consciousness-raising activism, which has been referred to as "the collective critical reconstitution of the meaning of women's social experience, as women live through it" [citation needed] In their book *Manifesta: Young Women, Feminism and the Future*, Jennifer Baumgardner and Amy Richards write:

Consciousness among women is what caused this [change], and consciousness, one's ability to open their mind to the fact that male domination does affect the women of our generation, is what we need... The presence of feminism in our lives is taken for granted. For our generation, feminism is like fluoride. We scarcely notice we have it – it's simply in the water.

Feminist scholars such as Shira Tarrant object to the "wave construct" because it ignores important progress between the so-called waves. Furthermore, if feminism is a global movement, she feels the fact that the "first-, second-, and third waves time periods correspond most closely to American feminist developments" raises serious problems about how feminism recognizes the history of political issues around the world.

Arguably, the biggest challenge to the efforts of third-wave feminism is the decline in popular support for the relevance and importance of feminism in what some claim is the "post-feminist" era. Manon Tremblay refers to this phenomenon as the "antifeminist undercurrent" of the West. Here, a concern for what Amy Friedman calls third-wave feminism's "radical fanaticism" is expressed. Essentially, the claim is that gender equality has already been achieved via the first two waves, and

that further attempts to push for women's rights are either irrelevant and unnecessary, or are excessively pushing the pendulum towards advantaging women over men and exaggerating the state of women in modern western society. This issue is seen manifesting itself in the heated debates over whether or not affirmative action initiatives really are creating societal gender equality, or are actually disadvantaging/punishing white, middle-class, males for a biological history that they have merely inherited.

In response to such sentiments, we can trace many previously self-proclaimed feminists crossing the floor to becoming self-proclaimed post-feminists, claiming that the strands of feminism extant today are out of sync with the reality of the success story of women's gains. The popular media has played a large role in propounding this image of radical feminists.[citation needed] Donna La Fromboise is known for stating third-wave feminism of having "perpetuated the myth of female martyrdom, stated that feminists have deliberately maintained such fictions to ensure its survival, and differentiated between "a feminism that informs one's opinions and a feminism that dictates how one should think"

PROMINENT ISSUES

Gender violence: Gender violence has become a central issue for third-wave feminists. Organizations such as V-Day have formed with the goal of ending gender violence, and artistic expressions such as The Vagina Monologues have generated awareness and action around issues relating to women's sexuality. Third-wave feminists want to transform the traditional notions of sexuality and embrace "an exploration of women's feelings about sexuality that included vagina-centred topics as diverse as orgasm, birth, and rape."

Reproductive rights: One of feminism's primary goals is to demonstrate that access to contraception

and abortion are women's reproductive rights. According to Baumgardner and Richards, "It is not feminism's goal to control any woman's fertility, only to free each woman to control her own". South Dakota's 2006 attempt to ban abortion in all cases, except when necessary to protect the mother's life, and the US Supreme Court's recent vote to uphold the partial birth abortion ban are viewed by many feminists as restrictions on women's civil and reproductive rights. Restrictions on abortion in the United States, which was mostly legalized by the 1973 Supreme Court decision in *Roe v. Wade*, are becoming more common in states around the country. Such restrictions include mandatory waiting periods, parental-consent laws, and spousal-consent laws.

Reclaiming derogatory terms: English-speakers continue to use words such as spinster, bitch, whore, and cunt to refer to women in derogatory ways. Author Inga Muscio writes, "I posit that we're free to seize a word that was kidnapped and co-opted in a pain-filled, distant, past, with a ransom that cost our grandmothers' freedom, children, traditions, pride, and land."

Part of taking back the word bitch was fueled by the 1994 single, "All Women Are Bitches" by the all-woman band Fifth Column, and, later, by the 1999 book *Bitch: In Praise of Difficult Women* by Elizabeth Wurtzel. In her declaration of the word bitch, Wurtzel introduces her philosophy: "I intend to scream, shout, race the engine, call when I feel like it, throw tantrums in Bloomingdale's if I feel like it and confess intimate details about my life to complete strangers. I intend to do what I want to do and be whom I want to be and answer only to myself: that is, quite simply, the bitch philosophy."

Rape: Since 2011, the utility of the reclamation strategy has been a hot topic among third-wave

feminists with the introduction of SlutWalks. The first SlutWalk took place in Toronto on April 3, 2011, in response to Toronto police officer Michael Sanguinetti's statement that "women should avoid dressing like sluts in order not to be victimized." The SlutWalk movement caught on rapidly and additional SlutWalks sprung up internationally with marchers contending a reclamation of the word "slut", their position being that if victimized women are sluts, then all women must be, since anyone can be victimized regardless of what they are wearing. Slut Walks have occurred in many international major cities, including New York City, Berlin, Seattle, West Hollywood, and London. Third-wave feminist bloggers have both praised and criticized the Slutwalks, with the reclamation of the word "slut" being questioned for its possible exclusion of some cultural groups.

Other issues: Third-wave feminism regards race, social class, transgender rights, and sexual liberation as central issues. However, it also pays attention to workplace matters such as the glass ceiling, sexual harassment, unfair maternity-leave policies, motherhood – support for single mothers by means of welfare and child care and respect for working mothers and for mothers who decide to leave their careers to raise their children full-time.

Third-wave feminism is often associated, primarily by critics of third-wave feminism, with the emergence of so-called "lipstick" or "girly" feminisms and with the rise of "raunch culture". This is because these new feminisms advocated for "expressions of femininity and female sexuality as a challenge to objectification". Accordingly, this included the dismissal of any restriction, whether deemed patriarchal or feminist, to define or control how women or girls can dress, act, or generally express themselves. These emerging positions stood in stark contrast with the anti-pornography strains of feminism prevalent in the 1980s. These new feminisms posit that the ability to make autonomous

choices about self-expression can be an empowering act of resistance, not simply internalized oppression. However, such views have been critiqued [by whom?] because of the subjective nature of empowerment and autonomy. Scholars are unsure if empowerment is best measured as an "internal feeling of power and agency" or as an external "measure of power and control". Moreover, they critique an over-investment in "a model of free will and choice" in the marketplace of identities and ideas. Regardless, the "girly" feminisms attempted to be open to all different selves while maintaining a dialogue about the meaning of identity and femininity in the contemporary world.

Third-wave Feminists claim that these view-points shouldn't be limited by the label "girly" feminism or regarded as simply advocating for "raunch culture". Rather, these feminisms seek to be inclusive of the many diverse relationships and roles women fulfill. Gender scholars Linda Duits and Liesbet van Zoonen highlight this inclusiveness by looking at the politicization of women's clothing choices and how the "controversial sartorial choices of girls" and women are constituted in public discourse as "a locus of necessary regulation". Thus the "hijab" and the "belly shirt", as dress choices, are both identified as requiring regulation but for different reasons. The two clothing items of women that have caused a great deal of controversy initially appear to be opposing forms of self-expression. However, through the lens of "girly" feminisms, one can view both as symbolic of "political agency and resistance to objectification". The "hijab" can be seen as an act of resistance against western ambivalence towards Islamic identity, while the "belly shirt" can be viewed as an act of resistance towards patriarchal society's narrow views of female sexuality: Both are regarded as valid forms of self-expression.

UN CONFERENCES ON WOMEN

THE FOUR GLOBAL WOMENS' CONFERENCES 1975 - 1995:

Historical Perspective: Four world conferences on women convened by the United Nations in the past quarter of a century have been instrumental in elevating the cause of gender equality to the very centre of the global agenda. The conferences have united 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 struggle for gender equality was still in its early stages at the inception of the United Nations in 1945. Of the original 51 Member States, only 30 allowed women equal voting rights with men or permitted them to hold public office. Nevertheless, the drafters of the United Nation Charter had the foresight to deliberately refer to the "equal rights of men and women" as they declared the Organization's "faith in fundamental human rights" and the "dignity and worth of the human person". No previous international legal document had so forcefully affirmed the equality of all human beings, or specifically targeted sex as a basis for discrimination. At that moment, it became clear that women's rights would be central to the work that lay ahead.

During the first three decades, the work of the United Nations on behalf of women focused primarily on the codification of women's legal and civil rights, and the gathering of data on the status of women around the world. With time, however, it became increasingly apparent that laws, in and of themselves, were not enough to ensure the equal rights of women.

The struggle for equality entered a second stage with the convening of four world conferences by the United Nations to develop strategies and plans of action for the advancement of women. The efforts

undertaken have gone through several phases and transformations, from regarding women almost exclusively in terms of their development needs, to recognizing their essential contributions to the entire development process, to seeking their empowerment and the promotion of their right to full participation at all levels of human activity.

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" 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:

- Full gender equality and the elimination of gender discrimination;
- The integration and full participation of women in development;
- An increased contribution by women in the strengthening of world peace.

The Conference responded by adopting a World Plan of Action, a document that offered guidelines

for governments and the international community to follow for the next ten years in pursuit of the three key objectives set by the General Assembly. The Plan of Action set minimum targets, to be met by 1980, that focused on securing equal access for women to resources such as education, employment opportunities, political participation, health services, housing, nutrition and family planning.

This approach marked a change, which had started to take shape in the early 1970s, in the way that women were perceived. Whereas previously women had been seen as passive recipients of support and assistance, they were now viewed as full and equal partners with men, with equal rights to resources and opportunities. A similar transformation was taking place in the approach to development, with a shift from an earlier belief that development served to advance women, to a new consensus that development was not possible without the full participation of women.

The Conference called upon governments to formulate national strategies and identify targets and priorities in their effort to promote the equal participation of women. By the end of the United Nations Decade for Women, 127 Member States had responded by establishing some form of national machinery, institutions dealing with the promotion of policy, research and programmes aimed at women's advancement and participation in development.

Within the United Nations system, in addition to the already existing Branch (now Division) for the Advancement of Women, the Mexico City Conference led to the establishment of the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) to provide the institutional framework for research, training and operational activities in the area of women and development.

An important facet of the meeting in Mexico City was that women themselves played an instrumental role in shaping the discussion. Of the 133 Member State delegations gathered there, 113 were headed by women. Women also organised a parallel NGO Forum, the International Women's Year Tribune, which attracted approximately 4,000 participants.

Sharp differences emerged among the women gathered at the Forum, reflecting the political and economic realities of the times. Women from the countries of the Eastern Block, for instance, were most interested in issues of peace, while women from the West emphasized equality and those from the developing world placed priority on development. Nevertheless, the Forum played an important role in bringing together women and men from different cultures and backgrounds to share information and opinions and to set in motion a process that would help unite the women's movement, which by the end of the Decade for Women would become truly international. The Forum was also instrumental in opening up the United Nations to NGOs, who provided access for the voices of women to the Organization's policy-making process.

COPENHAGEN: THE REVIEW

Process Begins: 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:

- Lack of sufficient involvement of men in improving women's role in society;
- Insufficient political will;
- Lack of recognition of the value of women's contributions to society;

- Lack of attention to the particular needs of women in planning;
- A shortage of women in decision-making positions;
- Insufficient services to support the role of women in national life, such as co-operatives, day-care centres and credit facilities;
- Overall lack of necessary financial resources;
- Lack of awareness among women about the opportunities available to them.

To address these 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.

The movement for gender equality had gained true global recognition as the third world conference on women, The World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, was convened in Nairobi in 1985. With 15,000 representatives of non-governmental organizations attending the parallel NGO Forum, many referred to the Conference as the "birth of global feminism". The women's movement, divided by world politics and economic realities at the Mexico Conference, had now become an international force unified under the banner of equality, development and peace. Behind this milestone lay a decade of work. A lot of information, knowledge and experience had been gathered through the process of discussion, negotiation and revision.

At the same time, delegates were confronted with shocking reports. Data gathered by the United Nations revealed that improvements in the status of women and efforts to reduce discrimination had

benefited only a small minority of women. Improvements in the situation of women in the developing world had been marginal at best. In short, the objectives of the second half of the United Nations Decade for Women had not been met.

This realization demanded that a new approach be adopted. The Nairobi Conference was given the mandate to seek new ways to overcome the obstacles to achieving the Decade's goals "equality, development and peace."

The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies to the Year 2000, the strategy developed and adopted by consensus by the 157 participating governments, was an updated blueprint for the future of women to the end of the century. It broke new ground as it declared all issues to be women's issues. Women's participation in decision-making and the handling of all human affairs was recognised not only as their legitimate right but as a social and political necessity that would have to be incorporated in all institutions of society.

At the heart of the document was a series of measures for achieving equality at the national level. Governments were to set their own priorities, based on their development policies and resource capabilities.

Three basic categories of measures were identified:

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

In keeping with the view that all issues were women's issues, the measures recommended by the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies covered a wide range of subjects, from employment, health, education and social services, to industry, science,

communications and the environment. In addition, guidelines for national measures to promote women's participation in efforts to promote peace, as well as to assist women in special situations of distress, were proposed.

Accordingly, the Nairobi Conference urged governments to delegate responsibilities for women's issues to all institutional offices and programmes. Moreover, following the Conference, the General Assembly asked the United Nations to establish, where they did not already exist, focal points on women's issues in all sectors of the work of the Organization.

The Nairobi Conference had introduced a wider approach to the advancement of women. It was now recognized that women's equality, far from being an isolated issue, encompassed every sphere of human activity. Therefore, women's perspective and active involvement on all issues, not only women's issues, was essential if the goals and objectives of the Decade for Women were to be attained.

BEIJING: LEGACY OF SUCCESS

While the efforts of the previous two decades, starting with the Mexico City Conference in 1975, had helped to improve women's conditions and access to resources, they had not been able to change the basic structure of inequality in the relationship between men and women. Decisions that affected all people's lives were still being made mostly by men. Ways had to be sought to empower women so that they could bring their own priorities and values as equal partners with men in decision-making processes at all levels.

Recognition of the need to involve women in decision-making had begun to emerge during the course of the series of global conferences held by the United Nations in the early 1990s on various aspects of development "the environment, human rights, population and social development. All the

conferences had stressed the importance of women's full participation in decision-making, and women's perspectives were incorporated into the deliberations and the documents that were adopted.

However, it was with the next in the series of conferences, the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995, that a new chapter in the struggle for gender equality can truly be said to have begun.

The fundamental transformation that took place in Beijing was the recognition of the need to shift the focus from women to the concept of gender, recognizing that the entire structure of society, and all relations between men and women within it, had to be re-evaluated. Only by such a fundamental restructuring of society and its institutions could women be fully empowered to take their rightful place as equal partners with men in all aspects of life. This change represented a strong reaffirmation that women's rights were human rights and that gender equality was an issue of universal concern, benefiting all.

The legacy of the Beijing Conference was to be that it sparked a renewed global commitment to the empowerment of women everywhere and drew unprecedented international attention. The Conference unanimously adopted the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, that was in essence an agenda for women's empowerment and stands as a milestone for the advancement of women in the twenty-first century. The Platform for Action specified twelve critical areas of concern considered to represent the main obstacles to women's advancement and which required concrete action by Governments and civil society:

- Women and poverty;
- Education and training of women;
- Women and health;
- Violence against women;

- Women and armed conflict;
- Women and the economy;
- Women in power and decision-making;
- Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women;
- Human rights of women;
- Women and the media;
- Women and the environment;
- The girl child.

By adopting the Beijing Platform for Action, governments committed themselves to the effective inclusion of a gender dimension throughout all their institutions, policies, planning and decision-making. What this in effect meant was that before decisions were to be made or plans to be implemented, an analysis should always be made of the effects on, and needs of, both women and men. For example, instead of striving to make an existing educational system gradually more accessible to women, gender mainstreaming would call for a reconstruction of the system so that it would suit the needs of women and men equally.

The introduction of gender mainstreaming called for the re-examination of society in its entirety and its basic structure of inequality. The focus was, therefore, no longer limited to women and their status in society but was committed to restructuring institutions and political and economic decision-making in society as a whole.

In endorsing the Platform for Action, the United Nations General Assembly called upon all States, the UN system and other international organizations, as well as NGOs and the private sector to take action to implement its recommendations. Within Member States, national machineries that had been established to promote the status of women were assigned a new function as the central policy-coordinating unit to mainstream a gender perspective throughout all institutions and

programmes. Within the United Nations system, the Secretary-General designated a senior official to serve as his Special Adviser on Gender Issues, whose role was to ensure system-wide implementation of the gender perspective in all aspects of the work of the United Nations. The Organization was also assigned a key role in the monitoring of the Platform.

The Beijing Conference was considered a great success, both in terms of its size and its outcome. It was the largest gathering of government and NGO representatives ever held, with 17,000 in attendance, including representatives of 189 governments. The NGO Forum held parallel to the Conference also broke all records, bringing the combined number of participants to over 47,000.

The presence and influence of NGOs, one of the most active forces in the drive for gender equality, had increased dramatically since the Mexico City Conference in 1975. In Beijing, NGOs had directly influenced the content of the Platform for Action and they would play an important role in holding their national leaders accountable for the commitments they had made to implement the Platform.

UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY REVIEW:

The General Assembly has called for a special session to review the progress made in the five years since the Beijing Platform of Action was adopted. The special session will convene in New York, 5-9 June 2000, under the theme "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century". "The special session will provide the opportunity for Governments and civil society to share good practices and examine current challenges and obstacles encountered in the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action. It will make it possible to give new momentum to political

commitments to achieve women's empowerment and gender equality.

FEMINIST MOVEMENTS IN PAKISTAN: The eastern thought about the Feminism in the world was entirely different than the western one because the Islamic ideologies are not entirely endorsed the way that has considered as the freedom of expression through reality-based model indeed. There were two mainstreams name as the gender and class importantly that gives the way of thinking about the matters of woman in Pakistan specifically. The social ills of the society is always deals with the women in the different way to spread the further chunks of information that may necessary to draw a attention towards this reckless part of the society.

FEMINIST MOVEMENTS IN PAKISTAN: The political way is another paradigm in which the oppression of women can be considered as the relevant approach towards the women. The political way of thinking about the women is also not a lateral one in any aspect. The last but the least ne is the economics way of thinking about the women status and linkage with the economic activities. The relaxation that is glaring one while considering the society as the main element to show that the community is highly relevant with the issues of women in the Islamic world generally but most importantly in Pakistan.

The difference between the law and its direct impact upon women section of the society endorsed that the women is the biggest thinking paradigm that may happen as the best one that decided to talk about the women and not to talk about the women. The Islamic foundations that is prevailing in Pakistan is not openly negating the role of women in Pakistan but also against the openness of women in society as the western media allow it to do.

Most of the foundations in Pakistan discussed the women as the negative considerable element that

may negate the rules of western women in the composite format. The relationship between the labor and capital, taxation and the property maxim is not left the women far behind in getting the real data to analyze the status of women in Pakistan and resultantly draw the attention towards the restrictive participation of women in the society by considering several alike elements.

The support of lower women tenets in the society is always considerable at the point that show that the women is the integral part of the society and always behave oppositely. The relation of women and the state in Pakistan is something else than the relation between the women and Islamic ideology argues in the Pakistan. Since the conception of women' ideology the women is being considered as the most important element to discuss that either the community endorse the role of women in society or negate it.

The third world country that considered the development of society only at the basis of developmental matters through the eye of women is entirely different than in the Pakistan. In the end one can say that the women' consideration in the society is completely different with the paradigm that may endorse the role of women as per the debates matters a lot.

GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

The pre-World War II period saw flourishing movements of various forms of feminism; however, the nexus between (economic) development and women was not clearly articulated until the second half of the 20th century. Women first came into focus in development as objects of welfare policies, including birth control, nutrition, pregnancy, and so forth. "In 1962 the UN General Assembly asked the Commission on Women's Status to prepare a report on the role of women in development. Ester

Boserup's path breaking study on Women's Role in Economic Development was published in 1970." These events marked monumental moments in developing liberal paradigm of women in development, and the welfarist approach still remains dominant in development practices today. This article scrutinizes various approaches in gender and development, but primarily covers the dominant liberal approaches starting from WID, WAD, GAD and neoliberal frameworks (Singh, 2007). There is

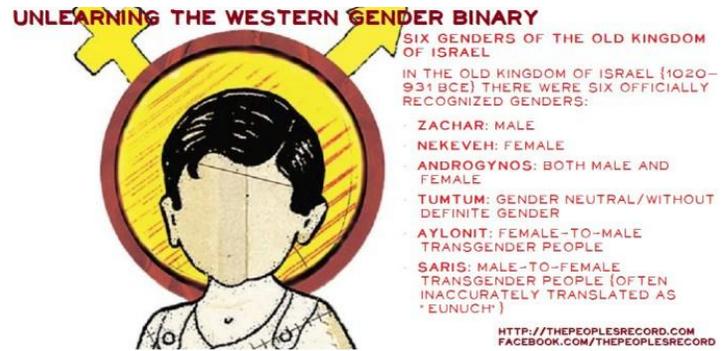
significant overlapping among these approaches (for example, WID can be seen as an early version of neoliberal framework), but intellectually important to shed light to the differences they manifest (Singh, 2007).

COLONIAL AND CAPITALISTIC

PERSPECTIVES OF GENDER: When the debates comes in western perspective of culture, one can say that the western pattern of life is highly centralized with the capitalist mindset that thought most the time about the financial gains more than anything else. Consciously, the capitalist perspective of the gender is most likely to ponder upon the capitalism more than anything else. The combined force of free trade economy, private ownership and even the workforce maxim the main by product comes when the employee and employer relations could be beneficial in getting the maximum benefits from the streamline of gender in the society. (LUGONES, 2012)

THE COLONIAL PERSPECTIVES OF

GENDER: The ordinary people and the daily lives can disrupt from the interventions of capitalist mindset and women oppression could rise but this is not a full truth. For instance, the Java is the true society that based upon financial decisions of women at home from corporate level. The capitalist mode of production is the way that hindered the performance of working class so that the community can get the real meaning of working style in all aspects. The gender relations is important in exploration of different aspects in the society because the community level approach is the real time intervention to show that the capitalist perspective is the major way to think about the gender and should not ignore in any facet of society. (LUGONES, 2012)



The capitalist society itself is not a major issues for the employer but the Islamic views are. The Islamic views, teaching norms and values are highly centralized with the different aspects of gender with the discourse analysis. The women even in the most of the Asian counties considered as the way of thinking about at western social perspective rather than the Islamic view of women that may further enhance the oppression of women in society. It is entirely accepted that the capitalism and the Islamic teachings are away from each other and the women' issue could not resolve in such irony. (LUGONES, 2012)

The traditional family system is biggest paradigm have the belief to behave in the way to discuss the importance of Islam in comparison with the corporate system. The oppression of the women starts when the contradiction starts between the religion and capitalism has started in different ways. It is known reality that there is some intersection exists between the race, gender, class and even in sexuality that comes to the point that may enables the understanding level to discuss the systematic violence so that the men' role in the violence could clear because of gender difference here in the debate. (LUGONES, 2012)

The women of color is the advance phenomenon that may show that the women is the basic reality in world and should develop the way that may endorse the image of women in society more than anything else. The framework analysis in three elements one element is the gender, second one is the race and

third element is the colonization that may hinder the performance of gender in the society in entire approach. These aforementioned approaches comes in the discussion by the third world scholars of feminism to get the real cause behind this biggest ill of the society. (LUGONES, 2012)

GENDER ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENT THEORIES

MODERNIZATION THEORY: Historically, the development of the so-called Third World has been tied to modernization theory. Modernization theory argues that industrialization leads to economic development. The growth of the economy creates political stability which in turn benefits all sectors of the population. Modernization theory takes for granted that, “urbanization- often accompanied by increased industrialization, literacy, and exposure to the mass media-would offer women greater occupational and educational opportunities, thereby enhancing their status.” Evidence used to argue that economic development does indeed help women in developing nations shows that though short term results of industrialization are detrimental to women, in the long term as wealth flows through all sectors of society, everyone profits.

Prior to 1970, it was believed that development affected men and women in the same way, no gendered perspective existed for development studies. It was later realized that economic development did not eradicate poverty nor did it reach all demographics, especially women. The 1970’s saw a transformation in development theory that sought to incorporate women into existing development paradigms. The issue was not perceived to be a theoretical one, but rather a practical one; simply including women would alleviate their subordination.

Ester Boserup’s analysis of development in, “Women’s Role in Economic Development,” was a

watershed moment for gendered development. Boserup attacked the focus on economic development that had dominated development theory. She argued that the benefits gained by economic development do not reach women. Oppressive social hierarchies and the lack of women working in the formal economy are two factors that prevent economic growth in developing nations from reaching women. For example, women produce 60-80% of food in developing nations. Since agricultural production occurs in rural areas, and industrialization focuses on urban areas, women benefit little.

Contemporary gendered development theory focuses not only on the economic constraints women face, but the social constraints as well. This approach takes a holistic approach to the development of women and recognizes the full spectrum of oppressive structures that subordinate women: It favors the elimination of legal, customary, and labor market constraints on women’s mobility and economic participation while realizing that these constraints are rooted in long-standing gender ideologies and asymmetrical gender relations. This approach recognizes the not only the public sphere but the private as well, and how both spheres are sources of oppression.

The operationalization of this most recent theory on gendered development can be seen in the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDG). These goals were created at the UN Summit in 2000 with the intention of achieving all eight MDGs by 2015. The MDGs do not mention economic development but rather things such as maternal health, universal primary education and promoting gender equality. The MDGs give international credence to the assertion that for the Third World to become developed, social as well as economic problems must be addressed.

MEASURING DEVELOPMENT: Applying these principles and goals to the practical development of these nations serves as the greatest challenge.

Further, once the policies and programs are applied to the nations, there must be a mechanism in order to determine the progress of the respective countries and how they compare globally. The United Nations Development Program constructed an index, in 1990, which would measure this advancement—the Human Development Index (HDI). Three indicia are used for this measurement: health, education and living standards. There are several components within these three categories. However, it was found that the HDI neglected the discrepancy that clearly existed between the status of men and women. Therefore, the Gender-related Development Index (GDI) was created in 1995; it uses the same indicia of basic capabilities but accounts for the inequality between men and women. An additional measurement, Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), is used to couple the GDI. This is a measure of agency, and evaluates the level of progress women have achieved in the political and economic spheres. The GDI was meant to be read with the HDI. Since it was an adjustment to the latter, it noted the gender disparities of the basic indicia of the HDI.

The Gender Inequality Index (GII) was formulated in 2010 in order to address the problems with the GDI and GEM. One of them was income, which caused great disparity with nations varying in their relative standards of living and the income they provide for the women in relation to men. Therefore, income was eliminated as an indicator in the GII.

The GII combines the elements of the GDI and GEM. It focuses on three dimensions, with 5 indicators: (1) labor market: labor force participation; (2) empowerment: educational attainment, parliamentary representation; (3) reproductive health: adolescent fertility, maternal mortality. These dimensions focus upon the human

development of a nation and how gender plays an integral role in that dynamic. It gives light to the issues of gender inequity and provides potential policy measures and corresponding advocacy efforts.

Goals: Kathleen Staudt, in her analysis of gender development, identified four goals that should be considered the ultimate objectives.

They include:

- (1) Growth with Equity,
- (2) Rural and Agricultural Change,
- (3) Basic Human Needs and
- (4) Poverty Reduction.

These overall goals can be used as normative measurements in the human and societal development in the nations. Though, the most significant development agenda that currently exists are the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The MDGs deal with non-economic issues, and rather focus upon human development:

- End Poverty and Hunger
- Universal Primary Education
- Gender Equality
- Child Health
- Maternal Health
- Combat HIV/AIDS
- Environmental Sustainability
- Global Partnership

For development to be effective, progress must be made in all areas. “For the greatest impact, it is important to invest across all of the MDGs. Thus, multisectoral approaches and coordination among various implementing agencies are critical.”

Also, the focus on women is apparent with two of the goals explicitly mentioning women, and all of

them indirectly involving women. The United Nations' Development Programme notes that, "Gender equality and women's empowerment have large multiplier effects on other MDGs. This is perhaps one of the most important linkages across the MDGs. The country-level evidence indicates that women and girls do not have equal access to goods, services and productive assets."

The MDGs represent the progress that has been made in regards to the development of women. Whereas development was solely an economic initiative, the MDGs emphasize social issues the underdeveloped world is facing. Most importantly, the importance of women to development seems to have been realized by the international community.

WORLD SYSTEM THEORY: World-systems theory (also known as world-systems analysis or the world-systems perspective), a multidisciplinary, macro-scale approach to world history and social change, emphasizes the world-system (and not nation states) as the primary (but not exclusive) unit of social analysis.

"World-system" refers to the inter-regional and transnational division of labor, which divides the world into core countries, semi-periphery countries, and the periphery countries. Core countries focus on higher skill, capital-intensive production, and the rest of the world focuses on low-skill, labor-intensive production and extraction of raw materials. This constantly reinforces the dominance of the core countries. Nonetheless, the system has dynamic characteristics, in part as a result of revolutions in transport technology, and individual states can gain or lose their core (semi-periphery, periphery) status over time. For a time, certain countries become the world hegemon; during the last few centuries, as the world-system has extended geographically and intensified economically, this status has passed from the Netherlands, to the United Kingdom and (most recently) to the United States of America.

Background: Immanuel Wallerstein has developed the best-known version of world-systems analysis, beginning in the 1970s. Wallerstein traces the rise of the capitalist world-economy from the "long" 16th century (c. 1450-1640). The rise of capitalism, in his view, was an accidental outcome of the protracted crisis of feudalism (c. 1290-1450). Europe (Western world / the West) used its advantages and gained control over most of the world economy and presided over the development and spread of industrialization and capitalism / capitalist economy, indirectly resulting in international inequality / unequal development.

Though other commentators refer to Wallerstein's project as world-systems "theory", he consistently rejects that term. For Wallerstein, world-systems analysis is, above all, a mode of analysis that aims to transcend the structures of knowledge inherited from the 19th century including, especially, the divisions within the social sciences, and between the social sciences and history. For Wallerstein, then, world-systems analysis is a "knowledge movement" that seeks to discern the "totality of what has been paraded under the labels of the... human sciences and indeed well beyond." "We must invent a new language," Wallerstein insists, to transcend the illusions of the "three supposedly distinctive arenas" of society, economy and politics. The trinitarian structure of knowledge is grounded in another, even grander, modernist architecture, the distinction of biophysical worlds (including those within bodies) from social ones: "One question, therefore, is whether we will be able to justify something called social science in the twenty-first century as a separate sphere of knowledge."

Many other scholars have contributed significant work in this "knowledge movement"

CHARACTERISTICS

SEE ALSO: CORE-PERIPHERY

World-systems analysis argues that capitalism, as a historical system, has always integrated a variety of labor forms within a functioning division of labor (world economy). Countries do not have economies but are part of the world economy. Far from being separate societies or worlds, the world economy manifests a tripartite division of labor, with core, semiperipheral and peripheral zones. In the core zones, businesses, with the support of states they operate within, monopolise the most profitable activities of the division of labor.

There are many ways to attribute a specific country to the core, semi-periphery, or periphery. Using an empirically based sharp formal definition of "domination" in a two-country relationship, Piana in 2004 defined the "core" as made up of "free countries" dominating others without being dominated, the "semi-periphery" as the countries that are dominated (usually, but not necessarily, by core countries) but at the same time dominating others (usually in the periphery) and "periphery" as the countries dominated. Based on 1998 data, the full list of countries in the three regions, together with a discussion of methodology, can be found.

The late 18th and early 19th centuries marked a great turning point in the development of capitalism in that capitalists achieved state society power in the key states, which furthered the industrial revolution marking the rise of capitalism. World-systems analysis contends that capitalism as a historical system formed earlier and that countries do not "develop" in stages, but the system does, and events have a different meaning as a phase in the development of historical capitalism, the emergence of the three ideologies of the national developmental mythology (the idea that countries can develop through stages if they pursue the right set of policies): conservatism, liberalism, and radicalism.

Proponents of world-systems analysis see the world stratification system the same way Karl Marx

viewed class (ownership versus nonownership of the means of production) and Max Weber viewed class (which, in addition to ownership, stressed occupational skill level in the production process). The core nations primarily own and control the major means of production in the world and perform the higher-level production tasks. The periphery nations own very little of the world's means of production (even when they are located in periphery nations) and provide less-skilled labour. Like a class system with a nation, class positions in the world economy result in an unequal distribution of rewards or resources. The core nations receive the greatest share of surplus production, and periphery nations receive the smallest share. Furthermore, core nations are usually able to purchase raw materials and other goods from non-core nations at low prices and demand higher prices for their exports to non-core nations. Chirot (1986) lists the five most important benefits coming to core nations from their domination of periphery nations:

- Access to a large quantity of raw material
- Cheap labour
- Enormous profits from direct capital investments
- A market for exports
- Skilled professional labor through migration of these people from the non-core to the core.

According to Wallerstein, the unique qualities of the modern world system include its capitalistic nature, its truly global nature, and the fact that it is a world economy that has not become politically unified into a world empire.

CORE NATIONS:

- These are the most economically diversified, wealthy, and powerful (economically and militarily)
- Have strong central governments, controlling extensive bureaucracies and powerful
- militaries

- Have stronger and more complex state institutions that help manage economic affairs internally and externally
- Have a sufficient tax base so state institutions can provide infrastructure for a strong economy
- Highly industrialised and produce manufactured goods rather than raw materials for export
- Increasingly tend to specialise in information, finance and service industries
- More often in the forefront of new technologies and new industries. Examples today include high-technology electronic and biotechnology industries. Another example would be assembly-line auto production in the early 20th century.
- Has strong bourgeois and working classes
- Have significant means of influence over non-core nations
- Relatively independent of outside control

Throughout the history of the modern world system, there has been a group of core nations competing with one another for access to the world's resources, economic dominance and hegemony over periphery nations. Occasionally, there has been one core nation with clear dominance over others. According to Immanuel Wallerstein, a core nation is dominant over all the others when it has a lead in three forms of economic dominance over a period of time:

- Productivity dominance allows a country to produce products of greater quality at a cheaper price, compared to other countries.
 - Productivity dominance may lead to trade dominance. Now, there is a favorable balance of trade for the dominant nation since more countries are buying the products of the dominant country than buying from them.
 - Trade dominance may lead to financial dominance. Now, more money is coming into the country than going out. Bankers of the dominant nation tend to receive more control of the world's financial resources.
- Military dominance is also likely after a nation reaches these three rankings. However, it has been posited that throughout the modern world system, no nation has been able to use its military to gain economic dominance. Each of the past dominant nations became dominant with fairly small levels of military spending and began to lose economic dominance with military expansion later on.

Historically, cores were found in Northwestern Europe (England, France, Netherlands) but were later in other parts of the world (such as the United States).

PERIPHERAL NATIONS

- Have relatively weak governments
- Have relatively weak institutions, with tax bases too small to support infrastructural development
- Tend to depend on one type of economic activity, often by extracting and exporting raw materials to core nations
- Tend to be the least industrialized
- Are often targets for investments from multinational (or transnational) corporations from core nations that come into the country to exploit cheap unskilled labor in order to export back to core nations
- Have a small bourgeois and a large peasant classes
- Tend to have populations with high percentages of poor and uneducated people
- Tend to have very high social inequality because of small upper classes that own most of the land and have profitable ties to multinational corporations
- Tend to be extensively influenced by core nations and their multinational corporations and often forced to follow economic policies that help core nations and harm the long-term economic prospects of peripheral nations.

- Historically, peripheries were found outside Europe, such as in Latin America and today in sub-Saharan Africa.

SEMI-PERIPHERAL NATIONS: Semi-peripheral nations are those that are midway between the core and periphery. Thus, they have to keep themselves from falling into the category of peripheral nations and at the same time, they strive to join the category of core nations. Therefore, they tend to apply protectionist policies most aggressively among the three categories of nations. They tend to be countries moving towards industrialization and more diversified economies. These regions often have relatively developed and diversified economies but are not dominant in international trade. They tend to export more to peripheral nations and import more from core nations in trade. According to some scholars, such as Chirot, they are not as subject to outside manipulation as peripheral societies; but according to others (Barfield), they have "peripheral-like" relations to the core. While in the sphere of influence of some cores, semiperipheries also tend to exert their own control over some peripheries. Further, semi-peripheries act as buffers between cores and peripheries and thus "partially deflect the political pressures which groups primarily located in peripheral areas might otherwise direct against core-states" and stabilise the world system.

Semi-peripheries can come into existence from developing peripheries and declining cores.

Historically, two examples of semiperipheral nations would be Spain and Portugal, which fell from their early core positions but still managed to retain influence in Latin America. Those countries imported silver and gold from their American colonies but then had to use it to pay for manufactured goods from core countries such as England and France. In the 20th century, nations like the "settler colonies" of Australia, Canada and

New Zealand had a semiperipheral status. In the 21st century, nations like Brazil, Russia, India, Israel, China, South Korea and South Africa (BRICS) are usually considered semiperipheral.

DEPENDENCY THEORY: Dependency theory is the notion that resources flow from a "periphery" of poor and underdeveloped states to a "core" of wealthy states, enriching the latter at the expense of the former. It is a central contention of dependency theory that poor states are impoverished and rich ones enriched by the way poor states are integrated into the "world system".

The theory arose as a reaction to modernization theory, an earlier theory of development which held that all societies progress through similar stages of development, that today's underdeveloped areas are thus in a similar situation to that of today's developed areas at some time in the past, and that therefore the task in helping the underdeveloped areas out of poverty is to accelerate them along this supposed common path of development, by various means such as investment, technology transfers, and closer integration into the world market.

Dependency theory rejected this view, arguing that underdeveloped countries are not merely primitive versions of developed countries, but have unique features and structures of their own; and, importantly, are in the situation of being the weaker members in a world market economy.

Dependency theory no longer has many proponents as an overall theory, but some writers have argued for its continuing relevance as a conceptual orientation to the global division of wealth.

BASICS: The premises of dependency theory are that: **Poor nations** provide natural resources, cheap labour, a destination for obsolete technology, and markets for developed nations, without which the latter could not have the standard of living they enjoy. **Wealthy nations** actively perpetuate a state

of dependence by various means. This influence may be multifaceted, involving economics, media control, politics, banking and finance, education, culture, and sport.

STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM: Structural functionalists posit that gender roles arise from the need to establish a division of labor that will help maintain the smooth running of the family and concomitantly contribute to the stability of society. In this view, girls and boys are taught different approaches to life. Boys are taught instrumentality—that is, to be goal oriented, to focus on tasks, and to be concerned for the relationship of the family to outside societal structures. Girls, on the other hand, are taught to be expressive—that is, to express their emotions and to look for and react to the emotions of others. In many ways, the functionalist perspective of gender equality is a product of its times, describing the realities of gender roles and inequalities of the 1950s but not explaining them. However, the functionalist perspective is less useful for describing the realities of gender in the postindustrial age, in which many women work outside the home, men can stay at home with the children, and everyone helps with the housework. More research is needed in order to gain a better understanding of the role of gender in twenty-first-century society and how the changing requirements of the postindustrial age affect these roles and the stability they enforce on society.

SEX, GENDER

Overview: Gender inequality can be defined as the existence of disparities among individuals based solely on their gender rather than objective differences in skills, abilities, or other characteristics. Gender inequality may be obvious (e.g., not receiving the same pay for the same job) or subtle (e.g., not being given the same subjective opportunities for advancement). Although there are US federal laws in place that prohibit discrimination

on the basis of sex and that require equal pay for equal work regardless of one's gender, on average, men continue to be paid more money than women in the United States. Women are also often victims of gender stratification, or the hierarchical organization of a society in such a way that members of one gender have more access to wealth, prestige, and power than do the members of the other gender. However, gender inequality is not an issue confined to the United States or other developed countries: It occurs in societies and cultures around the world. Gender inequality is a matter of social justice and human rights wherever it occurs. However, in many developing countries, it is even more so as women are marginalized and thought of as second-class citizens. In fact, gender inequality is so important that it is included in the Millennium Development Goals developed by the United Nations. While it is known that gender inequality exists, why it exists is not completely understood. As a complex issue with many underlying determinants, there are a number of different perspectives on why it occurs. It is important to investigate these differing perspectives as each provides different suggestions for solving the gender inequality problem. The structural functionalist perspective is one such view that highlights some theories as to why gender inequality occurs; these are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Structural Functionalism: Structural functionalists attempt to explain the nature of social order and the relationship between the various parts (structures) in society by examining the functionality of each to determine how it contributes to the stability of society as a whole. Although theorists using other perspectives argue that gender differentiation is bad for society in general and women in particular because it keeps women from reaching their potential and contributing fully to society, from the functionalist perspective, gender differentiation contributes to the stability of a society. Gender roles,

in this view, arise from the need to establish a division of labor within the family. Because of their biological role in childbirth and breastfeeding, women in virtually every culture and society around the planet have the primary responsibility for child care. Similarly, men have traditionally had the responsibilities for hunting and waging war because of their relatively greater size and strength.

SOCIALIZATION: Through the socialization process, these roles are taught to succeeding generations. Although in modern times there are other options for feeding an infant and many jobs require brain power more than muscle power, this differentiation between gender roles has become ingrained to a great degree. Through socialization, individuals learn to differentiate between what the society regards as acceptable versus unacceptable behavior and act in a manner that is appropriate for the needs of the society. The family (and, later, the larger society) begins teaching gender roles almost immediately after birth. For example, most infant girls are held more gently and treated more tenderly than are infant boys. As the child grows older, both mothers and fathers usually play more roughly with little boys than with little girls. As children, little boys are typically also allowed to roam a wider territory without permission than are little girls, and boys are typically expected to run errands earlier than are girls.

WORLDVIEW: In addition, through the socialization process, boys and girls are frequently taught different worldviews. For example, sons are typically told that "real boys don't cry" and encouraged to control their softer emotions, while girls are taught not to fight and not to show anger or aggression. Functionalists refer to these different worldviews as instrumentality and expressiveness.

Instrumentality is a worldview that includes an emphasis on tasks, a focus on long-term goals, and concern for the relationship between one's family

and other social institutions. To teach this attitude, for example, boys may be taught to be goal-oriented by encouraging them to participate in team sports in which they compete and strive to win or to build models or other long-term projects where gratification is not immediate.

Expressiveness, on the other hand, is a worldview that includes a concern for maintaining harmony and emotional affairs internal to the family. Girls are typically taught to be more emotion-oriented (as opposed to emotional) than boys. For example, girls are often taught how to express their emotions and to look for and react to the emotions of others.

The socialization process of gender roles can be so subtle that when the disparity between the way they teach and treat their daughters and sons is pointed out to many parents, they often respond that the sexes are naturally different not only biologically but behaviorally as well. According to the functionalist perspective, these divergent ways of interacting with the world are mutually supportive. For example, by being expressive and maintaining a harmonious home and family life, women free men from such responsibilities, thereby enabling them to go out into the world and focus on long-term tasks and goals. Similarly, by men having an instrumental outlook and interacting with the larger society, women are freed to focus on creating a harmonious home and family life. Although functionalists do not suggest that such traditional gender roles are the only way in which to bring about a stable society, they posit that traditional roles do have this result.

PARSONS: The functionalist perspective of gender roles with its view of expressive females and instrumental males is based on the work of Parsons and Bales in traditional societies. Part of the concern of these theorists was that if both partners in a marriage worked outside the home, competition could arise and the marriage could be threatened. As a result, they did separate spheres for men and

women as a way to preserve the institution of marriage, which they believed was not well supported in urban, industrialized societies. Further, this theory arose during a time in which theories of social stratification assumed that the status of a woman was determined by the status of her husband. Postmodern, postindustrial society no longer accepts this assumption as a given.

GENDER APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT (WID): Women in development (WID) is an approach to development projects that emerged in the 1970s, calling for treatment of women's issues in development projects. It is the integration of women into the global economies by improving their status and assisting in total development. Later, the Gender and development (GAD) approach proposed more emphasis on gender relations rather than seeing women's issues in isolation.

Concepts: In Africa, one of the first to recognise the importance of women in farming was Baumann in 1928, with his classic article *The Division of Work According to Sex in African Hoe Culture*. Kaberry published a much-quoted study of women in the Cameroon in 1952, and empirical data on male and female activities was documented in *Nigerian Cocoa Farmers* published in 1956 by Galletti, Baldwin and Dina. Ester Boserup's pioneering *Women's Role in Economic Development* brought greater attention to the importance of women's role in agricultural economies and the lack of alignment of development projects with this reality. In the preface to her book, Boserup wrote that "in the vast and ever-growing literature on economic development, reflections on the particular problems of women are few and far between". She showed that women often did more than half the agricultural work, in one case as much as 80%, and that they also played an important role in trade.

In other countries, women were severely underemployed. According to the 1971 census in India, women constituted 48.2% of the population but only 13% of economic activity. Women were excluded from many types of formal job, so 94% of the female workforce was engaged in the unorganized sector employed in agriculture, agro-forestry, fishery, handicrafts and so on. With growing awareness of women's issues, in the 1970s development planners began to try to integrate women better into their projects to make them more productive. The WID approach initially accepted existing social structures in the recipient country and looked at how to better integrate women into existing development initiatives. The straightforward goal was to increase the productivity and earnings of women.

Activities: The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) established a special Division for Women in Development, promoting concrete action to ensure that women participate in UNDP projects. The United Nations paper *International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade*, issued in 1980, recognized a number of Women in Development issues. It called for women to play an active role in all sectors and at all levels of the Program of Action adopted by the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, both as agents and beneficiaries. Policies on industrialization, food and agriculture, science and technology and social development should all involve women.

A 1985 report by the OECD Development Center surveyed a broad sample of development projects aimed at women. It concluded that many were too welfare-oriented. It said "future projects should avoid the home economics approach and focus on income-generating activities which are relevant and useful to the women participating". It also noted the lack of information about women's roles and

activities, and called for greater research as input to development projects.

The Harvard Analytical Framework attempted to address these concerns. The framework has its origins in 1980 with a request to Harvard University for WID training from the World Bank. James Austin, who was well known for case-method training at Harvard, led a team with three women experienced in WID work: Catherine Overholt, Mary Anderson and Kathleen Cloud. These became known as the "Harvard Team". The framework was elaborated by the Harvard Institute for International Development in collaboration with the WID office of USAID, and was first described in 1984 by Catherine Overholt and others. It was one of the earliest of such frameworks. The starting point for the framework was the assumption that it makes economic sense for development aid projects to allocate resources to women as well as men, which will make development more efficient – a position named the “efficiency approach”.

In November 1990 the leaders of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) countries endorsed recommendations of the second SAARC ministerial meeting of Women in Development held in June 1990, agreeing that the years 1991–2000 should be observed as the "SAARC Decade of the Girl Child". A wide range of recommendations for improving the development of female children were accepted.

Criticism: The validity of the basic assumptions of the WID approach have been criticized by some, while other consider that it does not go far enough. The latter group says it ignores the larger social processes that affect women's lives and their reproductive roles. The approach does not address the root causes of gender inequalities. The Gender and Development (GAD) approach in the 1980s attempted to redress the problem, using gender analysis to develop a broader view. The approach is

more concerned with relationships, the way in which men and women participate in development processes, rather than strictly focusing on women's issues.

In a 1988 paper *Women in Development: Defining the Issues for the World Bank*, Paul Collier argued that gender-neutral public policies may be inadequate, and gender-specific policies may be required to more effectively alleviate problems. [In at least some countries, women have become increasingly involved in financial budgeting and management and since the 1995 Beijing Conference on Women there has been a surge in gender-responsive budgeting

WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT (WAD):

Development affects people in different parts of the world in different ways. It also affects people differently, depending whether they are male or female. Being aware of this, and taking it into account in development planning and action is known today as practicing a ‘gender perspective’. Generally speaking, there have been a number of improvements to women’s lives in the past twenty years. For example, female life expectancy is increasing; more girls are going to school; more women are in the paid workforce; and, many countries have introduced laws to protect women’s rights. However, the gender divide remains. There has been “no breakthrough in women’s participation in decision-making processes and little progress in legislation in favour of women’s rights to own land and other property”, according to Mr. Kofi Annan, in his role as Secretary General of the United Nations.

This module explores women’s experiences of development in different parts of the world. It also explores ways in which women from a number of countries are working to promote sustainable development in their communities and how these ideas can be integrated into a teaching programme.

Objectives

1. To evaluate the way development impacts on women in varying situations;
2. To identify with women's concerns about development;
3. To understand the importance of accelerating the pace of change in women's development;
4. To appreciate the way women are working for a sustainable future in their own communities; and
5. To identify opportunities for incorporating issues and activities from the module into a teaching programme.

GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT (GAD): The pre-World War II period saw flourishing movements of various forms of feminism; however, the nexus between (economic) development and women was not clearly articulated until the second half of the 20th century. Women first came into focus in development as objects of welfare policies, including birth control, nutrition, pregnancy, and so forth. "In 1962 the UN General Assembly asked the Commission on Women's Status to prepare a report on the role of women in development. Ester Boserup's path breaking study on Women's Role in Economic Development was published in 1970." These events marked monumental moments in developing liberal paradigm of women in development, and the welfarist approach still remains dominant in development practices today. This article scrutinizes various approaches in gender and development, but primarily covers the dominant liberal approaches starting from WID, WAD, GAD and neoliberal frameworks (Singh, 2007). There is significant overlapping among these approaches (for example, WID can be seen as an early version of neoliberal framework), but intellectually important to shed light to the differences they manifest (Singh, 2007).

NEOLIBERAL APPROACHES

GENDER AND NEOLIBERAL DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTIONS:

Among development institutions, gender issues have increasingly become part of economic development agendas, as the examples of the World Bank shows. Awareness by international organizations of the need to address gender issues evolved over the past decades. The World Bank, for example, started focusing on gender in 1977 with the appointment of a first Women in Development Adviser. In 1984 the bank mandated that its programs consider women's issues. In 1994 the bank issued a policy paper on Gender and Development, reflecting current thinking on the subject. This policy aims to address policy and institutional constraints that maintain disparities between the genders and thus limit the effectiveness of development programs. Thirty years after the appointment of a first Women in Development Adviser, a so-called Gender Action Plan was launched to underline the importance of the topic within development strategies and to introduce the new Smart Economics strategy. In 2012, the World Development Report was the first report of the series examining Gender Equality and Development.

Women have been identified by some development institutions as a key to successful development, for example through financial inclusion. One example is the Women's Development Business (WDB) in South Africa, a Grameen Bank microfinance replicator. According to WDB, the goal is to ensure "that rural women are given the tools to free themselves from the chains of poverty" through allocation of financial resources directly to women including enterprise development programs. The idea is to use microfinance as a market-oriented tool to ensure access to financial services for disadvantaged and low-income people and therefore fostering economic development through financial inclusion.

As a reaction, a current topic in the feminist literature on economic development is the ‘gendering’ of microfinance, as women have increasingly become the target borrowers for rural microcredit lending. This, in turn, creates the assumption of a “rational economic woman” which can exacerbate existing social hierarchies). Therefore, the critique is that the assumption of economic development through microfinance does not take into account all possible outcomes, especially the ones affecting women.

The impact of programs of the Bretton Woods Institutions and other similar organizations on gender are being monitored by Gender Action, a watchdog group founded in 2002 by Eliane Zuckerman who is a former World Bank economist.

GENDER, FINANCIAL CRISES, AND NEOLIBERAL ECONOMIC POLICY: The global financial crisis and the following politics of austerity have opened up a wide range of gender and feminist debates on neoliberalism and the impact of the crisis on women. One view is that the crisis has affected women disproportionately and that there is a need for alternative economic structures in which investment in social reproduction needs to be given more weight. The International Labour Organization (ILO) assessed the impact of the global financial crisis on workers and concluded that while the crisis initially affected industries that were dominated by male workers (such as finance, construction and manufacturing) it then spread over to sectors in which female workers are predominantly active. Examples for these sectors are the service sector or wholesale retail trade.

There are different views among feminists on whether neoliberal economic policies have more positive or negative impacts on women. In the post-war era, feminist scholars such as Elizabeth Wilson criticized state capitalism and the welfare state as a tool to oppress women. Therefore, neoliberal

economic policies featuring privatization and deregulation, hence a reduction of the influence of the state and more individual freedom was argued to improve conditions for women. This anti-welfare state thinking arguably led to feminist support for neoliberal ideas embarking on a macroeconomic policy level deregulation and a reduced role of the state.

Therefore, some scholars in the field argue that feminism, especially during its second wave, has contributed key ideas to Neoliberalism that, according to these authors, creates new forms of inequality and exploitation.

As a reaction to the phenomenon that some forms of feminism are increasingly interwoven with capitalism, many suggestions on how to name these movements have emerged in the feminist literature. Examples are ‘free market feminism’ or even ‘faux-feminism’.

SMART ECONOMICS: Theoretical approaches Advocated chiefly by the World Bank, smart economics is an approach to define gender equality as an integral part of economic development and it aims to spur development through investing more efficiently in women and girls. It stresses that the gap between men and women in human capital, economic opportunities, and voice/agency is a chief obstacle in achieving more efficient development. As an approach, it is a direct descendant of the efficiency approach taken by WID which “rationalizes ‘investing’ in women and girls for more effective development outcomes.” As articulated in the section of WID, the efficiency approach to women in development was chiefly articulated by Caroline Moser in the late 1980s. Continuing the stream of WID, smart economics’ key unit of analysis is women as individual and it particularly focuses on measures that promote to narrow down the gender gap. Its approach identifies women are relatively underinvested source of

development and it defines gender equality an opportunity of higher return investment. “Gender equality itself is here depicted as smart economics, in that it enables women to contribute their utmost skills and energies to the project of world economic development.” In this term, smart economics champions neoliberal perspective in seeing business as a vital vehicle for change and it takes a stance of liberal feminism.

The thinking behind smart economics dates back, at least, to the lost decade of the Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) in the 1980s. In 1995, World Bank issued its flagship publication on gender matters of the year Enhancing Women’s Participation in Economic Development (World Bank 1995). This report marked a critical foundation to the naissance of Smart Economics; in a chapter entitled ‘The Pay-offs to Investing in Women,’ the Bank proclaimed that investing in women “speeds economic development by raising productivity and promoting the more efficient use of resources; it produces significant social returns, improving child survival and reducing fertility, and it has considerable intergenerational pay-offs.” The Bank also emphasized its associated social benefits generated by investing in women. For example, the Bank turned to researches of Whitehead that evidenced a greater female-control of household income is associated with better outcomes for children’s welfare and Jeffery and Jeffery who analyzed the positive correlation between female education and lower fertility rates. In the 2000s, the approach of smart economics came to be further crystallized through various frameworks and initiatives. A first step was World Bank’s Gender Action Plan (GAP) 2007-/2010, followed by the “Three Year Road Map for Gender Mainstreaming 2010-13.” The 2010-13 framework responded to criticisms for its precursor and incorporated some shifts in thematic priorities. Lastly but not least, the decisive turning point was 2012 marked by its publication of “World

Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development.” This Bank’s first comprehensive focus on the gender issues was welcomed by various scholars and practitioners, as an indicator of its seriousness. For example, Shahra Razavi appraised the report as ‘a welcome opportunity for widening the intellectual space’.

Other international organizations, particular UN families, have so far endorsed the approach of smart economics. Examining the relationship between child well-being and gender equality, for example, UNICEF also referred to the “Double Dividend of Gender Equality.” Its explicit link to a wider framework of the Millennium Development Goals (where the Goal 3 is Promoting Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment) claimed a wider legitimacy beyond economic efficiency. In 2007, the Bank proclaimed that “The business case for investing in MDG 3 is strong; it is nothing more than smart economics.” In addition, “Development organisations and governments have been joined in this focus on the ‘business case’ for gender equality and the empowerment of women, by businesses and enterprises which are interested in contributing to social good.” A good example is “**Girl Effect Initiative**” taken by Nike Foundation. Its claim for economic imperative and a broader socio-economic impact also met a strategic need of NGOs and community organizations that seeks justification for their program funding. Thus, some NGOs, for example Plan International, captured this trend to further their program. The then-president of the World Bank Robert B. Zoellick was quoted by Plan International in stating “Investing in adolescent girls is precisely the catalyst poor countries need to break intergenerational poverty and to create a better distribution of income. Investing in them is not only fair, it is a smart economic move.” The global financial meltdown and austerity measures taken by major donor counties further supported this approach, since international financial institutions

(IFIs) s and international NGOs received a greater pressure from donors and from global public to design and implement maximally cost-effective programs.

Criticisms From the mid-2000s, the approach of smart economics and its chief proponent –World Bank– met a wide range of criticisms and denouncements. These discontents can be broadly categorized into three major claims; Subordination of Intrinsic Value; Ignorance for the need of systemic transformation; Feminisation of responsibility; Overemphasized efficiency; and Opportunistic pragmatism. This is not exhaustive list of criticisms, but the list aims to highlight different emphasis among existing criticisms.

Smart economics' subordination of women under the justification of development invited fierce criticisms. Chant expresses her grave concern that "Smart economics is concerned with building women's capacities in the interests of development rather than promoting women's rights for their own sake." She disagrees that investment in women should be promoted by its instrumental utility: "it is imperative to ask whether the goal of female investment is primarily to promote gender equality and women's 'empowerment', or to facilitate development 'on the cheap', and/or to promote further economic liberalization." Although smart economics outlines that gender equality has intrinsic value (realizing gender equality is an end itself) and instrumental value (realizing gender equality is a means to a more efficient development), many points out that the Bank pays almost exclusive attentions to the latter in defining its framework and strategy. Zuckerman also echoed this point by stating "business case [which] ignores the moral imperative of empowering women to achieve women's human rights and full equal rights with men." In short, Chant casts a doubt that if it is not "possible to promote rights through utilitarianism."

A wide range of scholars and practitioners has criticized that smart economics rather endorse the current status-quo of gender inequality and keep silence for the demand of institutional reform. Its approach "does not involve public action to transform the laws, policies, and practices which constrain personal and group agency." Naila Kabeer also posits that "attention to collective action to enable women to challenge structural discrimination has been downplayed." Simply, smart economics assumes that women are entirely capable of increasingly contributing for economic growth amid the ongoing structural barriers to realize their capabilities.

Sylvia Chant (2008) discredited its approach as 'feminisation of responsibility and/or obligation' where the smart economics intends to spur growth simply by demanding more from women in terms of time, labour, energy, and other resources. She also agrees that "Smart economics seeks to use women and girls to fix the world." She further goes by clarifying that "It is less welcome to women who are already contributing vast amounts to both production and unpaid reproduction to be romanticised and depicted as the salvation of the world."

Chant is concerned that "An efficiency-driven focus on young women and girls as smart economics leaves this critical part of the global population out." Smart economics assumes that all women are at their productive stage and fallaciously neglects lives of the elderly women, or women with handicaps. Thus she calls for recognition of "equal rights of all women and girls -regardless of age, or the extent of nature of their economic contribution." Also, its approach does not talk about cooperation and collaboration between males and females thus leaving men and boys completely out of picture.

Chant emphasize that "The smart economics approach represents, at best, pragmatism in a time of

economic restructuring and austerity.” Smart economics can have a wider acceptance and legitimacy because now is the time when efficiency is most demanded, not because its utilitarianism has universal appeal. She further warns that feminists should be very cautious about “supporting, and working in coalition with, individuals and institutions who approach gender equality through the lens of smart economics. This may have attractions in strategic terms, enabling us to access resources for work focusing on supporting the individual agency of women and girls, but risks aggravating many of the complex problems that gender and development seeks to transform

GENDER CRITIQUE OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT POLICIES (SAPS)

The Structural adjustment is the important topic specifically to International monetary fund body across the world that proposed that the huge mis-balance is experiencing now a day though even the big countries. The countries are always not willing to pay for the debt as they acquired in early approach through proper loan system. Now the bigger or developing countries needs a huge amount to revamp their economies at large scale in the introspective manner. The economy can rebuild only when they depends upon the economies in the different aspects. The long term debt is the best way to boast the economy in no time and this is the basic phenomenon that should apply. (Campbell, 2010)

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT POLICIES (SAPS)

The conditions of strong economic growth is another way to evaluate the conditions of the economy at large scale. The debt require to rebuild the system of import and export so that the business activities can get the proper maxim at large platform. Again the economic system is required in proper format that show that either the business

communities within the country is flourishing or not because the business widens always behave the positives with the economy at macro level. The economic conditions and the proposed structure always widens the scope of poverty and show that the poverty is linkage in the further exploration mode. (Campbell, 2010)

This thinking further wants to shift in economy and finally the reckless situations create the poverty platform in the country that is even more disruptive than the original economic disabilities are. The written objectives about the whole structure of the poverty is being monitored through the latest information about the poverty and its ways to mitigate this phenomenon from the country. The other attached paradigm of thinking is about the growth platform. (Campbell, 2010)

The growth is necessary to the country that show that either the internal community can attach with the poverty and could show some positives results only when there is sum of amount is being provided by the internal forums as IMF is one of them. The exploration of structural adjustment policies (SAPs) is entirely allowed by the consumer banking sector specifically to those developing countries have no means to grow in tough situation. (Campbell, 2010)

The critique believed that the entire account cannot satisfactory meet the demands unless or until there is proper check and balance in the gap analysis. That analysis actually provides through the general level more than the specific intervention. The gender base analysis is entirely removed from the approach and cannot accomplish in any aspect. (Campbell, 2010)

GLOBALIZATION AND GENDER

Introduction: Most of the economies of the developing world are now in the process of restructuring from an inward looking and state directed policy regime to an outward looking economy in the direction of free market and

liberalization. India had adopted the New Economic Policy in 1991 in the wake of the debt crisis, as an essential part of the structural Adjustment Policy urged by the IMF and World Bank. It was believed that this would make India overcome its foreign exchange deficits, encourage foreign investments and strengthen the balance of payments. The World Bank gave substantial loans to tide over the crisis. The globalization of trade and commerce was part of this package. Though these reforms focused mainly on industrial, fiscal, financial and external sectors, it was anticipated that a market determined exchange rate regime, reduction of protection to the industry and removal of restrictions on agricultural exports would benefit the agricultural sector. It was also expected that the new multilateral trading regime would enable India to increase her share in world exports of agricultural and agro based products.

In the global system, marked with widening income disparities, economic growth disparities, human capital disparities (life expectancy, nutrition, infant and child mortality, adult literacy, enrolment ratio etc.), disparities in the distribution of global economic resources and opportunities, the disturbing question that arises is that who would protect the interests of the poor and under privileged. The dominance of rich nations, multinational corporations and international capital over markets, resources and labour in the developing countries through trade, aid and technology transfer has greatly weakened the capacity of nation states and governments to promote human development and offer protection to the poor people. If the global opportunities continue to be unevenly distributed, the consequences of the most pressing problem, poverty, would increasingly overflow national frontiers.

Globalization: Globalization has been described as the gradual elimination of economic borders and concomitant increase in international exchange and transnational interaction. Globalization has been

identified with economic reforms, structural adjustment programs, New World trade order and the opening up of the commercial markets and the global communication village and the world increasingly becoming similar and smaller. In the context of women this would mean a better social and economic status. But does a growing interdependence and interconnectedness, necessarily lead to women's development? A look at agriculture sector from a gender perspective in India, shows that it is not necessarily so.

Globalization gets manifested in many ways. These include increased collaboration between companies in production and research, greater use of international financial markets, spatial spread of production activities to utilize local factors, cost advantage and gain access to new markets, increased intra-firm trade and trade in semi finished parts, increased merger and acquisitions and greater use of international labor market for specialized and senior management staff.

It is necessary to look at globalization in terms of its impact on the entire economy and society but with a perspective that is sensitive to women's needs and conditions because women comprise about half the sub-continent's population. Gender has been increasingly acknowledged as a critical variable in analysis and development planning. Gender is an expression of power in social relationship between men and women. Gender as a power relation derives from institutional arrangements which provide men of a given social group, with greater capacity than women from that social group to mobilize institutional rules and resources to promote and defend their own interests. The analytic concept of gender is meant to challenge the essentialist and universal dictum that, "biology is destiny".

In every form of activity, be it agriculture or allied activities, domestication of animals, fishing, weaving, garment making, women contribute

substantially to the value addition of the final product and yet their work is perceived by all as subsidiary, unskilled and often as skill only of domestic value. A large number of these women are burdened with the double burden of work and are vulnerable to exploitation. Though not a homogeneous group by way of caste, class or economic activity, deprivation and discrimination connect workers from this sector. They suffer from lack of opportunity to work, low and discriminatory wages and exploitative conditions resulting in casualization. They lack social security, face occupational health hazards, and do not have access to new technologies, skills and knowledge.

Challenges in the wake of Globalization:

Globalization has also decreased the control of women over resources. It has led to displacement and when both men and women land up in urban slums it affects the women more due to lack of sanitation. There is also an increase in the violence against women in these areas. The rhetoric of globalization promises to remove backwardness through a world wide exchange of information and establish a cosmopolitan culture but in actual practice since the world is based on unequal power relations these concerns are put on hold and lead to displacement and marginalization. Hence we need a holistic approach to development and empowerment—an approach which is based on equality, love and respect and starts from the family rather than an approach which is based on power and privilege of men and boys and weakness and subservience prescribed for women and girls.

Today there is an irreversibility of the reform process. The logic of global economy as well as India's interests dictate that India become pro active in its liberalization policies. India must liberalize not because it has no choice but because it is the best choice. India must liberalize because that way alone can it become a rich and prosperous nation and that way alone is there any hope of conquering poverty.

The realities of the transitional period and the costs to vulnerable sections of society have to be recognized by the policy makers, and some social safety nets to be created. The agricultural reforms must be sensitive to gender needs. The existing policy package consisting of Minimum Support Price for selected agricultural products and procurement of few food products and the supply of foodgrains and a few essential items through the Public Distribution System (PDS) need to be reviewed. The ideas of a minimum support price and crop insurance to reduce production risks will go a long way in helping the farmers. The PDS should target the poor and the people living below poverty line. Direct market interventions in the form of purchase, storage and distribution by government agencies must be avoided and increase the farmers especially women's access to the market via better roads and transport facilities, storage, packing and agro processing facilities. The goal must be sustainable agricultural development. It is imperative for the government to prioritize food security. It is very important to develop safety nets to minimize the adverse distributional consequences of globalization. Legal frameworks should be altered to ease women's access to and control of resources. The granting of land rights to women, rectifying the discriminatory inheritance laws, labour market legislations and laws to protect common Access to property will go a long way in altering the social conditioning of gender.

Sustainable human development must be at the top of the priority agenda. There is a need to look at development with a human face. The most important goals must include universal access to basic Access to Education, primary health care for all, elimination of serious malnutrition and provision of safe drinking water. Women's concerns need to be explicitly incorporated as integral elements of the objectives, content, monitoring and international support for structural adjustment. There is a need to

take into account women's special needs in the contribution to economic production, such as household management, child rearing, and community organization in addition to their contribution to agriculture. We need to view human beings as having intrinsic value and not just an instrumental value. The right to a life of dignity is a basic human right. Hence there is a need to change the total perspective. Development and Empowerment will have no real meaning until we focus on the issues of the situation of girl child, Violence against women and globalisation.

STATUS OF WOMEN IN PAKISTAN

The Ideology of Pakistan is based on Islam. During 1400 year, Islam is the only religions which granted different rights to women. As mother, she has the key of haven, and as daughter blessing of happiness. Islam has granted social political and economical rights to women. She has allowed choosing her life partner and her consent is mandatory for marriage. In addition, Women can work out of the home under Islamic terms and condition. Many other rights have also been granted such law of inheritance, equality between men and women, education and domestic rights.

Despite granting of rights to women, the Islamic state is responsible for the protection of her right

under the lights of Quran and Sunnah. However, the deteriorating condition of women in the world and Pakistan is miserable. In past, a liberation movement laid in the west, which compelled to accept equality of women. Further, it worked for the protection of women around the world.

The male and female ratio is not balance in Pakistan. Many factors are influencing it, such as Target Killing, sectarian riots, and suicide attacks. Nevertheless, Male is dominant in all sphere of life. During the early years of Pakistan, Women were allowed to work on equality basis. But the social backwardness of the people restrained them to liberate women in the environment. Mohtrama

Fatima Jinnah and other female freedom fighters are explicit example. In the regime of Ayoub and Bhutto, Women education was obliged. The 1973 constitution accepted the equality of women and their rights.

However, the Zia regime abandoned all the law of 1973, which guard the basic rights of women. The controversial Haddood-ordinance devastated the social life of women in the country. It was called the laws of Islam. All the punishment was according to the Islamic law, such as stone to death on the charges of adultery, as well as punishment of lashes, diat, Qisas. However, it failed to adopt fair and non controversial process of prosecution. Many cases were reported which demonstrate the incapability of Federal Sharia court to judge the case of rape and adultery. In addition, women were deprived of their basic rights. Due to the criticism by civil society, Federal Sharia Court had to reverse its few decision regarding rape and adultery.

The first woman Prime Minister promised to abolish such controversial laws. But, she could not succeed in her ambition, due to complex legislation of this law. It required approval from both the houses and then judicial review. Similarly, Nawaz Sharif could not do any remarkable progress for the development of women. In 2001, President General Musharaf suspended few controversial articles of Haddood Ordinance and release 1300 women from the prison, who were not arrested in any criminal case. The regime of Musharaf was the regime of women liberation. Women were inducted in army and air force. A cricket team of women were organized. In 2006, women protection bill distinguished between Jinah-Bil-Jabar and Zina-Bil-Raza. Despite the protest of religious parties, this law was enforced and effectively implemented. The Ministry of women Development was established in this regime. All NGOs of women right were free to perform their activities.

After the revival of democracy, the Government of Pakistan adopted the policy of ex-Government. In 2011, Anti-women bill was passed in Assembly. Despite all the legislation, women conferred different problems. In northern area, the practices of vani is strongly adopted as punish to convicted family. In practice of vani, a girl from convicted family will marry with a male with another family. In this regard, The Punchyat does not consider the age difference between male and female. Often, it is noted that girl was less than 14 years and the age of male from 25-45 years.

Watta-Satta is the given-take rule, in which a family will give a girl and will take a girl from other family. Such kind of practice denies the basic rules granted under Islāmic laws to women. Islam has appreciated the austerity in daily life. But, the practice of bulk dowry deteriorated the economic status of people. It has been compulsory to give bulk dowry to newly bride at the time of marriage. The repercussions are sever for the middle class people, who spend their all saving for the marriage of his daughter or sister. In result, they suffer in economic problems. On the other hand, the poor people in Pakistan could not arrange the marriage of his girl, due to devastated economic condition. In this context, the practice of dowry has become an abuse for the social life of people in Pakistan.

In different areas of Sindh, the people perform an illegal practice by marrying with Quran. There is not any kind of evidence to prove such practice according to Quran and Sunna. It is against the teaching of Islam. Another social crime practiced by the people of Sindh is honor killing of woman. According to the sources and survey, it has been revealed that honor killing is done, because of property, enmity and adultery rather than love marriages. In Islam, the right of consent with woman is granted and woman may select her life partner.

The act of acid throwing is prevailing around the country. Due to the forced love, marriage, enmity and domestic violence, this kind of act evolve in the society. It is a humiliating act which shattered feelings of the people around the world. The victims of this act are women. Miss Sharmin Obed Chinoy has highlighted the issue in international community by her documentary movie "Saving Face". In addition, the parliament has passed a bill to punish the culprits of acid throwing. In Pakistan, Woman trafficking business also is operated by indigenous people. Many women from different countries are brought and sell in Pakistan. In addition, women kidnapped from different parts of the country are sold in other parts of the country.

Pakistan is dominated by the tribal tradition in Northern areas, Fata, Baluchistan and Sindh. The tribal mindset people exploit the people in his favor. They don't honour the women as given by the Islam and ill-represent the Islamic values. Furthermore, these tribal mindset people oblige the torture on women. Even in Urban areas, the status of women is blemish for the social society. Where, the women restricted to get education. Mostly people support more to male child in education than female child. Due to lack of education, women fail to get their right and they suffer in domestic violence and sexual harassment cases.

The role of both women and men is important in the development of strong society. In this context, women problems may be eliminated from social life. It needs few measures to adopt. For better Islamic society, People must understand the true spirit of Islam. It will help to determine the right of women in the light of Islamic teachings. Nowadays, the role of media is excellent in promoting education for women. Other different method must be adopted to increase the importance of female education, especially in tribal areas.

The Government of Pakistan initiated many developments programs for the women in terms of education, training, and financial support. Other bodies of social life such as NGOs and Human Rights organization should arrange program for counseling the people about the status of women and in social life. They should also highlight the equality of gender and consent over marriage decision with girl. At present, women are enjoying a good status in upper class. The First Female speaker of national assembly is explicit example. In art and entertainment, Sharmin Obed Chinoy has received Oscar award for her documentary film "Saving Face".

Nevertheless, women suffer in miserable problems. These problems may be social, political and economical. A healthy and educated woman can build a strong society. During present decade, The Government of Pakistan launched many development programs to boost the women status in the country. The law enforcement agencies passed different laws to provide security to women in the country. In civil service of Pakistan, Women have granted 10% of quota. But it is also compulsory to counsel people about the right status of women in the society. In this regard, the Electronic Media can perform an excellent part

STATUS OF WOMEN'S HEALTH IN PAKISTAN

According to report that was issued by the Pakistan policy institute (PPI) in the last months of 2014, the health care system of Pakistan is about to collapsed and did not show any intention to improve in any aspect in the whole year. The health scare sector of Pakistan has never been a priority at state level and never discussed at any debate agenda so far. In 2014 analysis, report said in the conclusive mode that the Pakistan has the weakest health care system in south Asia and state run hospitals are not moving towards achieving the best goal as it have to achieve. The

achievement of health care is the greatest risk to the whole system and still the women is the main victim of this reckless system.

The basic health facilities that is the common and humanitarian practices in all the world, even, is not being presented by Pakistan. The health care system for women can never elevate unless or until the medical education have some quality standards to measure that is almost absent from the Pakistan health care sector. The usage of advance technology in medical fields and the ways that are being utilized are updated in the whole world and left the Pakistan behind in the South Asian region. Pakistan women have no access to the health in such a way that can provides her a way to consider the better future for her child.

UNICEF in 2013 treated about the 7 million women that was about to collapsed due to illness. This is the due to the women health status that till 2013 about 182,000 women have no direct nutritional facility at all and UNICEF provided it. The absence of provision of micro-nutrient at women level is another issue of Pakistan and outside organization have grave interest to boast this field in beneficial way. The pregnancy is the most critical condition in the women life span and the health facilities are almost detachable in this matter. (Unicef, 2013)

The HIV is the most attacked disease during the pregnancy and need a serious treatment in Pakistan. About 7 per cent women are with positive HIV during her pregnancy period was identified by the UNICEF according to official statistics. The Millennium Developmental Goals (MDGs) 4 is directly related with the maternal health in Pakistan and this health care facilities at state level is never discussed in any aspects and never achieved the desired objectives in any case. About 30,000 women die before giving the birth to child during the pregnancy period and pregnancy related complications. Alas! the status of women's health in

Pakistan has been struggling and still the conditions of health of women is not appreciate able in any aspect. (Unicef, 2013)

STATUS OF WOMEN IN EDUCATION

The education sector of Pakistan is not getting its real agendas in any aspects and the main reason is the misplaced priorities of the government at large scale. The status of women in education level got the real time boast but after the unfortunate event of Malala Yousafzai that show the real and some reckless picture of Pakistan in front of International media. The full time media intention for the women education in Pakistan made the availability of women across the fields in Pakistan specifically. Now the Pakistani women is the artisan and even the trade sector is showing some traces of women in the complete meaning full way. (dawn.com, 2015)

STATUS OF WOMEN IN EDUCATION

The increasing poverty is the worst and most important factor that did not allow the poor families to get the education for their child and specifically the girls child are the main victim of this dark side of story. The quality of education and its complete acquisition at poor is not monitoring satisfactory because of this poverty issue. After the poverty factor that hinders the role of education at women level, another factor is about the discrimination among the different fragments of societies. Beyond the poverty, another issue is about the discrimination at different stages of society in which the population is not getting the real meaning with full approach as the women sector should have. (dawn.com, 2015)



The women sector is struggling for the education due to inadequate teachers in the relevant fields with the extensive knowledge base. The complete ignorance of training and development at teacher level did not provide a new teacher base for the women to teach them so that nation can be reshaped under those chunks of society. Some so-called religious parties have the wrong interpretation of Islam, saying that women cannot be considered as the real-time part as men at the individual base has. The wrong interpretation of Islam sometimes negates the role of women in education, most important in the Middle East, Pakistan, and even in South Asian countries. Despite the existence of such ills in Pakistan society, from home education to parliamentary knowledge, women do not lapse in any aspect.

The 8th March is being observed as Women's Day, and this day the most important agenda in Pakistan is always the education of women because education is the main factor in the socio-economic development at country level. The free and compulsory funds for education is another aspect that develops the education base for women on strong grounds and still the goal's accomplishment is continuing at the women level. The importance of women in education cannot be ignored in any case because the woman is always considered as the main element in raising the education level from one level to another.

Gender disparity in education in Pakistan:

According to the UNDP 2010 report, Pakistan ranked 120 in 146 countries in terms of Gender-related Development Index (GDI), and in terms of Gender Empowerment Measurement (GEM) ranking, it ranked 92 in 94 countries. Gender inequality in education can be measured in different ways. Gross and net enrollment rates and completion and dropout rates are the ways to identify the gender inequality in education. Pakistan aims to achieve Millennium Development Goals and also aims to eliminate gender disparity at all levels of education by the year 2015. Elimination of gender disparity at all levels of education requires higher allocation of resources on women's education. Strong gender disparities exist in literacy and educational attainment between rural and urban areas of Pakistan.

Socio-economic hurdles: Patriarchal values are deeply embedded in the society of Pakistan, and its different manifestations are observed in different aspects of the society. As mentioned above, gender division of labour enforces women to primarily specialize in unpaid care work as mothers and wives at home, whereas men perform paid work and come out as breadwinners. This has led to a low level of resource investment in girls' education not only by their families but also by the state. This low investment in women's human capital, compounded by negative social biases and cultural practices, restrictions on women's mobility and the internalization of patriarchy by women themselves, becomes the basis for gender discrimination and disparities in most spheres of life. Some of the ramifications are that women are unable to develop job-market skills, hence, they have limited opportunities available to them in the wage-labour market. Moreover, social and cultural restrictions limit women's chances to compete for resources in a world outside the four walls of their homes. It translates into social and economic dependency of

women on men. The nature and degree of women's oppression and subordination vary across classes, regions and the rural and urban divide in Pakistan. It has been observed that male dominant structures are relatively more marked in the rural and tribal setting where local customs and indigenous laws establish stronger male authority and power over women.

Insurgency hurdles: Destruction of schools and killings have harmed women's education in Pakistan. 16-year-old education activist and blogger Malala Yousafzai was shot in the head and neck by Taliban insurgents 9 October 2012 after she had blogged about the destruction of schools and closing of all-girls schools in her town of Mingora in the Swat District. Later, the Taliban denied that it opposes education and claimed "Malala was targeted because of her pioneer role in preaching secularism and so-called enlightened moderation."

In September 2012 the Pakistani newspaper Dawn reported that 710 schools have been destroyed or damaged by militants in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and 401 schools have been destroyed or damaged in Swat. While the Taliban's campaign extends beyond girls to secular education in general, at least one source reports the damage was related to Taliban opposition to girls' education. Another source includes the bombing of girls' schools as among the Taliban policies.

Rural vs. urban: In year 2006, the literacy rate in urban areas was recorded 58.3% while in rural areas it was 28.3%, and only 12% among rural women. An interesting factor in this context is that female enrollment was recorded highest at the primary level, but it progressively decreases at the secondary, college and tertiary levels. It was estimated that less than 3% of the 17–23 age group of girls have access to higher education.

The amount of women who attend school in urban areas vs. rural areas differs drastically. In urban

areas women education is increasing every day. The parents of girls who live in urban areas are a lot more accepting of them to enroll in school and even encourage girls to pursue a career they are also a lot more knowledgeable of their rights. This makes them a lot more motivated to stand up for their education. Parent in urban areas are a lot more modernized or westernized. These urban parents acknowledge the importance of an education. Women who live in urban areas are often enrolled in private schools getting a better education there as they have a lot more educational accessibilities. Women in urban areas are also surrounded by people who are educated and are not put down or beaten for going to school. Unlike in urban areas, women in rural areas are discouraged to attend school. Most of them are brought up in conservative families with little to no education. They have to work harder than women in urban areas because they have little support system. If there parents are accepting of education they still cannot go since most of them are very poor and cannot afford the expense. The women also don't attend school in rural areas of Pakistan because it is not culturally accepted. These conservative families tend to be more traditional expecting women to stay at home and attend the house while men go out to work. They're also restricted in rural areas because their town may not even have a school having them travel a long distance to get there.

The Taliban: The Taliban has taken control of Swat Valley denying women the right to an education. They had stated that any female young or old that attends school after January 15 would be killed. The Taliban also believes that women should not be educated. This fundamentalist group has shut down, banned, and even attacked schools. The Taliban has repeatedly tried to eliminate women the right to have an education. They have left "tens of thousands of students with no educational options" said the officials in Swat Valley. Fazlullah a militant leader

of the Taliban has had up 168 schools bombed, including 104 for girls. He is responsible for having more than 30 percent of female drop out of school in 2006 and 2007 because of his illegal radio show. On his radio station he would announce the names of those girls who attend school and shame them and targeting these individuals led the Taliban to attack the girl's family as well as their schools. The schools destroyed will take a lot of money, time, and effort to rebuild them.

Statistics: The latest official statistics on enrollment that are provided by the Ministry of Education of Pakistan are of year 2005–2006. The statistics can be divided into two categories, public schools and private schools.

PRE-PRIMARY

Public Sector: According to the government of Pakistan, total enrollment level of pre-primary in public sector was 4,391,144. Out of 4,391,144 pre-primary students, 2,440,838 are boys, and 1,950,306 are girls. It shows that 56% of enrolled students are boys, and 44% are girls. Further breakdown of these statistics into urban and rural enrollment levels reveals almost similar percentage of enrollment among boys and girls, i.e. in rural schools 57% are boys and 43% are girls.

Private Sector: There is a huge sector of private education in Pakistan. According to the government of Pakistan, 2,744,303 pre-primary students are enrolled in private schools. Among them, 1,508,643 are boys, and 1,235,660 are girls. It shows that 55% of enrolled kids are boys and 45% are girls. Of the total number, 39% students are in rural areas, and the percentage of enrolled boys and girls in rural areas are 58% and 42% respectively.

Primary education: Primary education is compulsory for every child in Pakistan, but due to culture, poverty, and child labour, Pakistan has been

unable to achieve 100% enrollment at the primary level.

Public Sector: The total enrollment in primary public sector is 11,840,719, and among them, 57% (6,776,536) are boys, and 43% (5,064,183) are girls. The 79% of all the primary students in Pakistan are enrolled in rural schools, and the gender enrollment ratios are 59% and 41% for boys and girls respectively in rural Pakistan.

Private Sector: The private schools are mostly located in urban centers, and the total enrollment in private primary schools was 4,993,698.

MIDDLE SCHOOL LEVEL

The enrollment level falls dramatically from primary to middle school level in Pakistan. These statistics can be very helpful in comprehending the problems faced by Pakistan in its educational sector.

Public Sector: 3,642,693 students are enrolled in public middle schools, and among them, 61% (2,217,851) are boys, and 39% (1,424,842) are girls. Of the total enrollment, 62% students are in rural areas, and the enrollment of girls are much lower in rural middle schools vis-à-vis urban schools. In rural schools, 66% enrolled students are boys and 34% are girls.

Private Sector: The enrollment in private schools declines sharply after primary level, as the cost of attendance in private schools increases and the majority of the population cannot afford private education in Pakistan. The total number of students enrolled in private schools at middle level is 1,619,630. Of the total level of enrollment in private schools, 66% students are in urban schools. Hence, the ratio of boys and girls is relatively balanced with 54% boys and 46% girls.

HIGH SCHOOL LEVEL

In Pakistan grades 8 to 10 constitute high school education.

Public Sector: The total number of students enrolled in public high schools is 1,500,749. The 61% of students are boys and 39% are girls. Overall enrollment decreases sharply at high school level. A very disproportionate gender ratio is observed in rural high schools, only 28% of the enrolled students are girls, and 72% are boys.

Private Sector: 632,259 students are enrolled in private high schools. Most of them are in urban centers. The ratio of boys and girls enrollment is 53% and 47% respectively.

Higher secondary:

The overall ratio seems to equalize among boys and girls in higher secondary education.

Public sector: There are 699,463 students enrolled in higher secondary education in public institutions. There is almost 50% boys and girls enrollment in higher secondary education. But there is a discrepancy between urban and rural enrollments. Only 16% of the students from the total number are from rural areas, and among them only 28% are female students. While in urban centers, 55% students are female students.

Private Sector 154,072 students are enrolled in private higher secondary institutions, with 51% boys and 49% girls.

DEGREE LEVEL EDUCATION

Female students outnumber their male counterparts in degree level education.

Public Sector: There are only 296,832 students are enrolled in degree level education in public sector institutions, and 62% of them are female students while 38% are male students. Very small number (less than 1%) of students are in rural institutions.

Private sector: 29,161 students are enrolled in private sector institutions, among them 4% are female students, mostly in urban city centers.

SUMMARY OF STATISTICS

These statistics shed some interesting facts about education in Pakistan; the gender disparity in education is much lower in urban places vis-à-vis rural areas. One of the possible explanations of this pattern is relatively stronger dominance of tribal, feudal and patriarchal traditions in rural areas. Moreover, there are very few employment opportunities for women in rural areas, and thus, there is very little financial incentive for families to send their girls to schools. However, it is interesting to note that, despite the meagre representation of females in the education sector, the level of achievement of female students is consistently far higher than that of their counterpart male students. Girls generally outclass boys in examination, and they are also higher achievers in universities. Unfortunately, the majority of the girls never get an opportunity to develop their educational capabilities.

ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN WOMEN'S EDUCATION

Officially the government of Pakistan is committed to provide every citizen an access to education, but critics say that its budget allocation towards education does not correspond with its former commitment. The expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP was 1.82% in 2000–2001, while it has been raised slightly in 2006–2007 to 2.42%, and it is still relatively lower than most neighboring countries. Feminist economists argue that the government of Pakistan needs to fully address and resolve the gender concerns that exist in the educational sector. They suggest that one of the ways to improve this situation is by increasing funding for women's education, encourage and financially incentivize people in the rural areas to

send their girls to schools. In the apprentice of gender studies, the gender division of labor is considered patriarchal, and feminists argue that it can be consciously neutralized by the public policies, i.e. encouraging girls to study mathematics, science, computers, and business administration etc. This way, girls will specialize in higher paying fields (jobs) instead of solely focusing on care work.

Conclusion: Statistics show that education in Pakistan can be characterized by extensive gender inequalities. Girls/women have to face socio-cultural hurdles to acquire education. International community has developed a consensus through the Millennium Development Goals to eliminate gender inequality from education. The proponents of gender equality argue that it is not only humane and ethical thing to provide everyone easy access to education without any gender bias, but it is also essential for development and progress of a society that both men and women are educated. They also point towards empirical studies that have confirmed that gender inequality in education has significant impact on rural poverty in Pakistan, and female literacy is important for poverty alleviation. Feminists like Martha Nussbaum are arguing that there is an immediate need to increase the public expenditures on female education in order to achieve gender equality at all levels

WOMEN AND EMPLOYMENT

Employment: Patterns of women's employment vary throughout the Muslim world: as of 2005, 16% of Pakistani women were "economically active" (either employed, or unemployed but available to furnish labour), whereas 52% of Indonesian women were.

Workforce participation: Although women play an active role in Pakistan's economy, their contribution has been grossly underreported in some censuses and surveys. The 1991–92 Labour Force

Survey revealed that only about 16% of women aged 10 years and over were in the labour force. The World Bank's reports of 1997 stated that women constituted only 28% of the country's labour force. According to the 1999 report by the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, only two percent of Pakistani women participate in the formal sector of employment. However, the 1980 agricultural census stated that the women's participation rate in agriculture was 73%. The 1990–1991 Pakistan Integrated Household Survey indicated that the female labour force participation rate was 45% in rural areas and 17% the urban areas. Pakistani women play a major role in agricultural production, livestock raising and cottage industries.

MILITARY

Land and property rights: Around 90% of the Pakistani households are headed by men and most female-headed households belong to the poor strata of the society

Women lack ownership of productive resources. Despite women's legal rights to own and inherit property from their families, there are very few women who have access and control over these resource.

Pakistan's female population is estimated to be 48.65 percent of the total, the majority of which lives in the country's rural areas. In rural Pakistan opportunities for women are still lower than those the limited ones for their sisters in the urban centres. According to Labour Force Statistics (LFS) 2012-2013, of the estimated 180 million people, only 12.51 million Pakistani females of various ages are in employment of some sort.

For a better understanding of the situation related to female employment in the country, let us place it in a 11-year timeframe (2001-02 to 2012-13), taking into consideration their age-specific activity roles, their educational levels (or lack of them) and their

overall employment status. A look at Pakistani females' distribution in major industrial divisions and occupational groups for the corresponding years would help us get a clearer picture.

This graph represents an overall increase in the participation of females in economic activity observed across all age groups over the past decade, which is a positive sign. According to the LFS, the unemployment rate was 8.3 percent in 2001-02, but the rate for females it was 16.5 percent. That declined to 9 percent in 2012-13, which was higher than the 6.2 percent for male employees which is another positive point.

However, while this shows that female participation in economic activities gradually increased over the period in question, there is little room for self-congratulation: we still have to go a very long way before we achieve the goal of male-female parity in employment, and that can only result from full female participation in economic activities at all levels.

Employed persons, including females, are grouped into four major categories of employment: employers, self-employed individuals, and unpaid family helpers and employees. However, the major distinction is between those in paid employment and in self-employment. Women employers were just 0.3 percent of the 0.8 percent in 2001-02, but in 2012-13 their ratio declined, and they remained just 0.1 percent of the total 1.3 percent which means that there was a declining trend in this status category and more women get out of it, probably pushed to lower categories. The self-employed were 15.7 percent and 33.6 percent, respectively, of the total 38.5 percent and 15 percent.

Similarly, as unpaid family helpers, females were 46.9 percent of the total of 20.8 percent in 2001-02. The number of unpaid family helpers followed a rising trend, reaching 60.5 percent of the total of

26.3 percent in 2012-13. This indicates that more females were pushed, or forced, into this category. This is a confirmation of the discrimination against female employees in the Pakistani job market, and of fewer opportunities available to them in white-collar jobs.

In the employees' group, females were 37.1 percent of the total 39.9 percent in 2001-02. However, 2012-13 witnessed a decline in this category to 24.2 percent of the total 38.8 percent.

Employees' educational level is a critical factor in any country. The graph represents a picture of the level of female education in Pakistan over the 11 years in discussion. LFS statistics show that from 36.9 percent in 2001-02, the figures rose to 48.1 percent in 2012-13. Trends of acquiring degree-level education amongst women remained significantly low. In 2012-13, only 3.8 percent of women received degree-level education, which is one of the most crucial causes for the low job opportunities for women and of low-status jobs for them.

The major factors contributing to poor employment trends for females in Pakistan include low literacy rates, and social and cultural taboos and norms that impede their active participation in national economic activity. The situation calls for immediate action from both organised and unorganised sectors of employment. The government's taking the lead by reviewing its labour policies and by offering incentives to women who due to numerous factors remain out of jobs can address the problem and set an example for others. For an effective workforce, the capacity of the women workers should be enhanced through creation of more vocational training institutions and through on-the-job trainings. Since it is the key to the success and economic growth of a country, education must be made compulsory and free at least at the primary level for all girls.

In addition to the high rate of female unemployment and the low job opportunities in major occupational groups, there is the factor of lower wages for female employees. Low female representation in professional jobs and senior positions is a result of social injustice, socio-economic conditions, low educational levels and persistent discrimination against women in our society. In 2001-02 women managers and officials at senior levels were only 1.9 percent, of the total 11.6 percent in the group. Of the total 11.5 percent, the number of women in the same group declined to 1.6 percent by 2012-13.

The comparison of available data helps determination of some facts about the situation of female employment, which did not improve despite the decades of half-hearted efforts for their betterment. For the corresponding years, the major occupational groups where females were seen as contributors still remained “skilled agricultural and fisheries workers.” This is where more women were engaged as part of the economic activity during the years under discussion. This group, with 44.3 percent females of the total of 34.7 percent employed in 2001-02, became the largest occupational group which accommodated the highest number of female workers. The same trend was seen in 2012-13, when females were 63.8 percent of the total 37.6 percent workforce in this group. This emphasises the unfortunate fact that female workers continue to be forced into low-paid and low-status jobs.

The category most accommodative of female workers was “elementary (unskilled) occupations,” where their ratio was 25.1 percent of the total number of workers employed.

The low presence of women as professionals in the national workforce is a matter of still greater concern. Whereas women professionals were 2.5 percent of the total of 2.1 percent in 2001-02, the figure dropped to 1.5 percent of the 1.7 percent of

professionals in 2012-13. After ten years, professionals groups witnessed an overall decrease in women’s ratio as well.

Gender discrimination, social injustice and the low literacy rate are the root causes of the dismaying employment situation for female workers and professionals in the country. Unless these problems are effectively addressed,

Pakistani society will remain under the tremendous pressure that it finds itself. Once these issues are resolved or, for a start, at least given the attention they deserve, female representation at all levels of economic activity is bound to increase. The government needs to review its policies pertaining to these issues. At the same time, it should introduce more effective laws. Implementation of these laws will be a key to success.

Enhancement of international cooperation through ratification of international declarations of the United Nations and other international organisations could assist the government in achieving the desired results. It is the government’s prime responsibility to ensure social justice, education and equal opportunities for everyone to work and excel in their fields careers and of choice.

Overall female participation in labour and professions is minimal, and it needs no reminder or emphasis that this factor will continue to be a drag on Pakistan’s economic growth and development for as long as the present conditions of gender disparity continue. After all, women are half the population of the country, and we cannot continue to ignore this fact, which is not much different from denial of it.

The present situation remains extremely discouraging. Both national data and independent studies confirm that employment opportunities for women remained persistently low from 2002 to 2013. The low contribution of female workers and professionals is attributed to many factors, including

low literacy rate, cultural and social taboos and norms set up by the society. During this period, discrimination against females was on the rise in the job market.

Women continued to be forced to remain out of the job market, or were pushed into low-paid or low-status jobs where their abilities and productive potentials remain untapped. Most of those employed are in the unorganised sector, where low productivity, lower income stability and greater job insecurity are the chief problems women suffer day in and day out.

Being half the population of the country, women could be the most decisive force in national efforts for putting the country on the path of economic growth and development. But that will be possible only if the key issues are addressed and sincere efforts are made to resolve the crisis of gender disparity which is keeping Pakistani women lagging behind, and thus being a huge drag on the country's progress and development.

If Pakistan decides to take effective measures for removal of the discrimination against women in the field of employment and most other fields of life, there is certainly a way forward. Without the creation of opportunities for women in mainstream occupations, Pakistan's dream of joining the club of developed countries will remain only a dream

WOMEN AND LAW: Woman's rights in Pakistan under Pakistan's dual system of civil and sharia law, females are considered equal under the law (*ceteris paribus* is assumed) and in religious practice, rights accorded to them by Pakistan's Islamic Republic constitution of 1958 and consolidated in 1973, which outlawed gender discrimination on all levels. However, women face significant challenges in society, the economy and face a slow lower courts judicial system in order to get justice. A census has not been carried out in Pakistan since 1998 - but

recent statistics from UNICEF show that the female literacy rate has risen significantly from a paltry 39.6 percent to a much improved rate of 61.5% for 15- to 24-year-olds, a highly significant factor given that 70% of Pakistan's population is under 30.

EDUCATION: As of 2010, the literacy rate of females in Pakistan is at 39.6 percent compared to that of males at 67.7 percent. More recent statistics provided by the UNICEF - shows that female education amongst 15-24 year olds has increased substantially to 61.5% - an increase of 45%. Male education is at a steady rate of 71.2%. The objectives of education policies in Pakistan aim to achieve equality in education between girls and boys and to reduce the gender gap in the educational system. However, the policy also encourages girls, mainly in rural areas of Pakistan, to acquire basic home management skills, which are preferred over full-scale primary education. The attitudes towards women in Pakistani culture make the fight for educational equality more difficult. The lack of democracy and feudal practices of Pakistan also contribute to the gender gap in the educational system. This feudal system leaves the underpowered, women in particular, in a very vulnerable position. The long-lived socio-cultural belief that women play a reproductive role within the confines of the home leads to the belief that educating women holds no value. Although the government declared that all children of the ages 5–16 can go to school, there are 7.261 million children out of school at the primary level in Pakistan, and 58% are female (*UNESCO, Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011*).

Although girls have the right to get an education legally, in many rural regions of Pakistan girls are strongly discouraged from going to school and discriminated against, as there are violent acts such as acid throwing which many girls fall victim to for attending school.

RURAL/URBAN DIVIDE AND

GOVERNMENT POLICY: Females are educated equally like Males in urban areas such as Lahore, Islamabad and Karachi. However, in rural areas, the education rate is substantially lower. This has begun to change with the issuance of government policy, by Imran Khan's PTI, in which 70% of new schools are built for girls, and also plans to increase the size of women's school so that the infrastructure matches those of men's schools and more female colleges have also been established in order to provide women with higher education.

MARRIAGE RIGHTS: The current laws enacted in Pakistan state that the legal age for men to be married is 18 and women 16. Many girls are still married off into a child marriage, and many complications with this can occur as childbirth from a child can cause complications with the baby and mother. A common system in place with marriage is the Dowry system in which a low or no status is assigned to a girl right from the prenatal stage. There are issues around the dowry system such as dowry related violence, in which the wife is abused by her husband. Before the marriage, the groom will make heavy financial demands on the bride's family as a condition of marrying their daughter. In order for many parents' daughters to get married, they start "obtaining loans from people, getting interest based loans from banks, utilising their life savings and even sell their homes,"(JAHEZ (Dowry Conditions Set by the Groom for Marriage)). Within the dowry system, abuse is likely to occur after the marriage has taken place. Prior to the marriage, if certain conditions that the groom and his family have put in place are not met, they will threaten to break off the marriage, which would be devastating for the bride and her family because of the lengths the bride's family already had to go through to pay her dowry and because traditionally it is a great dishonor to the family.

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

Women in elite urban districts of Pakistan enjoy a far more privileged lifestyle than those living in rural tribal areas. Women in urbanized districts typically lead more elite lifestyles and have more opportunities for education. Rural and tribal areas of Pakistan have an increasingly high rate of poverty and alarmingly low literacy rates. In 2002 it was recorded that 81.5 percent of 15- to 19-year-old girls from high-income families had attended school while 22.3 percent of girls from low-income families had ever attended school. In comparison, it was recorded that 96.6 percent of Pakistani boys ages 15–19 coming from high-income families had attended schooling while 66.1 percent of 15- to 19-year-old boys from low-income families had attended school. Girls living in rural areas are encouraged not to go to school because they are needed in the home to do work at a young age. In most rural villages, secondary schooling simply does not exist for girls, leaving them no choice but to prepare for marriage and do household tasks. These rural areas often have inadequate funding and schooling for girls is at the bottom of their priorities.

Workforce: In 2008, it was recorded that 21.8 percent of females were participating in the labor force in Pakistan while 82.7 percent of men were involved in labor. The rate of women in the labor force has an annual growth rate of 6.5 percent. Out of the 47 million employed peoples in Pakistan in 2008, only 9 million were women and of those 9 million, 70 percent worked in the agricultural sector. The income of Pakistani women in the labor force is generally lower than that of men, due in part to a lack of formal education.

Due to the religious and cultural values in Pakistan, women who do try to enter the workforce are often pushed into the lower of the three employment structures. This structure level, unorganized services sector, has low pay, low job security and low productivity. In order to improve this situation, governmental organizations and political parties

need to push for the entrance of women into the organized services sector.

Although these religious and cultural barriers exist keeping women away from the workforce, studies have shown that women-only entrepreneurial training that allows participants to develop capital and competences, can break these down. Programs such as this can go a long way in an Islamic socio-cultural context to develop tolerance and understanding.

EFFECT OF THE LACK OF WOMEN IN THE WORKFORCE ON ECONOMIC GROWTH

Women are subjected to severe employment discrimination in Pakistan. Clearly the low female literacy rate is a large obstacle in women taking part in the workforce. In addition, today females make up only 15% of the formal labor force in Pakistan, and although this is almost triple what it was 20 years ago, this is still a very dismal amount. Pakistan's policy makers worry that increasing the women's workforce will increase the unemployment level. However, Pakistan is largely missing out on economic growth through foreign investment as manufacturing service industries today employ large numbers of women from Mexico to Bangladesh. In addition, "for Pakistan to significantly improve its female labor force participation rates, it will have to address a range of structural barriers and social constraints, many of which are reinforced by Islamization" (*Gender Disparities, Economic Growth and Islamization in Pakistan*).

Islam has not promoted women's rights in the workforce since it values women as keepers of the family honor, gender segregation and institutionalization of gender disparities. Furthermore women who do work are often paid less than minimum wage, because they are seen as lesser beings in comparison to men, and "their working conditions vis-à-vis females are often

hazardous; having long working hours, no medical benefits, no job security, subjected to job discrimination, verbal abuse and sexual harassment and no support from male oriented labor unions"(An In-Depth Analysis of Women's Labor Force Participation in Pakistan).

GOVERNMENT: Pakistan's constitution places no constraints on female participation in government. In 1988, Benazir Bhutto became the first female prime minister of a Muslim state and is Pakistan's first and only female prime minister to date.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS VIOLATIONS RELATED TO VIOLENCE

Studies done by several organizations show that has been a 13% increase in violence against women in Pakistan in the year 2009. Rape, gang-rape, domestic violence, honour killing (Karo Kari), vani (exchange of women in settling the disputes), and forced/child marriages are some examples of women's rights violations that have occurred in Pakistan. Honour killing, or Karo Kari, is one example of the many violent actions against women especially, in Pakistani society. Honour killing occurs when a family member because they have dishonored the family with acts that are viewed as immoral.[18] There is also the common and accepted (domestic violence), in which husbands beat their wives when upset. In addition to this form of violence against women, their rights in rural areas are even fewer as women are plagued with fear of acid attacks, forced marriages, vigilante justice, mutilations, etc.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS PAKISTANI NGOS

Pakistani civil society has produced a significant number of big and small, courageous NGOs which work to improve Pakistani women's global situation and particularly to prevent violence against women, for instance:

- ✓ The All Pakistan Women's Association, founded in 1949,
- ✓ The Aurat Foundation, registered in 1986,
- ✓ Blue Veins, which works primarily on health issues in rural areas,
- ✓ The Society for Appraisal and Women Empowerment in Rural Areas (SAWERA), founded in 2004 in Khyber Agency, famous for the assassination of its founder Fareeda Afridi who was gunned down in June 2012.

NOTABLE PAKISTANI WOMEN

Malala Yousafzai is a Pakistani girl who stood up for the education of young girls and was shot by the Taliban. Due to the amount of press coverage after the shooting, millions of people around the world gained awareness about the low percentage of girls who were receiving an education in many countries. Malala has inspired many people, to share their voices and terminate the silence that comes with oppressive issues, such as the lack of education for women

GENDER AND GOVERNANCE

The participation of women in politics is a human right and a development goal. When women participate in politics, there are benefits for women, men, children, communities and nations.

GOVERNANCE: Governance does not refer only to political participation but is defined (by the United Nations DP) as “the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority in managing a country’s affairs“. It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests; exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences.” This definition stresses the need to look at formal as well as informal participation and involvement in political and

economic processes that is looking at the role of the state as well as those of civil society, Non Governmental Organization and other institutions.

Governance does not belong only to the public realm, however, it has consequences for the private sphere since policies that protect individuals’ health and legal rights, or promotes family policy favourable to women’s empowerment; for example, ensure that these individuals can take an active role in the public sphere. Governance therefore crosses both public and private spheres.

GENDER INEQUALITY AND GOVERNANCE

Gender Equality depends on democratic, and gender-sensitive governance since typically women, who are or

feel marginalised 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 Domestic 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 United NationsDP and United NationsIFEM and other Non Governmental Organization 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.

UNDP'S WORK ON WOMEN'S POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT: UNDP's projects focus on the following objectives to achieve women's political empowerment:

1. Increase the number of women in public office
2. Enhance women's leadership by helping to reform electoral processes, change political parties, and strengthen parliaments, judiciaries and the civil service
3. Strengthen women's organisations ability to advocate and implement projects that promote women's rights

4. Promote judicial reform to ensure equal legal protection to poor women and men
5. Ensure that essential public services like health and education benefit poor women, men, girls and boys equitably
6. Promote the ratification, implementation, and reporting on women's international and regional women's instruments such as the CEDAW
7. Reduce gender-based violence

ORIGIN OF THE WORD: Like government, the word governance derives, ultimately, from the Greek (meaning to steer, the metaphorical sense first being attested in Plato). In above-described sense, however, the term governance was re-minted as recently as the 1990s by economists and political scientists, and disseminated by institutions such as the UN, IMF and World Bank. Its use in English can be traced to Charles Plummer's 'The Governance of England' (published in 1885 as a translation from the original 15th-century Latin of John Fortescue's 'The Difference between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy'). This usage of governance to refer to the arrangements of governing became orthodox including in Sidney Low's seminal text of the same title in 1904 and among some later British constitutional historians.

DIFFERENT USES: Governance is a very general concept that can refer to all manner of entities. Equally, this generality means that governance is often defined more narrowly to refer to a particular 'level' of governance associated with a type of organization (including public governance, global governance, non-profit governance, corporate governance, and project governance), a particular 'field' of governance associated with a type of activity or outcome (including environmental governance, internet governance, and information technology governance), or a particular 'model' of governance, often derived as an empirical or normative theory (including regulatory governance, participatory governance, multilevel governance, metagovernance, and collaborative governance). Governance can be used not only to describe these diverse topics but also to define normative or practical agendas for them. Normative concepts of fair governance

or good governance are common among political, public sector, voluntary, and private sector organizations

SUFFRAGIST MOVEMENT: After selling her home, British activist Emmeline Pankhurst travelled constantly, giving speeches throughout Britain and the United States. One of her most famous speeches, Freedom or death, was delivered in Connecticut in 1913.

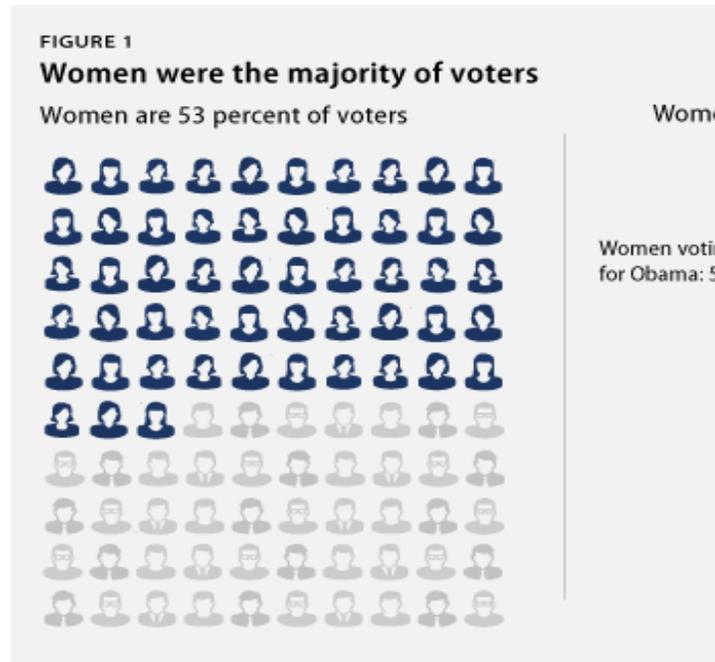
The suffrage movement was a broad one, encompassing women and men with a wide range of views. In terms of diversity, the greatest achievement of the twentieth-century woman suffrage movement was its extremely broad class base. One major division, especially in Britain, was between suffragists, who sought to create change constitutionally, and suffragettes, led by English political activist Emmeline Pankhurst, who in 1903 formed the more militant Women's Social and Political Union. Pankhurst would not be satisfied with anything but action on the question of women's enfranchisement, with "deeds, not words" the organisation's motto.

There was also a diversity of views on a "woman's place". Suffragist themes often included the notions that women were naturally kinder and more concerned about children and the elderly. As Kraditor shows, it was often assumed that women voters would have a civilizing effect on politics, opposing domestic violence, liquor, and emphasizing cleanliness and community. An opposing theme, Kraditor argues, held that had the same moral standards. They should be equal in every way and that there was no such thing as a woman's "natural role".

For black women, achieving suffrage was a way to counter the disfranchisement of the men of their race. Despite this discouragement, black suffragists continued to insist on their equal political rights. Starting in the 1890s, African American women began to assert their political rights aggressively from within their own clubs and suffrage societies. "If white American women, with all their natural and acquired advantages, need the ballot," argued Adele Hunt Logan of Tuskegee, Alabama, "how much more do black Americans, male and female, need the strong defense of a vote to help secure their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness?"

GENDER ISSUES IN WOMEN AS VOTERS: The women movement was started as the new mindset of women about the governance and the way as the government thinks about the women. The voters are the biggest paradigm shift that has been analyzed as per the discussion analyze. The gender is the major issue that always thinks about the place of women while voting but the matters was the biggest enough that negates the role and further exaggerates the situations.

GENDER ISSUES IN WOMEN AS VOTERS: It is a accepted reality that the women has been struggling for the right to vote since the conception of women' role in the politics generally in the world but the campaign specifically initiated from United States. The United States was the biggest place that negated the role of women in the general politics with several reason may be some of theme was explored during the women movement and other have still needs a explorations.



The stereotypes behavior of the gender with the several aspects that needs to be removed instantly. The United States has been considered as the place where the women was not so free that can do the extra ordinary job for the rest of society. The political interest was the biggest challenge that has imposed many ills in the society as the previous politicians thinks about the political agendas. The next thing that was disrupted in the same manner is

about the political participation always seen as the negative elements with the women.

The Nineteenth Amendment derives as the main head that was truly based through the constitution towards the right to vote in reality. The right to vote has achieved but still waiting for the globalized acceptance across the world to show the role of women in the international acceptance of women as the part of politics. In 2006, for example, the pilot study for the American National Election studies analyzed that the woman have less role in participation with the efficient ways to behave as per the discussion endorsed the reality of women as the advance level voters.

The both sexes and the gender in reality is the basic way to articulate the different dimensions with various aspects in different times. The political sense of the women is less admirable as compare to men with the several

decision-making skills that is only present at male level. The peace is the key element that has been in discussion since the establishment show off with the various facet of women's platform.

The peace among the hands of women is more glaring with the various ways as it has been in the discussion with the various views about the gender equality. The

democratic role of the women is highly considerable with the same platform recognition that advances the role of women as the voter and even the political representation.

The peace-building is so important in various aspects in the manner that show what has been important and what is not but the women knows it completely to built up the priority list with the discourse realization in different aspects. The women should also involve in politics so that the gender issues in women as the biggest part of the society can be transformed into the voters.

GENDER ISSUES IN WOMEN AS CANDIDATES

The principles of governance and the nature of gender about the effective governance is the way that regulate the various aspects of gender with the several realities about the inter disciplinary realities. The goals of the governance and in fact the good governance is to minimize the poverty level. The gender aspect thinks about the governance because, in those sense they see that the poverty is the basic goal for which the analysis of the whole democratic system is being analyzed. The decision-making at governance level is consistently ignoring the women and the elemental approach towards the women.

GENDER ISSUES IN WOMEN AS REPRESENTATIVE

The under-represented is the state that is being enjoyed by the women in the political arena across the countries. The least engagement of the women in the democratic participation is not so essential at any level. The gender equality that showed the candidate level approach with the several aspects in the similar dimension is still missing in women case. The gender equality and the good governance are two sides of the same coin and these two sides have one to one situation for each other. The important end note of the discussion comes where the whole gender studies have the same kind of ethical interventions in several aspects.

The gender is the first and foremost aspect of the governance with different usage and on another sexuality and race is not behind any comparison. As the matter of fact, the decision making at political level can never

ignore the women at large level because the women in power is the greatest treasures for the communities that are considered as the modern with vast level of liberal touch. The institutions of the governance is there to revolutionize the whole system of women authority over the democracy so that the gender equality can accomplish. (Brody, 2009)

The representation of through the different aspects of the trade unions can necessary to develop with several aspects, from government to trade unions. The gender balance is therefore as necessary as it could be essential for the dimensional approach. The addition of women is explicit at government departments and also at major level of governance. This is wrong hidden agenda of political parties to include women in representation and even at candidate level but the women is being ignored at governance level while pursuing for the public policy.

The public policy is the core task of the government and the level of governance is being incorporate as per the discussions concludes. The national level institutions are highly centralized with the women autonomy but the public policy while implementation is not so considering the women. The participation of the women is articulating the facts about the public policy and women is highly consented against it but the women role in implementation is not so glaring and has never been in discussion.

To accept the autonomy of women at governance level is only explicit in different ways because the women is always believe in sustainable changes with the dimensional approach. The long-term changes at women level is being classified as per the need assessment show. In the end, one can say that the governance without the women is another unclear agenda with unclear end results and proper representation for women in political circles is the advance level of functionality.

IMPACT OF POLITICAL QUOTA IN PAKISTAN:

The democracy in Pakistan is the biggest challenge for the gender because there are numerous cultural issues are also there that influences the completely democratic institutions in Pakistan. The woman is the agile agenda in Pakistan’ politics and the main reason of the politics of

women are to get the free and fair institutions in Pakistan without any forceful event. The free participation of women was firstly considered by the Pakistan when the first Report of the Commission of Inquiry for Women was come in August 1997.

That was the day when the women start thinking about the political agenda and the political settings of the country. The next body that was agile in empowering the women was the women-centered field in which the direct election ‘quota is the biggest agenda at women sector. The commission at that time and the all women related institutions are aware about the women representation in the political institutions and demands about the 33 per cent women quota in the political arena.

This was the first move when Pakistan showed that the arguments against the Pakistan about the women oppression were entirely wrong and Pakistan is the Islamic country with the liberal believes as well. The women quota in the political institutions in Pakistan is not new to all previous constitutions namely; 1956, 1962, 1970 and even the 1973 but the implementation of the quota as per the strategy formulation was almost absent in those days. Therefore, a new wave of Political Quota in Pakistan has been observed with the endorsements of these movements in Pakistan specifically getting the women in consideration.

The then parliaments did not endorse the women participation and the quota allocation in any way as the today’ government thinks and almost applies the same. The last tenure before the military quo in the last years of the 20th century, parliament had 2 per cent quota at women level in the senate and about 4 per cent in provincial and the federal level that was satisfactory according to the needs of that time.

Total seats:	342	
Total women:	67	
% women:	20%	
Election year:	2013	
Electoral system:	Parallel	
Quota type:	Reserved seats	
Election details:	IDEA Voter Turnout IPU Parline	
	Legal source	Details
Quota type: Reserved seats	Constitution	60 of the total 342 seats in t women. The 272 general sea past-the-post system in sing provinces, Federally-admini

The local government has the biggest wish to take to consent of the women while forming the government because the local government issued about 5 to 12 per cent quota in political participation at women level. This was the biggest way to think and considered as the paradigm shift in political realizations in Pakistani particularly. The both conceptual framework of direct and indirect elections was introduced at that time that was also glaring in the darkest history of the politics.

The latest election of 2013 showed that the women comes out in the biggest format to cast their vote and showed that the women representation is necessary for the political wheel of the country. Nevertheless, as the matter of fact, still about 11 million women are still not even registered as the voters and only need to enfranchise those 11 million women so that the quota of political system could get the latest figures of improvements in the best possible way.

GENDER BASED VIOLENCE

Gender Based Violence: 'Gender-based violence' and 'violence against women' are terms that are often used interchangeably as most gender-based violence is inflicted by men on women and girls. However, it is important to retain the 'gender-based' aspect of the concept as this highlights the fact that violence against women is an expression of power inequalities between women and men. The terms are used interchangeably throughout this website and EIGE's work, as it is always understood that gender-based violence means violence against women and vice versa.

The programmatic package available on this website uses the term gender-based violence (GBV).

“Gender-based violence (GBV) is the general term used to capture violence that occurs as a result of the normative role expectations associated with each gender, along with the unequal power relationships between the two genders, within the context of a specific society.” (Bloom 2008, p14).

While women, girls, men and boys can be victims of GBV, the main focus of this resource package is on violence against women and girls.

This is not to say that gender-based violence against men does not exist. For instance, men can become targets of physical or verbal attacks for transgressing predominant concepts of masculinity, for example

because they have sex with men. Men can also become victims of violence in the family – by partners or children. (Bloom 2008, p14)

However, it has been widely acknowledged that the majority of persons affected by gender-based violence are women and girls, as a result of unequal distribution of power in society between women and men. Further, women and girls victims of violence suffer specific consequences as a result of gender discrimination. As summed up by UNFPA:

“The primary targets of GBV are women and adolescent girls, but not only are they at high risk of GBV, they also suffer exacerbated consequences as compared with what men endure. As a result of gender discrimination and their lower socio-economic status, women have fewer options and less resources at their disposal to avoid or escape abusive situations and to seek justice. They also suffer consequences [on their sexual and reproductive health], including forced and unwanted pregnancies, unsafe abortions and resulting deaths, traumatic fistula, and higher risks of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and HIV.”

Forms of Gender Based Violence: Following the discussion on the definitions of gender-based violence, it is important also to discuss both, physical and non-physical forms of violence.

Domestic violence: Domestic violence is not an isolated, individual event, but rather a pattern of perpetrator behaviors used against a survivor. The pattern consists of a variety of abusive acts, occurring in multiple episodes over the course of the relationship. Some episodes consist of a sustained attack with one tactic repeated many times (e.g., punching), combined with a variety of other tactics (such as name calling, threats, or attacks against property). Other episodes consist of a single act (e.g., a slap, a “certain look”). One tactic (e.g., physical assault) may be used infrequently, while

other types of abuse (such as name calling or intimidating gestures) may be used daily. Some parts of the pattern are crimes in most countries (e.g., physical assault, sexual assault, menacing, arson, kidnapping, harassment) while other battering acts are not illegal (e.g., name calling, interrogating children, denying the survivor access to the family automobile). All parts of the pattern interact with each other and can have profound physical and emotional effects on survivors. Survivors respond to the entire pattern of perpetrators’ abuse rather than simply to one episode or one tactic.

Physical violence: Physical abuse may include spitting, scratching, biting, grabbing, shaking, shoving, pushing, restraining, throwing, twisting, slapping (with open or closed hand), punching, choking, burning, and/or use of weapons (e.g., household objects, knives, guns) against the survivor. The physical assaults may or may not cause injuries.

Sexual violence: Sexual violence can take many forms and take place under very different circumstances. A person can be sexually violated by one individual or several people (e.g. gang-rapes); the incident may be planned or a surprise attack. Although sexual violence occurs most commonly in the survivor's home (or in the perpetrator’s home), it also takes place in many other settings, such as the workplace, at school, in prisons, cars, the streets or open spaces (e.g. parks, farmland). The perpetrator of a sexual assault may be a date, an acquaintance, a friend, a family member, an intimate partner or former intimate partner, or a complete stranger, but more often than not, is someone known to the survivor. There is no stereotypical perpetrator; sexually violent men come from all backgrounds, rich and poor, academic and uneducated, religious and non-religious. Perpetrators may be persons in positions of authority who are respected and trusted (e.g. a doctor, teacher, tourist guide, priest, police officer) and thus less likely to be suspected of sexual

violence. Sexual violence is common in situations of war and armed conflict. Specifically, rape and sexual torture are frequently used as weapons to demoralize the enemy; women are sometimes forced into “temporary marriages” with enemy soldiers. Women who are incarcerated may be subjected to sexual violence by prison guards and police officers. Other forms of sexual violence include, but are not limited to:

1. Sexual Slavery
2. Sexual Harassment (Including Demands For Sex In Exchange For Job Promotion Or Advancement Or Higher School Marks Or Grades)
3. Trafficking For The Purpose Of Sexual Exploitation
4. Forced Exposure To Pornography
5. Forced Pregnancy
6. Forced Sterilization
7. Forced Abortion
8. Forced Marriage
9. Female Genital Mutilation
10. VirginitY Tests Incest

(WHO Guidelines for Medico-legal care of victims of Sexual Violence)

Psychological violence:

There are different types of psychological assaults.

Threats of violence and harm: The perpetrator’s threats of violence or harm may be directed against the survivor or others important to the survivor or they may be suicide threats. Sometimes the threat includes killing the victim and others and then committing suicide. The threats may be made directly with words (e.g., “I’m going to kill you,” “No one is going to have you,” “Your mother is going to pay,” “I cannot live without you”) or with actions (e.g., stalking, displaying weapons, hostage taking, suicide attempts).

Emotional violence: Emotional abuse is a tactic of control that consists of a wide variety of verbal attacks and humiliations, including repeated verbal attacks against the survivor’s worth as an individual or role as a parent, family member, friend, co-worker, or community member. In domestic violence, verbal attacks and other tactics of control are intertwined with the threat of harm in order to maintain the perpetrator’s dominance through fear. While repeated verbal abuse is damaging to partners and relationships over time, it alone does not establish the same climate of fear as verbal abuse combined with the use or threat of physical harm. The presence of emotionally abusive acts may indicate undisclosed use of physical force or it may indicate possible future domestic violence.

Emotional abuse may also include humiliating the victim in front of family, friends or strangers. Perpetrators may repeatedly claim that survivors are crazy, incompetent, and unable “to do anything right.” Not all verbal insults between partners are acts of violence. In order for verbal abuse to be considered domestic violence, it must be part of a pattern of coercive behaviours in which the perpetrator uses or threatens to use physical force.

Isolation: Perpetrators often try to control survivors’ time, activities and contact with others. They gain control over them through a combination of isolating and disinformation tactics. Isolating tactics may become more overtly abusive over time. Through incremental isolation, some perpetrators increase their psychological control to the point where they determine reality for the survivors. Perpetrators’ use of disinformation tactics such as distorting what is real through lying, providing contradictory information, or withholding information is compounded by the forced isolation of the survivors. For example, perpetrators may lie to survivors about their legal rights or the outcomes of medical interventions. While many survivors are able to maintain their independent thoughts and

actions, others believe what the perpetrators say because the survivors are isolated from contrary information. Through his survivor's isolation, the perpetrator prevents discovery of the abuse and avoids being held responsible for it.

Use of children: Some abusive acts are directed against or involve children in order to control or punish the adult victim (e.g., physical attacks against a child, sexual use of children, forcing children to watch the abuse of the survivor, engaging children in the abuse of the survivor). A perpetrator may use children to maintain control over his partner by not paying child support, requiring the children to spy, requiring that at least one child always be in the company of the survivor, threatening to take children away from her, involving her in long legal fights over custody, or kidnapping or taking the children hostage as a way to force the survivor's compliance. Children are also drawn into the assaults and are sometimes injured simply because they are present (e.g., the victim is holding an infant when pushed against the wall) or because the child attempts to intervene in the fight.

Economic Violence: Perpetrators control survivors by controlling their access to all of the family resources: time, transportation, food, clothing, shelter, insurance, and money. It does not matter who the primary provider is or if both partners contribute. He may actively resist the survivor becoming financially self-sufficient as a way to maintain power and control. Conversely, he may refuse to work and insist that she support the family. He may expect her to be the family "bookkeeper," requiring that she keep all records and write all checks, or he may keep financial information away from her. In all instances he alone makes the decisions. Survivors are put in the position of having to get "permission" to spend money on basic family needs. When the survivor leaves the battering relationship, the perpetrator may use economics as a way to maintain control or force her to return:

refusing to pay bills, instituting legal procedures costly to the survivor, destroying assets in which she has a share, or refusing to work "on the books" where there would be legal access to his income. All of these tactics may be used regardless of the economic class of the family.

Gender-based violence through the lifecycle:

Violence against girls and women occurs at different points in their lifecycle. Many women experience multiple episodes of violence that may start in the prenatal period and continue through childhood to adulthood and old age. The table describes violence that may be experienced at different points in a girl's/woman's lifecycle. The lifecycle approach to gender-based violence helps one understand the cumulative impact of violence experienced by girls and women, especially in terms of its physical and mental health consequences.

THEORIES OF VIOLENCE AGAINST

WOMEN: Theories are important, not only because they offer different explanations for the phenomenon of domestic abuse, but because each approach has clear implications for responses and interventions by practitioners and policy-makers. If there is no common understanding of a problem, responses will not be consistent, and are likely to conflict. This can undermine quality of service provision, safety and initiatives for social change. Although it is important to recognise and challenge beliefs which are little more than myth or prejudice, we should acknowledge that several of the following theoretical approaches are supported by some legitimate evidence.

The National Training Strategy is rooted in acceptance of the broad explanatory power of feminist theories. This rightly shapes and informs our training. But the trend in the literature is toward approaches which seek to integrate valid insights from various perspectives, recognising the

complexity and multi-dimensional nature of domestic abuse. Our challenge is to evaluate the strengths, weaknesses, and likely outcomes of theories. The criteria for evaluation will reflect our desire for equality, empowerment, justice, dignity and wellbeing.

INDIVIDUALIST APPROACHES

Problem is located within the person and person is site of change. Understood in terms of individual choices, characteristics, interests, biology, genetics, pathologies.

- ✓ **Contemporary socio-biology and neo-Darwinism** – evolution of male aggression/violence to maintain female fidelity and secure reproductive control. Abuse is seen as a ‘mate retention tactic’. There is little empirical support for these controversial ideas, which provide no useful suggestions for action.
- ✓ Attempts to predict violence using biological variables require a host of non-biological factors to be added. Treatment (pharmacological and medical) is unlikely to be effective in isolation. Some researchers are now attempting to devise a ‘batterer typology’ based on physiological arousal.
- ✓ **Battered women’s syndrome/learned helplessness L Walker (1983)**. Although developed as a feminist explanation to help women understand the dynamics and impact of DA, this theory is now widely seen as reductionist and open to misuse. In the simplest form it does not account for many rational social, economic and cultural choices which may lead to decision to remain in relationship – fear of retaliation, stalking, escalated violence, need for financial support, concern for wellbeing of children, desire to stay in own home, lack of social, family, community support networks, various aspects of risk assessment and management of survival. However, Walker’s

work was pioneering feminist research on the psychological effects of victimisation, and the coercive techniques used by perpetrators to subjugate women. Judith Herman has developed a more sophisticated and contextualised theory of trauma and its long term effects, within a political framework. Following recognition of the Stockholm Syndrome, it is clear the attachment to or identification with perpetrator is an appropriate survival strategy: hostages are dependant on captors for basic needs which can be controlled by abusers. There are no valid typologies of ‘women likely to be abused’, and no correlation between background/ circumstances/personality and the likelihood of experiencing DA 1 (Herman 1998, Horley 2000). The main risk factor for being subjected to DA is being a woman.

- ✓ **‘Women-blaming’ explanations** These are common currency in public domain, and collude with the perpetrator’s claims of provocation and denial of responsibility. They usually rely on assumption of gendered roles and expectations of appropriate or ‘unacceptable’ female behaviour in performance of domestic or sexual duties. The supposition is that there are times when women ‘deserve’ to be chastised, even if beatings and other forms of abuse might be considered excessive or ‘uncivilised’ – and this in turn indicates the resilience of cultural attitudes based on gender inequality and male entitlement in domestic and social arrangements. Tendency to blame the victim of DA has strongly influenced direction of psychological enquiry, leading researchers to seek explanation for perpetrator’s abuse in the character of the victim. ‘The search for characteristics of women that contribute to their own victimisation is futile...Men’s violence is men’s behaviour. As such, it is not surprising that the more fruitful efforts to explain this behaviour have focused on male characteristics. What is surprising is the enormous effort to explain male behaviour by examining

characteristics of women.’ (Hotaling and Sugarman, 1986) ‘In order to escape responsibility for his crimes, the perpetrator does everything in his power to promote forgetting. Secrecy and silence are [his] first line of defence. If secrecy fails, the perpetrator attacks the credibility of his victim. If he cannot silence her absolutely, he tries to make sure that no one listens. To this end, he marshals an impressive array of arguments, from the most blatant denial to the most sophisticated and elegant rationalisation. After every atrocity one can expect to here the same predictable apologies: it never happened; the victim lies; the victim exaggerates; the victim brought it upon herself...the more powerful the perpetrator, the greater is his prerogative to name and define reality, and the more completely his arguments prevail’ (Herman 1998 p8)

✓ **Male pathologies** – DV as ‘deviant’ behaviour of psychologically disturbed men. Researchers and practitioners who adopt this perspective often focus on childhood and other experiences/events which shape men to ‘become abusers’. Research seeks to compare them with ‘normal’ control group (NVM). The claim is made that the disturbed/violent men suffer more distress, personality disorders, anger/hostility, alcohol problems than ‘normal’. Many lack resources or feel powerless, and they are more likely to have violence in family of origin (Holtzworth-Munroe et al 1997). Adult attachment style – ‘excessive interpersonal dependence among abusive men is a consequence of insecure attachment to the primary caregiver in childhood’ (Dutton 2005). The premise is that violent patterns of behaviour are long standing and firmly entrenched, and treatment must be intensive and individualised. But a comparative study of court mandated and NVM did not find any difference (Buttall and Jones 2001). Trauma risk from childhood experience of abuse or witnessing domestic

abuse? Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is associated with perpetration of violence (Dutton 2000) But why is it only men who respond as adults with ‘the extreme detachment necessary to engage in severe violence’ (Simonetti et al 2000)? Doesn’t explain gender differences, or the scale of domestic abuse. Most men with mental health problems are not abusive, and most abusers are not diagnosable as mentally ill. Why only attack family, not employers or strangers – people suffering from mental health disorders do not limit violent to intimate partners.

- ✓ Typologies of abusive men Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994) – 3 dimensions are used as basis of their typology of violent behaviour:
 - a) severity/frequency;
 - b) domain of violence (family and extra-);
 - c) psychopathology or personality disorders.

They generated 3 subgroups of perpetrators:

1. **FO** (family only) least severe
2. **BD** (borderline dysphoric) – moderate to severe abuse, maybe some extra-familial violence, and ‘psychological distress’ Borderline Personality characteristics and likely substance abuse.
3. **GVA** (generally violent-antisocial) moderate to severe violence, extra-familial violence and criminal behaviour (some GVAs may be psychopaths). Seeks to identify risk factors on basis of typology with correlates: historical (father’s DA, experience of child abuse, violent peers) proximal (impulsivity, social skills, attachment/dependency problems)

- ✓ Arguments against individual/psychological perspectives - they can too easily reinforce sense of entitlement, self-righteousness and narcissism, so often associated with men who batter women (Gondolf 2002). Gondolf’s large scale longitudinal and multi-site research tried to verify previous studies which suggested psychopathology and personality disorders

among perpetrators. His findings were that the most notable trend was narcissistic or antisocial personalities. These are consistent with 'normal' sense of entitlement, dominance and self-centredness. He found little evidence for a prevailing 'abusive personality' or for much PTSD. The continuum of narcissistic and avoidant tendencies cut across all groupings in sample (Gondolf and White 2000). But there is a small group of men with severe personality or psychopathic tendencies – they may need additional help and close monitoring. Otherwise, prevailing gender-based cognitive behaviour groups therapy (CBGT) may be appropriate for most referred men. This is the basic model used by DVPP, Partners for CHANGE, SACRO in Scotland

- ✓ Anger management and 'loss of control' issues leading to 'explosions' of violence. Men are conventionally assumed to have an 'innate' violence which will surface when they are in situations leading to anger or frustration. But the human emotion of anger is widespread, sometimes just and positive, and does not always or necessarily issue in attacks/assaults on others, especially intimate partners. Most perpetrators of DA are careful to keep the violence private. The nature, timing and evidence of such violence strongly suggests intentionality and control (eg careful not to mark face, getting women up from sleep to abuse them, waiting till they get home from a social function). Why no 'explosions' in other aspects of their lives, against others who cause frustration or anger? So the 'loss of control' theory is contradicted by the behaviour of most abusive men. Research indicates that they often become more controlled and calm as the violence intensifies in severity and frequency. Evaluations of perpetrator programmes offer some evidence that 'loss of control' at the point of committing physical violence may simply be one aspect of

the larger controlling and purposeful dynamic which contextualises particular events.

- ✓ Disinhibition caused by alcohol or substance use. Here also the underlying premise is that men are 'naturally' violent and this is unleashed by use of substances. Alcohol is a factor in many domestic assaults. A quarter of all facial injuries to women happen during alcohol related incidents (ESRC 2002), and many women are severely abused by perpetrators who use alcohol and drugs frequently. But the majority of perpetrators are not alcoholics and most heavy or binge drinkers are not abusers (BMA 1998). 76% of physically abusive episodes occur in the absence of alcohol (Kantor and Straus 1987). It is a socially acceptable reason for 'loss of control'. (Horley 2002)
- ✓ **Cycle of Violence (Generational)** This set of ideas is contentious, with arguments both for and against in the literature (Kelly 1999; Peled, Jaffe and Edleston 1995) but widespread in popular culture, reporting and belief: based either on biological (that it is genetically inherited) or, more usually, social learning theories. From the SL perspective, children observe the consequences of behaviour, and learn which ones achieve desired results without incurring negative sanctions. When these are modelled at home and reinforced in media, these patterns become entrenched and will be replicated. Empirical support for this view comes from evaluation of CBT perpetrator programmes, and from research which seems to find high rates of DA perpetration among men who were exposed to violence in childhood. The research findings cannot be disregarded, but nor should they be taken as deterministic, so that both men and women become resigned to use of violence and victimisation as somehow inevitable, unchangeable, continuous. The cycle excludes the rest of us who are 'normal' and non-violent, and therefore is an attractive us/them explanation.

Many studies show that majority of abusers come from non-violent backgrounds. Many who have experienced DA as children resolve never to use it. Yet the notion prevails as anecdotal or ‘common sense’ explanation. In isolation from other theories, this does not explain why the intergenerational transmission of abusive behaviour is not universal. ‘Every cycle model attempts to reduce complex social realities to simplistic and individualistic explanations’ (Kelly 1999)

- ✓ **Cycle of Violence (ebb and flow of episodes)** – This model has developed to answer the ‘how’ rather than fundamental ‘why’ questions about domestic abuse, although they are clearly connected. In other countries (USA, Australia etc), though less commonly in UK, this has become a central descriptive and explanatory metaphor used by DV industry as an educational and policy tool. It has changed and developed over the years. Violence is represented as always imminent but moving through phases of quiescence followed by violent outbursts, and then repentant episodes. The originator of this metaphor in relation to domestic violence was Lenore Walker (1978) who used it in her chapter ‘treatment alternatives for battered women’. While her intention was therapeutic and to resource women with experience of DA, her 3-phase description (tension building explosion/acute incident calm and loving respite) concludes there are times in the cycle when ‘[the woman] becomes an accomplice to her own battering’. Adaptations of the model have come from ‘family violence’ and feminist perspectives, but all reflect systemic ways of conceptualising domestic abuse (and social problems more generally) – and these are subject to increasing challenge within social science theory. The cycle is often used to help women interpret danger signs and to take predictive or preventive action.

It has also been presented in perpetrator programmes as a means for men to understand their behaviour with a view to changing.

Problems with the model include the following:

- It simply does not reflect the reality experienced by many women, and generalises far beyond any substantive evidence
- It seems to implicate the woman in the man’s behaviour, and requires her to accept a measure of responsibility for monitoring/avoiding that behaviour
- It is actually a cycle of physical assault, and does not capture the complexity or abusive reality of all phases, including remorse and ‘honeymoon’
- Change of behaviour or actions by women would supposedly disrupt the man’s ‘pattern’ of response. But this is not consistent with many women’s experiences of constant and increasing violence. The use of cycle in DV discourse tends to establish ‘norms’ according to which both perpetrators and their partners describe, judge and police their relationship. It can be used to make women responsible for ensuring own behaviour ‘minimises’ or avoids provoking violent phase; as a tool for men who evade their own responsibility for ‘it’, and is closely linked with ‘family conflict’ explanatory models

FAMILIAL/SYSTEMS APPROACHES : The focus is on patterns of interaction between couples and within families. Typical terminology refers to ‘abusive couples’, ‘family violence’, dysfunctional relationships. The site of change is couples and/or families, because both partners play a role in ‘family violence’, but remains primarily individual rather than social.

Family/Systems Conflict and ‘Family Violence’ Research. This approach sees the family as dynamic organisation made up of interdependent

components. Behaviour of one member (eg violent man) is affected by responses and feedback of other members. Researchers look at communication, relationship and problem solving skills of couples, and examines variables in comparing 'violent couples' with 'non-violent couples'. Control is regarded as an important but non-gendered variable. Violence is seen as used to correct behaviour or dynamics to enable functioning of family according to appropriate roles/behaviours; or it is a sign of dysfunctionality. Research can suggest symmetry of violence and aggression, that women are equally likely to initiate, and with equivalent motivations. Over 100 empirical studies suggest equivalence M/F DV. This leads to widespread confusion among the general public and policy makers (Kimmel 2002). Crucially, such studies assume accurate and unbiased self-reporting. The Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) originated and widely used by Straus and others in quantitative research, tallies acts of force/violence without any context or consideration of impact. It also excludes any record or measurement of sexual violence. It may be useful for eliciting the extent of commonplace social acceptance of violence as a means of communication (in families but also in other aspects of interpersonal relationships). But it frames issues within assumptions of 'conflict' or disagreement, not power and control, and thus fails to identify the underlying gendered dynamics. If family violence theories are correct, the focus of intervention should shift to encouraging women not to provoke or respond, and towards couple/family therapy (Also an increasingly common criminal justice approach – routine arrests of women in some US states on the basis of a violent incident without regard to abusive patterns of behaviour).

This raises a fundamental theoretical question: how is domestic violence conceptualised and measured/analysed? This is both political and methodological (Straus v Dobash and Dobash)

The systems/family violence approach fails to address gendered realities and avoids any critique of underlying structures of male privilege. A methodologically sound contextual assessment should be based on harm, fear, injury, intimidation, coercion – the 'Constellation of abuse', not simple listing of acts or discrete events. The CTS and family systems research fails to articulate the complexity and intentionality of DA.

Expressive and Intentional Violence (Kimmel 2002). He argues that CTS measures 'expressive' violence of anger, frustration, conflict, but that it cannot capture 'intentional' or instrumental violence, which is one tactic utilised as part of a fear-based system of domination, rather than an outcome.

Dobash and Dobash (2004) research findings on the 'puzzle' of symmetry. They studied 95 couples (from Scottish court mandated programme) in which men and women reported separately on violence in their relationship : Women's use of violence differs in nature, frequency, intention, intensity, injury and emotional impact. Women did not use intimidating and coercive forms of controlling behaviour. Men reported women's violence as 'inconsequential' which did not affect their wellbeing and safety; they rarely sought protection. Women tend to over-report their own violence, and men underestimate or define away their own (especially anything non-physical). Men and women agree about the nature and impact of women's violence, but disagree about the nature and severity of men's violence.

Miller and Meloy (VAW 12, 2006) Recently released research findings on women's use of force, initiated because mandatory arrest policies in the US have given rise to alarming increases in the arrests of women for DV offences.(either with man or alone). They argue that this gender-neutral approach fails to contextualise incident; fails to distinguish between pattern and incident; fails to protect female

victims of abuse. A single act of violence committed by a woman can eclipse a history of abuse and victimisation by male partner. Such behaviour evokes reactions from CJ authorities because it contradicts gender role assumptions of 'victimhood' and submissiveness. M&M observed 95 women on court-mandated Female Offender Programmes. Only 5 used behaviours which could be called 'aggressive violence', while 90 used behaviours not 'battering' or aimed at establishing power and control over their partners. Men did not adapt or constrain behaviour as result of women's violence. The behaviours which led to arrest were mostly either 'frustration response' or self-defence. Most of the latter were trying to get away from a partner during a violent incident or were trying to leave to avoid further violence, especially where they perceived their children to be in danger. M and M conclude that an over-reliance on the criminal justice system to protect women from DA fails to address the gendered nature of the violence: 'This failure can be attributed to the movement away from a critique of the underlying social, legal and political structures that underpin male privilege and use of violence, towards a more individual focus on the pathologies of offenders and victims'

STRUCTURALIST THEORIES

These locate the social problem of domestic abuse in the real or concrete world and its structures – social, political, cultural, ideological – and seek explanations beyond the individual. Site of change is social

- Violence as intrinsic and endemic part of social structure. DV as 'stress reaction' to problems in families/relationships, or circumstances Poverty, unemployment, isolation, homelessness, sport, loss of (male) social status and tension have all been referred to as causal factors in domestic abuse. But most incidence and prevalence studies indicate that DA transcends any social, geographical, cultural,

socio-economic circumstances. These explanations fail to account for DA perpetrated by the wealthy and privileged, or non-abusive behaviours of many others suffering poverty etc. Cultural and religious beliefs/norms/attitudes may lead to distinctive aspects in the experience and excusing of abuse, and it is not helpful to gloss over as if every woman's experience, or every man's context, is identical. Social factors require further study and elucidation to enable fullest understanding and appropriate responses for women in different situations, and subject to additional forms of discrimination.

Seems also to suggest 'brute' natural male violence/aggression over which veneer of civilisation cast by wealth and advantage. (Although patterns may vary, and, as noted, false homogenisation of issue is not helpful). Allows abusers to avoid responsibility, or even to 'justify' (on religious/cultural grounds). Completely fails to explain gendered realities of DA. Why are poor and unemployed women not major perpetrators of DA, if these are the main 'causes'?

- Feminist theoretical approaches: DA exists as part of patriarchal social structures, and is an intentional pattern of behaviour utilised to establish and maintain power and control over a female partner or ex-partner. The appropriate response to challenge and end DA must be major social, communal and cultural change. Within that explanatory framework, there are also feminist perspectives on individual, psychological and therapeutic responses to meet the needs of women, children and young people with experience of DA

- Recognition and creating language/discourse of DV as a serious social problem (not just a private matter, or 'normal') is a major achievement of the women's movement and of feminist research/activism. The focus is on social conditions which support gender inequality and male privilege,

rather than attempt to identify characteristics and types of a small deviant group of men

(Bograd 1988) There are 4 common elements in the development of feminist perspectives:

1. Explanatory utility of concepts of gender and power
2. The family is understood and analysed as a historically constructed and situated social institution (no one pattern of kinship, or social arrangement for partnership and child-rearing is 'natural' or morally superior)
3. They recognise the crucial importance of understanding and validating women's experiences.
4. They promote and depend upon the scholarship of women (and there has been historical debate about the validity and acceptability of feminist-supporting male scholars in this field)

- Feminist interventions for change have broad range of targets and concerns, including political, legislative and cultural change to support equality and economic justice for women, as well as provision of services. Principles of validation, control and empowerment informs work with women who have experience of DA

Some aspects of the increasingly complex, sophisticated and fragmented feminist literature and debate around DV/DA/VAW

1. Male power is located not only or primarily in physical power and aggression, but in the major institutions, structures and ideologies of capitalism (but what about socialism and pre-modern societies?). Violence is socially produced and often legitimated culturally. It is not a 'natural' expression of biological drives or innate male characteristics. It is constructed and learned (and rewarded) behaviour

2. Developments of analysis to grapple with intersections ; to broaden and incorporate race, class, sexual orientation and colonisation to deal with inadequacies of original simplistic arguments which were overly generalising from unacknowledged standpoints/contexts. Fuller understanding of all dimensions in the socio-political context
3. How men benefit or are rewarded, at various levels of human and social interaction, for coercive controlling behaviour
4. Includes work exploring social construction of 'masculinity' and its relation to violence against women and core realities of gender inequality
5. methodological stress on contextuality in study of da empirical support for feminist standpoint includes qualitative research into women's experiences to elucidate the abuse of power and for advocacy; cross-cultural, inter-disciplinary and prevalence research

SOCIAL ECOLOGY MODEL OF SOCIAL CHANGE: Widely utilised in research and policy around various expressions/understandings of interpersonal, institutional, cultural and structural violence in human society. Has been adapted by many working in the field of DA (including, in Scotland, CHANGE Ltd)

Interaction of factors at each level of the social ecology – individual, family/relationship, community, society/culture – contribute to perpetuation of DA. These reinforce and efforts for change must be directed at all levels

Men's Violence: incident 'trigger factors' are consistent globally:

- woman disobeying or arguing
- questioning him about money or girlfriends
- not having food ready on time or in right way
- 'failures' as mother or housekeeper

- woman refusing to have sex
- man being accused of infidelity

POSTSTRUCTURALIST THEORIES A key feature is the centrality of narrative or text – about individual and about society. Words and language do not reflect but are instrumental in constructing reality.

- DV as ‘social problem’ requires language, truths and knowledge – DISCOURSES, which are constantly evolving, contested and competing
- Shifts in discursive shaping of issue – changing language around the issue: battered wives, domestic violence, abuse, intimate partners, victims/survivors/ WCYPEDA...
- Both men and women create/produce stories about themselves – stories and scripts we live by. Good and bad stories
- Socio-political context of discourses is important – eg women’s movement, medical and legal developments, devolution, international human rights discourse
- • Analysis of discourse (in media as well as academic and practitioners) indicates key shifts in privilege and power of competing discourses
- These affect responses and interventions
- Government, partnership, multi-agency working
- Professionalisation and DV ‘industry’ – a battleground?
- From radical edge to mainstream? Increasing acceptance of gender and social explanations, but the discourse is never static, and theoretical alignments are constantly shifting. What criteria do we use to assess and either reject or take on board new perspectives, narratives or theories?

Definitions of domestic violence/abuse: These define not only the issue/problem, but also the interested parties and stakes in the discourse. They are vital tools for policy and practice and are

inherently political. A constant process of changing and refining definitions reflects theoretical stance adopted, and desired outcomes

STRUCTURAL AND DIRECT FORMS OF VIOLENCE: Terrorists, serial killers, domestic murderers — their ghoulish deeds fill our news and popular entertainment, interspersed with wars, riots, and brutal repressions. Violence surrounds us.

Where does it come from? The answer propagated by the mass media is that violence is human nature. It’s just the way people are.

This view ignores anthropological evidence about societies that have lived in relative peace, and it also contradicts our knowledge of ourselves as human beings. In certain situations we may feel violent impulses, but we can control them; we know they are only a small part of our make-up.

The Norwegian peace researcher Johan Galtung denies that human nature condemns us to violence; instead he gives another explanation of its etiology based on three interacting forces: structural, cultural, and direct.

Structural violence is injustice and exploitation built into a social system that generates wealth for the few and poverty for the many, stunting everyone’s ability to develop their full humanity. By privileging some classes, ethnicities, genders, and nationalities over others, it institutionalizes unequal opportunities for education, resources, and respect. Structural violence forms the very basis of capitalism, patriarchy, and any dominator system.

Cultural violence is the prevailing attitudes and beliefs that justify and legitimize the structural violence, making it seem natural. Feelings of superiority/inferiority based on class, race, sex, religion, and nationality are inculcated in us as children and shape our assumptions about us and the world. They convince us this is the way things are and they have to be.

Direct violence — war, murder, rape, assault, verbal attacks — is the kind we physically perceive, but it manifests out of conditions created by the first two invisible forms and can't be eliminated without eliminating them. Direct violence has its roots in cultural and structural violence; then it feeds back and strengthens them. All three forms interact as a triad. Cultural and structural violence cause direct violence. Direct violence reinforces structural and cultural violence. We are trapped in a vicious cycle that is now threatening to destroy life on earth.

Our society with its fixation on the physical focuses on direct violence and ignores the structural and cultural. Our leaders know that making changes on those levels would threaten their whole system. But as radicals we focus on the structural and cultural because we know that change has to begin at the roots.

Our best chance to break this cycle is through socialism. Economic democracy and social equality will reduce the structural and cultural violence, which will reduce the direct violence. By approaching it from these fundamental levels, socialism can wind down the syndrome of violence. This may not create utopia, but it will create a society vastly better than the one we now suffer under. We really can have peace, but not under capitalism.

STRATEGIES TO ELIMINATE VIOLENCE

AGAINST WOMEN: Violence against women and girls is rooted in gender-based discrimination and social norms and gender stereotypes that perpetuate such violence. Given the devastating effect violence has on women, efforts have mainly focused on responses and services for survivors. However, the best way to end violence against women and girls is to prevent it from happening in the first place by addressing its root and structural causes.

Prevention should start early in life, by educating and working with young boys and girls promoting respectful relationships and gender equality. Working with youth is a “best bet” for faster, sustained progress on preventing and eradicating gender-based violence. While public policies and interventions often overlook this stage of life, it is a critical time when values and norms around gender equality are forged.

Prevention entails supporting the implementation of the agreed conclusions of the 57th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) that placed a strong focus on prevention through the promotion of gender equality, women's empowerment and their enjoyment of human rights. It also means making the home and public spaces safer for women and girls, ensuring women's economic autonomy and security, and increasing women's participation and decision-making powers—in the home and relationships, as well as in public life and politics. Working with men and boys helps accelerate progress in preventing and ending violence against women and girls. They can begin to challenge the deeply rooted inequalities and social norms that perpetuate men's control and power over women and reinforce tolerance for violence against women and girls.

Awareness-raising and community mobilization, including through media and social media, is another important component of an effective prevention strategy.

OUR SOLUTIONS

Education for prevention: UN Women, in partnership with the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS) has developed a global non-formal education curriculum to engage young people in efforts to prevent and end violence against girls and women.

A first of its kind, “Voices against Violence” is a co-educational curriculum designed for various age

groups ranging from 5 to 25 years. It provides young people with tools and expertise to understand the root causes of violence in their communities, to educate and involve their peers and communities to prevent such violence, and to learn about where to access support if violence is experienced.

The curriculum includes a Handbook for peer educators that will help them deliver age-appropriate sessions, as well as age-appropriate non-formal education activities. The youngest groups may start out with storytelling and games that prompt them to think about gender bias and stereotypes, while older age groups can organize poster competitions, visit and volunteer with local shelters, or develop local community-based campaigns and projects to address specific forms of violence against girls and women.

Voices against Violence is a tool for young people around the world. It can be adapted to national context, translated into local languages, and rolled out in schools and communities in partnership with youth organizations, UN partners and governments. Training workshops have already started. Ready to start your own “Voices against Violence” journey? Download the handbook, sample activities, and how to deliver the curriculum safely among your constituencies. Contact us via e-mail for more information.

Working with men and boys: At a regional level, UN Women supports Partners for Prevention (P4P), a regional UN joint programme for Asia and the Pacific that provides new knowledge and technical support to prevent gender-based violence in the region. The Programme’s long-term goal is to reduce the prevalence of gender-based violence in the region through behaviour and attitudinal change among boys and men, increase institutional capacity and facilitate policy enhancements. At a national level, UN Women supports a range of prevention activities, supporting research to get data on the

attitudes, perceptions and behaviour of men and boys as well as young people related to various forms of violence; supporting advocacy, awareness-raising, community mobilization and educational programmes, as well as legal and policy reforms.

CASE STUDIES

MUKHTARAN MAI



The status of women in Pakistan varies considerably across classes, regions and the rural/urban divide due to uneven socioeconomic development and the impact of tribal, feudal and capitalist social formations on women's lives. The Pakistani women of today enjoy a better status than most Islamic and Middle Eastern women. However, on an average, the women's situation vis-à-vis men is one of systematic subordination, although there have been attempts by the government and enlightened groups to elevate the status of women in Pakistani society.

Pakistani society is male dominated society where women are the centre of attention and life but this society also consider women as no more than secondary citizens which is perhaps due to the traditional; norms prevailing in the whole society. The role and status of Pakistani women in all walks of life has been highly undermined. Though over the years this scenario has changed and the awareness of woman's abilities, her rights and her status has reached almost all parts of Pakistan which is a third world country. But this privilege of the right acknowledgment is limited as the majority of Pakistani women belong to the rural areas who work

in the fields and in the industrial centre. It is a pool and virtually illiterate majority, which leads a life of physical hardship involving long hours at tedious chores for which there is neither compensation nor recognition. Most of these women bear the double burden of housework and outside work. Not only do these women have longer days than the rest of the family, but also being the last to eat, they eat less well and suffer from anemia and malnutrition.

The violence against women in Pakistan is dilemma of our society. Feminists and women's groups in Pakistan have criticized the Pakistani government and its leaders for white washing the prosecution of women and trying to suppress information about their plight in the international arena. Skepticism and biased attitudes against women's complaints of violence are common among prosecutors, police officers and medicolegal doctors in Pakistan. According to reports from 1990s, such complaints often delayed/mishandled processing and inadequate/improper investigation. The crimes against the women in Pakistan has its various forms like Sexual Abuse, Women Trafficking, Dowry abuse, Domestic Violence, Honor Killings, Marriage to Quran and many other form. After many ups and downs in the case The Lahore high court ruled on 6 June 2005 that the accused men could be released on payment of a 50,000 rupees (\$840) bond. However, the men were unable to come up with the money, and remained in jail while the prosecution appealed their acquittal. Just over two weeks later, the Supreme Court intervened and suspended the acquittals of the five men as well as the eight who were acquitted at the original 2002 trial. All 14 would be retried in the Supreme Court.

The daunting step of a rural woman with an un-influential background is no doubt a source of inspiration for those women of Pakistan who never dares to break the barriers and bear the physical and

mental victimization of their rights. Mukhtaran never stopped here; she was picked up by women national and international NGOs, and Human rights activist. She was nominated for many awards and souvenirs.

On 15th March 2009, Mukhtaran Mai, 37 years married to Nasir Abbas Gabol, a 30 years old police officer who was assigned to protect her as her case gained notoriety. She has been criticized for her legal marriage, when she reserved all rights regarding every decision about her life. That is totally her personal decisions, and it comes in to the personal liberty of one individual. She did lot of work for the development of her region despite of the reality that her region witnessed the cruel act of human history with her. A decent society is not easy to attain, it can only be achieved when the society has a deep sense of responsibility regarding its citizens and when the state ensure the personal privacy to its citizens. It's the time to change the set pattern of society; in fact it's the time to broaden our minds regarding the most sensitive issue of women rights. It's high time now that we bear the brunt of the patriarchal mind set of our society, which make many women in relation with daughters, sisters, mothers and wives.

Lets finish the case of Mukhtaran with a thought provoking statement of an unknown writer "She's not a feminist, she's not an educated person, she does not have any personal politics. Yes, because of her own experience, she has an oppositional consciousness, but without really knowing why. She has a right to get along with her life"

MALALA YOUSAF ZAI



Malala Yousafzai is making a gradual recovery at Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Britain, where she is under treatment for a brain injury that she sustained after the Taliban shot her in the head for many reasons, all of which are unacceptable. This is indeed great news to see this 15 year old making a recovery and miraculously surviving a close up gun shot to the head by the cowardly Taliban. Malala has been an open activist especially for the role of female education in Pakistan, she lived in the Swat valley and lived in daily fear with her father – knowing that the Taliban were always within close reach in their battle to overtake the region with their draconian laws.

Within the last 2 years Malala's open commitment to protecting the rights of women in Pakistan and their rights to education has encouraged western media to infiltrate her region and get to know her and her father who is supportive of his daughters stern warning that she will "never stop". Yet to me Malala is being torn from every direction, as the "hero's" and "villains" run around her in circles whilst she lay in a fragile condition in a British hospital, i feel it is time for us to maintain an honest narrative on

what happened to her and why- not to mention why it is important that her mission continues.

First thing is first. Malala was not shot because she supports education, at least not according to the Taliban. They had sent official warnings to her family saying that their lives were in danger if they were to continue their glorification of their Western Enemies and their culture. The Taliban hated Malala because she was the epitome of a “modern movement” in the backwaters of Pakistan, a place where people are used to standing down and being overrun by militants who silence the majority of its dwellers. They hated that she gave the world an insight into a day in the life of a Pakistani girl and the fear instigated by the Taliban. They hated that she accepted fragments of the west whilst retaining what is acceptable of her own culture, a mixture of both Eastern and Western thinking is “corrupt” in the eyes of the Taliban– who after the third warning decided to act upon their threats by sending men to the school bus she was traveling in, summoning her by name until he friends pointed her out, before she could speak she was shot- so was the girl that “reported” her- in case it was a ploy. Sick? Beyond words.! There is no strong evidence to suggest that the Taliban shot her strictly for supporting education of any sort, though that may be one of many reasons, it is surely not the sole purpose that the Media is trying to portray.

One of the most impressive things to me was that once Malala was shot, the outcry from the general Pakistani population was huge, regardless of their creed or location- they stood up for this young girl, praying for her recovery, cursing her attempted assassins and with fists in their air promising to never let her legacy die, whether she lives or dies. Day after day the Pakistani people gathered in many sized crowds- both men and women to support Malala and worldwide the outcry was huge, so much so that it'd make the Taliban scurry back to their caves from fear. These images gave me so much

hope, and it squashed the rumors that “typically” people are silent about the extremists within their own faith and region, hence they too are part of the problem. The fact is the majority of every day people in Pakistan contest to the Taliban, just like every day westerners do. Even more promising was the fact that a Fatwa was issued against the Taliban by over 50 Muslim clerics within the region to condemn the Taliban and their actions.

Clerics on Friday declared the attempt on her life, made by Pakistani Taliban gunmen while the 14-year-old girl was on her way home from school in the Swat valley, to be “un-Islamic”. The joint fatwa, or religious edict, was issued by at least 50 scholars associated with the Sunni Ittehad Council (SIC), and appealed to worshippers to observe a “day of condemnation” on Friday.

“Islam holds the killing of one innocent person as killing the entirety of humanity” said Hamid Saeed Kazmi, a former religious affairs minister in Pakistan, told reporters.

In light of all this, some people and governments have allowed this event and the suffering of the Pakistanis under the rule of the Taliban to support the use of drone attacks in the region, which to me is an ugly guise at allowing further innocents to die. There is no justification to drone attacks, such attacks that do not differentiate between innocent civilians and militants, whilst the sad fact remains that the media always somehow claims that drones “kill militants” whilst they are absolutely silent about the innocent lives that are taken in the interim. A new study from Columbia Law School’s Human Rights Institute finds that the number of Pakistani civilians killed in drone strikes are “significantly and consistently underestimated” by tracking organizations which are trying to take the place of government estimates on casualties. In fact latest studies note that the ratio of civilians killed to militants in these drone attacks are 50:1.

Hence when people cheer for nations to nuke Pakistan with further drone strikes- essentially they are supporting the death of civilians; men, women and children– who knows how many other Malalas have had to die in such a way. So no, do not take advantage of this situation to further support the concept of drone strikes, a terrifying and terrible use of force by unmanned aircraft that cause major turmoil on the ground.

Another ugly side that has emerged from the case of Malala is the thriving racism in the United Kingdom by the EDL (English Defence League). A “Party” that ensure it must keep and fight for Britains identity- an identity that is being stolen and taken over by immigrants and Muslims who want to impose “Shariah Law”. These people have been well known to cause havoc, violent protests and grotesque threats- nothing short but a menace to a society they claim to “protect”. When members of the EDL heard that Malala who was 14 at the time and had just been shot in the head in defiance to the Taliban mind you- was going to get medical treatment in the UK they went absolutely ape about it and vocalized an intense hatred for this young girl, calling her the most hideous names including a “Piece of shit”– concluding that her and her family were “using their resources” and that they were spending their tax payers money on helping a “free loader”.

Funnily enough the Pakistani government were paying for her visit, treatment and recovery entirely. Hence these “extremists” are attacking a girl who openly fought the “extremists” – does that make sense to you? Of course not, they were the English Defect League.

Now comes the other side of the spectrum, some Muslims are trying to claim that Malala is simply a coverup and that she was not shot, or that she works for American Propaganda agents and that the Taliban do not attack children and would not do

such a thing. Let us get one thing straight, if you deny that what happened to Malala was true; that she was in fact NOT shot by the Taliban then you are calling her entire narrative falsehood. You are basically implying that this young girl took a bullet to the head for no reason, her testimonies are false and the struggle of her people and their society under the grips of the Taliban are not true- technically you are calling Malala a liar. Which is ridiculous ; children are honest and Malala is honest in what her and her people must face, that these Taliban are militia-men who enforce rules upon people and who have OPENLY threatened Malala and her family, and continue to do so even when she was on her deathbed. The fact is by standing up for the Taliban, you are spitting on the face of the reality that Malala and her people face on a daily basis, you are calling her life story a lie and that all that she fought for and will Inshallah continue to fight for is nothing but mere fabrication– pathetic, to say the least.

Finally there are the people that suddenly have the urge to insult Islam as a faith and somehow hold the Taliban to be a pedestal to Islamic teachings, one thing that is absolutely ironic about such criticism is that Malala herself is a Muslim. So inform me oh bigots, why isn’t Malala the face of Islam? Instead you choose the Taliban? Cute. Not to mention when Malala was asked in an interview in 2011 how she would combat the Taliban she said she would speak to them first and ask them what do they desire and demand, then she said she’d show them the Qur’an and prove to them nowhere does it mention women cannot get educated.

Case closed. Stop using the tragic situation of Malala to promote your own agenda, take the story for what it is.

SHERMIN UBAID CHINOY



Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy born 12 November 1978 in Karachi is known for: *“By bringing the voices of the ordinary people faced with extraordinary challenges to television screens around the world, I hope to affect change in one community at a time”*.

Is a Pakistani-born, American-educated film-maker and journalist. Many of her fifteen documentary features highlight various aspects of life in the Muslim world, particularly with regard to the status of women. These include: *Saving Face*, a story of women acid attack victims in Pakistan, *Women of the Holy Kingdom*, a profile of Saudi Arabian women, and *Afghanistan Unveiled*, a look at how the U.S. intervention has impacted ordinary female citizens. Other films, such as *Pakistan’s Double Game*, *Reinventing the Taliban*, and *Terror’s Children*, focus on the current political, social, and religious climate in Sharmeen’s home country of Pakistan.

Her visual contributions have earned her numerous awards, including the Academy Award for best short film and documentary (2012), and the International Emmy Award (2011), the One World Media Award for Broadcast Journalist of the Year (2007), the South Asian Journalist Association Award (2004 and 2006).

Ms. Obaid-Chinoy regularly gives lectures and presides over film screenings at colleges and universities across the United States. In 2007 she helped found the Citizens Archive of Pakistan, whose projects center around the preservation of Pakistan’s cultural and social heritage. **Sharmeen** is a fellow at TED - Technology, Entertainment and Design - a nonprofit dedicated to the power and spreading of ideas and knowledge through innovative technologies and audiovisual media. **Sharmeen** graduated from Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts with a Bachelor’s degree in Economics and Government and subsequently received two Master’s degrees in International Policy Studies and Communication from Stanford University in Palo Alto, California. **Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy** makes documentary films. She’s the founder of the Citizens Archive of Pakistan, dedicated to preserving Pakistan’s history.

Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy is a film producer and journalist who has worked on 14 films for major networks in the United States and Britain. Her films include *Children of the Taliban* (with Dan Edge), *The Lost Generation* (about Iraqi exiles) and *Afghanistan Unveiled*. Her work has taken her around the world, where she has filmed and worked with refugees, women’s advocacy groups and human rights defenders. By bringing their voices to the outside world, she has often helped them bring about a critical change in their community.

Obaid-Chinoy helped found the Citizens Archive of Pakistan, a nonprofit, volunteer organization that fosters and promotes community-wide interest in the culture and history of Pakistan. Citizens Archive works with thousands of children, teaching critical thinking skills and instilling a sense of pride about their history and identity.

“Aur Allah Jise Chahta Hai
Izzat Deta Hai Aur Jise Chahta
Hai Zillat Deta hai”

(Surah Imran)