



USAID
FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE



Aurat Foundation

Gender-Based Violence in Pakistan

A Scoping Study



Gender Equity Program مصفلی مسداوات پروگرام

January 2011

This publication was produced as a scoping study by the Gender Equity Program (GEP) of Aurat Foundation with the financial support of United States Agency for International Development (USAID) .

The study was carried out by Ms Rakhshinda Parveen

Copy Rights[©] Aurat Publication and Information Services Foundation

Gender-Based Violence in Pakistan

**A Scoping Study
January 2011**

This publication is made possible by the support of American people through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The contents are the sole responsibility of the Aurat Foundation and do not necessarily reflect the views of USAID or United States Government.

Preface

The Gender Equity Program (GEP) forms a substantive part of Aurat Foundation's long-term commitment and action to serving the cause of women's empowerment and advancement in Pakistan. GEP is a five-year USAID-supported grant-making program which aims to close the gender gap in Pakistan by facilitating behavioral change, enabling women to access information, resources and institutions, acquire control over their lives and improve societal attitudes towards women and their issues. It is being implemented with the collaboration of Asia Foundation.

The objectives of GEP are:

- *Enhancing gender equity by expanding women's access to justice and women's human rights*
- *Increasing women's empowerment by expanding knowledge of their rights and opportunities to exercise their rights in the workplace, community, and home*
- *Combating gender-based violence*
- *Strengthening the capacity of Pakistani organizations that advocate for gender equity, women's empowerment and the elimination of gender-based violence*

GEP's program matrix puts together the aims, requirements, activities and actions of each of the four objectives into a systematic grid that lists all the required outputs, the interventions for each output and the program targets for each intervention. The grants are designed to meet these agreed and approved interventions and outputs.

In the first year GEP's research initiatives include initial scoping desk studies to identify current status of knowledge and actions under each objective area and post-floods scenario, plus gaps that need to be addressed. These are:

1. Effects of the 2010 Floods on Women in Pakistan
2. Gender Based Violence in Pakistan
3. Women's Empowerment in Pakistan
4. Capacity of Pakistani Organizations to Carry Out Gender Equity Initiatives
5. Gender Equity - Justice and Governance in Pakistan

Other studies in the first year of GEP include a comprehensive primary data baseline representative nationally and for each province, and several primary data based GBV studies covering sensitive areas, are underway. In-depth studies covering key government institutions to derive both policy and practical guidelines for further work under GEP are also being carried out.

This scoping study on Gender Based Violence in Pakistan has formed the first step in helping GEP to define the gaps and needs in this area, fine tune it's designed inputs for the first three grant cycles in the first year of GEP and better design the proposed outputs, interventions and program targets for the subsequent years of GEP.

It identifies key forms and determinants of gender-based violence, the problems and challenges and the patterns and priorities in funding for tackling the issues. It also identifies key players among donors, international and national NGOs in this specific context, the key gaps in research and interventions. Finally it presents a way forward, conclusions and recommendations at the policy and response levels



Simi Kamal
Chief of Party
Gender Equity Program (GEP)

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the various key stakeholders from government, NGOs, UN agencies, community based organizations, international NGOs and bilateral funding organizations who generously took time from their busy schedules to answer questions, share their views and to make certain that the information required to complete this study was available.

Particular thanks is due to the organizations and individuals from national and international NGOs, media and academia who took time to complete the questionnaires for additional information. It would have been impossible to complete this study without their participation and full cooperation. In addition I would like to extend a very sincere thanks to all concerned team members of the Gender Equity Program, The Asia Foundation and Aurat Foundation, whose cooperation and support at different stages of the study helped to develop a better understanding of this challenging assignment.

I also thank all those involved directly or indirectly in guiding my efforts while acknowledging sole responsibility for errors of commission and omission.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	ii
Table of Contents	iii
Acronyms and Abbreviations	iv
Executive Summary	v
1. Introduction	01
1.1 Gender-Based Violence in Pakistan	01
1.2 The Study	07
2. Literature Review	11
2.1 Terms and Terminology	11
2.2 Gender Indicators	12
2.3 Global Responses to Gender-Based Violence	13
2.4 Gender-Based Violence in South Asia	15
2.5 Discussion	16
3. Donors and International NGOs	19
3.1 Aid and Gender-Based Violence	20
3.2 Projects Related to Gender-Based Violence	24
3.3 Discussion	27
4. Findings	29
4.1 Issues in Gender-Based Violence in Pakistan	29
4.2 Capacities and Needs in Gender-Based Violence in Pakistan	31
4.3 Desirable Changes in Policy and Government Action	32
4.4 Funding Priorities	32
4.5 Current and Past Initiatives	33
4.6 Gaps in Research	39
4.7 Discussion	40
5. Towards a Pakistan Free of Gender-Based Violence	41
5.1 Analysis and Findings	41
5.2 Conclusions	44
5.3 Recommendations	45
5.4 Conclusion	47
6. Annexures	49
6.1 Gender Statistics	49
6.2 Pakistan's Human Rights Commitments	50
6.3 Research Tools	55
6.4 Regional NGOs and International Networks	63
6.5 Pakistani NGOs	64
6.6 Donors and International NGOs	66
6.7 NGOs Involved in Humanitarian Assistance	72
6.8 Glossary of Gender-Based Violence	73
6.7 Glossary of Indigenous Terms	81
6.9 List of Respondents	82
Bibliography	83

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
CEDAW	Convention to End all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GDI	Gender Development Index
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GEP	Gender Equity Program
GII	Gender Inequality Index
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
INGAD	United Nations Interagency Gender and Development Group
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MoHR	Ministry of Human Rights
MoWD	Ministry of Women Development
NCSW	National Commission on the Status of Women
NPA	National Plan of Action
PAGE	Program for the Advancement of Gender Equality
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNOPS	United Nations Office for Project Services
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VAW	Violence Against Women
WHO	World Health Organization

Executives Summary

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan is the sixth most populous country in the world, with a Gender-related Development Index ranking of 125th out of 169 countries, and a Gender Empowerment Measure rank of 99 out of 109 countries.

The Gender Equity Program, funded by USAID and implemented in Pakistan by The Asia Foundation and the Aurat Foundation, has undertaken this scoping study on gender-based violence in Pakistan to identify issues, needs and priorities in this particular context, besides highlighting gaps in research and interventions, and clearly mapping out past and present interventions to address gender-based violence by donors and international NGOs in Pakistan.

Discussion of this complex area is contextualized in the disadvantages faced by ordinary Pakistani women, with the aim to analyze the problem through a gender-sensitive and responsive lens. A qualitative research methodology was adopted for this study, which uses both primary and secondary data collection and analysis. The respondents were selected from amongst donors, international and national NGOs, media networks, inventories available on the internet, and e-mail lists.

The author approached 110 respondents from four identified groups: NGOs and international NGOs specializing in addressing gender-based violence in Pakistan (40 respondents); gender experts and other key informants in the public sector, international NGOs, UN and the donor community (15 respondents), Pakistani print and electronic media professionals (25 respondents), and experts on gender, women, human rights, law and legal aid, media advocacy, research and management, etc. (30 respondents). The aim was to achieve responses from at least 25 ideal respondents in 18 days, with a pre-calculated risk of less than 50 percent responses.

This fast track study aimed to deliver the following outputs:

- Identification of key forms and determinants of gender-based violence, and an overview of its existence in Pakistan;
- Patterns and priorities in funding for gender-based violence;
- Identification of key players among donors, international and national NGOs in this specific context;
- Identification of key gaps in research and interventions; and,
- A way forward, identifying issues, needs, challenges, conclusions and recommendations at the policy and response levels.

The literature review and analysis highlighted issues of terminology, milestones in the discourse and interventions on gender-based violence, and the South Asian context.

A quarter of all bilateral overseas development assistance allocated by sector – \$5 billion out of \$20 billion in average annual commitments – is focused on gender equality. Leaving aside its actual impact, the share allocated to gender equality is clearly increasing.

Pakistan has been the focus of fluctuating attention from donor organizations throughout its history. Two major disasters (the 2005 earthquake and the 2010 floods) have recently revived the interest of international donors and attracted new funding partners. However, new issues have been raised, especially in the aftermath of the recent floods, regarding the redirection of development funds towards emergency situations.

The role, responsibility and focus of donors on gender and violence issues when formulating development strategies, despite their apparent commitment, is unclear. Indeed, funding priorities do not point towards ending gender-based violence. The impact of these interventions is neither measured, nor very visible: there is no clear and consistent gender strategy amongst donors and international NGOs, and the sex- and age-disaggregated data which would in turn inform strategic planning and program design are almost nonexistent. Even where gender strategies exist, they are not well-publicized or applied. The websites of major donors, UN agencies and international NGOs do showcase programs and projects, but there was no indication of the use of impact indicators there or in direct consultations and conversations.

Analysis, Findings, and Challenges

This study aims to map current and past initiatives, along with the key outcomes on gender-based violence by donors and international NGOs in Pakistan. The information gathered was deficient in both completeness and comprehensiveness. Key findings are presented below.

The study identifies key gaps in the literature on gender-based violence: these include a near absence of information on NGO projects focused on gender-based violence, and of indigenous and new perspectives on violence in development and disaster strategies. Though international NGOs have analyzed gender-based violence, particularly in health and human rights, the research of civil society organizations is not well-documented.

The practitioners highlighted certain gaps in the Pakistani context, which were corroborated by the researcher, including the lack of:

- Research in all the thematic areas of gender-based violence;
- Identification and implementation of legal and policy frameworks to guide actors;
- Awareness-raising and dissemination of best practices and key learning, especially for NGOs which are not funding partners with international donors, international NGOs, and UN agencies;
- Resource mobilization and sustainability, including fiscal, institutional and technical;
- Coordination mechanisms at all stages of research and interventions;
- Mapping studies on gender-based violence in Pakistan;
- Documented studies on donors' funding priorities for gender-based violence; Critique by academic and research institutions of responses to gender-based violence and aid effectiveness;
- Research on, and advocacy and service delivery for, the victims and survivors of violence;
- Documentation of the intersections between domestic violence and child abuse in local contexts;
- Action research and effective impact-based interventions for communities to help them own issues of gender-based violence;
- Focused and socially acceptable interventions to develop a survivor-centered approach for the affectees of violence;

- Research and interventions to monitor the media for false or misleading information or unethical coverage of cases of gender-based violence;
- Serious attention to investing in women and girls for their economic security, enabling them to protect themselves or leave abusive relationships.

Key challenges include:

- The Ministry of Women Development is the national focal machinery for the advancement of women and implementation of CEDAW, but has not met expectations in formulating public policies, ensuring equality in education and employment, and the participation of women in national life.
- The Constitution of Pakistan has significant human rights content, but it is expensive for individuals in terms of time, effort and finances to approach the judiciary to protect fundamental rights. Moreover, the sensitivity and compassion of the judiciary needs serious re-examination. Despite laws, women in Pakistan suffer from overt and covert forms of violence and no focused interventions geared towards impact indicators could be found.
- Civil society organizations work in isolation and compete, rather than cooperate, for donors' attention. NGOs usually do not reveal their donors, or and record-keeping for gender-based violence related funds. Projects run by civil society organizations are marked by short-term interventions and inefficient management, and follow donor requirements to remain eligible for funding. In practice, CSOs outsource tasks that require extensive documentation; and the actual work for service delivery interventions is frequently carried out by a community-based organization or grassroots NGO.
- While gender-based violence appears to be a priority on the development agenda, in practice, this is not matched by actions and funding.

Conclusions

Interventions against gender-based violence in development strategies, though not necessarily absent, are too vaguely defined, except in disaster situations. This shows a lack of understanding of the problem in the local context of Pakistani society. The response to gender-based violence may be included in initiatives in other sectors, such as health, protection, or other services, rather than under gender programming in development activities.

Disasters create windows of opportunities, and in the current flood emergency, offer a chance to address both immediate humanitarian service delivery, and to develop protective services in the long term. Gender is yet to be established as a full-fledged sector in Pakistan. Donors' efforts are disjointed and poorly coordinated. Despite the existence of INGAD, there is limited formal contact between donors for strategic planning on gender issues.

A vibrant NGO sector exists in Pakistan, with much emphasis on women and gender issues. Information and interventions on funding initiatives specific to gender-based violence are fragmented, scanty and marked by lack of coordination. The discourse on gender indicators has yet to be identified as an important area of action research and program development.

Recommendations

Gender-based violence is a pervasive and systemic issue affecting all socioeconomic and cultural groups

throughout the world, at a high cost to both individuals and society.

It is germane to deconstruct the usual approaches to address gender-based violence in the particular context of Pakistan. This will benefit both Pakistani women and USAID's image, and help to construct and sustain survivor-centered approaches. Although some similar initiatives exist, this would be a long-overdue scaling-up and reinforcement, not a duplication.

The study specifically recommends:

- Political advocacy to encourage the government to re-examine all discriminatory laws and to implement legislation explicitly criminalizing domestic violence.
- Funding for the following key areas: long-term gender sensitization of critical state organs; training of health professionals to address gender-based violence and improve forensic sciences; upgrade physical facilities and equipment; design programs with NGOs to provide basic services for victims and survivors of violence; the eventual expansion, quality assessment and monitoring of services; alliances and networking with grassroots NGOs.
- Recognizing research gaps and allocating funds for a detailed mapping study.
- Specific recommendations include women-exclusive interventions, such as restoring their rightful role in public life, society and the family by eradicating gender-based violence; educational programs for law enforcement and health professionals; and the establishment of specific service delivery points. The media must be recruited to build indigenous perspectives and prescriptions on addressing gender-based violence. Men must be engaged in ending gender-based violence.

Universal approaches do not provide universal solutions. Socially acceptable and culturally appropriate actions, with an understanding of attitudes and behaviors, are required at the design, development and dissemination stages of all interventions.

Gender, gender mainstreaming, gender empowerment and gender equality are currently fashionable concepts in the social development sector of Pakistan. However, the actual amount of attention, responses at the policy, services, legislation and community levels, the funding specifically provided for gender-based violence in Pakistan, and the outcomes and impact of initiatives remain open to question. This study does not offer complete or final answers; it merely draws upon available information to assess trends and determine future areas of work.

I. Introduction

Violence against women both violates and impairs or nullifies the enjoyment by women of their human rights and fundamental freedoms... In all societies, to a greater or lesser degree, women and girls are subjected to physical, sexual and psychological abuse that cuts across lines of income, class and culture.

— Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, Paragraph 112

I.1 Gender-Based Violence in Pakistan

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan is the sixth most populous country in the world, and is ranked 125th out of the 169 countries on the Gender Development Index (GDI), and 99th out of 109 on the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) (UNDP 2010).¹

Global experiences have repeatedly demonstrated that gender-based violence is pervasive across class, religion, ethnicity and the urban/ rural divide in Pakistan, and has its roots in a patriarchal social structure in which women are subservient to men, and are viewed as property. Violence and its threat contribute to the low indicators for women's development in the country.

Power dictates the position of women and girls at the household, community and policy levels. Although women have always held a less powerful position in society, the increasing rates of violence

against women show a serious departure from tradition, local culture and the teachings of Islam and other religions. Many forms of violence against women are not recognized as crimes or violations of women's rights. Even where gender-based violence is criminalized, perpetrators may not be pursued or regarded as such.

According to the Human Rights Watch, gender-based violence occurs as a cause and consequence of gender inequities. It includes a range of violent acts mainly committed by men against women, within the context of the subordinate status of females in society, which is seeks to preserve.² Violence against women includes:

- Domestic violence by family members or intimate partners, including physical, sexual or psychological harm;
- Sexual violence, including rape, sexual abuse, forced pregnancies and prostitution;
- Traditional harmful practices including female genital mutilation, honor killing and dowry related violence; and
- Human trafficking.

Owing to the vibrant global woman's movement and a vigilant media, concern and outrage over the prevalence, magnitude and impact of gender-based

¹ Selected gender statistics are presented in Annexure 6.1.

² Quoted in a World Bank factsheet on “Gender-Based Violence, Health, and the Role of the Health Sector,” available at: <http://go.worldbank.org/C1UQRGBCE0>.

violence has grown over the last decade, and there is now widespread recognition that this is a global human rights problem requiring a comprehensive and coordinated response from civil society, the state and the international community. Gender-based violence is recognized as a violation of several human rights, including:

- the right to life;
- the right to liberty and security of person;
- the right to equal protection under the law;
- the right not to be subjected to torture, or any other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, or punishment;
- the right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health;
- the right to equality;
- the right to be free from all forms of discrimination; and,
- the right to just and favorable conditions of work.

1.1.1 Response of the Government of Pakistan to Gender-Based Violence

The Government of Pakistan stands committed to end all kinds of violence against its citizens irrespective of gender, race and religion, and has established a separate ministry to protect women and their rights. Pakistan is a signatory to almost all international conventions and agreements on violence against women and gender-based violence. But while laws and guarantees may exist on the books, they need a strong social and political will to promulgate them. This study examines the measures taken, and their effectiveness.

The Ministry of Women Development (MoWD) is the national focal ministry for the advancement of women.³ It advocates, plans and coordinates measures for women's development, and is responsible for the formulation of policies and laws to meet women's special needs, and ensuring that their interests and needs are adequately represented in public policy. It undertakes projects supporting the development of women and

ensures that there is equality of opportunity in education, training, employment, health care, and community development. The Women Development Division works under the MoWD, and is responsible for developing policies and programs to protect women's rights and welfare.

The Government of Pakistan has also taken some important institutional measures, with the caveat that they be cleared by the Council of Islamic Ideology, a constitutional body that advises the legislature whether or not a certain law is repugnant to Islam. Major policy issues relating to gender-based violence include:

- A holistic and independent policy for the elimination of gender-based violence is missing from the national reform agenda.
- Legislation on domestic violence and sexual harassment is underway; a major headway in the right direction.
- Discriminatory legal provisions still exist in the Hudood Ordinance 1979, Protection of Women Act 2006, the Qisas and Diyat provisions of the Pakistan Penal Code, the Citizenship Act, and the Law of Evidence.
- Parallel legal and quasi-legal systems in rural areas, such as panchayats and jirgas, are the mainstay of customary practices which perpetuate gender-based violence.
- Access to and dispensation of justice are marred by a host of institutional and service delivery problems, along with a shortage of women judges, and a lack of gender sensitization in the judiciary.
- The inefficiency, maladministration and poor infrastructure of the police force, along with political interference, has caused numerous problems. To these were added the ambiguities in the Police Order 2002, which caused confusion in the ranks.

In the past two decades, there have been significant developments related to law and policy

³For more information see the ministry's website: www.mowd.gov.pk.

to create protections for women vulnerable to violence. In 1998, as a follow-up to its participation in the 1995 World Conference on Women, the Pakistan government formulated a National Plan of Action (NPA), and established the National Commission on the Status of Women. Under the NPA, a Gender Reform Action Plan was formulated, which was wound down in 2010 amidst controversy. The NPA set five strategic objectives against 12 actions for different stakeholders, including the MoWD, Ministries of Law, Interior, Labor and Information, as well as the local governments and the judiciary. These include implementing recommendations in the Report of the Commission of Inquiry for Women (1997).

In 2000, the National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW)⁴ was created upon the advice of the Inquiry Commission for Women and as a follow up to the Beijing process, which began in 1995. It is presently chaired by Anis Haroon, a women's rights activist, who heads the Aurat Foundation, a prominent civil society organization.

In 2002, the National Policy for Development and Empowerment of Women's provisions on violence against women called for:⁵

- Zero tolerance regarding violence against women.
- Declaring honor killings murder. Reviewing police and medico-legal procedures.
- Introducing positive legislation on domestic violence and reform.
- Reviewing policies on women's shelters.
- Establishing family protection programs to ensure women have access to legal, medical and psychological counseling.
- Undertaking police reforms to increase and train women in the police.
- Sensitizing the police force on issues of gender-based violence.
- A policy on gender-based violence.
- Abolishing discriminatory laws.

- Ensuring that laws on the books are implemented.

In 2006, the Gender Crime Cell⁶ was established in the National Police Bureau with three main functions: data collection on cases of gender-based violence, policy advice to government on particular cases or proposed legislation on gender-based violence, and investigating cases on the request of the Ministry of Interior. It also developed standard operating procedures on dealing with gender-based violence and conducting police trainings.

In November 2008, the Ministry of Human Rights (MoHR) was formed as a department of the Ministry of Law and Justice. The MoHR operates two human rights funds, one of which is used to pay the fines of prisoners who have served their sentences but cannot pay their fines. The second is a district detention and emergency relief fund for women. The MoHR is currently working on improving prison manuals and the conditions of female inmates. It plans to establish standard operating procedures and relief and rehabilitation programs for women survivors and prisoners. The MoHR also collaborates with UNDP on capacity building programs and issues such as *vani* and *swara*.⁷

The Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill 2009 relating to sexual harassment was passed by the National Assembly in November 2009, moved by the minister-in-charge of the MoWD. The bill substitutes section 509 of the Pakistan Penal Code 1860 with the following text:

Whoever conducts sexual advances, or demands sexual favors or uses verbal or non-verbal communication or physical conduct of a sexual nature which intends to annoy, insult, intimidate or threaten the other person or commits such acts at the premises of work place, or makes submission to such conduct either explicitly or implicitly a term or condition of an individual's employment, or makes submission to, or rejection of such conduct by an individual a basis for

⁴For more information see the commission's website: www.ncsw.gov.pk.

⁵The text of the policy is available at www.mowd.gov.pk/npdewnov.pdf.

⁶For more information, see www.mowd.gov.pk/GCC.html.

⁷A glossary of terms, including forms of gender-based violence, may be found in Annexure 6.7.

employment decision affecting such individual, or retaliates because of rejection of such behavior, or conducts such behavior with the intention of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work performance, or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment; shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to three years or with fine up to five hundred thousand rupees or with both.

On August 4, 2009, the National Assembly passed the Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Bill 2009. It had been introduced by Yasmeen Rehman, a member affiliated with the Pakistan People's Party, as a private member's bill in 2008. Unfortunately, the bill did not pass the Senate, pointing to the difficulty in passing legislation related to women. As Zubaida Mustafa, writing in the Dawn newspaper observed:

At one stage the Protection against Harassment of Women at the Workplace Bill and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill had appeared to be in the doldrums, given the resistance from the religious parties. Another bill, the Domestic Violence Bill, which was passed by the National Assembly, lapsed when it was not adopted by the Senate within the stipulated 90 days. All three bills are designed to protect women inside and outside the home. It is a mystery why some one should object so strongly to legislation of this nature that seeks to discourage perverse behavior towards women. The fact is that in our society women's issues continue to be used as pawns by politicians in their power games
—Mustafa 2010

In the past, the MoWD has been engaged in activities and institutions that proliferated without concrete results or impacts on women's wellbeing. Bearing this in mind, and the ministry's narrow focus, plans are in development to broaden its institutional agenda and re-structure it as a Ministry of Social Development, Gender Equality and Human Protection.

I.1.2 National and International Commitments

There have been several policy initiatives related to Pakistan's international commitments. They have improved the advisory and research role of government institutions, but lack authority or status within the government. Indeed, the MoWD, MoHR, NCSW, Gender Crime Cell, and the Musalihat-e-Anjuman gender justice project have been criticized as being well outside the mainstream of government institutions, lacking adequate authority and funds to impact upon women's human rights.

Pakistan's international commitments related to gender-based violence include.⁸

- Convention to End all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), 1979.
- Beijing Platform for Action, 1995, and its ten year review.
- Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), 2000.

The following national commitments also shape the public policy context for efforts to address gender-based violence:

- Articles of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.
- National Plan of Action (NPA).
- National Policy on Development and Empowerment of Women.
- National Strategic Framework for Family Protection.

Pakistan acceded to CEDAW on April 12, 1996, with the following declaration: "The accession by Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan to the (said Convention) is subject to the provisions of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of

⁸A summary of Pakistan's international commitments and legal reforms is presented in Annexure 6.2.

Pakistan." Pakistan also added the following reservation: "The Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan declares that it does not consider itself bound by paragraph 1 of article 29 of the Convention."

The current Constitution of Pakistan was adopted in 1973. Its authors had the benefit of studying the major international human rights instruments then in existence, which included the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Many of the principles contained in these documents are reflected in the Constitution. For this reason, it has been argued that Pakistan's declaration when acceding to CEDAW simply enabled a smooth accession, and will not have negative effects in implementing the convention (Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women 2005)

In Pakistan, the conflict between state and customary or tribal law has tended to be resolved by the former mimicking or accommodating the latter. This concord between law and custom, which has much to say on the place of women in society, is also consolidated in the courts. Judges are overwhelmingly male and invested in patriarchy. They are often inclined to give men the benefit of the doubt in cases involving murder, rape, and physical abuse of women, as well as cases where women are accused of zina. This is especially evident in the context of honor killings where "immoral" conduct is deemed an acceptable cause for murder.

1.1.3 Prevalence and Frequency

Data collected by the Aurat Foundation between January 1 and December 31, 2009, showed that cases of gender-based violence increased compared to the previous year (Aurat Foundation 2010). A total of 8,548 cases were reported during 2009, a 13 percent increase from the 7,571 cases reported in 2008. Punjab is the largest province by population, and also topped the list, with 5,722 cases reported. Sindh reported the second-highest number, with 1,762 cases. In

Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa 655 cases were reported, and 237 surfaced in Balochistan. The Islamabad Capital Territory also reported 172 cases of gender-based violence during the year under review. Although no formal studies have taken place, it is clear that gender-based violence is grossly under-reported, particularly in Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa and Balochistan, both of which have seen conflict, unrest, or displacement.

1.1.4 Forms and Expressions

According to investigations by the Ansar Burney Trust (n.d.), the vast majority of cases where women lost their lives due to violence at home, their husbands and in-laws were implicated. In other cases, victims' fathers and brothers were responsible. There were many cases reported of women seeking divorce or separation who were subject to mutilation, such as having their noses, ears and hair cut off by angry husbands. Sexual violence is also commonly faced by Pakistani women. It is estimated that as many as eight women – half of them minors – are raped every day. Many of these are committed to exact revenge on the victim's family, as women are considered keepers of the family honor. Rapes are also ordered as punishments by the panchayat and jirga councils of elders, sometimes for crimes committed by other members of the family. Many sexual assaults on women occur in custody by the police.

According to the Aurat Foundation (2010), 1,988, or a quarter of all reported cases of gender-based violence in 2009, were murders or honor killings. While only 50 cases of stove burning were reported, a decrease of 18 percent from the previous year, acid throwing had increased substantially. Abductions and kidnappings were the second highest reported incidence of gender-based violence, with 1,987 cases. Reports of rape and gang rape increased by 19 percent, and numbered 928 cases. Suicides also reached a new high with 683 cases reported, an increase of 14 percent. Under-reporting is a serious problem, particularly for crimes such as domestic violence, of which only 281 cases were reported. The dearth of data is also indicated in the 1,977 cases clubbed as "miscellaneous," including vani, swara, custodial violence, torture, trafficking, child

marriages, incest, threat of violence, sexual harassment, and attempted murder.

1.1.5 Gender-Based Violence in Humanitarian Contexts

Pakistan has the largest share of refugees in the world, many belonging to a now-settled population displaced from Afghanistan by the long-running unrest and war in that country. A 2009 study by the International Medical Corps among Afghan refugees in Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa following an intervention revealed a dramatic increase in knowledge of women's rights, especially amongst women. Interviews conducted after the completion of the intervention showed an 11 point increase in women's knowledge of their rights under Islam, and a 32 point increase in their knowledge that a woman has the right to refuse sex with her husband. This increase was likely thanks to greater exposure to messages on gender-based violence through the media. There was also a significant decrease in women and men who considered wife-beating an acceptable way for husbands to discipline their wives. Nevertheless, many attitudes remained to be changed: many respondents still believed rape cannot occur between husband and wife, and that men cannot prevent physical and sexual violence against women and girls, and strong stigmas inhibited women from discussing the issue and seeking help (International Medical Corps 2010).

A rapid gender needs assessment conducted by UNIFEM on women affected by the 2010 floods documented concerns that camps lacked formal security mechanisms and structures, except where people made their own watch groups (UNIFEM 2010). Both men and women expressed this fear, though feelings of insecurity were higher among women. Looting of aid was reported, and women were reluctant to access aid for fear of such outbreaks. Because they lacked the strength to push to the front of the distribution lines, they were often deprived of their full share. According to the assessment, 34 percent of respondents said gender-based violence was most likely to occur within the home, and 33 percent said it was most likely when traveling alone or working outside the home. Thus both public and private spaces were

perceived as potential and actual sites of violence. Disputes soon emerged in the aftermath of the floods. While most were around issues of access to relief goods, others were reportedly over identity politics. As camps house a mix of groups in close proximity, especially in Sindh, there is a risk that competition for limited resources may be articulated as identity conflicts. In such situations, women's bodies often become sites where disputes are mediated through attacks, harassment or forced marriage. There have been reports of sexual harassment in camps, and women who maintain purdah or seclusion feel exposed, vulnerable and threatened by the presence of male strangers. Following the economic devastation caused by the floods, forced marriages may become a means of resolving debts.

There is dearth of data on violence faced by women among Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) from Swat (Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa) and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). The impact of Talibanization on Pakistan in general, and women and girls in particular, however, is clear. To quote Muslim Khan, spokesperson for the Tehrik-e-Taliban:

Women will benefit the most from the enforcement of the Shariah... We want to give women their rightful place in Islam... Women are not supposed to work in factories, or even work in fields. That is a man's work and we will not allow them to shrug off their responsibility.

—Quoted in Chandran 2009

In Swat and other areas where the Taliban have influence the incidence of gender-based violence can, to some extent, be explained. The prevalence and endorsement of violence against women, girls and minorities in other areas, however, demands consideration.

1.1.6 Media Reports of Gender-Based Violence in 2010

Madadgaar, a helpline for women and children established by the Karachi-based Lawyers for Human Rights and Legal Aid, found that of the 1,195 murders of women reported murdered in Pakistan during 2010, 98 were first subjected to

rape (“Nearly 1,200 Women Killed in Pakistan in 2010: Report” 2010). It found 321 reports of rape, and 194 of gang rape. In total, 1,091 women were tortured, 316 tortured by the police, and 126 burnt. About 383 women were kidnapped and 491 committed suicide. The police registered 4,870 cases of gender-based violence during 2010, bringing the total number reported since 2000 to 79,909. Over 2,400 cases were reported from Punjab, 1,070 from Sindh, 998 from Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa and 313 from Balochistan. The number of cases was lower in Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa and Balochistan provinces because of a strong tribal culture and lack of access to the media. The report was compiled from news reports published in the mainstream Pakistani media.

1.1.7 Conclusion

There is an alarming amount of violence perpetuated against women in Pakistan, and its social endorsement is reflected in the callous response of the provincial and national assemblies. This was demonstrated in a shocking case in 2008, when women were buried alive in the name of tradition in Balochistan. Some male legislators tried to justify this horrific act, and most legislators remained silent, with the notable exception of the Sindh Assembly, which passed a strongly worded resolution against the incident.

1.2 The Study

The Gender Equity Program (GEP), funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and implemented in Pakistan by The Asia Foundation and Aurat Foundation, commissioned this scoping study to identify the issues, needs and priorities regarding gender-based violence in Pakistan. The study is also intended to map out past and present interventions to address gender-based violence and highlight gaps in research and interventions.

1.2.1 Objectives

This study is intended to document what has been done, what is being done, and by whom, as well as to derive concrete recommendations from the

evidence yielded by this review. Its aim is to inform the strategic planning of the Gender Equity Program in Pakistan. The general objectives of this scoping study are as follows:

- To stimulate a thinking process among target audiences regarding the understanding of gender-based violence in Pakistan, and effective responses; and
- To initiate process of dialogue to challenge stereotyped gender roles in Pakistani society through the inclusion and participation of stakeholders in multiple sectors and at multiple levels.

Its specific objectives are:

- To map out current and past initiatives, projects and programs to address gender-based violence by donors and international NGOs;
- To identify issues, needs and priorities in combating gender-based violence and advancing the cause of women's rights and empowerment in Pakistan; and,
- To identify the perceptions, perspectives and positions of stakeholders working against gender-based violence.
- To achieve this, the study seeks to document the following key findings:
 - Determinants of gender-based violence;
 - Players and initiatives addressing gender-based violence;
 - Gaps in research and areas of intervention;
 - Challenges in connection with efforts to address gender-based violence; and,
 - Recommendations regarding gender-based violence in Pakistan.

I.2.2 Sources of Primary Data

A qualitative research methodology was adopted for this study, and included both primary and secondary data collection and analysis. Key stakeholders and duty bearers were identified as respondents for the collection of primary data. The respondents were selected from amongst donor agencies, international and national NGOs, media networks, online directories, and email lists

including those of the Ashoka network of Pakistani civic entrepreneurs, the UN gender task force, the UN Interagency Gender and Development Group (INGAD) and members of the Ending Violence Against Women group in Pakistan. The author's knowledge of the area also enabled her to identify and approach key players.

The respondents were divided into four groups, as described in Table I, below.

Table I: Summary of Field Research

Group	Profile	Selection Criteria	Respondents Approached	Responses Received	Additional Remarks
1	Local, international NGOs specializing in gender-based violence	NGOs with at least three to five years experience in gender-based violence and sub-thematic areas including health, education, economy, politics through projects, programs, activism, advocacy, research, art and media. A deliberate effort was made to include both well-known and lesser known NGOs working in difficult areas.	40	20	Local NGOs responded more enthusiastically, though not more completely or sufficiently than international NGOs. International NGOs approached for detailed discussion were ActionAid Pakistan, Plan Pakistan, WFP, WWI and NCO.
2	Gender experts, etc., in the public sector, international NGOs, UN, and donor community	Gender experts and key informants from a donor and development agencies.	15	5	UN agencies responded better than donors and public sector officials.
3	Media professionals (print, radio, television)	Journalists with experience in covering violence, women, gender, human rights, and public policy, belonging to the mainstream and regional media.	25	6	Media professionals were very interested in the study but largely unavailable for interviews or responding to questionnaires.
4	Experts in rights, law, media advocacy, research and management	Academics selected for area of expertise and commitment demonstrated through research, advocacy campaigns, etc. Rights experts from public health, law, management, and entrepreneurship chosen for a demonstrated commitment to ending gender-based violence.	30	10	A variety of reasons were given for the inability to respond.
Total			110	41	

The aim was to receive responses from 25 ideal respondents over 18 days of data gathering. With the ideal respondents comprising busy professionals, and in the context of the ongoing response to the 2010 flood disaster, the author assumed a response rate below 50 percent, and approached a total of 110 potential respondents. In practice, another reason presented for the low response rate, especially in Group 4, was reluctance to be a part of a study for USAID.

Primary data collection employed semi-structured interviews based on an open-ended questionnaire, a structure which provided the opportunity to gather individual perspectives, perceptions and positions in a limited time. Information about donor and NGO initiatives was obtained through direct communication (telephone, e-mail and interview).

The questionnaire explored the perspectives of respondents on issues and priorities in gender-based violence, and documented their concerns in this complex area. While some questions were criticized by one respondent as simplistic and irrelevant, they were not intended to assess knowledge. Nor were questions asked in a fixed order, or responses restricted to the listed questions alone. The questionnaires are reproduced in Annexure 6.3.

1.2.3 Sources of Secondary Data

The method adopted for identifying literature in a scoping study needs to achieve in-depth and broad results. Rather than being guided by a highly focused research question that lends itself to searching for particular study designs (as might be the case in a systematic review), the scoping study method is guided by a requirement to identify all relevant literature regardless of study design. It is likely that as familiarity with the literature is increased, researchers will want to redefine search terms and undertake more sensitive searches of the literature. To this end, the researcher may not wish to place strict limitations on search terms, identification of relevant studies, or study selection at the outset. The process is not linear but iterative, requiring researchers to engage with each stage in a reflexive way and, where necessary, repeat steps to ensure that the literature is covered in a

comprehensive way
—Arksey and O'Malley 2005

Secondary data collection included review and analysis of published material (much of it available online) on gender-based violence in the past decade or so. It assembled lessons learnt from global experiences, and touched briefly upon issues of violence in conflicts and humanitarian settings, and with specific populations such as refugees, transgender, minorities, various age groups, etc.

Key terms used for the literature search included “gender based violence,” “violence against women,” “responses to gender based violence” and “violence against women,” “forms of gender based violence” and “violence against women,” “prevalence of gender based violence” and “violence against women,” and “cost of gender based violence” and “violence against women.” A deliberate search was also conducted, based on the author's prior knowledge of the field. Only those references are included which have relevance for the Pakistani context. The glossary of terms in Annexure 6.1 was developed in the course of the study, and may be referred to for a consistent interpretation of the concepts used in the field.

1.2.4 Limitations and Biases

Research was conducted from November 6, 2010 to November 30, 2010 by the author. Primary data collection occurred during November 10–24, 2010, and was interrupted by the Eid holiday during which offices were closed for three working days and meetings could not be easily scheduled.

Difficulties in scheduling interviews were partly addressed through email correspondence and telephone conversation. However, some respondents, especially those from donor agencies or international NGOs, were on leave during this time. Time and resource constraints meant that respondents in other parts of the country, particularly those affiliated with grassroots organizations, could not be interviewed face to face. Other limitations included unreturned

questionnaires, failures to schedule meetings, and responses not received despite numerous follow ups.

This review was designed to identify a wide variety of studies on gender-based violence, and includes research of varying quality, which has not been analyzed for reliability or methodological rigor. This literature review is, by no means, intended to be exhaustive.

The review was also limited by the lack of information on specialized topics such as dowry violence, harmful traditional practices, and honor killing, as culturally specific forms of gender-based violence are not discussed in detail.

Biases included selection and sampling biases as the number of respondents was purposely chosen after consideration of the likelihood of availability, accessibility and willingness to respond. Another bias was the language of the questionnaire, which was in English. This was minimized, if not eliminated, by conducting interviews in Urdu and other regional languages.

I.2.5 Scope of the Study

This study aims to deliver the following outputs:

- Identification of key forms , determinants of gender-based violence and an overview of the problem in Pakistan;
- Pattern and priorities of funding for addressing gender-based violence in Pakistan;
- Identification of key players among donors, NGOs and international NGOs in the specific context of gender-based violence;
- Identification of key gaps in research and interventions regarding gender-based violence; and, Identifying issues, needs, challenges, conclusions and recommendations regarding gender-based violence at the policy and response levels.

2. Literature Review

We may feel guilty about violence done to us because we are taught that our job is to make men happy, and if they aren't, we – not they – are to blame. Many of us heard from our parents, “Boys will be boys, so girls must take care” – the message being that we can avoid unwanted male attention if only we are careful enough. If anything goes wrong, it must be our fault. Blaming the victim releases the man who commits violence from the responsibility for what he has done. Friends or family may blame the victim in order to feel safe themselves: “She got raped because she walked alone after midnight. I'd never do that, so rape won't happen to me.”

— Our Bodies, Ourselves 2005

2.1 Terms and Terminology

During the 1990s, gender issues came onto the radar for the international community. Experts on gender-based violence believe that framing issues in terms of gender rather than women is an effective means of involving both women and men in resolving the issues that create inequalities based on gender.

The meaning of the word “gender” has evolved in the past 10–15 years. While “sex” refers to the biological differences between males and females, “gender” has come to mean the cultural and societal differences between males and females: female and male responsibilities, expectations, privileges, rights, limitations, opportunities, and access to services. “Gender” does not translate directly into most

languages. The direct translation is usually the word for “sex” (i.e. biological difference), and does not convey the conceptual underpinnings of the term. In each setting, therefore, programs working on gender-based violence must work with the community to find words in their language which convey the true meaning of the concepts —Van 2002

United Nations General Assembly Resolution 48/104, the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, was adopted December 20, 1993. It offered the first official definition of the term “gender-based violence” as “Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life” (UN General Assembly 1993).

Beth Vann, writing in the context of programs for displaced populations, offers the following definition:

[gender-based violence] encompasses a range of acts of violence committed against females because they are females and against males because they are males, based on how a particular society assigns and views roles and expectations for these people. It includes sexual violence, intimate partner or spouse abuse (domestic violence), emotional and psychological abuse, sex trafficking, forced prostitution, sexual exploitation, sexual harassment, harmful traditional practices (e.g., [female genital mutilation], forced marriage, infanticide of girl children), and

Gender-based violence is an umbrella term for harm perpetrated against a person's will, which results from power inequalities based on gender roles. The impact is almost invariably greater for women and girls. Thus "gender-based violence" is often used interchangeably with "violence against women," and is so used in this study.

In the development sector, some prefer to use "violence against women" because it clearly emphasizes the needs and vulnerabilities of females, and does not dilute or de-emphasize the object of debate and interventions. Others prefer to consider the issue in the context of gender. Yet others use "sexual and gender-based violence," feeling that this more clearly includes sexual violence. Even within the United Nations system, different terms are used to describe essentially the same sets of problems and issues: the World Health Organization (WHO) prefers "violence against women," while the UN Population Fund (UNFPA) uses "gender-based violence," and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) prefers "sexual and gender-based violence."

According to the UNHCR, the term "sexual and gender-based violence" is used to distinguish violence that targets individuals or groups of individuals on the basis of their gender from other forms of violence. It includes violent acts such as rape, torture, mutilation, sexual slavery, forced impregnation, and murder. Gender-based violence is violence directed against a woman or girl because she is female, or that affects women disproportionately (UNHCR 2003). UNIFEM considers the term "gender-based" as providing a new context for understanding violence against women, because it reflects the unequal power relationship between women and men in society.

This study generally, though not exclusively, uses the term "gender-based violence," and in practice, it is used interchangeably with "violence against women."

2.2 Gender Indicators

Gender indicators can help raise awareness of problems, help to monitor progress towards gender equity objectives, and ensure governmental accountability. In 1995, UNDP began use of the Gender-related Development Index (GDI), and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), as the first global gender indices to supplement its Human Development Index. The GDI is the gender equivalent of the Human Development Index, and aims to show inequalities in life expectancy, education, and earned income. The GEM concentrates on political and economic participation and decision-making, and power over economic resources. Critics noted three drawbacks of the two indices:

- They combine absolute and relative achievements; thus a low absolute income country with high gender equity would still score low.
- A large amount of missing data has to be filled in through imputation.
- Most indicators for GEM reflect an urban elite bias. (UNDP 2010).

In 2010, the UNDP began use of the Gender Inequality Index (GII), which includes three critical dimensions for women – reproductive health, empowerment, and labor market participation. It captures these dimensions in one synthetic index. Since none of the underlying measures pertains to a country's level of development, developing countries perform well if they have high gender equity. Effectively, this approach compares inequalities between two groups: men and women.

The GII captures the loss of achievement in key dimensions due to gender inequality, giving scores from zero (no inequality in the included dimensions) to one (complete inequality). The GII increases when disadvantages across dimensions are associated, that is, the more correlated the disparities between genders across dimensions, the higher the index. This recognizes that dimensions of inequality are complementary, and

that inequality in schooling tends to be correlated with, say, access to work opportunities and maternal mortality. This also helps to ensure that low achievement in one dimension cannot be entirely compensated for by high achievement in another. Regrettably, gender-based violence could not be documented and included in a manner comparable across countries.

The GII is not perfect. Among its shortcomings is the bias towards elites that remains in some indicators, such as parliamentary representation. Nevertheless, it casts important new light on the position of women globally. With its insights on gender gaps in wellbeing

and empowerment, it also highlights the importance of proactive public policy to overcome systemic disadvantage (UNDP 2010).

A need remains for indicators to assist evaluation within countries and programs. In particular, many programs lack quality systems to monitor and evaluate their progress. One reason for the lack of information is the difficulty of obtaining reliable data to assess the scale of gender-based violence and its implications for individuals, families, and communities. There is also a lack of consensus regarding the indicators which should be used to monitor and evaluate programs in the field.

USAID supported the development of a compendium of indicators in 2008, focusing on program monitoring and evaluation for gender-based violence. It suggests specific qualitative and quantitative indicators that can be applied in different contexts, alone or in combination. For each indicator, there is a description of what it measures, the tools needed to gather the data, and the calculations involved in producing the measure (Bloom 2008).

In 2006, a UN General Assembly resolution requested the development of indicators on

gender-based violence. This was supported by a UN expert group which discussed indicators on gender-based violence recommended that the donor community should provide resources to assist states in strengthening the capacity of national statistical offices and systems to collect data, and expand support for other institutions that collect data to develop better methodology and collaborate with national statistical offices (United Nations Expert Group Meeting on Indicators to Measure Violence against Women 2007). An interim set of indicators was adopted by the UN Security Council in 2009.⁹

Despite the detailed discussions on indicators internationally in Pakistan, experience and the lack of suitable data suggests that most professionals in the field are ill-equipped to understand and apply these indicators locally.¹⁰

2.3 Global Responses to Gender-Based Violence

The United Nations, NGOs, international financial institutions, and intergovernmental and regional organizations work to develop, fund, and implement initiatives and programs to end gender-based violence at all levels of society. Key milestones in this global partnership are listed in Box 1.

⁹A history of the process and the list of indicators may be found at <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/vaw/v-issues-focus.htm>.

¹⁰Interested readers may wish to consult Ghulam Moheyuddin's 2005 review of gender indicators for Pakistan. It is not discussed in this study, as the author has excluded works where she was involved or her previous work was cited. An exception is the qualitative review of statistical data from Aurat Foundation's 2010 report, as there were no alternative sources available.

Box 1: Milestones in International Action against Gender-Based Violence¹¹

- 1992** General Recommendation 19 on Violence against Women in relation to CEDAW.
- 1993** World Conference on Human Rights stressed the importance of working towards the elimination of violence against women in public and private life.
- 1993** General Assembly adopted the Declaration on Violence Against Women.
- 1994** UN Commission on Human Rights appointed a Special Rapporteur on violence against women, including its causes and consequences.
- 1995** Beijing Platform for Action was adopted.
- 1999** Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women highlighted the need to develop indicators to monitor state responses to violence against women.
- 2002** International Criminal Court Statute – gender based crime and sexual violence were recognized as war crimes.
- 2000** Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, followed by Resolutions 1888 and 1889, recognizing rape as a weapon of war and sexual violence in armed conflict and post conflict.
- 2005** WHO Study introduced on women's health and domestic violence against women.
- 2006** Secretary-General's in-depth study on all forms of violence against women stressed need for the development of a comprehensive set of international indicators.
- 2006** General Assembly Resolution “Intensification of efforts to eliminate all forms of violence against women”.
- 2007** Expert Group Meeting on Indicators to Measure Violence against Women (DAW, UNSD, Regional Commissions - Geneva).
- 2008** Creation of the Friends of the Chair of the United Nations Statistical Commission on violence against women indicators.
- 2008** Secretary-General's UNiTE to End Violence against Women Campaign (2008), Five goals to be achieved by 2015:
- ? Adopt and implement multi-sectoral national action plans;
 - ? Strengthen data collection on the prevalence of violence against women and girls;
 - ? Increase public awareness and social mobilization;
 - ? Adopt and enforce national laws to address and punish all forms of violence against women and girls; and,
 - ? Address sexual violence in conflict.

Countries have made some progress in addressing violence against women and girls. According to the UN Secretary-General's study on gender-based violence in 2006, 89 countries had some legislation on domestic violence, and a growing number have instituted national plans of action (UN General Assembly 2006). Marital rape is a prosecutable offence in 104 states, and 90 countries have laws on sexual harassment. However, in too many countries gaps remain. In 102 countries there is no specific legal provisions against domestic violence, and marital rape is not a prosecutable offence in 53 countries.

2.3.1 Establishment of UN Woman

*What you need is an agency that is staffed with committed activists and never let go of issues such as rape and sexual violence. There are 12 UN agencies and 17,000 UN peacekeepers in Congo, yet it was only when activist Eve Ensler, author of *The Vagina Monologues*, came back and reported to the American media that 'I have just returned from hell', that the UN humanitarian chief went to visit the country.*
— Stephen Lewis, Co-director of AIDS Free World

In 2006, there were 32 UN entities working to combat gender-based violence at various levels

¹¹www.unescap.org/sdd/meetings/SDD_SD_10/VAW_overview. Workshop on Strengthening National Capacities to Collect Violence against Women Statistics in the Asia-Pacific Region, 20-21 September 2010.

around the world. A review the previous year had awarded the UN zero points for services to women, and a panel for reform declared its systems for women incoherent, fragmented and under-resourced. Responsibility for improving the lives of the world's women was spread thinly across various poorly coordinated UN entities with small budgets and little voice in the UN mainstream. UNIFEM, the largest of the four agencies dealing with women, had 47 staff members and a budget of \$129 million.

UN Woman became operational in 2011, and merged four earlier agencies, including UNIFEM,¹² into one entity focused on gender equality and women's empowerment. UN Women is guided by 41 board members: 10 from Africa, 10 from Asia, four from Eastern Europe, six from Latin America and the Caribbean, five from Western Europe and six from contributing countries.

The main roles of UN Women are:

- To support inter-governmental bodies, such as the Commission on the Status of Women, in their formulation of policies, global standards and norms;
- To help member states to implement these standards, standing ready to provide suitable technical and financial support to those countries that request it and to forge effective partnerships with civil society; and,
- To enable member states to hold the UN system accountable for its own commitments on gender equality, including regular monitoring of system-wide progress.

The agenda of addressing gender-based violence remains hidden in this mandate. As UN Woman seeks to establish its role in the international community, it is to be hoped that it will prioritize this issue, particularly in South Asia and in Pakistan.

2.4 Gender-Based Violence in South Asia

In addition to problems of violence shared around the globe, South Asian women and girls experience specific forms of violence, and discrimination endorsed by culture, religion, and honor. These include marriage customs which lower the status of women and broaden threats and discrimination, leading to abuse, exploitation and violence. They include the custom of widow burning (sati) in India, sacred prostitution (deuki) in Nepal, and bride price (vulvar) in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The cycle of violence begins at the very start of life (or even before birth, in the form of sex-selective abortion), through childhood, marriage, and into old age. The use of the term “gender-based violence” highlights the need to understand gender-based violence in the context of the behaviors, norms, and attitudes that legitimize and perpetuate the subordinate position of women in South Asian society, where women and girls experience violence throughout their lives, simply because they are women .

Although a vibrant NGO sector, dominated by women activists from political and social elites, works in tandem with the donor community and a multi-vocal public sector, no one sector or response can end gender-based violence. The solution lies in sincere and focused efforts to address the root causes – the discrimination that is entrenched in South Asian societies and cultures.

2.4.1 Gender Indicators in South Asia

The various indicators to measure human and gender development have revolutionized how we think of the progress of countries, but have also been subject to serious criticism. In 2006, the World Economic Forum introduced the Global Gender Gap Index (GGGI) as a framework for capturing the magnitude and scope

¹²The other three precursor entities are the Division for the Advancement of Women, International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, and the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women. For more on UN Women and its role, see <http://www.unwomen.org>.

Table 2: South Asian GGGI Ranks of 134 Countries

Global GGGI Rank	Country
16	Sri Lanka
82	Bangladesh
99	Maldives
112	India
115	Nepal
132	Pakistan
-not listed-	Afghanistan
-not listed-	Bhutan

of gender-based disparities and tracking their progress.¹³ The Global Gender Gap Index examines the gap between men and women in four fundamental categories:

- Economic participation and opportunity (captured through three concepts: the participation gap, the remuneration gap and the advancement gap);
- Educational attainment (the gap between women's and men's current access to education is captured through ratios of women to men in primary, secondary and tertiary level education);
- Health and survival (an overview of the differences between women's and men's health); and,

- Political empowerment (this category mainly includes measures of the gap between men and women in political decision-making at the highest levels).

Of the South Asian countries, Sri Lanka is the only one ranked in the top twenty countries with the smallest gap in gender equality. Pakistan, by contrast, ranks 132nd out of 134 countries, and has experienced a gradual slide down the rankings since the first report four years earlier (World Economic Forum 2010).

2.5 Discussion

The literature on the status of women and girls and the state of gender-based violence available online is abundant, and amply documents the efforts and achievements of local and international NGOs, mostly funded by international donors. However, information available is not uniformly distributed. For some countries in the region, like Bhutan or the Maldives, there is a conspicuous lack of information on the status of women, while Afghanistan is over-emphasized in the context of geopolitical affairs, to which the situation of women is a contributory factor.

The status of international agreements and laws affecting gender inequality in eight South Asian countries are presented in Table 3.

¹³ The Global Gender Gap Report for 2010 is available at: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2010.pdf.

Table 3: Gender Inequality in South Asia¹⁴

	Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (ILO 100)	Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention 1958 (ILO 111)	CEDAW 1979	Optional Protocol to CEDAW 1999	Legal Status of Women and Men			Legislation against Gender-Based Violence		
					Inheritance Laws (Land and Property)	Marital Property Rights in Case of Divorce	Nationality Law – Marriage to a Foreign National	Domestic Violence	Sexual Assault and Rape	Sexual Harassment at the Workplace
Afghanistan	1969	1969	2003	not ratified	unequal	report not submitted				
Bangladesh	1998	1972	1984	2000	unequal	unequal	unequal	no	yes	yes
Bhutan	n/a	n/a	1981	not ratified	equal	equal	equal	no	yes	yes
India	1958	1960	1993	not ratified	equal	report not submitted	equal	yes	yes	no
Maldives	n/a	n/a	1993	2006	unequal	unequal	equal	no	report not submitted	no
Nepal	1976	1974	1991	2007	equal	equal	unequal	yes	yes	yes
Pakistan	2001	1961	1996	not ratified	unequal	unequal	unequal	yes	yes	yes
Sri Lanka	1993	1998	1981	2002	equal	equal	equal	yes	yes	yes

¹⁴ Compilation by the researcher. Key reference source is from different annexes of the report UNDP 2010 Asia-Pacific Human Development Report: Power, Voice and Rights: A Turning Point for Gender Equality in Asia and the Pacific. hdr.undp.org/en/reports/regional/.../RHDR-2010-AsiaPacific.

The literature available online does not identify the distribution of gender-based violence in light of the interim indicators endorsed by the UN (Section 2.2 above), an indication of a gap in donor-funded interventions. Furthermore, the discourse on gender-based violence in South Asia does not adequately consider the indigenous contexts of violence and abuse.

Increasingly, questions on gender-based violence are added into large-scale population-based surveys designed for broader purposes. For example, the Demographic and Health Surveys conducted in many countries sometimes include modules on domestic violence and female genital mutilation. These, however, cannot substitute for dedicated surveys which gather more information about the different types of violence and perpetrators, as well as information on the circumstances, risk factors, protective factors, and the consequences of violence. However, these studies tend to be costly, and different forms of gender-based violence pose different challenges for data collection. While intimate partner violence is widely documented, the focus is usually on physical and, more recently, sexual violence. This ignores emotional abuse, which is difficult to assess and quantify (United Nations Expert Group Meeting on Indicators to Measure Violence against Women 2007).¹⁵

Media and donor attention towards specific forms of violence, such as honor killing, rape, and HIV, dominate the literature and testify to research priorities. Moreover, most studies have focused on implementation gaps and NGOs, rather than the actual needs of communities and survivors.

Thus, there is a need for more research in the following areas:

- Conflict/ crisis-related violence against women;

- Crimes committed against women in the name of honor;
- Dowry-related violence;
- Economic abuse;
- Economic and emotional/ psychological violence as part of intimate partner violence;
- Femicide/ preference for sons/ female infanticide;
- Forced marriage, including underage marriage;
- Sexual exploitation of children and women;
- Sexual harassment;
- Stigmatization of divorced, widowed and never-married women;
- Stigmatization of disabled women;
- Survivor-centered responses to violence;
- Threats of violence; and,
- Trafficking.

Little information is available on donor funding for research on specific forms of gender-based violence in South Asia, and how it may be translated into interventions. The dissemination of information and publications by reputed research organizations, international donors and international NGOs, other than the funding partners, is also an issue. As a result, many stake holders and civil society organizations continue to work in isolation.

¹⁵The UN meeting of experts noted various reasons why many forms of gender-based violence are difficult to measure. Some, such as psychological violence, are difficult to measure objectively, as different communities may have a different understanding of the concept. Others, such as dowry-related violence and honor crimes, may occur in specific populations, and be difficult to capture in representative sample surveys. Femicide cannot be captured in a crime victimization survey, and other methods must be considered. Violence against women in mobile populations, including trafficking and displacement, cannot be captured through household surveys (United Nations Expert Group Meeting on Indicators to Measure Violence against Women 2007).

3. Donors and International NGOs

Pakistan has some of the key characteristics required to implement successful gender equality considerations and policy frameworks. However, it has so far chosen not to activate them within the context of its attempts to institute wider social and economic reform. The contribution of international donors and financial aid has further exacerbated this situation, by being unable to identify and focus on specific issues around gender equality.” In fact, while gender equality may be a high priority for most donors, the concept and processes surrounding gender mainstreaming are not. This has led to a disconnect between donors themselves, as well as between donors and government and civil society respectively. As a result, aid is inefficiently utilized and priorities are skewed.

— INGAD 2008

In its monitoring report of the progress towards the MDGs, the World Bank observed that a quarter of all bilateral official development assistance allocated by sector – \$5 billion out of \$20 billion in average annual commitments – is focused on gender equality (World Bank 2007 p. 157). Because aid for activities with no explicit gender equality focus, such as infrastructure, can also have a beneficial impact on girls and women, it is hard to say what the appropriate amount of financing for gender equality should be. However, it is clear that the share allocated to gender equality is increasing.

Gender inequality is not one homogeneous phenomenon, but a collection of disparate and interlinked problems, which can be categorized into seven categories:

- Mortality inequality
- Natality inequality
- Basic facility inequality
- Special opportunity inequality
- Professional inequality
- Ownership inequality
- Household inequality

Although gender-based violence has been a critical issue for the women's movement since the 1970s, it only became a development concern in the 1990s when organizations, such as the UN, recognized the need to eliminate gender-based violence to achieve development. Many development aid agencies are now focusing on tackling gender-based violence to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment, and to improve women's welfare. They are working on the issues of gender-based violence from different entry points, for instance, as a hindrance to poverty reduction, an obstacle to women's health or a violation of human rights.

Gender, gender mainstreaming, empowerment and equality are currently buzz words in Pakistan's development sector, but how much donor attention is actually directed towards these issues? How many programs and projects actually

respond to issues of gender-based violence in policy, services, legislation, and community levels? How many international NGOs have funds specifically for this purpose in Pakistan? What are the initiatives by donors and international NGOs to address gender-based violence, and what are the key outcomes? These are the questions which shape this chapter, and the answers provided are neither complete nor final. Yet, even with the available information, certain trends can be seen and future areas of work determined.

3.1 Aid and Gender-Based Violence

A donor mapping study conducted by DFID in 2007 showed that the largest budget belongs to the two main multilaterals, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the World Bank. Bilateral agencies dominate the remaining share, at 25 percent of total financial aid, while UN agencies comprise 2 percent.

The Interagency Gender and Development Group (INGAD) conducted a three-year study to obtain a snapshot of the issues and approaches surrounding aid modalities for gender equality and development in Pakistan. This mapping and situational analysis documented that there was virtually no literature available on gender equality and aid effectiveness in the Pakistan context.¹⁶ The study specifically highlighted a critical and frequently ignored fact: the two dominant multilaterals in the market extend assistance as loans rather than grants, and assistance is dedicated primarily to government budget support and national-level infrastructure programs.¹⁷

There are at least over 50 donors operating in the country, including multilaterals, bilaterals, UN

agencies, and independent international civil society organizations. In March 2008, the Development Assistance Database listed 76 donors, with a total contribution of \$23.8 billion in foreign assistance to Pakistan.¹⁸

The Paris Declaration, adopted in 2005, establishes principles and procedures to improve the effectiveness of aid, and specifies twelve targets with indicators which were to be achieved by 2010. The Paris Declaration has emerged as the benchmark for a new aid architecture, to find alternative ways to make international development aid more effective and result-oriented. However, the Paris Declaration focuses narrowly on development assistance and mentions gender equality only once as a cross-cutting issue in the context of harmonization efforts. There have been significant delays in implementation, both by donors and partner countries. With the global economic crisis and growing concern about climate change, it was clear as early as 2008 that many of its aims would not be achieved. In September 2008, the international community agreed on the Accra Agenda for Action, an effort to accelerate progress on the Paris Declaration principles. This agenda also detailed the actions required to incorporate changes in the aid architecture – including the role of new and nontraditional donors – into the aid effectiveness agenda. As a signatory to the Paris Declaration, Pakistan is obligated to review its own attempts at improving gender equality.

The earthquake of October 2005 changed the contours of international aid in Pakistan, as new organizations entered and stayed to work in the country. This created a parallel group of civil society organizations who were global in their

¹⁶INGAD, which comprises 30 international donors, promotes gender equality advocacy in the development process as well as interagency coordination in Pakistan. It was established to share information on initiatives undertaken by bilateral donors and UN agencies, and to strengthen work on gender in Pakistan. Over time it has evolved into a mechanism for improving donor coordination and advocacy in policy and program development and engaging with the government and civil society (INGAD 2008).

¹⁷This is not a complete representation of all donors in Pakistan, particularly those who fall into the “Other” category. However, the share of multilaterals and bilaterals remains fairly constant.

¹⁸The Development Assistance Database is the Government of Pakistan's aid information management system, and is managed and maintained by the Economic Affairs Division. Development partners of the Government of Pakistan are the custodians of the data and responsible for providing project-level information on their development assistance, including commitments, disbursements and expenditures by sector and geographic location. The database was established in 2005 after the earthquake, and contains information on multilaterals, bilaterals, UN agencies and foreign embassies from 2006 onwards. Nor is the information comprehensive, as some key donors are omitted.

network, came into competition with local for the same resources. Since the earthquake in 2005, approximately \$ 5.93 billion (around 25 percent of total international commitments, according to the Development Assistance Database's 2008 figures) has been committed to earthquake relief and reconstruction. The 2010 floods further shifted the focus towards disaster management. Estimates of the recovery and reconstruction cost of the

rights/ justice (10 percent each); and health (8 percent). Capacity building (28 percent) and institutional strengthening (25 percent) are the two main program/ project objectives in this data set.

The third slot is shared by service delivery and policy/ advocacy (21 percent each). Infrastructure (3 percent) and monitoring and evaluation (1

Table 4: Sectoral Presence of 21 INGAD Members¹⁹

	Agri/ Rural Dv/ Livestock	Health	Education	HIV and AIDS	Child Rights/ Protection	Governance/ Democracy	Livelihoods/ Inc. Gen.	Earthquake R&R	Media/ Culture	Human Rights/ Justice	Social Services	Gender Equality	Trade/ Econ. Empowerment	RH/Population Welfare	NRM	Poverty Reduction	Environment
ADB	X	x	x				x	X			x	X		X			
AusAID			x					X									
CIDA		x	x			X	x	X				X	x				
DFID		x	x				x					X					
EC		x		x		X				x	x	X	x	X			
FAO	X						x	X					x		x	x	x
Germany														X			
Japan			x														
Norway			x									X					
SDC	X		x			X	x			x		X			x		
UNAIDS				x													
UNESCO			x						x								
UNDP	X					X	x			x		X	x			x	
UNFPA		x												X			
UNODC		x		x													
UNIFEM				x								X					
UNICEF			x		X			X						X			x
USAID	x	x	X			x	x	x				x		X			
WFP			x				x							X			
WHO		x															
World Bank		x	x				x									x	

floods range from \$ 8.74 billion to \$10.85 billion, including relief, early recovery, and medium- to long-term reconstruction (ADB, Government of Pakistan and World Bank estimates).

Table 4 shows the sectors in which donors who are members of INGAD operate.

The top six sectors in terms of program or project share are education (15 percent), and (12 percent each); governance/ democracy and human

rights/ justice (10 percent each); and health (8 percent). Capacity building (28 percent) and institutional strengthening (25 percent) are the two least used objectives. While almost a third of programs/ projects partner with the federal (25 percent) and provincial (7 percent) governments, Pakistani civil society organizations are also strongly represented, with 30 percent partnerships. Some INGAD members are implementing partners for other members (13 percent), and international NGOs make up the remainder of the partner share (20 percent).

A majority of programs/ projects are located

¹⁹Gender Equality and Aid Effectiveness in Pakistan. A mapping and situation Analysis. www.ingad.org.pk/INGAD.

countrywide (40 percent) or in all four provinces. This is followed by Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa (18 percent), Punjab (16 percent), Balochistan (6 percent), and Sindh (6 percent).

The INGAD study (2008) points towards some issues in linkages between aid effectiveness and gender equality programming in Pakistan. These fall under the five Paris principles and were summarized in the study as follows:

1. **Ownership:** There is inadequate support to GE [gender equality] commitments and Gender Advocates (e.g. MoWD, NCSW, WDDs), on behalf of both government and donors; Civil society, as equal stakeholders on GE, lack any space for voice and influence on decision-making.
2. **Alignment:** Defining GE programming lacks clarity among stakeholders, especially donors – what is “gender-focused” and “gender mainstreamed”? Each stakeholder has a different way of approaching the issue. There are as yet no specific indicators that can measure the extent of “mainstreaming” GE in development programming which, in turn, makes it difficult to measure impact of such programming on gender.
3. **Harmonization:** Co-financing arrangements are uncommon among donors in Pakistan – why?; Donors focus more on service delivery than on policy. To impact on GE, this needs to be reversed as GE requires a change in attitudes and behavior but Donors are more inclined towards investing in short-term projects rather than long-term institutional change processes.
4. **Managing for Results:** Financial monitoring of aid flows does not capture where, how and by whom funds are being spent, as aid is tracked only in terms of the contractual partner. Aid instruments and modalities vary, thus limiting accountability; lack of sex disaggregated data and its analysis hampers effective GE planning and monitoring; and there is a lack of institutionalization and ownership of DAD within the government.
5. **Mutual Accountability:** Layered partnership arrangements blur levels of accountability and attribution; There is limited accountability of CSOs [civil society organizations] due to their role as

sub-contractors. CSOs in Pakistan are not homogeneous – many are considered to be “non-fundable”. This, however, negates the existence of many grassroots organizations who are equally committed to GE at lower levels, but due to organizational constraints, do not attract donor attention (INGAD 2008, pp. v–vi)

A study on Pakistani NGOs by ADB (1999) documented the difficulty of discovering the exact funds disbursed to NGOs, partly because few reported regularly. The study further noted that although NGOs were major players in the development sector, there were few success stories to document at the time.

Over the past decade, international donor agencies have increasingly emphasized the role of NGOs in social welfare and the development of the civil society. This has been in the form of larger individual grants to NGOs, but also as a greater share of the total aid given to countries.

This increase in funding in real and relative terms has seen a substantial growth of NGOs all over the world, including in Pakistan. Today, over three hundred intermediary organizations provide social services through a network of grassroots, and many more local community-based organizations are working to address basic social needs at the community level. By 2002, there were almost 45,000 active non-profits, varying greatly in size, competence, transparency, focus, and impact, and addressing a wide range of issues (cited in NGORC 2005).

Pakistani NGOs have been highlighting issues of gender-based violence since 1980.²⁰ Rabia Khan's study for the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), which has adopted violence against women as one of its four contextual areas of mapping and analysis, noted that the crimes are committed against women in the name of the religion, custom, honor and even political expediency (2009). The biggest barrier to achieving women's fundamental rights to life, liberty and security, as highlighted in the study remains discriminatory laws sanctioned in the name of Islam.

²⁰ A list of NGOs working in the field is given in Annexure 6.5.

Immediately after the 2005 earthquake in northern Pakistan, NGOs working on disaster response in Pakistan formed an informal network to coordinate the response and rehabilitation activities of international NGOs. This was a very useful experience in terms of networking, coordinating and resource sharing, which motivated them to establish a formal network. In 2003 the leading international NGOs working in disaster management formed the Pak-Humanitarian Forum to coordinate and strengthen the efforts of international NGOs working in disaster management, and to collectively represent them to the Government of Pakistan.

However, the Khan study (2009) found that issue-based networks are more effective. Networks for information sharing exist among civil society organizations, and many are for specific women's rights issues. Recent ones include the Aman network in Peshawar on the armed conflict in the province, Hurmat on protecting women who seek shelter, and Insani Haqooq Ittihad, an Islamabad-based coalition for human rights. The Fight Against Dowry Advocacy Network (2000–2009) highlighted an under-publicized form of gender-based violence, and contributed towards raising awareness on dowry systems and associated violence through public policy advocacy, alternative legislation, TV and media advocacy, and intensive youth involvement.

Much of the focus on gender, including gender-based violence, is under the much broader umbrella of reproductive and sexual health issues and interventions. The Pakistan Reproductive Health Network is an active forum which works through NGOs on rights-based issues like safe abortion, safer motherhood, family planning, etc.

The linkages between the interventions and research on gender-based violence requires further exploration. Besides the dearth of reliable data, there is a wealth of literature, especially from NGOs working on the ground, which remains unnoticed or unpublished. Many of these organizations do not, or cannot, access expensive, high-profile conferences by organizations like the Sustainable Development Policy Institute or the Population Association of Pakistan at the

Population Council, Islamabad, Pakistan.

3.1.1 Academic Research on Gender and Women's Studies

Although academic institutions are not a focus of this study, it is worth briefly considering the scope of research in gender and in Pakistan. Gender and women's studies departments exist in several major public universities, including the Center of Excellence in Gender Studies at the Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad, and offering B.A., M.A. and research degrees, and short courses. Many of their graduates are employed by civil society organizations and development projects.

The Women's Studies Department at Karachi University and Gender Studies Departments at Peshawar and Islamabad are funded through the University Grants Commission. Some faculty is supported by the Higher Education Commission to pursue doctoral programs abroad. The Gender and Development Studies Department at Peshawar University has a capacity-building program with a university in the United Kingdom, which has provided course development material and library strengthening. Department faculty has been sent on short courses to the United Kingdom. The department offers short courses on gender and development to the staff of the Government of Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa, and is actively engaged in research for development institutions.

The privately owned Institute of Women Studies in Lahore delivers good quality courses on gender and women studies. Private universities including the Lahore University of Management Sciences, the Lahore School of Economics and the Aga Khan University also offer courses on issues related to gender, human rights and development. Postgraduate studies of public health, such as those offered by the Health Services Academy of the Ministry of Health, also offers courses in gender and gender-based violence. The Council of Social Sciences also conducts research on gender and social issues. Some NGOs have also produced good research work through donor funding, notably Advocates of Gender, Education and Health Information, ASR Institute of Women's

Studies, the Institute for Development Studies and Practices, Simorgh, Shirkat Gah, Rozan, Society for the Protection of the Rights of the Child, and Uks.

3.2 Projects Related to Gender Based Violence

According to the NGO Resource Center of Aga Khan Development Foundation (2005), nearly all donors claim philanthropic reasons for providing support, and most emphasize poverty alleviation and sustainable development. Many also identify improvement in the lives of vulnerable groups such as women and children. In the directory of donors maintained by the centre, 87 percent are working for women, 73 percent for low-income groups and 69 percent for children.

This section discusses programs and projects focusing on gender-based violence.

3.2.1 Gender Justice and Protection Projects to Address Gender-Based Violence (2007–2011)

The Gender Justice and Protection Project²¹ is a key initiative of UNDP's Gender Support Program, funded by the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID), and implemented by the United Nations Office for Project Services. The five-year project has a budget of \$ 15.459 million and aims to establish mechanisms to support sustainable reduction in gender-based violence.

The project has established a fund to support promising initiatives from the government and civil society organizations to combat the prevalence of violence, abuse, discrimination and social exclusion against women.

In round one, funded initiatives included awareness raising and legal aid on inheritance rights of women, anti-trafficking through government agencies and civil society organizations, the White Ribbon Campaign, and research on forced hospitalization of women in mental hospitals.

In its second round of proposals, 19 sub-projects were approved and included awareness raising and legal aid for victims of acid burning, capacity building around legal rights and counseling of victims of gender violence, documenting best practices of local communities to reduce gender-based violence, awareness raising in madrassas, one-window counters on domestic violence in the Rawalpindi city government, and supporting the Punjab and Balochistan police to establish gender crime cells.

The GJP fund prioritizes the following areas:

- **Capacity building:** Programs that train judges, lawyers, police, people's representatives, teachers, etc., on laws, policies and constitutional rights of citizens, as well as initiatives that build skills and systems to promote accountability and compliance with policy commitments through improved monitoring.
- **Advocacy and awareness-raising:** Advocacy campaigns using print, electronic, telecommunications, radio, theatre, workshops, seminars, etc., to generate a dynamic and an understanding of rights and responsibilities regarding gender-based violence within society
- **Action-oriented research and documentation:** Participatory action research on innovative responses to gender-based violence.
- **Legal aid:** Innovative, nonconventional and practical means of providing prevention and protection measures for victims of gender-based violence, particularly those from remote areas.
- **Up-scaling promising practices:** Proven approaches that demonstrate the

²¹ For further information, see www.gjp.org.pk.

potential for strategic alliances between diverse stakeholders to scale them up.

Its key achievements up to November 2010 were:

- Thirty sub-projects funded in 42 districts across Pakistan. Twelve of these sub-projects were initiated in 2008, and 19 in 2009
- Eight are implemented in collaboration with government departments or agencies, including the police departments of three provinces, district governments and a federal ministry.
- A capacity building workshop was organized for all implementing partners in July 2009 on effective implementation at the grassroots level.
- A user-friendly and interactive website was developed to provide easy access to key information and resources.
- A Legal Aid and Support Centre was established by the Community Development Program in Bannu (Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa), to provide free services to women on their legal rights of inheritance, succession and maintenance.
- An institutional structure was created within the Sindh police to establish Anti-Karo Kari Cells and train police officers.
- Three help lines were established through Madadgaar in Larkana, Hyderabad, and Sukkur to provide telephonic and walk-in counseling, referral and legal aid to survivors of violence, abuse and exploitation.
- A Crisis Intervention Centre was established by Bedari in Chakwal to

provide psychological counseling, legal aid and referral services to women victims of violence.

- The Regional Directorate of Human Rights provides free legal aid, psychosocial support, vocational training, and access to microcredit to women prisoners in Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa.
- The Al-Mubarik Welfare Society developed teaching materials to advocate for women's rights, in consultation with religious scholars, to be included in the curricula of madrassas in Shabqadar, Charsadda. The material was also disseminated through sermons in mosques during Ramadan.

3.2.2 Gender Justice Through Musalihat Anjuman (GJTMAP) (2007–2011)

The Musalihat Anjumans are²² an alternative dispute resolution mechanism for arbitration, mediation and reconciliation of disputes relating to violence and abuse. Their establishment was greatly accelerated by the active involvement and support of a former female Supreme Court judge. The Musalihat Anjumans have a budget of \$ 41.286 million, and have a unique emphasis on female representation in the arbitration committee. Major donors include UNDP (\$ 827,000) and the Government of Pakistan (\$403,551), in addition to DFID, the Royal Norwegian Embassy and the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation.

Key achievements include:

- All planned Musalihat Anjumans were operationalized in 1,050 union councils. By December 2010, they had handled 5,784 cases within 10 months, and dispensed justice in 4,197 cases.

²² For further information, see www.gjtmap.gov.pk.

- A baseline study was conducted to outline issues on the ground and existing mechanisms to facilitate the workings of the Musalihat Anjuman.
- Four provincial Musalihat Anjuman Support Services were established: these are consortia of civil society organizations, government and other stakeholders which serve as a capacity building forum, and eight district-based justice advocates were established as watchdogs.

3.2.3 Program for the Advancement of Gender Equality (PAGE) 2002–2009 [officially ended March 2010]

PAGE²³ was a seven-year program established to enable civil society organizations and the government to strengthen, accelerate and influence policy and programming to advance gender equality in Pakistan in order to contribute to the improvement of women's human rights, health, education and economic empowerment. It offered funding up to CDN\$ 100,000 for small-scale projects and initiatives, and supported 67 organizations over its lifetime. PAGE priorities included human rights, economic empowerment, health and education. Gender-based violence and human trafficking were thematic area priorities under human rights.

While assessments of PAGE's demonstrated results and outcomes are not yet available, a 2010 report offered an overview and conclusions about the program (CIDA 2010). An analytical review suggests that a key learning could be the attention and care to address local cultures and religious sensitivities when addressing gender-based violence, and creating ownership among stakeholders. Another important learning was the use of agricultural and economic empowerment as entry points to engage communities, especially women, in conservative communities. The PAGE

experience further concluded that gender inequalities cannot be addressed without engaging men over a prolonged time

3.2.4 “We Can End All Violence against Women” Campaign

In Pakistan, Oxfam GB focuses on ensuring poor women have access to land and economic opportunity, ending violence against women; ensuring all girls have the right to a quality education, increasing resilience to disasters and climate change, and improving access to effective humanitarian assistance during emergencies. Oxfam advocates at the national level to amend and repeal discriminatory laws and policies denying women their fundamental rights. It also strengthens and builds alliances at the district and national level to effectively implement legislation and support women who are at risk of, or are survivors, of violence.

The “We Can End Violence Against Women” campaign is a regional campaign launched in 2004, and with 2,400 partners working in six South Asian countries. In Pakistan, it was launched as “We Can End Honor Killings” campaign in Quetta, with Oxfam support.²⁴ The campaign taps on “Change Makers” – men and women who actively encourage positive attitudes to women in their communities.

The campaign has initiated a public dialogue on honor killings and works to persuade religious and tribal leaders to act as Change Makers and condemn such killings. Public discourse on the subject is encouraged to create an enabling environment for women to seek support. It is important that women are aware of their social, legal and political rights so that they are better prepared for the possibility of violence against them, and are empowered to combat it. It has arranged workshops, conferences and seminars for a range of stakeholders through Participatory Development Initiatives, including media, youth and political workers, as well as plays and poster exhibitions to promote awareness.

²³For further information see www.cida-page.org.

²⁴Further information may be found at: www.wecanendvaw.org/campaign-country/Pakistan.

3.2.5 WAKE UP!!! Campaign against Honor Killing

The WAKE UP!!! Campaign against Honor Killing campaign was funded by Oxfam Youth international Partnership as an online campaign in Pakistan and abroad. It aims to create change by raising awareness and mobilizing efforts to reduce the crime. It focuses on giving a visibility to the reality and urging policymakers to take steps to stop the crime. Its project goal is to reduce honor killing in Khuzdar and Quetta, Balochistan by increasing awareness amongst young people and using the media to highlight the issue locally and nationally.

3.3 Discussion

Pakistan has been the focus of fluctuating attention from donor organizations throughout its stormy history. Two major disasters (the 2005 earthquake and 2010 floods) served both to revive the interest of International donors and attracted new funding partners. However, and especially in the aftermath of the floods, new issues were raised regarding the redirection of development funds towards emergency situations. This emerging and establishing trend requires further discussion beyond the scope of this study, but it is relevant and important to mention this critical debate.

In donors' development strategies, while there is much talk of gender and violence, the role, responsibility and focus of donors is unclear. Funding priorities do necessarily support the end of gender-based violence. If the umbrella term of gender equality and gender empowerment are taken as proxies for ending gender-based violence,

it must be asked if the long list of interventions have had a proportional impact.²⁵

In the absence of data, it appears that few donors and international NGOs have clear and consistent gender strategies. Unsurprisingly, therefore, sex- and age-disaggregated data and subsequent strategic planning and program design are almost non-existent. Even where a gender strategy is in place, it is not publicized or applied. The websites of major donors, UN agencies and international NGOs (not always updated) do showcase programs and projects, but impact indicators are less common. This lack was also conspicuous over the course of consultations and conversations conducted for this survey.

²⁵Ghizala Kazi, Gender Advisor to the Government of Pakistan's Planning Commission counters this as follows: "But projects are either for Gender streamlining, promotion of girls education, increasing health facilities for women and children, political and economic empowerment of women. If we see the other side, it is true that in a hidden manner these activities are also moving towards decreasing the [violence against women]. You may ask how? My answer is that if girls are educated, healthy and after getting education, they get jobs or self employed, in other words become economically empowered then it will have its effects on their capabilities, personalities. They will become more confident and aware of their rights as a human being. We have hopes that then it will be difficult for men or other women to physically or mentally abuse them so easily as they do nowadays. They may react adversely against violence which may make men to think twice before doing any such act. It is a slow process but after few years we will get results. Illiterate, poor, ignorant women become very easy target of violence thus it is very important to make them literate, aware, and economically empowered especially in our rural areas where they think men have every right to treat their women as they desire." (private email to author, November 23, 2010).

4. Findings

Yes, it [gender-based violence] is a great issue in entire Pakistan. But as far as Pashtun society is concerned, it is tribal in nature, where only men are heads and they are the supreme power. Women are not given any weight. It is evident that in our Jirga system women are not represented. Women in tribal society are not having economic powers and it is the main cause of violence. We read in daily newspapers and observe ourselves that cruelty is perpetrated against women and girls both. They are abused, seduced and violence against them is there. There are thousands and thousands cases where women are subjected to violence. Domestic violence is rampant but women prefer to remain silent due to social and tribal ethos.
— Zar Ali Khan Afridi, Tribal NGO Consortium, FATA

There is a consensus among all respondents from various backgrounds that gender-based violence is a Pakistani issue, and there is an urgent need to address it, both for the sake of the women and communities concerned, and for the country's image and stability of its multilayered society.

Nevertheless, the level of political commitment to ending gender-based violence was clear to most respondents: it was “less than required,” “weak,” and “not satisfactory.” Most, aside from those affiliated with the media, thought NGOs, including international NGOs, have the capacity to address issues of violence faced by Pakistani women and girls, whether in the sacred sphere of the household, or in security-compromised situations. The usual perpetrators are males, and ineffective legislation and halfhearted implementation of the limited measures available creates more difficulties for the victims and, often, for any sympathizers.

Respondents focused on flawed laws and domestic violence, and most frequently cited the harmful traditional practices of honor killing and vani.

4.1 Issues in Gender-Based Violence in Pakistan

What are the key factors that perpetuate the identified forms of violence?

“Anger, liberty given to men to behave as they want towards their wives, misinterpretation of Quranic surahs by so-called mullahs in our society.”
— Ghizala Kazi, Planning Commission of Pakistan.

“Non-recognition of 'it' as an issue, poverty, gender inequality, discrimination, low status of women, insecure environment, emergency situations perpetuate all forms of [gender-based violence] in Pakistan.”
— Fareeha Ummar, UN OCHA.

“There are 16 forms of [gender-based violence/ violence against women] including sexual assault, child marriage, incest, wife beating, prostitution, dowry-related violence, trafficking, sexual violence during wars and crisis, femicide, sexual harassment, 'honor' killings, forced sterilization, date rape, pornography and bride kidnapping, acid throwing.”
— Fehmida Iqbal Khan, UNIFEM Pakistan.

The individual forms of gender-based violence, factors perpetuating the identified forms and the root causes constitute a set of interlinked issues

that appear unique but fall under the umbrella of gender-based violence (see Table 5). All forms of inequalities, abuse, violence and exploitations

alphabetically listed in column I can be further broadly clustered as physical, emotional, economic, socio-cultural and structural.

Table 5: Views of Respondents

Forms of Gender-Based Violence identified by respondents	Perpetuating factors	Root causes
Abduction	A culture of impunity where abusers have the opportunity to repeat their violent actions	Customary practices, e.g. <i>vani</i> , <i>swara</i> , <i>karo kari</i> , <i>watta satta</i> , etc.
Acid burn/ acid throwing	Gender-based violence programs are not integrated	Delay in provision of justice
Child abuse	Ignorance	Dearth of evidence-based research
Denial of access to education		Feudal mindset
Denial of access to health facilities	Inefficiency of law enforcing agencies	Gender discrimination
Denial of property rights and ownership	Increasing religious fundamentalism	Gender inequalities
Domestic violence against child servants	Internalization of masculinities and patriarchy	Ignorance and lack of education
Domestic violence against women	Lack of integrated approach in existing programs for the prevention of violence against women	Illiteracy
Dowry violence	Lack of political will	Ineffective government plan of action for the issue
Early marriages	Lack of protection systems; bad image of the police departments	Insufficient legislation and gaps in implementation of existing laws on gender-based violence
Economic dependency	Lack of state response to address gender-based violence	Insufficient resources
Forced marriages	Lack of support from society and family	Internalization of harmful traditional practices by women themselves
Forced sex	Lack of understanding of the issues	Lack of awareness among men and women about each other's role and responsibilities and rights
Gang rape	Little support from the community	Lack of awareness among women about basic women's human and legal rights.
Gender-based discrimination	Power structures	Lack of control over bodies and lives
Harassment	Social system	Lack of political commitment
Honor killing	Stakes of the actors in the status quo	Lack of political will at the govt and State institutions
Inaccessibility to quality health services and educational opportunities	The culture of silence adopted by women	Lack of proper criminal justice system
Incest violence	Weak advocacy	Lack of proper reporting mechanisms and systems
<i>Karo kari</i>	Weak coordination among public and private departments	Lack of sensitization
Land rights denial	Whole society	Low conviction rate

Marital rape		Male dominancy
Murder		Misinterpretation of religious contexts and teachings
Polygamy		Mismanagement and inappropriate allocation of resources,
Psychological/ emotional abuse		Parallel legal and judicial systems
Rape		Patriarchal society
Restrictions on social mobility		Poverty and lawlessness
Sexual harassment		Poverty
Sexual violence		Social behavior
Social insecurity		Unemployment
Stove burning		Weak implementation of policies
Trafficking of women/girls		
<i>Yani</i>		

4.2 Capacities and Needs in Gender-Based Violence in Pakistan

“Since the insensitivity towards gender concerns is deeply entrenched in the hearts, minds and practices of the entire society; therefore, drastic measures need to be taken at the policy level.”

— Anis Haroon, Chair, National Commission on the Status of Women

The existing capacities identified as necessary to address gender-based violence in Pakistan included:

- Gender Crime Cells
- Establishment of women police stations
- Establishment of crisis centers
- Initiative of UN organizations.
- Active role of print and electronic media support to sensitize communities.
- Educational institutes.
- Implementation of existing laws in its true form.
- Local community forums, such as the jirga or panchayat.

Some respondents pointed out gaps in the capacity of NGOs and donors. They considered

these linkages limited and, at times, ad hoc; based on time-bound projects.

“Some of the donors have the capacity including CIDA, GTZ etc. In case of UN, the capacity gaps are there and moreover, there is a need for a holistic cross-sectoral approach to address it through the various sectors including health, education and protection, etc.”

— Muqaddisa Mehreen, UNICEF

“I feel there are not as many NGOs working directly on GBV [gender-based violence] as compared to other sectors like education, health etc. Capacities in terms of human resources and finances are limited. Strong networking is required.”

— Baber Bashir, Rozan

“The main lessons are that the movement and NGOs are rather personality driven than being objective driven; the leaders are not from the class which constitutes majority of the country, and do not represent their problems effectively.”

— Rukhsana Shama, ActionAid Pakistan

“There is no authentic data/research available at national or provincials levels with regard to GBV [gender-based violence]. The GBV cases are almost unreported; one reason is that there is no such law where cases can be reported against gender-based violence except criminal cases to some extent. Secondly GBV is normally considered as private matter/ issue of a family.”

— Sabeena Gul, WPF

4.3 Desirable Changes in Policy and Government Action

The responses retrieved and interpreted through questionnaires and interviews of key informants, yielded the following list of desirable changes in policy and government action:

- Changes in the education curricula: Education on gender equity with the aim to inculcate behaviors of peace, tolerance and acceptance to diversity.
- Public policy: Consistent enacting and implementation of gender responsive policies and laws in all public and private sector forums. A need to focus on the root causes and the incremental prevention and elimination of gender-based violence. The government should be pressurized to empower women and abolish feudalism and obscurantism. Improve legislation, and introduce gender-based violence in health packages.
- Capacity building: Capacity building of stakeholders and the sensitization of religious leaders, politicians and decision-makers through human rights education, and the establishment of a proper justice system. Trainings for NGOs were needed. Women should be empowered, both socially and economically.
- Strengthening of linkages: Encouraging linkages between stakeholders to mobilize support for reducing gender-based violence. Improved internal and external accountability mechanisms for law enforcement agencies. Strengthening of the National Commission on the Status of Women and the Gender Crime Centre at the National Police Bureau. Government should cooperate with NGOs and civil society to identify culprits and punish them as per the law.
- Engaging Men: Men need to be engaged in frameworks to address gender-based violence.

4.4 Funding Priorities

“Funding should always be specific for GBV [gender-based violence] programming, but donors supporting other related programs should monitor how NGOs/ agencies are addressing the GBV needs, funding should support NGOs with gender sensitive approach in managing human resources and follow 'Humanitarian Accountability and Quality Management Stand' (HAP) standards.”
— Dr. Maqsooda Kasi, World Vision International.

The priorities for funding programs and projects are also embedded in the recommendations of respondents listed above.

Local and international NGOs, UN agencies and other donor agencies are now prioritizing disaster management in their programs and projects and, subsequently, resources are more skewed towards emergency and humanitarian settings.

No specific programs against gender-based violence are institutionalized as indicated by their absence, short durations and abrupt conclusions, which may or may not be documented in official and public reports.

A few local and international NGOs approach gender-based violence through entry points like health, education, social welfare, protection, livelihoods etc., or through communication via print, theatre or video. Some of the larger organizations are involved in policy advocacy and legal reforms through activism, research and lobbying. However, few NGOs emphasize specific forms of gender-based violence and their donors are even fewer.

Some respondents highlighted the attention given to certain victims of violence and activists themselves. This takes away focus from the crime and perpetrators, and the gains (financial or as publicity) are limited to individuals. Neither justice nor change in institutional mechanism or policy is achieved.

In the context of funding for eliminating gender-based violence, some senior practitioners and activists observed that the integration of violence against women and gender-based violence (the distinction was repeatedly emphasized, though is

not followed in this study) into themes such as human rights or women's empowerment, or into strategies such as capacity building and poverty reduction, in fact, shift the focus from the issue, and add to greater red tape and bureaucracy within donor organizations.

Some observed that when donors support the government, (e.g. the MoWD), the same issue is less controversial or there is no controversy at all, but if an NGO receives funds for the same issue, the perception changes. Thus NGOs working against fundamentalism, extremist agendas and ending gender-based violence are seen as anti-religion and anti-state.

The development sector is largely dominated by urban, and elites issues of violence experienced by poor and socially disadvantaged women and girls are often unnoticed. Even when documented, they suffer from elite consensus. A vast majority of grassroots community based organizations and NGOs never have the opportunity to work independently and directly with donors. Some NGO consortia and umbrella organizations are leading smaller NGOs.

Ultimately Pakistani and international NGOs follow the funding priorities set by donors and strive to match visions developed elsewhere.

4.5 Current and Past Initiatives

This part include responses and reflections of the NGOs, donors and international NGOs who were included in the sample and who responded,²⁶ as well as mentioned about their work and achievements in detail. The following list is a selection of responses based on information gathered through e-mails, telephone conversations and meetings with the respondents.

4.5.1 Local and International NGOs

NGOs working nationally:

- Rozan works directly in communities and in

collaboration with government departments and other civil society organizations, in varying geographical areas. Rozan is involved in direct implementation at the community level (awareness raising and psychological support) mainly in communities in and around Islamabad and Rawalpindi. Counseling help lines for youth and work around strengthening the response of government institutions, such as women centers and police, and local NGOs on gender-based violence is spread nationwide.

- Rahnuma-FPAP works for gender justice with a holistic approach to development integrated into a framework of sexual and reproductive health and rights. Over the past five decades, the organization has worked on issues related to maternal and neonatal health, early marriage, honor-related crimes, gender-based violence, in particular burn cases, economic empowerment of women and the sexual and reproductive health needs of women and their families. The organization's service delivery points are spread across the country. Various centers provide gender-sensitive and youth-friendly spaces with information, counseling, treatment and referral services for women, men and young people.
- Uks has been actively involved in media interventions, on-desk trainings, gender-sensitive code of ethics for the media, over two dozen radio productions and much more. It is currently implementing a one-year project with UNFPA on youth and media portrayals of gender-based violence and reproductive health issues.

NGOs working in Balochistan:

- The Balochistan Foundation for Development is implementing an 18-month project, funded by the United Nations Office for Project Services (UNOPS) to combating gender-based violence in Balochistan.

²⁶Not all international NGOs and donors responded directly. Some information was gathered from their websites, former staff, researchers and activists.

NGOs working in Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa:

- Citizen Rights and Sustainable Development has been mainly involved in conducting research in FATA to understand the causes and forms of gender-based violence in a traditional Pushtun tribal society. The next phase will include advocacy activities with traditional elders, the political administration and religious leaders.
- CAARD works with other NGOs in the Tribal NGO Consortium to eliminate gender-based violence from society.
- Khushhal Welfare Organization works in Peshawar alongside other NGOs in the Tribal NGO Consortium, on raising awareness about women rights and education.
- Life and Hope works in FATA and Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa with other members of the Tribal NGO Consortium to raise awareness about traditional harmful practices including honor killing and dowry-related violence.
- The Society for Rights and Development conducted a survey in 2007 on the torture of women in police custody. It continuously raises the issues of women in FATA and works to oppose the bombing of girls' schools, domestic violence, abuse by intimate partners, and sexual violence including rape, sexual abuse, forced pregnancies and prostitution.

NGOs working in the Punjab:

- Women Rights Association, a southern Punjab NGO, works to address gender-based violence through economic empowerment.

NGOs working in Sindh:

- Mehran Socio-Cultural Forum, Hala, works on awareness raising about women's rights through the Hala Film Festival, women watch groups, and plays.

International NGOs:

- Action Aid Pakistan works through local partners. It has been credited for not working as a donor, but instead promoting partnerships. ActionAid works at two levels: the local level through partners, and policy, advocacy and campaigning by ActionAid's regional and national offices in partnership with other movements and organizations. ActionAid has no donor-funded project on gender-based violence; its current work in the field is from regular funding through individual sponsorship.
- Norwegian Church Aid is a newcomer to Pakistan, and is working against forced marriages with local NGOs.
- Plan Pakistan is addressing gender-based violence through child rights and adolescent health projects. It employs an integrated approach.
- The World Population Fund works through partners to implement projects on gender-based violence in reproductive health in Kashmore and Jacobabad (Sindh); Dera Ghazi Khan and Muzaffargarh (Punjab); and Nasirabad and Jafarabad (Balochistan).
- World Vision International works on child rights, and with children in exploitative labor and who have suffered abuse. Its priority is advocacy for child rights, and exploring economic opportunities for families to combat the root causes of children's exposure to violence.

4.5.2 Donors and UN Agencies

A mapping of donor agencies and UN agencies working on gender-based violence are presented in the two tables below.

Table 6: Mapping of Donor Agencies

Donor Agency	Current	Past	Remarks/ Responses to a Direct Query ²⁷
ADB	no	yes	<p>“We do not have any program directly addressing these issues. One of our TA projects (Support to Implementation of Gender Reform Action Plans) is supporting the National Commission on the Status of Women. Under that program we are supporting NCSW's media campaign to raise awareness about GBV, acid victims, and sexual harassment at work place.” —Saad Pracha, ADB Resident Mission, in an email dated November 7, 2010.</p> <p>Burn Care Project by Watan Welfare Society²⁸</p>
CIDA	no	yes	No mapping exercise or desk review of the past or current donors' initiatives before the launch of PAGE. CIDA had a gender fund before PAGE, whose lessons formed the basis for the design of the PAGE program.
DFID		yes	Gender Justice and Protection project is a key initiative of UNDP's Gender Support Program, funded by DFID and implemented by UNOPS (see Chapter 3 for details).
EC	yes	yes	<p>Projects supported by the European Commission in the past to address gender-based violence fell under the thematic area of human rights, and sectors included health, education, and law. The website lists the following projects in preparation: Child Labor Project, EIDHR Micro project Program (Campaigns 2 & 4), CFP 2006 (II), Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa Education Sector Support Program, Fight against Terrorism/ Money Laundering, and Access to Justice program.</p> <p>The Delegation of the European Union is establishing a comprehensive care for women victims of violence and their children within 34 public shelter homes of Punjab.</p>
GTZ	yes	yes	<p>The German Government has supported the education program for Afghan refugees in Pakistan for 18 years now. This program continued up to the end of 2005.</p> <p>The aim of the violence against women component is to improve services of state and non-state actors concerning violence against women and prevention. The program can tap experiences from an earlier GTZ project which focused on Punjab.</p> <p>Outputs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support to victims in shelters with access to services (medical, psychological, social, legal counseling); - Strengthen capacities of state and non-state actors concerning the prevention of gender-specific violence; - Raise awareness through dialogue, media and trainings concerning gender-specific violence and its prevention. <p>The main partner organization is the Social Welfare Department of in Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa, and the duration is three years, beginning 2010.</p>

²⁷“Can you provide me a list of your organization/agency funded projects or key initiatives addressing the issue of GBV in Pakistan? I am also requesting the list of partner NGOs who are or were partners with your organization/ agency regarding GBV projects.”

²⁸To pilot new approaches to gender-inclusive development, a grant financing facility (RETA 5889: Gender and Development Initiatives) was developed and approved in 2000. Funds were allocated to finance small-scale initiatives of women's NGOs with the potential for scaling up or replication. Over two years, the scheme financed 30 women's NGO initiatives and proved a successful tool in strengthening ADB's partnerships with innovative women's NGOs in the Asia Pacific Region. The project mentioned here was one of the four in Pakistan and closest to the thematic area of ending GBV.

Donor Agency	Current	Past	Remarks/ Responses to a Direct Query
			<p>Outputs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support to victims in shelters with access to services (medical, psychological, social, legal counseling); - Strengthen capacities of state and non-state actors concerning the prevention of gender-specific violence; - Raise awareness through dialogue, media and trainings concerning gender-specific violence and its prevention. <p>The main partner organization is the Social Welfare Department of in Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa, and the duration is three years, beginning 2010.</p>
JICA ²⁹	no	yes	<p>Based on the Country Assistance Program, JICA has been supporting the efforts of the government to revive its economy and reduce poverty through reforms, as well as initiatives taken through the Poverty Reduction Strategy. Sectors it identified as crucial are health, sanitation, education, agriculture, irrigation, economic infrastructure and economic development.</p> <p>JICA is engaged in multilateral and bilateral cooperation with UNFPA and UNICEF. Here, JICA provides such items as vaccines against infectious diseases, contraceptive devices and pills, and simple medical equipment, while UNICEF and the UNFPA support partner countries in maintaining and distributing these items in the field.</p>
RNE			Norway provides an annual assistance of approximately NOK 66 million to Pakistan, which is channeled through the government, NGOs and the UN System.
SDC ³⁰	no	yes	<p>The MDGs and the Poverty Reduction Strategy provide the reference framework for SDC's cooperation program in Pakistan. Its three pillars are "Improving Governance and Devolution", "Investing in Human Capital" and "Targeting the Poor and Vulnerable." Other topics include human rights. The overall goal of SDC's cooperation program in Pakistan is to reduce poverty through promoting a people-driven, equitable and ecologically sound development. The program is structured around three broad domains: "Improving Governance", "Increasing Income", and "Reconstruction and Rehabilitation," underlined by a human rights based approach. Gender and HIV and AIDS are mainstreamed throughout the program. The financial commitment for the program in Pakistan amounted to CHF 25 million in 2005.</p>

²⁹Information is obtained from www.jica.go.jp/english/operations/partnership/sector.html.

³⁰Information is obtained from www.swiss-cooperation.admin.ch/pakistan/en/Home/SDC_s_Programme_in_Pakistan.

Donor Agency	Current	Past	Remarks/ Responses to a Direct Query ¹
USAID ³¹	yes	no	The goal of US assistance to Pakistan is to tangibly improve the well-being of Pakistanis and support the Government of Pakistan in fulfilling its vision of a moderate, democratic, and prosperous country. The USAID mission reopened in Islamabad in 2002. From 2002 through 2009, USAID provided more than \$3.4 billion (including Emergency Economic Assistance) to address needs in economic growth, education, health, good governance, earthquake reconstruction assistance, as well as humanitarian assistance. Program sectors are Democracy and Governance, Disaster Assistance, Earthquake Reconstruction, Education, Economic Growth, FATA and Health. Its implementing partners for different projects include local NGOs such as Aurat Foundation (GEP), UN agencies, international NGOs, consultancy firms, the Population Council, and public institutions like Khushhali Bank.
World Bank	no	yes	From 2006 to March 2010, the World Bank approved 31 operations totaling \$3.9 billion for Pakistan. It is working with the government to prepare the new Country Partnership Strategy for the period 2010–2013. It is built on the knowledge, diagnostics and analytical work undertaken over the years by the World Bank and other development partners. It takes into account results and lessons from the bank’s past programs and will reflect the development priorities of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper and provincial development plans. The proposed activities of the Country Partnership Strategy are clustered around three pillars: sustained macroeconomic stability and reduced macroeconomic vulnerability; improved human development and social protection; and improved environment for private sector investment and growth. Governance is a crosscutting theme.

³¹Information is obtained from www.usaid.gov.

Table 7: Mapping of UN Agencies

UN Agency	Current	Past	Remarks/ Responses to Direct Queries
UNDP	yes	yes	Interventions grouped together under the following three heads; pro-poor policy and advocacy; community based area development programs and gender equality program. The four projects under Gender Equality Program are: Gender-Based Governance Systems, Gender Justice through Musalihat Anjuman, Gender Promotion in the Garment Sector through Skills Development, and Gender Justice and Protection.
UNICEF	yes	yes	Works on domestic violence, violence by intimate partners, sexual violence, and human trafficking.
UN Women (UNIFEM)	yes	yes	UNIFEM works against domestic violence, sexual violence, trafficking, acid crime, and HIV and AIDS. “We have not received any specific funds on GBV and VAW in Pakistan as of yet. We are using UNIFEM core funds as well as some from women and peace program (Norway and Netherlands) and humanitarian funds from Italy.” — Dr. Alice Harding Shackelford, Country Program Director, UNIFEM in an e-mail dated November 11, 2010.
UNFPA	yes	yes	UNFPA is the co-convenor, with UNIFEM, for the gender task force and cluster and in close collaboration with UNOCHA.
			UNFPA leads the gender-based violence sub-cluster as part of the Protection Cluster in the humanitarian structure. The sub-cluster coordinates a multi-sectoral response to gender-based violence, focusing on service provision for survivors, referrals and prevention. Members of the sub-cluster include organizations working in health, legal, psychosocial, communications, etc. The sub-cluster mechanism is active in Islamabad, southern Punjab, northern Sindh, southern Sindh, Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa, and Balochistan.
			Gender-based violence program: UNFPA is planning to venture into programmatic intervention in gender-based violence response from Jan 2010 onwards. In this regard, we have identified three main areas of intervention: - Support to the provision of gender-based violence response services - Awareness and advocacy on gender-based violence through community mobilization, counseling and provision of women friendly spaces - Capacity development of mental health and psychosocial counseling service provider “Partnerships with NGOs and exact geographic locations are still under discussion. We expect the total budget for next year’s GBV programme to be 1.7 million USD.” — Direct communication from a senior official.
			In the past UNFPA supported by EU implemented RHIYA with gender-based violence as a component.
UNHCR	yes	yes	The protection cluster is chaired by UNHCR.
WHO	yes	no	A recent initiative to integrate gender-based violence in the health sector is in progress. This is a One UN response.

A quick glance at these matrices suggests that donors and UN agencies are concentrating to a great extent on issues of gender-based violence. This is neither true nor false. In the broader picture, there is certainly much emphasis on gender-based violence, but when considering focused interventions, the interpretation is reversed. Even if one argues that investments in health, education and social development lead to reduction in gender-based violence, there is no evidence available: while key achievements are presented in public documents, impact indicators are not evident. Furthermore there is no evidence that these indirect interventions have improved responses to reduce or eliminate gender-based violence.

Most significantly, there is no focus on victims of violence. What efforts are underway or had been tried in the past to change the condition of victims and enable them to become survivors? The literature and respondents alike are silent on this.

4.6 Gaps in Research

Research is a neglected area and is marginalized in public, voluntary and donor responses. The dearth of evidence-based research on sensitive issues contributes to gender-based violence.

There is ample evidence that gender inequality injures the interests not only of girls and women, but also of boys and men. Therefore, it is not just a societal nicety but a technical necessity to adopt a gender and development approach to tackling the massive inequities that directly influence the outcomes of macroeconomic policies.

Most of the respondents expressed their inability to access the data and unfamiliarity with research updates on the issue. Many could not identify gaps between research and interventions.

Selected responses of those who commented are as follows:

“I feel a major gap is collection of accurate data. And analysis of the data on pure scientific basis. It is unfortunate that little research has been done on the

issue.” —Baber Bashir, Rozan

*“What are those policy provisions which can be exploited to better redress [gender-based violence]?”
— Rukhsana Shama, ActionAid Pakistan*

“One of the gap in response to [sexual and gender based violence] is to ensure access and quality of health services for women and victims. There is a need for skill enhancement of all health staff including managers and health care providers in dealing with victims of sexual violence, with established referral and support networks within the community.” — Dr. Maqsooda Kasi, World Vision International.

“The tribal belt is a neglected area and women have been suffering from various types of tortures here since time immemorial. Topic on extremism and fundamentalism should also be included. A question on feudalism and mullah-ism should also be included in future. More questions regarding outdated tribal and feudalistic system should be included. Role of political parties should also be included in this regard.” —Tribal NGOs Consortium

4.6.1 Media Perceptions

In recent years, media, especially private television channels, have emerged as major players in prioritizing sociopolitical issues. With the relaxation in censor policies, many issues once considered too sensitive to articulate are openly discussed on television. Leaving aside the gender sensitivity in portrayals of issues of gender-based violence, senior media professionals have an important perspective on gender-based violence issues and the response by civil society organizations. The common opinion among media professionals was that violence is inherent in our social structures, and such issues are not even acknowledged as they should be. Though media professionals considered their sector's role positive, they remained conscious of gaps, and stressed the need for a wider debate on media and the impact of advertising.

“Media's responsibility in highlighting violence against women in every sphere cannot be

overstressed. In the recent years VAW [violence against women] has most definitely been given importance. Sometimes, especially in the Urdu press, it has been commercialized where the privacy of the victim has not been protected leading to further torture for the victim. The English press is far more responsible in its reporting. However most are lacking in the follow up of any VAW case, and therefore justice delayed is justice denied. To date, Mukhtaran Mai is waiting for justice. But to give the devil its due, in the recent years many TV dramas, talk shows, interviews, reality shows and documentaries have been made and aired about VAW, and there has been a positive side to it in the end, creating awareness and hopefully more hatred against this awful streak in human behavior. However, it is not enough to merely highlight or point out what is happening but WHY it is happening. Until the root causes for VAW are eradicated, this type of behavior will continue. There is need to understand the causes of VAW and then to systematically create an awareness about those reasons and then to remove them. Also, all VAW judgments need to be given due prominence in the media as a deterrent. Media must not sensationalize VAW. Victims must be given protection to report these crimes and seek justice. Media has to play a positive role in not promoting VAW for its own increased viewership but in its role as a public service broadcaster.”

— Moneeza Hashmi, Producer

The role of NGOs in connection with gender-based violence was widely termed pathetic and negligible. Some professionals also pointed out the use of jargon by NGOs that make it difficult to understand and convey issues surrounding violence.

“NGOs highlight issues in five star hotel conference rooms. If they educate 100 people, how much of total population they educated???”

— Atif Khan, Dawn TV

“NGOs are there to furnish their own vested interests. Had they been genuine, there would not have been so much poverty, illiteracy and, likewise, gender discrimination in the society.”

— Erum Muzaffer, The News

4.7 Discussion

Most respondents were not satisfied with the level of political commitment to the gender inequalities and social disadvantages that give rise to various forms of violence against women, children and other vulnerable groups. The vulnerabilities fall into social, economic, education, health and livelihood spheres of life, and women and children are the worst sufferers. Despite their visibility in the media, a vibrant NGO sector, and an ostensibly committed donor community, issues of gender-based violence are yet to be fully acknowledged by the state, society, and other stakeholders. To a large degree, achievements in advancing the rights of women in Pakistan merely exist on paper. Even good policies, pro-women laws and international conventions fail to prevent the rising incidence of nearly all forms of violence. Contributing factors include structural inequalities, patriarchal mindsets, delayed judicial responses, anti-women legislation and a donor-dependent NGO sector that cannot rise beyond relatively hollow activism despite its passion and sensitivity.

A review of information received through the respondents and websites shows that though there is a sharp focus on gender, and reports and conversations include gender-related language, the results and outcomes are not articulated in standard indicators. These indicators may well exist for internal use, but they are not publically evident. Furthermore, indicators usually revolve around inputs and process, but outcomes are neglected.

The responses underscored that a problem as large and complex as gender-based violence has to be dealt with an immense degree of sustained commitment, care, consideration and coordination. Deep structural changes must be pursued. Increased representation of women in public offices has already begun, but the process has far to go. Reforms in the judiciary and the police are essential. It is also essential to address gender stereotypes and the relationship between the sexes. Therefore, working with men and boys is as important as supporting women and girls.

Towards 5. a Pakistan Free of Gender-Based Violence

We must continue to express a vision for a violence-free world loudly and clearly. We must work to maintain a strong network of services by and for women who have survived violence.

We will continue to teach our daughters to expect equality for themselves and others. We will continue to teach our sons to question sexism and reject violence, to respect women as equals, and to work against all systems that are based on concepts of dominance. We will continue to support one another in protecting ourselves with ingenuity, strength, and pride. We applaud women who say no to male violence, who offer support to a friend, who protect one another, and who survive.

— *Our Bodies, Ourselves 2005*

This chapter summarizes the analysis, assembles findings, challenges and conclusions, and suggests practical actions as recommendations for the GEP, duty bearers and other stakeholders.

There is an increasing global trend to reduce gender-based violence, in which South Asian countries, including Pakistan, take a varying part. To some extent, the silence on many stigmatized issues related to gender-based violence has been broken, and the work by donors and development partners has expanded to grapple with them.

While it is important not to succumb to the illusion of partial, or even imperfect, success, it is certain that interventions have generated new knowledge about the causes and consequences of gender-based violence. Nevertheless, a review of interventions showed that the success of attempts

to reduce violence was constrained. The capacity to implement and operationalize initiatives, and raise awareness, is very low, and there is an urgent need for policy advocacy. Coordination of responses is weak. The women's movement driven by civil society organizations is also uncoordinated, and its members are often in competition for scarce donor resources.

Many critical dimensions of gender-based violence receive insufficient attention and, at times, almost disappear under the umbrella of broader concepts and terms like gender equality, empowerment and gender mainstreaming. Specific gaps include research on specific forms of violence, services for victims and survivors, women and disability, youth and vocational/ life skills training, gender programming for men, human trafficking, women's economic empowerment, data on violence, mechanisms and sex- and age-disaggregated data, and support for the national gender policy. This list is by no means complete or exhaustive.

5.1 Analysis and Findings

The major trends and specific forms of gender-based violence: These include the increase in knowledge of the prevalence, increased incidence, lack of statistics, increase in social awareness, need for concerted action, and problems of definition and recognition. The types of violence most commonly committed against women and girls include, but are not limited to, domestic violence, dowry violence, acid-throwing and burning, sexual harassment and indecent assault, rape, kidnapping and abduction, trafficking, and forced prostitution.

Deep rooted factors: These are the ubiquitous determinants of violence: patriarchal norms, values, traditions, culture and customs, which validated and maintained unequal power relations between men and women.

Perpetuating factors: Different forms of abuse, violence and exploitation at the family, community, workplace and state levels are exacerbated by diverse and complex factors. For instance, poverty is a deep rooted cause, both in economic and intellectual terms, and gives rise to the need for financial income even at the cost of self esteem, safety and security. An obvious and immediate result is the existence of shameful practices like dowry, trafficking, prostitution, kidnapping, the commoditization of women and girls. Poor judgments and commitments by the state also act as perpetuating factors, while the lack of reliable data further delays the making of effective laws, policies, and interventions.

5.1.1 Response of Donors and International NGOs

This study was intended to map current and past initiatives, along with key outcomes, on gender-based violence by donors and international NGOs. The information received and retrieved lacked both in completeness and comprehensiveness. The crucial findings from data available are as follows:

- Pakistan is still very much a patriarchal society, and faces political and economic instability. It is gaining donors' attention in connection with social sector development.
- Following two major disasters (the 2005 earthquake and the 2010 floods), more international NGOs have focused on Pakistan.
- Gender-based violence is not always directly addressed in projects by major donors, UN and international NGOs. Although these agencies comprehend the alliance between violence, women's low status, and barriers to sustainable development, none of their current operations directly address gender-based violence or work to improve the state's response. The best known program is DFID's Gender, Justice and Protection program, with 30 sub-projects in 42 districts of Pakistan. OXFAM-GB funded initiatives are largely short-term, intensive campaigns against specific forms of gender-based violence, with particular attention to honor killing.
- Among UN agencies, UNIFEM, followed by UNFPA, work to address gender-based violence through regional and national projects.
- There is no systematic documentation of past and current initiatives dealing with gender-based violence.
- Official documents about projects and programs that addressed gender-based violence as a component highlight activities as broad achievements, which cannot be recognized as outcomes. Many interventions are of short duration.
- The positive impact of initiatives led by donors, UN and international NGOs include a generation of interest among local NGOs, better networking, and a start to identifying gaps in this important area of work.
- Donors, UN agencies and international NGOs have indirectly supported efforts to eliminate gender-based violence through a human rights approach and institutional strengthening. This is evidenced in their short-term supports for capacity building of NGO professionals, public officials and parliamentarians for legislation, reform of existing laws, enactment of new laws and

work on legal instruments such as CEDAW with the MoWD and Ministry of Social Welfare and Special Education. They also support local NGOs to provide services such as women's crisis centers and shelters, legal aid, advocacy, counseling, and gender sensitization of police officials, media, and others, as well as training in specialized areas such as gender budgeting and legal education.

5.1.2 Gaps in Research

This study identified the gaps in existing literature, reviewed the gaps documented by the literature, and the gaps identified in research and interventions by practitioners.

The gaps in existing literature include scanty or no information on NGO projects, indigenous perspectives on violence in development and disaster strategies, and newer perspectives. For instance, gender-based violence has been linked to human rights, but its relevance to good economics policy has yet to be conspicuously made.

A major gap identified in the documented literature is that although there is much information on the work of organizations internationally, especially those focused on human rights and health issues, with comprehensive, multinational studies and comparative analyses of specific types of gender-based violence, the research done by civil society organizations is not well documented.

The gaps highlighted by practitioners and observed by the author are listed below. There is a dearth of:

- research in all the thematic areas of gender-based violence;
- identification and implementation of legal and policy frameworks that can guide interested actors in civil society organizations, donors, and the public; awareness raising and dissemination of best practices and key learning, especially among NGOs which are not funding partners with international NGOs and donors or UN agencies;
- fiscal, institutional, and technical resourcemobilization and sustainability;
- coordination mechanisms at all stages of research and interventions;
- mapping studies on gender-based violence;
- well-documented studies on donors' funding priorities for gender-based violence;
- critique by academic and research institutions on responses to gender-based violence and aid effectiveness;
- research, advocacy and service delivery on, and for, the victims and survivors of violence;
- well-documented intersections between domestic violence and child abuse;
- action research and effective impact-based interventions for communities encouraging them to own the issues of gender-based violence;
- focused and socially acceptable interventions to develop a survivor-centered approach for affectees of violence;
- research and interventions to monitor the media for false or misleading information or unethical coverage of gender-based violence;
- serious efforts to invest in women/ girls for economic security, thus enabling them to protect themselves or leave an abusive relationship.

5.1.3 Challenges

As the review and analysis show, stakeholders and duty bearers face challenges of:

- attitudes and behaviors to address issues of violence at societal and policy levels;
- the sensitivity of collecting data on gender-based violence, and the subsequent lack of data;
- policy and laws, and the fear of political and social resistance, if reform materializes;
- lack of funds and focus on gender-based violence.

Major challenges to eliminating gender-based violence are as follows:

- The MoWD is the national focal machinery for the advancement of women and implementation of CEDAW. The ministry is not performing to expectations.
- The Constitution of Pakistan has a significant human rights content. Any citizen can move any court with jurisdiction if fundamental rights are infringed. In practice, however, these avenues of recourse are not accessible to all citizens equally. Reasons include low literacy, particularly legal literacy, lack of awareness of rights, the investment of time and money required, and lack of sensitivity in members of the judiciary.
- Civil society organizations work in isolation and in competition with their counterparts. Many NGOs are reluctant to mention donors, and there is no readily available recordkeeping on gender-based

violence related funds. The outcome of many projects has minimal impact, due to their unrealistically short durations and the failure to institutionalize results-based management. Civil society organizations follow donor requirements to remain eligible for funding, and whether their capacity is really built or sustained, remains a question as, in practice, they outsource tasks requiring extensive documentation in English language to consultancy firms, and service delivery to grassroots NGOs or community based organizations.

- Despite the existence of laws, women in Pakistan suffer overt and covert forms of violence, and there are no focused interventions geared towards impact indicators.
- While gender-based violence appears to be an urgent item on the development agenda, actions and funding do not match the magnitude of the problem.

5.2 Conclusions

This study concludes that interventions against gender-based violence are either lacking or too vague and unfocused in development strategies. There is little attention paid to gender-based violence, and what there is, is largely in emergency relief. This lack of attention is partly due to a poor understanding of gender-based violence in the local context. It is vital to understand what gender-based violence means, its causes and manifestations, in this complex and varied society.

Response to gender-based violence may not be fully reflected in gender programming in development activities, as it may fall under other sectors, such as health, protection, etc.

Disasters create window of opportunities. The current flood emergency offers the chance to address both immediate humanitarian service delivery, and action to prevent and respond to gender-based violence in the short term, as well as long-term development of services, systems, and structures.

The limitations and biases of this study have been outlined in Chapter I. Availability of information was a major issue, and often beyond the control of the author. With this in mind, some broader conclusions are as follows:

- Gender has yet to be established as a sector in Pakistan and, while donors do not lack interest or good intentions, their efforts are disjointed and poorly coordinated. Reasons include those common to many developing countries, such as corruption, debts, and misplaced priorities. Despite the establishment of INGAD, it was observed that there has been limited formal contact amongst donors for strategic planning on gender issues. The information available suggested that not all donors even have a gender strategy.
- A vibrant NGO sector exists in Pakistan, and there has been much emphasis on women and gender issues. However, as far as the funding initiatives specific to gender-based violence are concerned, the information and interventions are scanty, fragmented, and marked by lack of coordination.
- The discourse on gender indicators has yet to be identified as a relevant area of action research and program development.

This scoping study has provided an opportunity to identify the prevailing issues and needs in funding priorities on gender-

based violence, and gaps in research and interventions.

5.3 Recommendations

5.3.1 General Recommendations

Gender-based violence is arguably the most widespread of all human rights violations, a pervasive and systemic issue affecting all socioeconomic and cultural groups, at a high cost to the individual and society. Most gender-based violence takes place in the home, where the victim often experiences repeated attacks (Willman 2008). It is estimated that 60-80 percent of sexual perpetrators are males known to the victim (Heise, Ellsberg and Gottemoeller 1999). While men are also exposed to gender-based violence, the impacts on women are often more severe.

- It is recommended that the usual approaches to addressing gender-based violence be deconstructed in the particular context of Pakistan. This will benefit both Pakistani women and USAID's image, and help to construct and sustain survivor-centered approaches.
- The Government of Pakistan must be encouraged to re-examine all laws that are discriminatory against women and girls. In particular, it is important to repeal the discriminatory Hudood Ordinance, and to re-enact earlier rape laws with an amendment making marital rape a criminal offense. There is also a need to implement specific legislation explicitly criminalizes domestic violence.
- Critical organs of the state, such as the police and judiciary, must be sensitized to gender concerns. Funds must be provided to the government to develop a long term program which trains police, prosecutors,

doctors and forensic scientists, and judges, to eliminate gender bias in handling cases of gender-based violence.

- The nexus between gender and health must be highlighted through effective service delivery. There is a need for training health professionals to address gender-based violence issues in clinical settings. The Pakistani government must be supported to improve its forensic services. Funds should be earmarked to train personnel and to upgrade physical facilities and equipment.
- It is recommended that programs be developed in cooperation with NGOs to provide basic services for women victims and survivors of violence. These should include women's shelters, medical care, counseling, and legal aid. While some shelters are operational through the MoWD's Benazir Bhutto Shaheed Crisis Management Center program, these services need expansion, and regular monitoring of quality. Alliances and networking with grassroots NGOs assisting women victims of violence must be established.³²
- Efforts are required to monitor and improve the Pakistan government's response to gender-based violence by ensuring that reliable national statistics are available, detailing the nature and degree of violence, rates of prosecution and conviction, and the nature of punishment.
- There is a need for a detailed mapping study on gender-based violence in Pakistan.

5.3.2 Specific Recommendations

- Educational programs for law enforcement and health professionals working with women must be initiated. Specific service delivery points like women crisis centers as refuges for women subject to domestic violence and their children, hot lines, shelters, and other innovative programs for victims of domestic violence must be developed.
- A wide range of media, including electronic, print, new media, and popular theatre, must be employed appropriately to reach various audiences and build an indigenous perspective and prescriptions for addressing gender-based violence.
- It is imperative to recognize the role of men in reducing harm and ending gender-based violence, particularly in Pakistan's cultural environment.
- It is important to abstain from applying or imposing universal approaches. While the problem of violence is global, the solutions are not always the same. Therefore, socially acceptable and culturally appropriate actions are required. Understanding attitudes and behaviors is essential at the design, development, and dissemination stages of all interventions in advocacy and service delivery.
- Communities can contribute a great deal to efforts to end gender-based violence and the attitudes that lead to abusive actions. Global experiences have demonstrated that collaborative partnerships among schools, health, mental health centers, courts, social services organizations, community-based NGOs and advocacy groups can provide leadership for early interventions and prevention measures. Further, community education campaigns can be powerful tools in raising awareness of gender-based violence.

³²While many of the services listed here have been, or are, addressed by the government, PAGE, or UNIFEM, it should be noted that PAGE has ended, the Gender Justice Program offers limited coverage, and UNIFEM has its own funding mechanism that works with certain NGOs only. NGOs in general have limited capacity and coverage. Consequently, funding these interventions constitutes not duplication, but much needed scaling-up and reinforcement.

5.4 Conclusion

Violence inflicted on a woman is not restricted in its effects to a single individual or even family; it ripples through society, with enormous social and economic costs. Gender-based violence is a living reality in present-day Pakistan. Though these crimes are prevalent around the world, in Pakistan they are uniquely legitimized in the name of culture, tradition, religion, and morality.

The silence of the state and lawmakers add to discrimination, biases and the disempowerment of women and girls. The rising trend of religious extremism, though not discussed in this report, is also triggering further violence and abuses.

The vagueness of donor support and short-term ad hoc-ism of development initiatives towards ending gender-based violence requires consideration from all stakeholders.

The deficiency of coordination and multi-sectoral collaboration among duty bearers to meet the needs of victims and survivors of gender-based violence is another area of concern.

Without recognizing the gaps within the development sector and practitioners, responses to end gender-based violence cannot be designed or translated into action, irrespective of the mushrooming NGOs working on women's issues, and the growing, but unchecked, free media.

