



Women, work and violence

Violence Against Women and Women's Economic Empowerment: understanding gender dynamics within domestic, public and work spaces

Research on VAWG in South Asia

DRAFT COUNTRY REPORT: PAKISTAN

DFID PO 7185

March 2016 - revised

In association with:



1 TABLE OF CONTENTS

How to navigate this report.....	5
2 Introduction and background.....	6
2.1 Methodology	8
2.2 Data Analysis	12
2.3 Review of the Global Evidence	13
2.3.1 Economic engagement vs. economic empowerment: a critical distinction	13
2.4 Defining violence against women and girls.....	14
2.5 Violence against women and girls: a universal phenomenon?	14
2.6 What is already known about the relationship between VAW and women's economic engagement?	15
2.7 Experiences of violence at work	15
2.8 Experiences of violence at home	16
3 Overview of the WEE and VAW Context in pakistan	16
3.1 The societal level	17
3.2 The law	17
3.3 The community level.....	18
3.4 The household level	19
3.5 Summary of our Secondary Quantitative Research.....	19
3.6 Women and Work.....	19
3.7 Women and Violence.....	21
4 Primary data findinGs.....	22
4.1 Strand 1: In-depth Qualitative Interviews with Women and Men in Lyari Karachi	22
4.2 Methodology and methodological concerns.....	23
4.3 Does earning insulate women from domestic violence?	24
4.4 Can earning an income be a cause of violence?	25
4.5 The double burden as a form of violence?.....	27
4.6 Earning as a cause of emotional/psychological strain	27
4.7 Violence in Public Spaces	29
4.8 Violence at the Workplace	30
4.9 Age as a factor	31
4.10 Conclusions and points to explore further	33
5 Primary Data Strand 2	35
5.1 Nature, Type and Conditions of Work	35
5.2 Women Entrepreneurs.....	35
5.3 Nature and Type of VAW & Women's Resilience	37
6 Primary Data Strand 3	38

6.1	Nature, Type and Conditions of Work	38
6.2	Nature and Type of VAW & Women’s Resilience	40
7	Overall conclusions	42
8	Recommendations & Next steps	43
8.1	Recommendations	43
8.2	Next Steps.....	43
9	REFERENCES	45

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This research project on 'Women, Work and Violence' seeks to explore links between women's income and violence against women. In order to capture a complex and intersectional perspective the methodology was divided into three strands as follows:

Strand 1: In-depth qualitative Interviews with women and men at the lower two economic quintiles. This took the form of a community study in Lyari, Karachi. Research for this strand involved a combination of qualitative methods including semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and participant observation. 27 formal interviews were conducted mainly with women but some men were also included. Formal interviews were accompanied by several informal discussions and field notes made. This was supplemented by a survey of approximately 400 residents focusing on trends related to employment and education.

Strand 2. Focused on interviewing professional middle/upper class women. 4 interviews were conducted with women employed by firms covered by the Protection against Harassment of Women in the Workplace Bill which was passed by the government in 2010. The bill made sexual harassment an offence, and required all organisations to adopt and implement the Code of Conduct. A further 8 interviews were conducted with female entrepreneurs.

Strand 3: This strand involved a qualitative focus on women home-based workers who fall under HomeNet Pakistan (HNP), live below the poverty line and experience structural violence and exclusion. HomeNet Pakistan is a network of organisations working for the recognition and labour rights of home-based workers since 2005. 20 women were interviewed. 10 women from Shadipura and 10 from Gulberg town, Lahore.

Findings from all three strands reveal a complex relationship between women's involvement in paid employment and their experiences of violence. While most women did not identify a clear link between employment and an increase or decrease in the occurrence of domestic violence, women's involvement in paid employment came with a combination of costs and benefits. For some women, earning an income provided them with the ability to leave or at least imagine leaving an abusive marriage. However, simply earning an income did not guarantee that women would be able to leave a violent marriage as the social pressure to remain within a marriage was extremely great, particularly if one had children.

Engagement in paid work also often led to increased tensions within the household as men often expected women to continue to fulfil domestic responsibilities even when they themselves were not employed. This could lead to arguments and might also contribute to violent situations. Most of these women would choose not to work outside of the home if they could afford to do so. On the other hand, women in well-paid, secure forms of employment spoke positively about their jobs. However, they often faced other kinds of pressures, particularly psychological and emotional stress as a result of disapproval from their extended families or communities and an increased risk of sexual harassment. While they may have enjoyed their jobs, this did not come without a cost.

In addition to the three strands, secondary analysis of the Pakistan DHS was conducted. This analysis showed that 31% of women in Pakistan were employed in the last 12 months. This figure is higher for rural women (52%) compared with urban (21.9). Unsurprisingly poverty was the single most driving force behind women working. Specifically lack of any assets increased the likelihood of women working.

Being involved in household decision making (alone or jointly with husband) was significantly associated with female employment. The odds of working was greatest among women who had the most say in decisions, compared to those who had none. In urban areas for example, the odds of working increased by 3.7 times among women who had the most say compared to those who had none.

In rural areas, women were less likely to work the more they agreed with norms justifying wife beating, but in urban areas this trend is reversed. A higher proportion of women who agreed with 3+ statements justifying wife beating were employed, compared to women who said there was no justification for wife beating. The association was not significant.

About one in three women have experienced physical violence since age 15 (not only intimate partner violence), compared to 19.2% in the last year. The unadjusted odds ratios show that rural women are significantly more likely to experience all forms of violence ever, or in the last year.

Experience of most forms of violence by employment status show that women who worked in the 12 months preceding the survey experienced significantly higher levels of violence than women who did not work.

The data analysis is still on going with the final country report due by mid-march 2017. Uptake activities have been continuous from the inception of the project. Researchers will present findings at a conference organised by the ODI in March at the AKU in Karachi.

HOW TO NAVIGATE THIS REPORT

This report is divided into five sections. The first section introduces the research concept and design highlighting our key questions and thematic areas. It then gives detail on our methodology and analytical frames. The final sub-section offers a review of what we already know in relation to VAW and WEE.

The second section gives detail on the Nepal context in relation to VAW and WEE. It then moves to summarise the findings from our secondary quantitative analysis drawing on the DHS for Nepal.

Section three offers the findings and analysis from the first two strands of our qualitative research. Each strand presents the data and ends with a section that draws conclusions drawn through the application of our analytical frames.

Section four then stands back and draws an overall conclusion based on a comparison between the data from both strands one and two.

The final section goes on to draw a number of practical recommendations which we believe to be evidenced by the data. The report ends by reviewing the next steps and our intentions to communication, publications and uptake activities.

2 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND



Members of the home-based workers network 'HomeNet' in Lahore. Photo taken by country researcher.

This reports presents data from a DFID funded research project 'Women, Work and Violence'. The overarching question was as follows: how can approaches to increase women's economic engagement also tackle violence against women?

The questions that shape the project design and which this report seeks to answer were identified as significant by stakeholders (including DFID staff, UN and government agencies) during a detailed scoping period (December 2015 – March 2016). This research acknowledged the significant resource directed at programming in the developing world specifically geared towards improving the financial independence of women. Micro-credit projects being the most common but also investment has been placed in vocational training and in creating safe workplaces. Underlying these interventions is the assumption that women who earn their own income will have control over how to spend it and will be given more leverage to make decisions at household level. In turn this will empower women to take control over other aspects of their lives including building resilience to violence.

The research sought:

- To understand how violence currently shapes women's economic engagement patterns, and to ascertain how best to address this.

- To uncover the complex ways in which earning or generating an income shapes/alters (both positively and negatively) the forms and levels of violence that women experience, and how it affects their levels of vulnerability.
- To unpack and describe how approaches to enhancing women's economic activity can support prevention of, protection from and responses to VAW.

The research was conducted in three countries; Myanmar, Nepal and Pakistan. These countries were chosen because of their potential for interesting comparability and cross learning. This report focuses on the findings from Nepal.

The research was framed around a number of linked themes.

Earning an income impacts on relationships within the home: Although much of the intra-household bargaining literature suggests that earning an income increases a woman's bargaining and decision making power others. For example Sen's cooperate conflict framework suggests that outcomes are very context-specific.

Key questions emerging from this literature:

- Do women have control over her own earnings?
- Does earning an income exacerbate or introduce tensions because it challenges traditional gender norms and power relations within the home?
- How do husbands, fathers and brothers respond to the earning power of female family members?

The Impact of Intersectional Features:

- Whether/how different groups of women are more or less vulnerable to particular types of violence and how this may or may not link to income levels and activities.
- We have sought to identify whether particular social norms can be associated with particular groups of men and women, or if they are widely expressed across the socio-economic spectrum.
- We have attempted to draw out men's attitudes to violence and explore intersectionally whether some groups sanction specific forms more than others.
- We have also tried to pinpoint specific triggers for male violence that may relate to a women earning an income.
- We looked at whether women show resilience to violence and if so, in what ways are they able to do this?
- Can we identify groups (e.g. members of a producing collective, employed by companies proactive in promoting women's wellbeing) who are able to draw on resources or display greater agency to ensure protection from and responsiveness to violence?

The Nature, Type and Conditions of Work: How the specific environment in which a woman earns an income impacts on her sense of wellbeing and experiences of both empowerment and violence.

In order to see answers we have explored the following:

- Work location,
- Management styles and composition,

- Relative access to income and assets,
- Access to financial services,
- Access to business development services,
- Level of economic decision making power,
- Amount of unpaid care and household work a woman is engaged in,
- Levels of skill capacity and leadership attributes,
- Access to women's collective action through cooperatives and unions, support services and networks available.

Nature and Type of VAW and Women's Resilience: In our field and case study sites, we mapped (using the VAW spectrum), and analysed intersectionally the range and types of violence that different groups of women are most vulnerable to. We also mapped the resources available to women to counter, challenge and protect themselves from violence.

Migration and Travel: Rural to urban migration as well as cross border migration is on the rise in each of the study countries; as such, we have sought to capture the impact it has on women's earning capacity and vulnerabilities to violence.

- Are women more or less vulnerable following a move from the village home into a city?
- To what extent do migratory bridges linked to other women from their wider families or places of origin affect women's vulnerability to violence?
- Is income the primary motivation behind migration, and are women also expected to contribute to families left behind?
- What are the income generating activities that newly migrated women are most likely to be engaged in?
- Does migration (in line with other themes) increase or decrease women's agency and control over their lives?

2.1 Methodology

In order to answer these questions and explore the associated themes we designed a three stranded methodology which is as follows:

Strand 1: In-depth Qualitative Interviews with Women and Men in two communities at the lower two economic quintiles.

Community Study Lyari, Karachi

Background to the area: The field site chosen is the area of Lyari in Karachi. Lyari is one of the original settlements of the city and is largely working class in its makeup. It is also ethnically diverse, comprised of approximately 50% Baloch residents along with Katchis, various other Sindhi groups, Punjabis, Pashtuns, Bengalis, and a small number of Urdu speakers, known in Karachi as Muhajirs. The area has been the site of violent conflict for the past several years between criminal gangs, political parties and law enforcement agencies. The researcher for this strand has been conducting research in this area for the past four years exploring the ways in which local residents have experienced the conflict in their everyday lives. Her previous research

has focused on the relationship between gender, fear and space in the area as well as the instances of protest and resistance to violence. However, this research has focused largely on violence committed by the state or criminal groups, which has mostly targeted men.

Overview of the Research Process: The researcher began the research for this project by speaking informally to friends and contacts in the area about the types of employment women were engaged in. The jobs most often mentioned were working as domestic servants, school teachers, and home-based workers. Some women were engaged in contract-based factory work, but not as many as initially had been expected. There were also a minority of women engaged in more professional fields such as nursing and in the service sector. She also began speaking to people about domestic violence, sexual harassment, and violence at the workplace informally, and kept field notes about these conversations, which are being included in the findings.

The researcher hired a woman whom she has known for several years, Maryam, who is from the area, to be a field assistant on the project. Maryam is from the Katchi community and runs a school in the area. Maryam introduced me to about 10 women, most of whom were also from the Katchi community. The researcher also went through two other friends, one who is a man from the Sindhi fisherfolk community, and another woman who is also Katchi but who is living in a different part of Lyari. They introduced the researcher to about ten more women. She also conducted one focus group with about ten women, but only five were dominating that discussion. She went through other friends and spoke to around five other women. In total, twenty formal interviews were conducted, one focus group discussion, along with the on-going informal conversations on the topic for the past four months.

The researcher has largely conducted semi-structured interviews, trying to cover most of the questions that were listed on the questionnaire, but did not follow this formally as this was difficult given the sensitive nature of the topic and in this particular context. It is difficult enough trying to get women to relax and open up about things like violence. The researcher always asked whether they minded if she recorded, and a few said they did. The researcher generally took notes after the interview as well, which are very important if the conversation was not recorded, and also important even if it was recorded in order to cover things that were not included in the interview or other conversations related to the interview or the context. For example, she interviewed a woman who she knew was a victim of domestic violence at the hands of her husband beforehand because a friend had disclosed but during the interview she only sang the praises of her husband telling the researcher the exact opposite of what she had been told. Certainly, the researcher was aware that women will not be willing to share the details of their personal life so easily, and that is something that will need to be taken into account when analysing the findings.

Strand 2: Capturing the work life experiences of women in the upper quintiles (strand 2)

AASHA Organisations:

Under this strand, we sought to understand whether affluence and status have any impact on women's experience of violence and if working in an organization that has adopted anti-violence and sexual harassment laws or instituted mechanisms that provide safety to women at work,

have any impacts for them. Some questions asked were: Are professional women more or less harassed at work? Does earning a higher income mean a woman has a greater self-confidence and agency to challenge violence when it happens? And does this agency reduce a woman's vulnerability to violence in the first place?

AASHA: The AASHA campaign began in 2000, and together with the government, developed a 'Code of Conduct' on gender relations within the workplace. The campaign was successful in persuading more than 300 organisations to adopt their Code of Conduct for Gender Justice. As a result of AASHA's campaigning, the Protection Against Harassment of Women in the Workplace Bill was passed by the government in 2010, which made sexual harassment an offence, and required all organisations to adopt and implement the Code of Conduct.

The AASHA campaign was subsequently disbanded, but one of its organisations, Mehergarh, continues to provide training to organisations across the country on establishing the required policies and practices. Importantly, AASHA is one of the only initiatives in Pakistan that addresses both WEE and VAWG, and was responsible for developing, helping to pass and implement the 2010 National Law on Sexual Harassment at the Workplace, a motion which has been widely characterised as being among Pakistan's most successful pro-women campaigns.

The Pakistan research team met with the head of Mehergarh, Ms. Maliha Hussain who made the initial introductions to about five companies that have adopted the Code of Conduct. These five companies are: Geo Television network, Attock refinery, Fauji Fertilizer, Habib Bank Ltd., and Serena Hotel. However, it was not easy to get interviews with all five of them. To date, interviews have only been held with GEO (2 interviews), Attock Refinery (one interview) and Fauji Fertilizer (one interview). Since it was very difficult to arrange interviews with the rest, the team has decided to forego more interviews.

An additional eight interviews were also included with women entrepreneurs owning different businesses in and around Islamabad and Lahore. This gave an added dimension to the research as it included experiences of women who own their own small businesses, their understanding of empowerment and vulnerability and experiences of violence.

Strand 3: Women Home-based Workers Network 'HomeNet':

This strand involved a qualitative focus on women home-based workers¹ who fall under HomeNet Pakistan (HNP), live below the poverty line and experience structural violence and exclusion.

HomeNet Pakistan is a network of organisations working for the recognition and labour rights of home-based workers since 2005. HNP is a member of HomeNet South Asia which includes HN Bangladesh, HN India, HN Nepal and HN Sri Lanka. HomeNet Pakistan is working for women who work at home and regardless of the nature of their work are exploited and poor. Since its inception, HNP has been organising, mobilising, advocating and lobbying for the issues and rights of home-based women workers. It has an outreach of 86 districts all over Pakistan and currently has about 538 organisations registered with a total of approximately 58,262 women home-based workers.

It offers the following to its members:

- Regular newsletters
- Information of positive initiatives and experiments for women home-based workers in South Asia.
- Advocacy on the concerns of women home-based workers with policy makers, legislators and other local and national leaders.

It offers the following to home-based workers:

- Marketing, design and other skills development workshops
- Legal awareness workshops
- Marketing opportunities to sales outlets
- Visits within and outside Pakistan to share experiences of active women home-based workers.

The team made an initial visit to HNP in May 2016 to select the locale for research - divided into peri-urban and urban areas in and around Lahore. Two focus group discussions were held at Shadi Pura and Gulberg Town, each through which we identified these as the sites we would use to carry out our work. Shadi Pura (peri-urban¹) has a large population of about 69,359 people. From our visit to the area, we noticed no government health facilities or colleges in or around the area, although there is a private hospital close by. In case of emergency, people go to GangaRam or Mao Hospital which means needing access to transportation and meeting that cost. There is only one government school located 1.5 KM from the residential area which is not enough for a population this size. Drinking water is polluted which is the main reason for ill-health of residents. The home-based women we met through HNP were mostly involved in embroidery and depending on its demand or lack, their income varied.

¹ Definition of urban and peri-urban areas is given by the local government or municipality.

Gulberg Town (urban) comparatively is a better locality with more facilities such as schools, a dispensary and parks – however there is no government college or hospital close by. The population is approximately around 56,000 with about 2,500 women home-based workers of which 550 are registered with HNP. We met with the women home-based workers who were involved in different types of work such as making paper bags (fetching only Rs.50 for 1000 bags), making badges for the army and the police, and artificial jewellery. Some of the problems they shared with us ranged from extreme cases of physical violence to being exploited by middlemen and not being able to make enough money to make ends meet.

Both areas were chosen based on the selection criteria that we gave to HNP, this included a range of age, nature of work, marital status, ethnicity, religious beliefs etc. These focus group discussions were done in an informal manner to assess whether women would be interested in talking to us about their issues and whether we would be able to establish rapport with them for future in-depth interviews. Most women seemed to have expectations of us, confusing us with government representatives or some charitable organisation. We had to explain to them that we could give them nothing in material terms (although gave about Rs 1000 to the women we had in-depth interviews based on the logic that they are taking time out for us which they could spend working) but that we would be able to represent their issues in a report to those who can hopefully bring about some change in their lives. They agreed to this.

2.2 Data Analysis

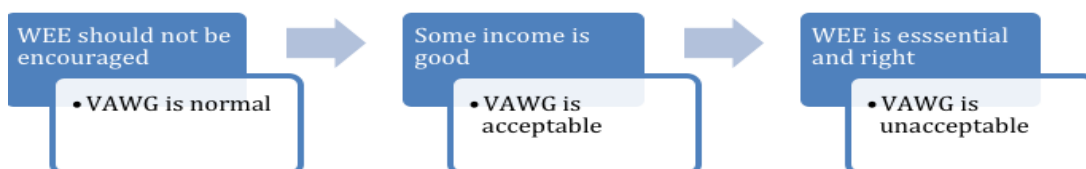
In the analysis of data we adapted and applied a number of well-established approaches. The social ecology framework is endorsed by numerous development institutions, including DFID (e.g. DFID 2012). It presents a picture of violence as inherently multifaceted, produced by the interaction of numerous elements of everyday life at various levels (e.g. household, community, nation). Its focus on the 'embedded' nature of violence is extremely important, as it highlights the fact that structural changes (such as legal reform) and even community-level interventions are unlikely to meet their full potentials unless efforts are also made to work on and within the broader cultural systems in which they are located, interpreted and enacted.

An intersectional approach recognises that gender is by no means an isolated social category. Rather, it acts to constrain women's freedoms in diverse ways by interlinking with additional categories such as race, caste, class, disability, sexual orientation and age, which contribute further to social, economic and political power inequities. The aim is to analyse the 'differential ways in which social divisions are concretely enmeshed and constructed by each other and how they relate to political and subjective constructions of identities' (Yuval-Davis 2006: 205).

The VAW spectrum builds on a legacy stemming from Liz Kelly's (1988) work, which strove to demonstrate that violence against women should not only be analysed as episodic or deviant acts of cruelty, but rather must be seen as normative and functional within a broad spectrum of abuse.

The attitudes continuum: this way of documenting viewpoints will enable us to understand and evidence any shifts in attitudes towards both women's role as a caregiver and/or income earner and VAW. So, for example, is a woman earning an income, or working outside of the home generally thought of positively or negatively in different contexts? To what extent are forms of VAW normalised? It is likely that many people will express contradictory positions, for example

women should earn an income but VAW is acceptable in specific circumstances? So the continuum has enabled us at community level to understand what appetite for change exists and amongst which groups. The very simple example below will of course the data has made correlations far more complex.



This section now goes on to introduce some critical terminology and conceptual perspectives that the research has applied and tested. Specifically, it unpacks the terms 'economic empowerment' and 'violence against women.' With more nuanced understandings of these concepts in place, this section of the report then proceeds to a brief summary of the current evidence related to how empowerment and VAW interact in everyday life.

2.3 Review of the Global Evidence

2.3.1 Economic engagement vs. economic empowerment: a critical distinction

Women's economic engagement refers to participation in activities that generate an income. This does not equate with empowerment, which is a holistic concept denoting a process in which an individual is able to access resources and build power and agency - normally increasing decision making power, building self-efficacy and self-esteem, gaining control of assets and generating positive outcomes (see figure 1).

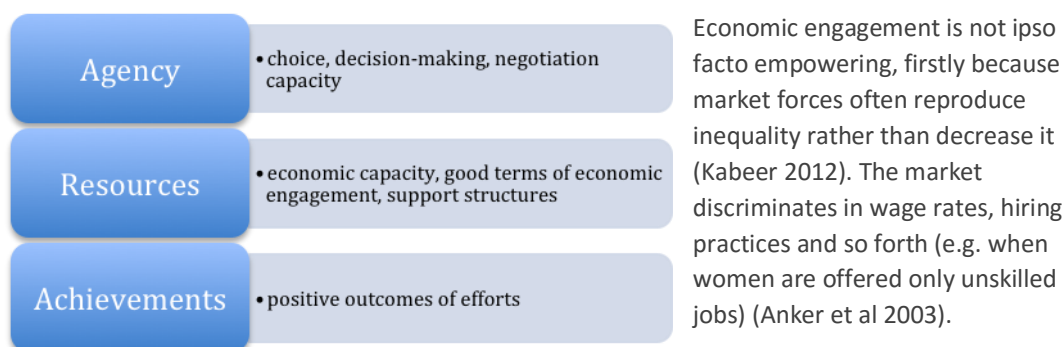


Figure 1 Conceptualising empowerment (Kabeer 2003)

In confusing economic engagement with empowerment, some common (but highly problematic) assumptions are: (i) that women who earn incomes can necessarily maintain control over them, (ii) that women have recourse to social and legal support if their earnings are taken away by others, and (iii) that financial independence makes leaving abusive relationships viable (ignoring social, and perhaps even legal, contexts).

Economic engagement therefore becomes empowering when it contributes not only to economic income, but to the enhancement of women's power and agency and the transformation of social norms (structure) that prevent the exercise of agency.

2.4 Defining violence against women and girls

Popular definitions of violence vary substantially; violence is a concept used to categorise certain forms of interpersonal behaviour, and as such it is subject to sociocultural interpretation. Thus, some acts and structures viewed as violent by western societies may not be viewed as such by others, and opinions about whether/how to challenge them will therefore vary. This diverse understanding of violence also applies to academic research, which frequently operates with different definitions according to discipline (gender studies, law, peace studies etc.).

This lack of clarity across contexts and academic fields can lead to difficulty in cross-cultural approaches to programme and policy design. In research on VAW a broad definition of violence is required, which recognises that violence is both a physical and psychological phenomenon, and that it operates on multiple levels from the personal to the macro-structural. We have chosen, therefore, to follow the example of the What Works Programme in adopting the DEVAW definition of VAW:

“Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women and/or girls, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life” (UN 1993; see also Scriver et al 2015: 8).

The What Works programme (Scriver et al 2015) supplements this definition with a vantage point gained from the social ecology approach. As explained above, this theoretical perspective facilitates the understanding of violence as multidimensional, with inter-linkages between personal, situational and sociocultural (structural) factors. We will be refining this perspective somewhat through the addition of intersectional analysis, and two VAW spectrums.

2.5 Violence against women and girls: a universal phenomenon?

This understanding of violence as inherently multifaceted necessitates a cautious approach to arguments concerning the so-called universality of VAW. The main issues are as follows:

In general terms, VAW is an endemic global problem, with over a third of women experiencing VAW globally at some point in their lives (WHO et al 2013). Some theorists do argue that universal (cross-cultural) risk factors for VAW can be identified (e.g. alcohol abuse, young age, external sexual relations, experiencing childhood abuse, growing up with domestic violence etc.)

(Abramsky et al (2011). However, while considering universal factors may be helpful, their intersection with diverse features of different sociocultural environments create contextual particularities that must be understood if interventions are to succeed.

VAW is broadly universal, and yet is entirely context-specific in terms of its triggers and manifestations. If it is to be prevented, this complexity must be understood in terms of the interplay of various contextual factors operating from the personal to the structural levels. Gender norms are embedded in complex webs of symbolic and material culture that are reflected in institutional structures such as the media, religious teachings and legal frameworks. These factors combine to create unique environments that perpetuate discriminatory behaviour based on interlinked understandings of ethnicity, race, gender, age class and caste (Fulu & Heise 2015).

Understanding localised manifestations of VAW therefore requires in-depth, context-specific qualitative research (complemented and partially directed by quantitative findings).

2.6 What is already known about the relationship between VAW and women's economic engagement?

Economic engagement (income generation) has a complex and often thorny relationship with VAW. While positive impacts are well known (and perhaps, at times, over-emphasised), research that has been conducted tends actually to present contradictory findings. Women's experiences of violence often increase when they have jobs because they face sexual discrimination, intimidation and violence at the workplace, as well as in public spaces during their commute. For some women, the violence experienced at home may also increase due to male backlash, discussed further below. As noted above, this is likely to be linked to differences in the socio-cultural contexts of the various studies. Although our research in Nepal, Myanmar and Pakistan will be culturally specific, we do have some generalisable information that may be used to shape our investigation of changing patterns across cultures:

2.7 Experiences of violence at work

Negative masculinities structure workplace culture in many contexts. These culturally-defined gender concepts 'are reinforced by organisational norms, the behaviour of managers and leaders, a lack of codes of conduct and workplaces dominated by men' (Taylor 2015a: 13).

So-called "female" job sectors also subject women to higher levels of risk. Patterns of horizontal segregation (job roles/sectors in which women dominate) ensure that women are often confined to specific sectors with higher violence exposure (e.g. domestic work, assembly line manufacturing, teaching and nursing) (Cruz & Klinger 2011).

Violence at work includes the psychological distress caused by discrimination and bullying as well as physically harmful acts.

The 'world of work' (Cruz & Klinger 2011) also encompasses women's experiences on their way to and from work, and therefore incorporates the harassment that women in all countries face (albeit to varying degrees) in public spaces, including on public transport.

2.8 Experiences of violence at home

A consistent cross-cultural indicator for VAW is the contravention of local gender norms (Jewkes 2002), and the failure to maintain cultural expectations of masculinity/femininity. The transgression of traditional gender norms (e.g. through employment and/or earning) may actually lead to increased oppression at home: to violent ‘backlash’ that seeks to redress the power balance (Goetz and Sen Gupta 1884).

Relative Resource Theory suggests an inverse relationship between men’s economic resources and VAW (Goode 1971), and even more importantly, an inverse relationship between spousal economic disparities and IPV (the greater the difference between a husband and wife’s material resources, in other words, the greater the chance of IPV) (McCloskey, 1996; Macmillan and Gartner, 1999. In India, for example, one study finds that ‘where wives are better employed than their husbands, physical violence is higher’ (Panda & Agarwal 2005: 834), and another highlights the ‘frustrations that men felt at their inability to fulfil the socially expected sole breadwinner role [and] the frustration felt by many men was magnified when they perceived women to be ‘getting ahead’ or doing well’ (Neville 2014: 16). This cultural perspective may help to explain the vastly inconsistent findings of studies that have examined the relationship between women’s economic engagement and VAW in various locations (see Vyas & Watts 2009 for an overview).

Gender norms intersect with other issues, including other social divisions including class and caste, life histories, legal frameworks, religious institutions/ideology, local economic structures, marriage patterns and so on, creating varied experiences of violence within countries and cultures. This intersectional focus will remain a consistent analytical lens for our research in each country.

3 OVERVIEW OF THE WEE AND VAW CONTEXT IN PAKISTAN

In reviewing the VAWG context in Pakistan we apply the ecology framework introduced earlier. By exploring the context of VAWG across a number of intersecting spheres we are able to build a comprehensive picture of the landscape. We focus on women’s vulnerabilities to specific forms of violence across differing contexts. We also consider the support and justice mechanisms that may exist and views on their effectiveness. This overview will set the scene for the presentation of our qualitative data that digs into individual perceptions of the ecology of VAW. It also captures personal experiences of how earning an income links to VAW.

VAW is widespread in Pakistan. Like the other countries under study, this situation is underpinned by patriarchal cultural beliefs and institutions, and by inactive state machinery.

Unlike Nepal and Myanmar, however, Pakistan's legislation and criminal justice system are deeply discriminatory, and as such the structural problems contributing to VAW run deepest here. The relatively recent return of democracy to Pakistan raised hopes that the state would become more proactive in its efforts to empower women. To date, however, progress on relevant law and attention to problematic normative practices and beliefs has been limited.

According to Pakistan's latest Demographic and Health Survey, 39% of married women between 15 and 49 have experienced domestic violence. However, Human Rights Watch (1999) states that reliable estimates actually range from 70% to upwards of 90%.

The Global Gender Gap Index places Pakistan 141 of 142 countries, including 141st for 'economic participation and opportunity' (WEF 2014).

This section offers an overview of the desk research conducted on gender relations and relevant intersectional issues in Pakistan.

3.1 The societal level

National politics: There are quotas for women in political positions: 60 seats in the National Assembly and 129 (of 758) in Provincial National Assemblies.

Although they have equal voting rights, Pakistani women are poorly represented in formal governance. Although illegal, women within certain cultural and geographical boundaries are often stopped from voting, either by their families or through signed agreements between male political candidates endorsed by religious leaders and village committees (Oxfam 2013b; USDS 2014).

3.2 The law

Sex-based discrimination: Pakistani law has been shaped for more than thirty years by a religious legal structure which has operated alongside the existing penal code. Although changes have been made in recent years (such as a move to prevent raped women being tried under religious law for adultery), the law has not yet been refashioned sufficiently.

Rape and honour killing: Despite recent legal reforms, a woman's testimony is still given half the weight of a man's in rape cases. It is certainly notable that, according to data provided by Pakistan's Ministry of Interior to the US Senate, there were no rape convictions at all in the Capital District Authority (Islamabad) in the five years preceding 2013 (USDS 2014). In addition, other legal ordinances essentially make honour killings viable under the law (e.g. heirs of murdered women can pardon their relative's killer for financial compensation: this means a son can pardon his father, and any money exchanged stays in the family).

Domestic violence: A specific domestic violence law is lacking at the national level; some regional laws have been passed to address this (in Balochistan and Sindh), but these do not yet cover every province.

Workplace harassment: The most important change in Pakistani law has been the Workplace Harassment Law. 'Harassment' is defined here as 'any unwelcome sexual advance, request for

sexual favours or other verbal or written communication or physical conduct of a sexual nature or sexually demeaning attitudes, causing interference with work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile or offensive work environment, or the attempt to punish the complainant for refusal to comply to such a request or is made a condition for employment' (Shirkat Gah 2014: n.p.).

Scoping fieldwork suggests that case studies of this law's implementation may be a fruitful means of gathering data, useful both for international policy and local level uptake. We have pursued interviews with founder members of AASHA (the alliance that facilitated the design and passing of the law. Its work is now headed by Maliha Husain of Mehergarh NGO, who has agreed to act an unpaid advisor for this project).

The labour force: Women make up 22% of the labour force.² This figure has remained consistent for the last fifteen years (World Bank 2014).

Of the 12.1 million women in the labour force, 8.3 million work in agriculture / fisheries, 2.2m in other elementary occupations, and 1.4m in crafts and related trades (Ali 2011). It should be noted that these are almost always informal job roles and are not covered by labour legislation.

The Global Gender Gap Index places Pakistan 141 of 142 countries, including 141st for 'economic participation and opportunity' (WEF 2014).

The Media: 'At least eight journalists were killed across Pakistan during the year in direct response to their work, marking the country out as one of the most dangerous in the world for the media profession' (Amnesty International 2015: n.p.).

3.3 The community level

Customary law / traditional governance: The formal governance system is often sidestepped, especially in rural areas, to be replaced by the jirga system, whereby the elite of the community form a council to set local rules and deal out punishments. These judgements are underpinned by traditional custom and belief, and are often illegal in terms of both Common Law and Sharia Law (Shah & Tariq 2013). The violation of human rights is endemic throughout these bodies' decision-making, but is especially evident in matters concerning the control of women's sexuality and morality (Iqbal 2007). One manifestation of women's human rights abuses imposed by these local councils is swara/vani: the use of women as 'payment' (compensation) for crimes committed, or offering them as a bargaining chip in dispute resolution. Moreover, jirgas are not held accountable to higher authorities, and their decisions usually go unchallenged (Iqbal 2007).

Public mobility: The free movement of women is, like in our other study countries, often linked negatively with issues of personal and family honour (izzat). The impact of public space norms on women's experiences of violence is complex however, and requires nuanced intersectional analysis. For instance, one study of women's mobility finds that for poor women, unaccompanied mobility makes them susceptible to sexual violence, but similar movement amongst richer women does not have the same effect (Mumtaz and Salway 2005).

² The labour force, or economically active population, is defined as the sum of those who are either working (employed) or available for and seeking work (unemployed) at any given moment (ILO 2007).

Access to education: The ease of educational access varies significantly by location. This relates to the local availability of resources (schools, training centres etc.), but also to the attitudes of local communities in relation to women's and girl's uptake of such services. In addition to this, the risk in some places of religious fundamentalism impinging upon women's opportunities to seek education or skills training must also be considered.

3.4 The household level

Patriarchal norms maintain household decision-making and economic control as masculine preserves. According to Ali et al (2011) men are usually the decision makers in the family, with strong egos and aggressive temperaments which are considered socially acceptable. Religious doctrine is regularly invoked to inculcate the belief that women cannot challenge their husbands. According to the same study, Socioeconomic status notwithstanding, it was agreed that a 'good woman' does the household chores, cares for her children, husband and in-laws, hides her emotions and 'sacrifices her dreams' (Ali et al 2011: 3).

3.5 Summary of our Secondary Quantitative Research

Prior to fieldwork beginning we conducted analysis of the Our focus was on exploring what the data could tell us about the association between women's employment, and experience of various forms of violence (physical, emotional and sexual), with socio-demographic and other background factors at the provincial, household and individual levels. The key findings are given below with the full report in annex 1.

3.6 Women and Work

Overall 31% of women in Pakistan were employed in the 12 months preceding the survey, but this figure obscures dramatic differences in geography and individual circumstances. A significantly higher proportion of rural women work (35.2%) compared to urban women (21.9%), and provincial differences are striking. For example, 55.1% of rural women in Sindh were employed compared to just a fifth in urban Sindh, while in Baltistan, Khyber and Islamabad, urban women were more likely to work compared to those in rural areas.

Poverty is strongly associated with the odds of employment in both urban and rural areas. The association is stronger in rural areas, where women from the poorest households are more than 8.6 times more likely to work compared to those in the richest. In urban areas the association is more complex, although those from the poorest households are almost 3 times more likely to have worked in the previous 12 months compared to the richest.

Women are more likely to work if they do not own valued assets (land or homes), but this association is only significant for home ownership among rural women. In other words, owning land or a home reduces the odds of working, but not significantly.

Rural women are significantly less likely to work if they lived in female headed household, compared to male headed households, but in urban areas this is reversed. Women in female headed households have significantly higher odds - over twice - of being employed in the previous 12 months.

Women who work tend to be older, but this association is only significant in urban areas. The odds of working significantly increases with single year age.

Overall, better educated women were less likely to work, but this association is only significant in rural areas, where the odds of working decreased significantly for each additional year of education. In urban areas the association between female education and employment was not significant.

In both urban and rural areas husbands' education was significantly associated with female employment. The better educated the husband, the less likely she is to work. For each additional year of schooling the odds of working for women decreased significantly.

Discrepancy in educational status between husbands and wives were also significantly associated with women's employment in both urban and rural areas. In rural areas, compared to households in which both partners were uneducated, the odds of working significantly decreased in households where the man was better educated than the woman, both partners had the same level of education; and in households in which the woman was better educated than the man. In urban areas the trend was similar, but only significant among households in which men were better educated than women.

The number of living children was significantly associated with female employment in the last year in rural areas, but not urban. In rural areas the odds of working significantly increased with each additional child.

In both urban and rural areas, women were more likely to work if they were not currently in a union, but differences were not significant.

Being involved in household decision making (alone or jointly with husband) was significantly associated with female employment. The odds of working was greatest among women who had the most say in decisions, compared to those who had none. In urban areas for example, the odds of working increased by 3.7 times among women who had the most say compared to those who had none.

In rural areas, women were less likely to work the more they agreed with norms justifying wife beating, but in urban areas this trend is reversed. A higher proportion of women who agreed with 3+ statements justifying wife beating were employed, compared to women who said there was no justification for wife beating. The association was not significant.

Multivariate logistic regression models examining the odds of working in the last 12 months show that geographic variation remains statistically significant for both rural and urban areas, and that female employment is significantly associated with poverty. After controlling for variables at the individual and household level, women remain significantly less likely to work in rural Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Baluchistan and Baltistan, compared to rural Punjab, and in urban Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baltistan, compared to urban Punjab. Women from the poorest households have significantly higher odds of working compared to those from the richest. In urban areas the association between working and female headed households remains, with women from female headed households twice as likely to work compared to those from male headed households. It is not a significant factor in rural areas. Female education increases the odds of being employed in urban areas, while male education significantly decreases the odds. In rural areas neither are significantly associated with female employment. Women's age is significant in urban areas – the

odds of working increases with age. Finally, in both urban and rural areas, the odds of employment remains significantly associated with the number of household decisions a woman is involved in. The more say she has, the more likely she is to work.

Women's occupation or sector of work varies significantly by urban rural residence. Urban women are most likely to be employed in services and clerical jobs (49.1%), followed by professional/managerial and technical professions (21.3%), while almost half of rural women are employed in agriculture, and a fifth have unskilled manual occupations. Type of employer, seasonality of work, type of remuneration, and location of work all vary significantly by urban rural residence. While the majority of women rural and urban report that they decide (alone or jointly with their husband) how their money is spent, this is almost universal among urban women (91.3% vs. 82.3%). The difference between urban and rural women is statistically significant.

3.7 Women and Violence

About one in three women have experienced physical violence since age 15 (not only intimate partner violence), compared to 19.2% in the last year. The unadjusted odds ratios show that rural women are significantly more likely to experience all forms of violence ever, or in the last year.

Experience of most forms of violence by employment status show that women who worked in the 12 months preceding the survey experienced significantly higher levels of violence than women who did not work.

Data presented earlier show that rural women are significantly more likely to work than urban women. Factors significantly associated with the outcome were controlled for in the analyses, including alcohol consumption, witnessed father beating mother, respondent's age; education, number of living children, husband employed (yes or no), husband's education (continuous, single years), province, and household wealth were included in the model. The odds of experiencing IPV for rural women who worked remained elevated but not significant.

Notable factors that increase the odds of IPV in rural areas were number of living children. Compared to those with no children, women with children were significantly more likely to experience violence. Those with five or more were over 3 times more likely to experience violence compared to those with none. Violence was also associated with poverty, with women from the poorest households experiencing a significantly higher odds of violence. Whether a woman had witnessed her father beat her mother was also significantly associated with her experience of IPV. In urban areas number of living children, poverty, witness to parental violence, consumption of alcohol, and having an unemployed husband increased the odds of experiencing IPV.

4 PRIMARY DATA FINDINGS

4.1 Strand 1: In-depth Qualitative Interviews with Women and Men in Lyari Karachi.

As outlined in the methodology section this strand focused on capturing the experiences of women (and some men) in the lower economic quintiles. The findings are narrated below with examples of interview transcripts given as illustration.

Background to the Field Site

Lyari is one of the oldest settlements in the city and began as a fishing settlement in the eighteenth century. The population of the area grew significantly during the period of British colonial rule, when the British began modernising Karachi's port and people began migrating in larger numbers from what is now Balochistan, Sindh and the Kutch region of Gujarat because of the employment opportunities provided by the port (Viqar 2014). Since then Lyari has been shaped by multiple waves of migration of people from across the Indian Ocean region. Although it is often characterised as a Baloch area in popular discourse, the Baloch make up approximately 50% of Lyari's residents. Lyari is also home to a significant Kutchi population, various other Sindhi groups, Punjabis, Pashtuns, Bengalis, and a small number of Urdu speakers, known in Karachi as Muhajirs. It is also religiously diverse including a large number of Hindus and Christians as well as members of the Zikri community, a heterodox Sunni sect originating in Balochistan (Sabir 2008).

Lyari has been the subject of structural neglect since the period before Partition, when some of the city's most polluting areas were located in its vicinity. Since the formation of Pakistan, Lyari has continued to be side-lined in Karachi's urban development with the state giving preference in terms of housing to those who had migrated from India. Since the 1970s, Lyari has been dominated by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and have relied on the party's patronage for whatever development that has taken place in the area. The PPP also awarded a small number of government jobs to residents from Lyari, which helped some families achieve a modicum of social mobility. Other families benefited from the out-migration to Gulf countries of male labour during the 1970s and 1980s, whose remittances enabled some to improve their social position considerably. Many of those who benefitted from these trends have migrated out of the area. However, the most of Lyari's remaining residents remain trapped in insecure, low-paid work despite a rapid rise in education levels.

An estimated 22% of women in Pakistan participate in wage labour—one of the lowest rates in the region (World Bank 2014).³ Most of these women are engaged in agricultural labour, and the vast majority are engaged in the informal sector. According to a survey conducted in Lyari by the research team, the number of women in the paid labour force is similar to the rate at the national level (approximately 20%) while their occupational profiles differed significantly .⁴ While the ratio is relatively low, significantly more women are engaged in paid work than in the previous generation when the rate was approximately 10%. Most of the women who reported

³ The Global Gender Gap Index places Pakistan at 141 out of 142 countries in terms of women's economic participation and opportunity (WEF 2014).

⁴ The vast majority of women engaged in paid employment in Pakistan are involved in the agricultural sector.

being in paid employment in Lyari were engaged in low-paid domestic work in neighbouring areas or in the more affluent parts of the city. The second most common occupation for women was teaching, which included employment in government and private schools. The vast majority of teachers, however, were employed in private schools following a boom in recent years in the low-cost, low-quality private education sector (see Heyneman and Stern 2013). These teachers earn significantly less than their counterparts in government schools. However, many young women still chose to teach in private schools because this was considered a 'respectable' job by their families and because they did not travel far from home for work. There were also fewer women engaged in the service sector, sales, healthcare, and manufacturing. Findings revealed that, while increasing numbers of women are engaged in paid employment, the jobs available to them are generally low paid, insecure and in the unregulated informal sector that are the hallmark of neoliberal economies (see Beneria 2001; Beneria and Flores 2005; Menéndez, et. al. 2007).

4.2 Methodology and methodological concerns

Research for this strand involved a combination of qualitative methods including semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and participant observation. A table of formal interviews conducted has already been given in the methodology section of this report. While it would have been ideal for the lead research to have conducted all the interviews one-on-one, this was not always possible due to spatial constraints. Hence, interviews were often conducted in the presence of others including at times, a local assistant was also hired for this project. However, formal interviews were accompanied by several informal discussions and field notes were also made. This was supplemented by a survey of approximately 400 residents focusing on trends related to employment and education. Interviewees were purposefully selected in order to reflect the dominant forms of employment engaged in by women in the area. Interviews were carried out largely with women from the Kutchi, Baloch and Sindhi fishing communities who were employed as domestic workers and teachers as these were the most common areas of employment for women. However, interviews with women employed in a range of other professions including sales, healthcare, and manufacturing were also included along with interviews a few women who were not engaged in wage employment.

Research on gender-based violence poses a series of methodological and ethical challenges, which must be taken into account as findings are being analysed both by the researcher and readers. Firstly, definitions of violence vary greatly depending on the individual, and there may be vast discrepancies between what the researcher and her subject categorise as 'violence'. Respondents had widely different understandings of what constituted violence, with some reserving the category 'violence', or 'tashaddud' in Urdu, for only very extreme physical acts and not thinking it noteworthy to include slapping or shoving in their narratives. For example, when asked about the occurrence of violence, one woman stated, 'If you have a normal fight and slap once or twice, you don't call that violence; violence is a very big thing; it is very torturous.' Others focused on psychological forms of violence in their narratives such as a lack of emotional engagement or care on the part of their husbands. Whether such emotional distress can be classed as violence is debatable.

Secondly, because of the sensitive nature of violence committed within the family in particular, respondents may be unwilling to share such information with people who are previously known to them or who are connected to people in their social network because of the fear of reprisal by

family members and the threat posed to women in already fragile social positions. This is also true for women who experience violence in the workplace because of the fear that such a revelation could cost them their job. For example, one of the women employed as a domestic worker in the same part of town as my family was afraid that whatever she told me about her employer might be shared with them despite the fact that I did not have relation with nor have any means of knowing the identity of her employer. They may also be unwilling to share such information with those who are unknown because of the difficulty in speaking about traumatic and deeply personal issues with strangers.

Furthermore, those who are currently in violent situations either within their homes or in their places of employment, may be in a situation of denial as a means of coping or saving face within the community. They also might just be unwilling to reveal personal problems to strangers. There were a few women the researchers were introduced to by people who knew them fairly well who never mentioned experiencing violence during their interview even though the researchers were told otherwise. Finally, researchers must tread carefully when asking questions related to violence in order to avoid causing the respondent further trauma as a result of having to re-dredge painful events. This will inevitably affect the nature and depth of findings.

4.3 Does earning insulate women from domestic violence?

While the relationship between being economically engaged and experiencing violence was rarely straightforward in the interviews, in some cases, having access to independent income made the option of leaving an abusive situation more feasible for women. While one would assume that women with more secure, higher paying jobs would be more likely to exit an abusive situation, this was not necessarily the case as various other factors intervened in the determination of women's choices and constraints. For example, Shakeela was married for many years to a man who was physically and verbally abusive towards her and has one daughter with him. She has worked as a domestic servant for many years and could barely support herself and her daughter with her earnings. While her husband did contribute to the household earnings and did not object to her working outside of the home, he was cruel in various ways. When he refused to allow Shakeela's aging, blind mother to live with them, Shakeela finally decided to leave him with her daughter. She has since been living independently and is hiding from her husband for fear that he would take her daughter away from her. Despite the fact that Shakeela earned extremely little as a domestic worker and could barely make ends meet, she chose to leave her husband after years of withstanding abuse.

Shameem, who worked for most of her life as a domestic servant, says that her husband used to hit her once in a while when they first got married, but this eventually stopped. However, her husband was a heroine addict and a 'playboy', which caused Shameem great emotional distress. She spoke about how he brought a woman home at one point and stayed with her in the upstairs portion of their house. He only asked her to leave when Shameem threatened to call the police. Shameem said that earning had made her stronger in the relationship. At the same time, she said that even though her husband was not earning, it was not an option to kick him out of the house or for her to leave him.

Nida: But if your husband wasn't good to you, and you were earning yourself, then couldn't you have kicked him out of the house?

Shameem: No, this is not something that happens in our community....If the woman leaves her husband's house, they'll say that she's a bad woman, kick her out of the family.

Nida: You can't throw the husband out of the house?

S: Yes. No matter how the husband is, the woman should keep the household together in her own way and manner.

Hence, women involved in paid employment might strengthen their ability to manage conflicts in the household at times, but it did not guarantee that a woman could exit unhappy marriage because of social pressure.

At the same time, earning an income did not always have a protective impact on women's lives. Even women with more secure, higher paying jobs often still stayed with abusive family members for complex reasons including social pressures and emotional attachment to their abusers. Aneela worked for several years as a life insurance salesperson and had two young children, a girl and a boy. She was paid relatively well and enjoyed her job. Her husband had been unemployed for several years, and hence she was the one supporting their household financially. Despite this, Aneela said that her husband asserted his authority over her and subjected her to 'mental torture'. She described him as controlling, paranoid and hot-tempered. While it was unclear from her narrative whether he physically abused her or not, Aneela was subjected to constant mental anguish and was very vocal about being extremely unhappy in her marriage. However, she had not left her husband as yet because she was worried that it would affect her daughter's future, particularly in terms of her marriageability. At the same time, throughout our discussion, Aneela emphasised the fact that the most important thing for women was to have access to their own money so that they could stand up for themselves. She gestured towards her bag and told that she carried divorce papers with her at all times and was waiting for the day that she would be able to sign them. Therefore, while social pressure was keeping Aneela in a violent marriage, the fact that she had access to an independent income may have allowed her to at least imagine the possibility of eventually exiting this abusive situation.

Similarly, Nasreen who was a widow in her 50s who was working as a government school teacher. Government teachers earn considerably more than private school teachers and hence are on the higher end of the income scale in Lyari. Nasreen was making more than seven times what a private school teacher in the same area would make. She told me how her son, who lived with her with his wife, had started beating her. She spoke with great difficulty about the abuse she endured at the hands of her son, which was both physical and verbal, and blamed her daughter-in-law's influence on him for his violence, claiming that he was not as violent before he got married. Her husband was also not violent towards her. Nasreen supports the household with her income as her son earns very little in his factory job. However, this does not stop him from being violent towards her. Nasreen is thinking about moving out to a rented accommodation even though the apartment they are living in belongs to her. She said, by moving out temporarily, she was hoping she would convince her son and daughter-in-law to value her more once she was not contributing to the household income. Hence, Nasreen was thinking about using her income as a bargaining tool, but had not yet taken that step at the time of the interview.

4.4 Can earning an income be a cause of violence?

Some women argued that their involvement in paid work increased pressures within the household and could contribute to the occurrence of violence. Some of the women who were interviewed argued that women's economic activity placed a strain on family relations, which could lead to tensions between husbands and wives over domestic responsibilities, and at times, could also lead to physical violence and divorce. Speaking about the women in her own social circle, Shaista, who was currently unemployed but who had previously worked in factories and as a teacher, said:

Because of doing a job, women have to face more violence. This is because women have to contribute 10-12 hours in the company or household they are working in if they are working as maids. When they come home they are obviously tired because they are human too, so they aren't able to give time to their children, their husbands or their household chores...so when the husband comes home he expects everything to be ready for him. If he doesn't get his food on time and the woman puts his food on the table after a long wait, he will get angry. This leads to fights and even divorces. The husband says to the wife, "you don't give me time". Women say to their husbands, "the money you contribute towards household expenses isn't enough"....This way they both get hot-tempered and this leads to more fights. Then the woman fights with her tongue and the man with his hand.

According to Shaista, women's economic engagement was, for the most part, borne out of necessity rather than choice and was the result of their husbands not earning enough to support the family. Many women, including Shaista, resented having to earn as they also believed in the male breadwinner model. This was exacerbated by the fact that their earnings rarely had an impact on the division of responsibilities within the household. Their husbands still expected them to complete domestic chores and to give them attention. The strains caused by this 'double burden' were frequently reported as leading to conflict and at times, to violence.

Some women also reported experiencing violence as a result of conflicts over the control of their earnings. While most women claimed that they had control over their income, a few women mentioned having to turn their incomes over to their husbands. For example Zainab was in her 40s and worked in a school canteen. Her husband was regularly physically abusive, which is why she often spent time at her mother's house as a means of escaping the abuse—a common strategy adopted by women as a means of coping with physical abuse without actually exiting the marriage. Zainab recounted that her husband once hit her with an iron hammer once for not giving him the money she had saved for her 'committee'.⁵

While involvement in paid work often placed increased pressures on women, most women did not view their economic activity as the primary reason for the problems they were facing in their marriages. Naimat, who ran the beauty parlor and was in her 40s, said that her husband was not physically violent but that he neglected her emotionally, which caused her a great deal of distress. Her mother Habiba, who was in her 60s, was abused by her husband severely throughout her marriage both physically and verbally. She worked as a domestic worker and a local midwife. All three women said that their involvement in economic activity was not the cause of their husbands' maltreatment; they were just cruel. Rather, they claimed their husbands were quite happy that they were earning because it took the pressure off of them for having to

⁵ Committees are a common, informal savings mechanism in South Asia. In a committee, several people contribute a fixed amount every month, and one person in the group receives that amount per month. This is especially common amongst women who may not have access to bank accounts.

provide for the family. Very few women actually reported experiencing domestic violence as a direct consequence of earning. However, many women also said that, while their husbands were happy for them to earn, they still asserted their control over them for example by making sure that they dropped women off at the bus stop and picked them up in order to keep a watch on their movements.

4.5 The double burden as a form of violence?

Most of the women interviewed who were involved in domestic or other forms of low-paid, insecure employment would prefer not to have to work outside of the home and resented the fact that their husbands were unable to support them and their families financially. While some recognised that earning also provided them with some level of independence, and while a few women also spoke about the enjoyment of being away from home, particularly if others were taking up the domestic responsibilities, most would still prefer not having to earn if given the option. For many women involved in low-paid, insecure work, the stress of earning while balancing domestic responsibilities was itself viewed as a form of violence. Furthermore, the material stress of earning so little combined with rising inflation for women in low-paid jobs such as domestic work could be categorised as a kind of structural violence.

On the other hand, women whose husbands or sons were earning enough to support their families often enjoyed a particular status. For example, Fatima was introduced to the researcher as a 'success story' in her neighbourhood. She worked for most of her life as a domestic worker, but when I met her, she had not been working outside of the home for several years. This was because her sons had started earning enough to support the family, and her husband was also earning as a construction worker. Her sons were proud of the fact that her mother did not have to earn anymore as it confirmed that they were fulfilling their responsibilities as men, and Fatima was proud that the men in her family were able to provide for her and her daughter. With a few exceptions, the male breadwinner model was articulated as being preferable for women across age groups and communities with women in lower-paid professions preferring not to have to be economically active, and women in higher paid professions preferring that their income be supplementary rather than central to maintaining the household.

4.6 Earning as a cause of emotional/psychological strain

Women who were engaged in work outside of the home before marriage were often the subjects of gossip, taunts, disapproval and scorn within their families and communities. This could also be categorised as a form of psychological/emotional violence, but this is up for debate. This was particularly true of those women who travelled outside of their neighbourhood to work and who were earning relatively well. This was a cause of great emotional distress for them and for their immediate families, threatening their reputations and their potential to find a partner for marriage. Shabana, who was in her 30s and worked as an advocate in a law firm, was unmarried. She spoke about how her family was never supportive of her education or her career although they happily took money from her. Shabana said that women who left the house for work were labelled in a negative sense and looked down upon within the community:

“Over here, people neither let women be independent, nor do they like independent women, and if some woman tries to survive in her life like this [independently], she is first of all labeled as a little too free, not in a good sense, in a negative sense. “

Shabana was previously engaged to her maternal cousin, but her aunt broke off the engagement when Shabana refused to leave her job. Despite the fact that Shabana contributes to her family's earnings, she faces constant pressure from her family to leave her job, stay at home and get married. While earning a decent income may allow Shabana to live a relatively independent life, and while she enjoys her job, the pressure she faces as a result of her family and community's disapproval is a cause of considerable stress for her.

Similarly, two sisters, Sadaf and Iqra, talk about their experiences working in the retail sector. While their mother spent most of her life engaged in low-paid domestic work, these sisters were able to secure higher paying jobs partially because, unlike their mother, they had access to a fairly decent education. Iqra, who was twenty-one, had been married for two years and had a one year old daughter. She worked for some years in the retail and sales industry and earned a relatively decent salary before she left her job in order to get married. She married a man from a different caste group, which was viewed as being controversial by her family. Like many women in her community, Iqra quit her job when she got married and became financially dependent on her husband, who earns much less than she did and spends his earnings on himself, and her father-in-law. Since her marriage, Iqra has faced regular physical abuse from her husband especially when he is drunk. She is unable to leave her husband because of the pressure from the community and her family to remain within the marriage. Her uncle is particularly vocal about her remaining in her marriage: 'My maternal uncle told me on my marriage day that now that you are going from this house in a bride's dress, then you are allowed to leave your new house only in your funeral shroud.' Iqra feels even more pressured to remain in the marriage because she defied her family's wishes to marry outside of her community.

Her sister, Sadaf, who was twenty-five, worked at a large department store in one of the city's fanciest shopping malls. Sadaf has worked her way up the retail ladder and earned far more than anyone in her immediate family and more than the vast majority of the people in her neighbourhood, which may be a source of resentment and envy as she has been able to afford a much higher standard of living for her family than most others in the area. Like Shabana, this also made her an object of a great deal of gossip and scorn, which also caused her and her family a great deal of distress. In order to protect her reputation, Sadaf agreed to marry one of her cousins. Despite the fact that he was unemployed, he and his family insisted that she quit her job after marriage. For this reason, Sadaf was postponing the marriage for as long as possible.

Aamna, who works as a sewing teacher in a local institute, talked about how she had to endure taunts from her sister's-in-law when she first started working outside of the home. While she was extremely complimentary of one of her sisters-in-laws who was also working outside of the home, the others who did not caused her a great deal of distress by taunting her and saying she worked for her own enjoyment rather than out of necessity. While Aamna did not defend herself at first, she said over the years she has become stronger and more willing to speak up. However, she does not attribute this to the fact that she is earning because, she says, she is earning too little for it to make a difference. Rather, she thinks it might be the exposure and confidence she gets from going outside of the house, talking to other people, and having students that has made her bolder within her own household. Hence, increased mobility and exposure may also be important in strengthening women's position within the household.

4.7 Violence in Public Spaces



A market in Lyari. Photo taken by the researcher.

There are two types of violence that women are vulnerable to as they travelled within the city. Firstly, there was the danger of physical violence as a result of road accidents and secondly, and more commonly, there was the constant risk of sexual harassment. Some women spoke about the danger they faced as a result of poor transport, all of which is private in Karachi, which could be viewed as a kind of structural violence. Women employed as domestic servants often had to travel the longest distances as it was more lucrative for them to work in the 'posh' parts of the city, which generally took longer to travel to by bus. Khadija, who is in her 60s, talked about how she spends almost half of her earnings as a domestic servant on transportation to and from work. She often has to come back from work on various kinds of private vehicles, from trucks to lorries to donkey carts, if she cannot find a bus and also as a means of saving money. Khadija reported that she once fell out of a truck because the bottom of the truck fell out, and many women were injured as a result. She said that even when she took buses, she often had one foot inside and one outside of the bus because it was so crowded. Another woman, Shama who worked at a towel factory, also narrated an incident where the bus she was traveling to work on crashed into a container vehicle, and caused her to sustain injuries. She also got hit by a motorcycle once on the way to work. Several people spoke about the heavy traffic and lack of affordable and safe transport as a major cause of distress for them and even as a form of violence.

Many younger women spoke about facing sexual harassment on the way to and from work. However, women were not passive victims of harassment. Many women also spoke about how they defended themselves and other women if they were ever confronted with harassment. Shama, who works as an advocate, said that she frequently faced harassment when she travelled by bus. She said men used to touch her, and some men would write their phone numbers on pieces of paper and throw them at her or pass remarks as she walked by. She said she used to give them two chances. If they crossed the line a third time, she would hurl abuses at them and get them kicked off the bus.

Zarina, who works as a domestic servant and travels to work by bus, had a similar three strikes policy. She recalled how a police superintendent was standing in front of her on the bus one day. She said he fell into her lap when the bus stopped (presumably deliberately), and she told him off. When he did it a second time, she warned him that she would kick him if he did it a third time. When it happened a third time, she stuck to her promise and kicked him off the bus. She said a crowd of people gathered when they saw what was happening and that everyone supported her. Eventually a senior police officer showed up and slapped the offending officer for his behaviour. This is reflective of the fact that, in general, sexual harassment may be relatively common, but it is considered socially unacceptable in Karachi perhaps more so than in other South Asian cities.

However, as with other kinds of violence, the definition of harassment was itself relative. Everyday acts of harassment were sometimes not even considered noteworthy because they were so normalised. For example, Noor, who was responsible for bringing workers to factories in neighbouring areas when work was required, said that she often had to deal with people harassing the young women in her group on the way to work. She said that people do not even consider small-scale acts of harassment as an issue worth mentioning because 'they get used to it. These things are considered normal.'

While most of the women who reported experiencing sexual harassment were younger in age, older women were also not spared harassment, although the nature of this harassment differed to that experienced by younger women. Khadija reported being taunted by the drivers, who would wait for her and other women running for the bus to get close and would then drive off. She said they did this to older women in particular to poke fun at them.

4.8 Violence at the Workplace

No women reported experiencing physical violence in the workplace. However, a few women spoke about experiencing sexual harassment while on the job. One woman, Iqra, spoke about feeling harassed by her colleagues when she used to work at an ice cream shop. She said that her former boss used to have a crush on her. While, she did not feel harassed by him, Iqra said she felt harassed by her colleagues who would tease her because of this.

Another woman, Shabana, worked as an advocate and said that there was an expectation from senior men in her profession that young women would be sexually available. She spoke about the men in her field wanting women to dress up and how they would discuss their bodily gestures at work. Shabana said that senior advocates would propose that she go out on dates with them or out of town and would offer her incentives if she did. She said some women succumb to the pressure in exchange in order to survive in their field and in exchange for financial reward or more authority at work. She said some women also leave the field because of this pressure. She said that women that did succumb to the pressure to make themselves sexually available would often be blackmailed by these very men. She said that clients would also approach her sexually at times and offer her gifts, dinners or other types of material incentives in exchange for sex. Hence, Shabana described a vicious cycle of sexual harassment faced by women in her field.

However, very few other women reported experiencing harassment at their workplace, particularly those in lower-paid professions. This may have been because most women were employed in all women contexts. However, even the women who were working in places that

were mixed rarely reported feelings harassed by their colleagues or their male superiors. This also may have been due to the shame associated with sexual harassment and the concern by women employed as domestic servants in particular that what they told me might be heard by their employers.

Furthermore, a few women were also involved in jobs that were themselves risky. For example, Noor spent a few months of the year cutting mangoes in a small factory and the rest of the year cutting betel nuts in her home. This kind of work is dangerous, and several women have cut off their fingers while doing this work. Noor said that if this happened, the employer would pay for the immediate cost of the bandages, but they would not pay for medical expenses after that, and neither was there any health insurance in such informal settings. This was another form of structural violence that women in low-paid, insecure forms of work faced.

4.9 Age as a factor

Age also played an important role in determining women's experiences of earning and violence. I mentioned an interview with three women earlier, Habiba, her daughter Naimat and their neighbor Zainab. While all three women were involved in low-paid work, there was a difference in the ways that Zainab and Naimat coped with their unhappy marriages as opposed to Habiba, which reflected a generational change. While Zainab and Naimat were both willing to distance themselves from their husbands in order to cope with physical abuse, in Zainab's case, and emotional neglect in Naimat's. Both women felt that being in a stronger economic position would allow them to do this. Habiba, on the other hand, withstood the violence throughout most of her life. She said her only means of coping was to be patient and put her trust in God. She even prayed that she would die first so that her husband would eventually realize the value of his wife.

Other women in Habiba's age group also reported patiently withstanding violence throughout their marriages, while women in subsequent generations seemed to be less tolerant. While most women were still unwilling to withdraw formally from their marriages, they were willing to distance themselves from their husbands by moving back to their natal homes either temporarily or permanently. They were also more vocally opposed to the abuse than their mothers' generation. For example, Sakina, who was in her 60s and worked as a domestic servant, said that her husband beat her since they got married. She said the abuse was more severe when she lived in his village because she had no support there. Her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law were also abusive towards her. Sakina said he beat her less when they moved to the city because her natal family was close by, which strengthened her position (Rajan 2014). While her husband did not live with her and her children most of the time, he visited regularly. When I asked Sakina why she allowed him to enter her house despite the fact that he was still verbally abusive and provided the family with no financial support, she jokingly responded that she has become accustomed to the verbal abuse: 'I am not at peace until I hear him cursing me.'

Similarly, another woman, Khadija who also worked as a domestic servant despite her old age, said that her husband, who was more than forty years older than her and who she married when she was only 13, was violent towards her throughout her married life until he died. She said 'I tolerated a lot', but she never contemplated leaving him. In fact, she said that her husband died with her head on her lap twelve years earlier, and she had been living alone in a small room in one of his son's (from a previous marriage) homes ever since. The house was in his name despite the fact that Khadija served her husband throughout their married life, and Khadija said that his

son and daughter-in-law were always trying to get her to move out despite the fact that she had nowhere else to go.

Her daughter, Sahrish, who also worked as a domestic servant, was also abused by her husband soon after they got married. She said that he beat her and starved her while she was pregnant and blamed her sisters-in-law and mother-in-law for turning him against her. She eventually moved back in with her mother in order to escape, and he divorced her over the phone. While she did not instigate the dissolution of the marriage herself, Sahrish's move back to her natal family contributed to her divorce. Hence, there seems to be a change in attitudes taking place between women of different generations as to the acceptability of abuse.

Maryam, who worked as an assistant to me on this project and was also from Lyari, said that most women in her family had been physically abused in earlier times. However, she said this was changing:

All of the older cousins that I have, whether they do a job or not, all of them used to get beaten up. All of them. I have a cousin Raheema, from my other paternal uncle, her husband also used to hit her a lot. He used to hit her a lot. She used to stay at home and didn't go to any job. She was very well-mannered. She was always cleaning the house and still she used to get hit. All of these women, including my own sister and her friends, all of them used to get beatings. In that era everyone took beatings but now the time has changed, now women raise their voices for themselves. Now there are very few chances that a husband might raise his hand on his wife.

However, the decrease in physical abuse was not directly linked to a rise in women being employed. Other factors that might affect changing attitudes include an increase in education levels, changing cultural norms as a result of media exposure, and an increase in women's mobility more generally. However, the response to violence by women varied in terms of the age of the respondent with younger women more likely to resist withstanding abuse. For this reason, many people who were interviewed felt that domestic violence had been steadily decreasing over the years. At the same time, it should also be stated that young women were still pressured to get married and prioritize their husbands and their in-laws over themselves and to be patient within their marriages even in the face of maltreatment as an ideal.

At the same time, older women in general were more able to be mobile and to work outside of the home with little resistance from their families or community. Taj Bibi, who was from the Zikri community, said that the only women in her community who worked outside of the home were older women. She said that these women worked out of desperation and need, which is hardly a privilege, but they were able to work without being subject to criticism as is the case with younger women. This is most likely because older women's sexuality is not viewed as being as 'dangerous' as that of young women, and particularly young women. While young unmarried women who are mobile might endanger their chances of marriage if they appear to be liberated, young married women are generally subject to more control by their husbands and in-laws.⁶ As a woman gets older, has children, and particularly if she is a widow, these restrictions on her

⁶ While much of the discussion has been centred around women's relationships with their husbands, the relationship between the female in-laws was often central to women's narratives. Sisters-in-law and mothers-in-law were most often spoken about negatively, with the bad behaviour of husbands often being blamed on the women in their families and, conversely, the bad behaviour of sons often blamed on daughters-in-law. This can be framed within the context of Kandiyoti's 'patriarchal bargain' (1988) with women competing to hold the most favoured position in relation to the men of the household.

mobility decrease significantly. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, while older women experienced sexual harassment less than younger women, though they often felt disrespected and teased by men particularly on the journey to work.

4.10 Conclusions and points to explore further

Findings from discussions with women in Lyari reveal a complex relationship between women's involvement in paid employment and their experiences of violence. While most women did not identify a clear link between employment and an increase or decrease in the occurrence of domestic violence, women's involvement in paid employment came with a combination of costs and benefits. For some women, earning an income provided them with the ability to leave or at least imagine leaving an abusive marriage. However, simply earning an income did not guarantee that women would be able to leave a violent marriage as the social pressure to remain within a marriage was extremely great, particularly if they had children.

Furthermore, while the number of women in paid employment are still relatively low, mirroring the trend in Pakistan as a whole, more and more women are joining the paid labour force every year. However, most of these women are engaged in low-paid, insecure forms of employment. Many women spoke about the pressure of carrying the double burden of paid work and domestic responsibilities as a form of violence in and of itself. Engagement in paid work also often led to increased tensions within the household as men often expected women to continue to fulfill domestic responsibilities even when they themselves were not employed. This could lead to arguments and might also contribute to violent situations. Most of these women would choose not to work outside of the home if they could afford to do so. On the other hand, women in well-paid, secure forms of employment spoke positively about their jobs. However, they often faced other kinds of pressures, particularly psychological and emotional stress as a result of disapproval from their extended families or communities and an increased risk of sexual harassment. While they may have enjoyed their jobs, this did not come without a cost.

Therefore, women's economic engagement did not guarantee empowerment. While it usually strengthened women's bargaining position within the household, it also came with a variety of negative aspects. The fact that women are entering the labour market in greater numbers at a time when there are few well-paid, secure employment options available to them diminishes the empowering potential of paid employment. For employment to actually be a means of empowerment, it must be well-paid and secure, and the gendered power relations within the home and the community must also shift so that domestic responsibilities are shared, and women's increased mobility and independence is viewed as being acceptable.

It was unclear what role earning alone actually played as working outside of the home also involved increased mobility and interaction with a variety of people. In some cases, women also had more authority in their places of work (especially if they were teachers or managers), which may have increased their confidence and willingness to stand up for themselves within their households. Also, the simple fact of women moving around the city often increased women's confidence significantly. Therefore, it is difficult to isolate the impact of earning alone on women's ability to negotiate within their households.

There were several issues that the research was not able to explore in depth. One of the major issues was the impact of education. There has been a dramatic increase in education levels on

the past twenty years. While most women over the age of 60 had received little or no formal education, many middle-aged women had received some form of education, and almost all young women had some formal education although the quality of this education is often low. Several studies have explored the link between educational attainment and violence against women, and most (though not all) have found that access to education for women and men generally serves a protective function with regards to violence (see Vyas and Watts 2008). While the question of the relationship between education and violence was not explored in this study, perhaps it is worth exploring more in the future.

The role of ethnicity/culture is also worth mentioning, although it must be dealt with carefully. The women interviewed were primarily from three communities, Kutchi Baloch, and the Sindhi fishing community. While the Baloch comprise the largest ethnicity in Lyari, their engagement in paid employment is lower than it is for Kutchi women and for Sindhi women. Hence, Kutchi and Sindhi women were over-represented in the study. The ethnographic fieldwork revealed that engagement in paid employment was less acceptable amongst the Baloch community than it was for Kutchi women, where from all accounts, it was 'normal' for women to be the main breadwinners in their families. For women from the Sindhi fishing community, their entrance into paid employment was relatively recent and was due to a decline in profits and the availability of steady work for the men in their community. However, it was still preferable that they not work outside of the home. An excerpt for an interview with a Baloch woman from the Zikri community illustrates this:

Nida: So you're saying that most of the women here don't go for work?

Taj Bibi: They're housewives.

N: Why don't they go for work like the Kutchi or Sindhi women?

T: It just a tradition amongst us. It's a part of our lifestyle and customs. You won't believe it, but I was offered a teaching job by a guy and I was ready to accept it, but my brother was standing right behind me saying, "No, if you do this, I won't allow you to study."

N: Why?

T: He said what's the need to do a job because he's a little well off.

There was also diversity within ethnic communities. For example, it seemed even less common for women to work outside of the home in the Zikri community as compared with other Baloch women. There were also variations based on class and caste in all three ethnic communities. There also seemed to be different codes amongst the three communities in terms of openness to discussing domestic issues with outsiders. Furthermore, there seemed to be different ideas about gender roles and relations in all three communities. While it cannot be said that violence was more or less prevalent in one community over another from the limited findings gathered, the role of culture/ethnicity should be mentioned as a factor in determining gender relations and attitudes towards women's employment, but this must also be looked at along with other factors such as class, caste, and changing economic/social circumstances.

5 PRIMARY DATA STRAND 2

5.1 Nature, Type and Conditions of Work

The women we interviewed under this strand, worked in organisations that had adopted the code of conduct for the anti-sexual harassment law of Pakistan. We found it difficult to get interviews with all five organisations that we wanted to interview due to the sensitive nature of the topic. Therefore, we were only able to interview four women from three organisations; GEO Television Network, Attock Refinery Limited (ARL) and Fauji Foundation (FF).

Since these organisations had adopted the Code of Conduct, it was evident that the women we interviewed felt safe at the workplace. One woman from GEO television who works as a reporter shared her experiences of how she felt working outside the home:

‘I feel 100% safe at the workplace however being a female there is some harassment, how boys overtake my car on the way to work if they see it’s a woman driving they try to surround her, this kind of harassment is a common thing..’

Compared to the home-based workers, women under strand 2 belonged to middle and upper-middle classes. They had great work spaces with large offices and positive work environment. This did not mean that there were no cases of sexual harassment. In our second interview with GEO Television employee, we were told that some cases of sexual harassment had taken place but due to a strong Inquiry committee (this is a requirement of the anti-sexual harassment law) action was taken to address these cases successfully. All women interviewed were working because they wanted to have a career and enjoyed their work. One woman working for Attock Refinery Limited (ARL) shared her story in which her husband got married a second time and because she had a good job at the oil company she was able to continue her life without him and made decisions that suited her and her children. About the support she got from her company, she said:

‘I joined ARL before i got married and what really helped me out was that my company gave me accommodation close to my office – when I had my two children, it was easy for me to go home...they also gave me 24 hour help...this was 30 years ago.’

5.2 Women Entrepreneurs



Eight women entrepreneurs were interviewed in Islamabad and Lahore. This component of our research represented women who were self-employed and had their own businesses. Experiences shared by our researcher indicated that it was not easy to interview women who belonged to the upper class. It was much more difficult for these women to open up and share their experiences with us. The notion of privacy was found to be stronger here as compared to the home-based workers, for instance, who shared many private things in an uninhibited way. Perhaps one reason for this is that the home-based workers were under the impression that we were there to give them something and the entrepreneurs did not think in this manner as they already had their own economic set-ups. One of our team members shared that after a few initial interviews, the home-based workers who had already been interviewed shared their experiences with others who were to be interviewed so that they were more forth-coming and already knew what was going to be asked.

The entrepreneurs set up their own businesses for different reasons ranging from wanting to be significant and unique (through fashion design or jewellery making) or as a reaction to a failed marriage. A woman who was obese at one point in her life and had health issues, joined a gym and was so inspired by the trainer that they became partners. Soon thereafter, he left for another country; she bought out the business and now owns two successful gyms in Islamabad and Karachi. Being able to overcome her body image issues and owning a successful business gave her immense confidence in herself.

One aspect that stands out in stark contrast between women entrepreneurs and home-based workers was the aspect of alienation of work for the latter. The women entrepreneurs earn fame and recognition for the services or products that they delivered through their businesses. For instance, Mussart Misbah owner of Depilex Salon is a well-known name in Pakistan. She is known as a beautician but also as a philanthropist and social worker as she works on acid burn victims through her Smile Foundation. She also gives jobs to many acid burn victims who work in her salons. In contrast, the labour power of female home-based workers is invisible. For instance, a women worker who sews shalwars everyday will not be able to recognise the product she has produced because it is sold under big brand names which she can neither access nor is able to purchase. Most home-based workers do not go out of their homes and immediate neighbourhood to get work, it is brought to them. They have no idea about the going rates for certain types of work and have no access to the markets directly. This puts them at a great disadvantage compared to the entrepreneurs.

The work environment of the women entrepreneurs was extremely comfortable and lavish.

People's perceptions regarding women entrepreneurs' businesses were generally found to be favourable. They were appreciated for the services they provide or because their product was beautiful and expensive. For instance, Dr. Zarqa is a cosmetologist and is revered by others because of quality services she provides.

The amount of money/profit that is made by the entrepreneurs puts them at a great advantage compared to the home-based workers or even women interviewed under strand 2. If we unpack economic empowerment to mean that women make their own decisions, have more control over their lives, then this was found to be true in the case of both strand 2 interviewees and women entrepreneurs. Home-based workers cannot truly be considered economically empowered because there is a high level of economic exploitation going on by the contractors who pay them meagre amounts for back-breaking hours of work. Comparing the lives of the children of the different categories, children of home-based workers were also involved in labour at home whereas the children of the other two groups of respondents were free from such responsibilities.

5.3 Nature and Type of VAW & Women's Resilience

The respondent who worked in the Attock Refinery Limited shared her story. Since she earned a lot of money, her husband would take her money without her knowledge and would use on things without her permission which created stress for her. Later the husband got married to another woman and she asked for a divorce. Because she was economically strong, she carried on her life with her children without much difficulty, although she felt guilt about kicking out the father of her children.

In a similar case, a woman entrepreneur had major differences over money and accounts of their jointly run restaurant with her husband and considered the mental stress associated with it as abusive behaviour. Interestingly, one woman who owned a gym considered being obese (she has lost all that weight now) as being violent to herself and losing the weight, improving her self-image gave her confidence.

6 PRIMARY DATA STRAND 3

6.1 Nature, Type and Conditions of Work

Under strand 3, our team interviewed 20 women, 10 women from Shadipura and 10 from Gulberg town, Lahore. The selection included women home-based workers doing different types of work, representing all ethnic groups, religion, marital status, age group, level of education etc. Most women respondents were engaged in different types of work ranging from making badges for the police, fancy embroidery, sewing clothes, making paper bags, own-accounts worker, sewing pants, making noodles etc. All women (with the exception of own account worker) were engaged in sub-contracted work where the order was brought to their homes by the contractor who gave them the order and the time in which it needed to be completed. Many women we interviewed were engaged in doing work they had been doing for many years. Some women shared that they had been doing the same work for over ten years.

The first level of exploitation or economic violence that we noticed was the cheap labour provided by women to the sub-contractors who paid them very little money for hours of work. The meagre sum that women earned was not enough to help them leave a situation that was abusive or violent and when and if they did, they did so without depending on economic security. A couple of women interviewed left their abusive husbands and/or in-laws without having the economic means to be independent – they ended up going back to their parents' house and became home-based workers.

Most of the participants we spoke to shared that they worked because it was necessary due to poverty.

One respondent shared:

'everyone works here, one person's earnings is not enough to run the house, everything is expensive, wives have to help out by doing embroidery and making paranda (hair accessory)' and:

'people who earn Rs 30,000 per month it is even difficult for them to make ends meet so how can anyone making Rs. 200 to 400 do it? My man brings home Rs.200, he brings vegetables, then I have a sister, four children, out of two sisters one died, so I have to work.'

Another participant who is an own-account worker now recounted her experiences of working in different places:

'there was poverty in my home... when i worked outside my home that was for 10 years, I washed clothes in other people's homes, used to give Quran lessons and another bit of work where I earned Rs. 80 so that was enough for the children.'

Women were pushed into sub-contracted work due to many reasons, however, women we interviewed said that they worked to either support their families or to supplement the income

of their husbands. In some cases, women started work after their marriage when the husband's income was not enough to sustain the family. Some women shared that they did not work when they lived with their parents. It is interesting to note that in Pakistani culture, like much of South Asia, marriage for a woman is considered to be an end to financial insecurity however, this was not the case for women who started to work after marriage as they ended up in worst situations compared to their parents' home. Most of the women we interviewed looked despondent, tired and had health issues.

For most women if they had a choice they would not work. For them life is good when the man is earning money to take care of the family. That is when the woman has a good life. All of the women also do housework with the help of other women in the house if any or with the help of their children.

Even though these are preliminary findings, and need further examination, most women expressed dissatisfaction with the means of earning a living. This dissatisfaction was expressed verbally and was also observed when they were talking about their work. They also used the word 'tension' in several interviews about their life in general. They complained of mental strain and also physical strain due to the tedious and repetitive nature of the work.

As the workplace was home, we found that women carried out their work in very small spaces, with no proper lighting or healthy conditions in which they could do their work. One woman we interviewed continued doing her work which was to make noodles out of dough in highly unhygienic conditions. Another participant showed us a dark small room in which she carried out very intricate embroidery or another woman whose hands were bent out of shape and the skin was damaged from using toxic glue for making badges. Despite the conditions and the repetitive nature of work and the rate they received from the sub-contractors, women considered this to be their life-line and continued to work under highly exploitative conditions because they needed the cash. One respondent of Shadipura who sewed together different pieces of cloth to make pants (shalwar) shared with us that once she and other women who do the same kind of work decided to stop working if the contractor would not raise their rate of Rs. 4 per shalwar to at least Rs. 8 or 9. The contractor raised it to Rs.5 and they accepted. There were no further negotiations.

Women used their income for different purposes in their homes. If the husband worked then it meant that her income was supplemental and she could either use it for savings, paying bills or paying her children's school fees. If she was the sole earner, her spending was more restricted as there was either less money in the house or the husband demanded that money be given to him but this was not very common. However, in most cases, women made the decision on how and where to spend their earned money. Where they did choose to spend the money was not on themselves but in household expenses. Not their health but children's education and what they considered to be important for the family. This was despite the violence they faced at home. During our interviews we noticed teams from other NGOs visiting the areas (both Shadipura and Gulberg Town) and our respondents told us that they were there to give out loans to women. Women shared that some of them took micro-credit but then gave it to their husbands or brothers-in-law who could not access these as the loans were meant only for women. As we spent more time in these areas we noticed that there were many such organisations giving out loans to women. In fact, one of our interviews was disrupted when the respondent started to arrange for a micro-credit meeting while she talked to us.

All women felt very comfortable working from home. They felt that it was acceptable socially and did not have any safety or protection issues.

One woman reported trying to go out and working but was consistently harassed at the work place. This participant also shared the example of her friend who worked in an office and had a sexual relationship with her married boss. She shared this example to generalise that women who work in offices are forced into sexual relationships or willingly do them for money so it is unsafe for women to be working outside of the home. This participant was educated and could find a job (she did try but did not succeed) but her perception of women working in the public sphere was laden with suspicion and this perhaps kept her bound as a home-based worker. She was pushed into work because her husband divorced her and she had to look after her son and her deceased sister's daughter at her parent's. Perhaps she was extra careful due to being a divorcee which she felt was a stigma she carried. She hid this fact from her son and had told him that his father had died when he was little.

Some women reported that previously when they had worked outside their homes, they were under increased scrutiny and judgment from their relatives and neighbours and also faced sexual harassment on the way to work. A few reported that sometimes relatives will comment on them working a tedious job but most felt they did not have any other earning options since most were uneducated or not experienced or confident to go out and look for work. About the perceptions of the community regarding her work, one woman said:

'The baradari (community) talks, they say she goes out by herself, goes to the bank...when i go to the shops they respect me, they address me as mother and give me respect,'

6.2 Nature and Type of VAW & Women's Resilience

This section highlights the ways in which even extremely poor women draw on resilience. One of the quotes that stick out with regard to violence and economic empowerment is:

'Sister, any home that has hunger in it will have conflict and if there is no hunger there is no conflict'

The types of violence mentioned by women ranged from sexual violence to physical and psychological abuse. In every interview violence was a part of life. The violence mentioned was not just from husband to the wife, but from the woman to her children, the in-laws to the wife, and even the wife to her mother-in-law. There were many stories of beating and abuse. In the interviews, violence was not linked to earning or their work except for the harassment faced by one woman who was looking for work outside her home. Violence in general was a part of life.

Increased vulnerabilities for these women were illiteracy, no conducive environment or encouragement to work outside the homes, tedious work, exploitative payment rates, and little savings.

Initially, when we went to Shadipura area, there was an elderly lady who was not very pleased about our presence in the community. She told one of our facilitators that these women should leave because talking about violence is not allowed and it was their internal affair. Later she agreed and we continued.

In the interviews conducted with home-based workers, the most common forms of violence were physical and verbal. Interestingly, none of the women mentioned their economic exploitation by the sub-contractors as a form of violence. The first and foremost form of violence was economic because it exploited women's labour power and gave them no recognition. Not only this, but working long hours and not making enough money did not give them the option to leave an abusive situation and so the cycle of violence both physical and economic continued. In contrast, we saw that women in the other two categories were able to make changes in their lives because they had the economic means to.

There were many reasons for violence that women home-based workers faced. Most of it was perpetrated by the husband and the in-laws. One participant shared that her husband hit her on her head and face because she answered back to her mother-in-law. Another participant shared that her husband broke her knee because she did not wash clothes that day – she had to be on bed rest for many days and still felt the pain. In this particular case (like many others) the husband beat her up regularly over something or the other. When the researcher probed her about why she put up with it she said that she had children to consider, no place for her to go if she left the husband. Interestingly, she said that it was written in her fate and she has to put up with it. Regarding the reason for violence, she said:

'One day I downed a bottle of poison when I got tired of my life. When my children were little, if someone said something to my husband (meaning something negative) he would hit me, the fault would lie with someone else but he would take it out on me even though he knew that it was wrong to do this. Then I tried to take my life. I took rat poison, I was taken to the hospital where they pumped my stomach and saved me. Sometimes I just want to leave the world but then I think about what people will say, they will say she left the world for some guy..'

One of our participants who got married for a short while, had a son and got divorced, narrated how her husband used to beat her up to pressure her into asking her family to help settle his family abroad. She had a brother living in South Africa, the husband wanted to settle in South Africa. Since this was not working out, he would beat her up every day until she got a divorce.

There were also instances where women had to face mental stress or physical violence being forced to hand money to their husbands to feed his drug-addiction, if she refused to she would be beaten.

7 OVERALL CONCLUSIONS

Findings from all three strands reveal a complex relationship between women's involvement in paid employment and their experiences of violence and can be summarised as follows:

While most women did not identify a clear link between employment and an increase or decrease in the occurrence of domestic violence, women's involvement in paid employment came with a combination of costs and benefits.

For some women, earning an income provided them with the ability to leave or at least imagine leaving an abusive marriage. However, simply earning an income did not guarantee that women would be able to leave a violent marriage as the social pressure to remain within a marriage was extremely great, particularly if one had children.

The poorer women interviewed experienced extreme and continuous violence in particular IPV.

Very little specific and local support exists for women who suffered violence.

Engagement in paid work also often led to increased tensions within the household as men often expected women to continue to fulfill domestic responsibilities even when they themselves were not employed. This could lead to arguments and might also contribute to violent situations.

Most of these women would choose not to work outside of the home if they could afford to do so.

On the other hand, women in well-paid, secure forms of employment spoke positively about their jobs. However, they often faced other kinds of pressures, particularly psychological and emotional stress as a result of disapproval from their extended families or communities and an increased risk of sexual harassment. While they may have enjoyed their jobs, this did not come without a cost.

8 RECOMMENDATIONS & NEXT STEPS

8.1 Recommendations

Promoting local women's organisations and building capacity at this level to challenge VAW and advocate for survivors is important and should extend to supporting professional women.

Programmes to challenge the gendering of work are crucial and need to target male attitudes specifically.

More work is needed challenging the normalisation of violence with women and men in particular those at the lower end of the economic spectrum.

Work-based harassment policies and procedures work and should be rolled out more comprehensively.

Women-only transport schemes are clearly needed.

VAW sensitive police training is needed.

Introducing social mobilisers (drawing on the Nepal model) could help to build better support for sufferers of violence.

8.2 Next Steps

The strategy for research uptake for this project has the following aims:

- Establish interest in and ownership of the research amongst a broad range of stakeholders
- Raise awareness of the links between VAW and WEE amongst relevant stakeholders
- Inform the design, implementation and evaluation of existing and future programmes
- Share knowledge with researchers and practitioners
- Strengthen capacity amongst national researchers to engage with VAW issues and support women who participate in the research
- Influence policy and practice

As noted in previous reports, the period up to September 2016 represented a phase in which we built our engagement with stakeholders and developed key tools and products to support communication and research uptake. During this period, we focused on sharing information about the project. This involved developing stakeholder engagement and sharing learning about the research methodologies and process. As the findings from thorough data analysis emerge, we anticipate that research uptake activities to the end of the project will concentrate increasingly on the development of specific knowledge products for the national and regional contexts that inform researchers and practitioners and influence policy makers.

The approach we have taken in the last quarter is to shape activities relevant to the research uptake aims by initially holding stakeholder workshops at the national level, where stakeholders from a range of sectors (public, private, NGO, academic and media) are present. A stakeholder workshop in Pakistan was held on August 17th 2016 (40 attendees).

This workshop enabled us to establish interest, and ownership and raise stakeholder awareness, and have led to the following immediate outcomes:

Identification of members for country level advisory forum. This forum is the key reference for research uptake and dissemination activities for the duration of the project, and are also likely to sustain the influence and impact of the project beyond its completion.

Insights gained into the knowledge sharing landscape within each of the three countries which are now informing design of knowledge products and dissemination activities

Development of an initial wider list of relevant stakeholders and contacts who can be influential in sharing the key findings from the research.

In order to inform and share knowledge, we now have a fully established online presence. Our website, www.gendersouthasia.org, shares project news, blogs, articles and resources. It will continue to be developed over the coming months and we have made plans to maintain it beyond the project's lifespan. We are committed to designing engaging digital content that responds to needs of different audiences, provides information about the project, and shares learning and resources related to the research process and findings. As such, we have recently launched a twitter account (@gendersouthasia) and a Facebook community (see www.facebook.com/gendersouthasia), so there will be a variety of ways in which we will seek to keep stakeholders up to date.

Our aim is to reach wide audiences in and indeed to connect with global debates and discussions on gender, work and violence. We have also circulated the first of our bi-monthly project newsletters (annex) to stakeholder lists, in addition to making it available through the website. These globally accessible digital knowledge products will provide value for money communication of learning across the project team, its partners and stakeholders and more widely (including targeting those identified during network mapping sessions conducted at the national stakeholder workshops).

As we progress with data analysis, we will be using infographics on these forums to convey key quantitative messages. We intend also to make use of multimedia to share qualitative findings and insights, drawing on stories from participants and interviews with team members and partners. Once analysis has enabled critical reflection on our tools, we will make the resources developed for the research available as open licensed content. So for example we plan to share the survey questions and guidance notes, and intend to share learning about the process. Subject to ethical considerations we also intend to provide avenues through which some of the research data gathered could be made openly available for others to use.

Finally, in order to Share knowledge with researchers and practitioners we have identified a range of journals and publications (including open access) through which we will be seeking to publish articles and key findings from the study. This activity will progress as we analyse data more comprehensively. At this stage, with input from the country level advisory forums we will also identify opportunities to develop country specific knowledge products, and relevant events

and windows of opportunity to enable the project to influence policy and practice. The end of project regional stakeholder event will provide an excellent opportunity early in 2017 to showcase and share knowledge from the project.

The following knowledge products are planned for Pakistan:

- Key Findings Briefing document.
- A mini documentary and radio programme for roll out across media.
- An on-line open access university level module on 'Women. Work and Violence' utilising the findings and resources generated by this project. This course will be designed for professional development across sectors and for possible inclusion in university courses.

Academic Outputs

- Two Peer Review Articles based on the data (one article based on strand 1 has already been written and submitted).
- One peer Review Article based on methodological 'Lessons learnt'.
- Section in the Project Monograph
- Section in the projects special edition of the journal 'social identities'.

9 REFERENCES

Ali, S.W. (2011) 'Economic Empowerment of Rural Women in Pakistan.' Available at: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/csw56/panels/panel1-presentation-Shanaz-Wazir-Ali.pdf>

Amnesty International (2014) 'Pakistan Annual Report'. Available at: Annual ReportDKTM (2015) 'Implementing sexual harassment act problematic.' Available at: <http://directionkathmandu.com/information/implementing-sexual-harassment-act-problematic/>

Dreze, J. & Sen, A. (2002) *India: Development and Participation (2nd edition)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fulu, E. & Heise, L. (2015) 'What works to prevent violence against women and girls evidence reviews. Paper 1: State of the field of research on violence against women and girls.' What Works Programme

Human Rights Watch (HRW) (1999) 'Crime or Custom? Violence Against Women in Pakistan.' Available at: <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/pakistan/> (accessed 05/11/15).

Human Rights Watch (HRW) (2006) 'Pakistan: Proposed Reforms to Hudood Laws Fall Short.' <https://www.hrw.org/news/2006/09/06/pakistan-proposed-reforms-hudood-laws-fall-short>

ILO Country Office Pakistan (2011) 'Decent Transport for Working Women.' Available at: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@asia/@ro-bangkok/@ilo-islamabad/documents/publication/wcms_185253.pdf

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2015) 'Women, Violence and Conflict in Pakistan.' Asia Report No 265. Brussels: ICG.

International Refugee Board of Canada (IRBC) (2013) 'PAK104261.E: Pakistan: Domestic violence, including effectiveness of the Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendment) Act, 2006; state protection and services available to victims.' Ottawa: Research Directorate, Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada.

Iqbal, N. (2007) 'Legal Pluralism in Pakistan and Its Implications on Women's Rights', in J. Bennet (ed.) 'Scratching the surface: Democracy, traditions, gender', Heinrich Boll Foundation, http://www.pk.boell.org/downloads/scratching_the_surface_commentary.pdf

Jamal, N. et al (2015) 'Impact analysis of self-help groups on women and empowerment: a case study of Pakistan.' E-Proceeding of the International Conference on Social Science Research, ICSSR 2015. Available at: <http://worldconferences.net/proceedings/icssr2015/full%20paper/IC%20086%20WOMEN%20EMPOWERMENT%20THROUGH%20SELF%20HELP%20GROUPS%20-%20NAGINA%20JAMAL.pdf>

[Jewkes, R. \(2014\)](#) 'What works to prevent violence against women and girls? Evidence review of the effectiveness of response mechanisms in preventing violence against women and girls.' What Works Programme. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/337622/evidence-review-response-mechanisms-H.pdf

Kabeer, N. (2012) *Women's economic empowerment and inclusive growth: labour markets and enterprise development*. SIG Working Paper 2012/1.

Kabeer, N. (2003) 'Gender Mainstreaming in Poverty Eradication and the Millennium Development Goals.' London: The Commonwealth Secretariat.

Marolla, J. & Scully, D. (1979) 'Rape and psychiatric vocabularies of motive' in Gomberg, E. and Frank, V. (eds.) *Gender and Disordered Behaviour*. New York: Brunner/Mazel.

Maqbool, A. (2011) 'Pakistan rape victim Mukhtar Mai faces new injustice.' BBC News. Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-13205439>

Mumtaz, Z. & Salway, S. (2005) 'I never go anywhere': extricating the links between women's mobility and uptake of reproductive health services in Pakistan.' *Social Science and Medicine* 60 (8), pp. 1751-1765.

Oxfam (2013) 'The Raising Her Voice Pakistan Programme.' Oxford: Oxfam GB.

Oxfam (2013b) 'The Politics of Our Lives: The Raising Her Voice in Pakistan Experience.' Oxford: Oxfam GB.

Puri, M., Misra, G. & Hawkes, S. (2015) 'Hidden voices: prevalence and risk factors for violence against women with disabilities in Nepal.' *BMC Public Health* 15 (261).

Sarwari, A. (2015) 'Public transport: Letting Pakistani women take back the wheel.' *Dawn*. Available at: <http://www.dawn.com/news/1204003>

Shah, A.S. & Tariq, S. 'Implications of Parallel Justice Systems (Panchayat and Jirga) on Society.' *Asian Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 2 (2), pp. 200 – 209.

Shah, R. (2015) 'Pakistan's Growing Gender Gap.' DAWN. Available at: <http://www.dawn.com/news/1202397/pakistans-growing-gender-gap>

UK Home Office (UKHO) (2014) 'Country Information and Guidance Pakistan: Women.' Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/331642/Pakistan_CIG.Women.2014.07.16.v1.0.pdf

United Nations (December 1993) Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, 85th plenary meeting. Quoted in WHO (2012) 'Understanding and addressing violence against women' http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/77433/1/WHO_RHR_12.35_eng.pdf

UNICEF (2014), 'State of the World's Children Report 2013', UNICEF (2014), http://www.unicef.org/sowc2014/numbers/documents/english/SOWC2014_In%20Numbers_28%20Jan.pdf

United States Department of State (USDS) (2014) 'Pakistan 2014 Human Rights Report.'

World Economic Forum (WEF) (2014) 'Gender Gap Index 2014: Pakistan.' Available at: <http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2014/economies/#economy=PAK>

World Health Organisation (2013) The South African Medical Research Council and the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine, (2013) *Global and regional estimates of violence against women: prevalence and health effects of intimate partner violence and non-partner sexual violence*. Geneva: WHO

Zulfiqar, H. & Hasan, R. (2012) 'Level of Awareness Regarding Domestic Violence: Comparison between Working and Non-Working Women: A Case Study of Lalazar, Rawalpindi, Pakistan. *Journal of Peace, Conflict and Development* (19).

IMC Worldwide Ltd
64 – 68 London Road
Redhill
Surrey RH1 1LG
Tel: +44 (0)1737 231400
Fax: +44 (0)1737 771107
www.imcworldwide.com



imc worldwide
Development | Management | Infrastructure