INTRODUCTION
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Women's movements in the third world have, to a significant extent, developed their own distinctive identities, and, served to rectify many of the Euro-centric assumptions of Euro-American feminism. Third world feminism emerged from the experience of colonialism, and, therefore, unlike western feminism, insistently conflated gender with race and colonial subjugation. The other difference results from the prevalence of widespread deprivation and poverty in much of the third world, and from the realization among women in these countries that women's oppression results, to a considerable degree, from the scarcity of resources. One of the objectives of this proposed study is to explore the social, economic and cultural conditions within which women's movement in Pakistan developed its distinctive identity, and to see how far has their identity been influenced by state policies and the ideologies of Islam. With a few exceptions, studies in third world feminism and women's movements have ignored the contribution of the women in Pakistan. My proposed work shall fulfill the lacunae, by revealing the significance of women's movement in Pakistan, in developing a more comprehensive
understanding of the sources of women's subjugation and the nature of their resistance.

Pakistan was established in 1947 on the basis of two-nation theory, claiming a separate homeland for the Muslims in India. Since it was established on the basis of religious difference, it has had, since its very origin a troubled relationship with religion, particularly political Islam. The forces of political Islam received a significant fillip when Zia-ul Haq came to power in 1978, and made an attempt to legitimize his usurpation of power through the invocation of the Shari'a.' This had a direct, and regressive, impact on the position of women in Pakistan, for the assertion of political Islam was based on attempts to efface women from public places, and surveillance of women's movements, attire and conduct in social life. Political Islam equated Nation with community or lumma, and women served as boundaries, or symbolic markers of the community/nation. The identity of the community and the Nation was crucially tied up with the ability of the men and the state to control and confine women to the domestic spaces. This was also followed by the reformulation of a large number of laws and statutes, allegedly based on Islamic laws that sought to subjugate women, and ensure the domination of men over their women. Under the pretext of establishing an Islamic
state, the government in Pakistan, supported by the forces of political Islam, intruded into the domestic spaces and reaffirmed the dominance of patriarchal forces. My work shall study the relationship of the Islamisation drive in Pakistan with the position of women. Of course, women were not passive spectators to these developments, and women's movements, with rare courage and perseverance, contested the state in its efforts to subjugate them, under the pretext of Islam. I shall be studying the nature of their resistance, and the extent to which they have succeeded in their efforts.

Since 9/11, women's movements in Pakistan have been confronted with new challenges. On the one hand, they have to challenge the growing domination of the global neo-conservative forces, represented by USA, and, on the other, the very forces that are challenging them, that is, political Islam. The state in Pakistan is being increasingly dominated by the interests of the neo-conservative forces, which portend ill for the Women in Pakistan. At the same time, the forces that are resisting them are equally patriarchal. While the Pakistani women identify with their struggles against the state, they remain opposed to their world outlook, and, in particular, their position on women.
The first chapter covers the period between 1947 and 1977, when Pakistan saw the imposition of martial law by Ayub Khan, and the restoration of democracy under the charismatic leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The chapter examines the relationship of the political turmoil of the period on women and gender relations, focusing, in particular, on Muslim Family Ordinance (1961) and Constitution of 1973. Ayub Khan’s Family Ordinance marked an important attempt to reform family laws in Pakistan. I have made an effort to examine the effect of the Ordinance on the position of women in Pakistan. Bhutto introduced a new constitution in 1973, ensuring women equal citizenship rights. I have looked at the difference between norms and practice, and tried to study the political compulsions under which Bhutto placated the patriarchal forces.

Chapter-II deals with the drive towards Islam under Zia-ul-Haq, and his attempt to impose the shar’iat laws in Pakistan. Under Zia, Pakistan moved towards orthodox Islam, and introduced the infamous Hudood Ordinance in 1979. The chapter studies the impact of hudood laws on the family laws, and the position of women in marriage, divorce, and crimes of sexual deviance. I have also examined the role of women’s movements during the period, and the response of the state to the struggles of women.
In Chapter-III, I have discussed the women's movements in Pakistan, focusing in particular on the activities on Women’s Action Forum (WAF), All Pakistan Women’s Association (APWA) and Democratic Women’s Association (DWA). I have examined the social base of these bodies, and the nature of their relations with the state. There has been a growing shift in women's movements from a cooperative to a confrontationist stance, and the chapter plots the shift and tries to understand the reasons for the drift.

The last chapter looks at the role of women's movements in combating the shari'at laws. It reveals the daily experiences of women suffering under the hudood laws, and looks at the patterns of women’s responses to the drift towards shari'at in state policy.