



Human Rights in Pakistan: A Women's Perspective

Dr. Ashraf Reza

M.Phil. Ph.D., International Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, India

DOI : <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.21676223>

ARTICLE DETAILS

Research Paper

Received: 22-05-2026

Accepted: 28-06-2026

Published: 15-07-2026

Keywords:

Women, Human Rights, Social Customs, Society, Government, Discrimination, Freedom, Violation, Abuse, United Nation, Constitution, Democracy, Domestic Violence's, Rape, Honor Killings, Evidence, Legitimacy.

ABSTRACT

Everywhere in the world, there are millions of women who are dissatisfied with their lives and who are excluded from basic human rights simply because they are female. Women lack the ability to protect their rights in the society they live in. Here, against their will, millions of women and girls are forced into marriage and forced into having sex with men. Women cannot rely on the government to protect them from physical abuse at home. This cruelty has occasionally had great horrific consequences. Human rights give confidence to campaigns and programmes towards achieving gender equality and social justice. Numerous evolutions related to the status of the women in the country point to a low and demeaning status of women. Women's rights are the foundation for the fundamental freedoms and rights that women are entitled to in society, ensuring their equal protection under the law. Along with freedom from injustice, cruelty, and oppression, these rights also include the rights to life, liberty, and security. They also include the right to education, healthcare, economic opportunities, and political participation. Due to intricate cultural and social factors, women's rights in Pakistan have long been a concern; however, international treaties have been instrumental in promoting change. Like many other nations, Pakistan plays a part in protecting human rights through both its international partnerships and its local

Disclaimer: The opinions, interpretations, conclusions, recommendations, analyses, and statements expressed in this research article are solely those of the author(s) and do not reflect the views, policies, or positions of the Publisher, Chief Editor, Editors, Editorial Board, Reviewers, or their affiliated institutions. The author(s) are solely responsible for ensuring the originality, authenticity, and integrity of the manuscript and for ensuring that it is free from plagiarism, AI-generated content, copyright infringement, data falsification, and any other form of academic misconduct.



policies. Despite Pakistan's actions to improve women's rights and its interactions with international organizations and treaties, concerns still remain. To ensure the welfare of every person in Pakistan, human rights protections must be implemented and enforced effectively.

Introduction

The history of human origin is very ancient. It has evolved in different stages. With the development of civilisation, humans needed rights which are based on justice and equality, because along with the development of society, it also developed selfish and greedy elements which believed in the rights of others to be capable of self-realisation. The community acted as a safeguard against the exploitation and tyranny of these selfish elements. This assumption really helped develop the notion of human rights in the development period of early civilisation. It means that one has authority over something. A person has the right to use the particular thing he/she owns.

In ancient times, human rights were considered divine, that is God granted. Gradually, human beings were held in chains, movement were made by exercising rights to get out of them, as a result of which we are living with our human rights in an independent environment today. The notion of human rights is as old as the natural law. All living beings on nature desire freedom which is necessary for humans to protect their all-round development and existence. In ancient times, there was a force in humans, through which the rights of others were violated. Some people started thinking of themselves as rulers and treated others like animals. At that time a tendency of ownership had arisen in humans, which violated rights. In these circumstances, human rights began to fall behind. This went on for a long time, but later they started protesting and rights were demanded. For this reason, about 200 years ago, the French writer Jean Rousseau wrote, "man is born free, but he is in chains everywhere." In this statement, Rousseau has called for the freedom and equality of the masses and to be free from the chains of mistreatment and inequality.

Historians argue that the history of the subjugation of the weak through the strong dates back to the time when the notion of private property was introduced into society. Before that, land and what it yielded was owned jointly with the people. All members of the community retained the right to acquire sustenance from the land, first as hunters and gatherers and later as cultivators. Even when people grew crops for themselves in small land holdings, the mass of the land approximately them was owned collectively by the community. Thus one of the most basic notions of rights-- the right to obtain food-- was a safeguard for all.



Over the years, as population grew, the concept of collective community property gave way to private ownership. Land, animals, and even other human beings, came to be owned by the strong and the militant, who became richer and increasingly powerful. Just as land was prized for its ability to produce food, water and other necessities of life, women were valued for their ability to produce other human beings. Infact, some feminists classify women as the first form of private property, even before land, animal and male slaves. Over the years women were driven into subservience. Where once they had participated in the politics and social life of the community, they were banished from public life and restricted to live in the four walls of the home.

From time-to-time various philosophers addressed the prevailing injustice in different societies-according to the view held by the Muslims. Islam spoke out against women's oppression and advocated equality long before others become aware of it. It was not until 1948 that the issue of basic human rights was taken up at the international level. Later, after the Second World War, many countries of the world decided that there were certain minimum rights that should be applicable to every human being regardless of religion, race, colour, or gender. These basic rights were outlined in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. Admirable as this and other documents were, from the women's point of view, these suffered from a serious flaw: they were gender blind. The infringement of women's human rights and their realities were forcefully emphasised by women's NGOs prior to the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights, who noted that "the language content or explanation of most human rights do not represent women's facts or their infringement of human rights." Women Action Forum in Pakistan subsequently undertook a thorough appraisal of the UN declaration and made several suggestions which sought to include women in the language and also incorporated women's concerns.

The United Nation and Women's Human Rights

The human rights and women's movements, starting from 1945, introduced the questions of gender discrimination and inequality as political issues in international forums. The United Nations has also underscored the significance of the role of women in the nation's progress. The UNO created a number of international organisations in which women were empowered to rise as men. In this process, before the UN human rights declaration, the announcement of a committee formed to study women's status in 1946 important for the gender perspective, called the "Commission on the Status of Women."

In 1967, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution to end discrimination against women. Under this, a provision has been made that adequate arrangements will be made for women to be given all equal rights within the societal and economical spheres with men, whether married or unmarried, and there



will be no discrimination of any kind. In the context of the upliftment of women, it was decided by General Assembly of the United Nations to declare 1975 as the International Women's Year to awaken the consciousness of women's upliftment and development in the whole world.

The United Nations declared the decades of 1975 to 1984 as the women's decade for women's welfare, including women's education, employment, gender discrimination, inclusion of women in policy making, and equal political, economic, social, and civil rights, at the first international women's conference in 1975. In 1978, it was proposed to constitute a committee to end every forms of prejudice against women, and a new declaration was issued with the intention of ending violence. In December 1993, the General Assembly of the United Nations approved the Declaration on Violence against women, which was composed of seven parts:

- Physical, biological, and psychological violence within the community and family including wife beating, unethical exploitation of girls, dowry violence, marital rape, sexual reproduction and fatal traditional acts against other women.
- Marital Violence.
- Threats and sexual harassment at workplace, in educational institutions and other places.
- Selling and commercialising women.
- Pressure for prostitution.
- Pardon and the criminal violence by the state.

Today, the Universal Human Rights Declaration is about to complete 80 years, yet the violation of women's rights is seen daily in society. Women have always suffered neglect in social, religious, legal, educational, economic, and cultural fields, and they have always received second-class status in society.

Women Rights in Pakistan

The idea of "Human Rights in Pakistan" has been the subject of debate ever since Pakistan's founding. On the subject of women's rights, there have been debates. Due to needless constitutional delays and the inevitable fall of charismatic leaders, the foundations of democracy were already weak. According to the beliefs of both the conservative and modern strata of society in Pakistan, the modern idea of human rights is generally based on western thinking. Pakistan has long believed that its social, economic and political realities are fundamentally diverse as of those in the west and that they cannot just abandon centuries-old practices, and traditions in the name of customs, neglecting the cultural and social values. The reforms that are required will take a long time to implement.



Women in Pakistan have faced disadvantages and discrimination for a long time. Economic, social, civic, and political rights have all been denied to them, and frequently, restriction in one of these areas has resulted in prejudice in the other. The right to legal resources is more likely to be restricted for women who have been deprived of social rights, such as the right to education, as well as the ability to choose how to get married and divorced, how they are treated in their families, and how they live in society. The abuse keeps getting worse; unfortunate girls and women are trafficked, and they are also exposed to forced prostitution, forced marriages, and other unfair working conditions like bonded labour. Girls and women are likely to experience physical, emotional, and sexual abuse in all of these scenarios, with the resources to seek redress. The social structure, area, and class a Pakistani woman belongs to have an impact on her life, and these factors differ in each of the country's four provinces. Baluchistan and the North West Frontier provinces (NWFP), which are less populous provinces, have tight codes of tribal beliefs and customs that control daily life. Even there, even the smallest violation of the rules has a disastrous repercussion.

The role of women in the early phase of the Pakistan movement was not considerable. But Mohammad Ali Jinnah made every effort to increase it. Jinnah strongly emphasized that any movement in any society can establish its roots only if women can get half of the society's shares. Jinnah believed that no movement involving the active participation of women could be found successful. Jinnah was the most educated person in the realm of western culture. Jinnah was very sensitive towards women's rights. Jinnah tried hard to involve women in the Pakistan movement. Jinnah used to monitor women's participation in it.

Jinnah did not simply plead for this direction, nor did he limit himself to speech. Jinnah deeply believed that women possessed enormous power and that there was a strong need to use this power for the greater good of society. Jinnah was a staunch supporter of women's rights and of their equality in society. He also addressed the women's gathering separately and all the things, including male equality, which could be necessary to participants in the movements. Jinnah said in this regard: "We are victims of bad traditions. Our women are held captive within the four walls of their homes, which is a crime against humanity. Where the deadly circumstances in which our women must live are justified? You must accompany your ladies as allies at all times in your life."

Gen. Ayub Khan prepared positive changes to help the position of women. Attempts were made to encourage women's education and employment in government jobs and employment under his strict and unquestionable totalitarian regime. Beyond teaching, women actively influenced fields including the media, science, and public services. Ayub Khan held the conservative military accountable for the decline of the



nation and had a very strong disdain for them. An important step in Pakistan's family law reform was taken with the passing of the Ayub Khan family law ordinance.

The majorities of women in Pakistan were not aware of their rights and were unaware of the constitutional rights and entitlements and the purpose for which they were provided under the laws. Still so, the family law ordinance of 1961 did mark a large step further in the fight in favour of women's rights in Pakistan. Educating women about their legal rights was another goal of Pakistan's movement, which also played a role in the turning of the ordinance into law. Although the family law ordinance of 1961 provided some relief to women, the family law was strongly condemned by the orthodox and reactionary forces, and some of them termed it "un-Islamic" and a violation of the laws of Islam.

The third constitution of Pakistan, 1973, was prepared under the auspices of a democratic government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and lasted for seven years from 1970-1977. In 1973, a constitution was added through a designated representative of the public, in which several provisionaries were ended, as well as fundamental rights, freedom, protection of religious minorities, upliftment of women's rights, religious rights for minority groups, judiciary independence, etc., which were in the control of human rights. For the first time, women were granted equal rights under the 1973 constitution. It outlawed prejudice based on a person's race, class, or gender. It was headed by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the founder of the Pakistan People Party (PPP), who set up a number of reforms on the subject of women's rights, such as opening all windows in support of them due to their disadvantage in prior constitutions, reserving 10% seats in the National Assembly and 5% in the provincial assembly. Women were given the freedom to move around and express themselves for the first time in Pakistan's history. Women gained self-respect, which meant they were not suppressed even by later repressive movements. By granting women various forms of liberation, all gender inequalities in the nation have been abolished. In addition to this, women were given further protection in the areas of marriage and family. Under the Bhutto administration, a women's delegation that the government sent took part in a forum of the global conference for women's rights that was held in Mexico.

During the military rule of Gen. Zia (1977–88), he brought the *Hudood* Ordinance, the Law of Evidence, and the Law of *Qisas* and *Diyat* Ordinances, while these laws have direct impact on the rights of women in Pakistan. Many women's organisations raised their voices and demanded the state cancel these discriminatory laws, which have thrashed the rights of women in Pakistan. There was a rapid increase in the number of women in Pakistan jails through the spread of *Hudood* Ordinances and the Law of Evidence. The majority of imprisoned women were convicted. It was not just the laws; the litigants, the prosecutors, and



the presiding judicial officials used the law as a weapon against women and made false allegations against them. The law of evidence claims that a woman's evidence is half that of men.

The case of Safiya Bibi is living proof of the oppression of women under the Zia promulgation of Islamic laws. Zamindar and his son raped her and she became pregnant. Her pregnancy was proof that she had been raped. Despite this, the *Shariat* Court ordered the sentence of 15 lashes for Safiya Bibi, while the rapists were acquitted of the charges in the absence of proof.

Gen. Zia was very much against women's rights. In 1982, he appointed the Ansari Commission to make suggestions for the purpose of creating an ideal society according to Islam. The Ansari Commission made several anti-women's suggestions. Women are not allowed to be head of state; women must be 50 years old to be members of *Majlis-e-Shoora* (men must be 25 years old); and without a male head of state, women cannot travel abroad or serve in the military. After the enactment of the *Hudood* laws, men could be protected from the laws to rape women. The incidence of rape went up. This report is based on the official source of the Pakistan government, while the reality is that more than half of the rape reports are not filled out by the women in the police station.

In Pakistani society, rape is a sharp weapon against women in the hands of men, which hangs like a double-edged sword on women. Even if they file a lawsuit to break all their inhibitions, it is more likely that women will be convicted of adultery on charges of not proving rape. In practice, it is impossible for women to prove that when they were being raped, they were seen by four men. Because no rapist will rape for people by gathering them (who can witness against him) and the women will not even call him for it. The rape of women is a direct message to hundreds of women that they remain within the power and cultural and religious boundaries of men. Minority women have been terrorised. If the status of Muslim women is so weak in matters of rights, then where does the matter of the rights stand for minority women?

Benazir Bhutto was the first Muslim lady who became Prime Minister of Pakistan twice, in 1988 and 1993. She made a persistent attempt for the betterment of women by eliminating several steps as well as laws completed by conventional and orthodox military men which disadvantaged women's sovereignty. Women's police stations, women's courts, and women's development banks were also formed by which loans were given to women to develop their condition.

The Nawaz Sharif government in its first two tenures made a few efforts for the betterment of women through 15 amendments, but it was completely based on the Islamisation initiated by Gen. Zia which was approved by the National Assembly but opposed by social activists, women's rights non-governmental



organisations, and opponents. In fact, they wanted to cancel the *Hudood* Ordinance with the purpose of being against women outright. The government also introduced a blueprint of 10 years mentioning 16 goals planned in it for improving women's status and launching another plan, 'Human Development and Poverty Plan.'

It is true that Pakistan's political history has generally consisted of authoritarian regimes through commanding martial laws, which is why democratic norms could not enter the society and people lacked political awareness. According to an ordinance, of the Women Development Ministry in 2004, 1300 women were released from jail immediately in 2006. The *Hudood* Ordinance was also repealed, and a 10% quota was maintained in Central Superior Service.

According to the assessment, President Asif Ali Zardari has been beneficial for the safety of women. It allowed them to eradicate social injustice against women and create laws and acts like the 18th amendment, which is regarded as a turning point in the history of the nation because it gave the province control over the Women's Development Ministry, the Women's Protection Bill against Harassment 2010, the Acid Crime Act and the Criminal Act of 2011. Additionally, a variety of programmes were unveiled, including the Benazir Bhutto income support programme. A million women received financial support as a result of this effort. The Women's Detention and Distress Fund Act, which provides special relief and financial aid. In addition to this, a number of other laws were created to liberate women and stop violent crimes against them at the provincial level.

Pakistan's current administration has come to the realisation that because women make up 50% of the population and constitute Pakistan's major capital, they cannot thrive in social, political, or economic good judgment. In order for women to perhaps be capable of participating in all aspects of society, the government has formed the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. The government has started a prime minister youth loan to help the nation's youth and women, especially to boost their confidence and make them prominent in all walks of life.

Despite all the laws noted above being in place to liven up women, give them more power, and increase their obligations in all spheres of life, there are still a number of harsh, antiquated, and anachronistic customs, norms, traditions, and social evils that are against women's rights. These are detailed in full form below. Pakistan Women can actually be divided into two groups: urban and rural. They are confined to the four walls of their homes and may engage in every aspect of life, including commerce, medicine, education, politics, and foreign services. Urban women's lives are preferable to those of rural women. Due to poverty, ignorance, and the prevalence of women's abuses and gender violence in rural areas-including *karokari*,



vani, honour killing, forced marriages, child marriages, bride burning, and acid attacks-women's lives are incredibly impoverished and unpleasant. According to Women's Amnesty International, 8539 violent incidents against women occurred in 2015, with 1575 involving murder, 827 involving rape, 610 involving domestic violence, 705 involving honour killing, and 44 involving acid attack.

Religious Minority Women in Pakistan

Sunni Muslims make up the majority of Pakistanis, and they can be identified by the ethnic grouping to which they belong: Pathans, Sindhi, Balochis and Punjabi among others. The primary ethnic group in Pakistan is further divided by religion and tribal ties. Pakistan's tribal minorities exist, primarily in Sindh and the border provinces of Baluchistan and the North Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). Pakistan's human rights activists assert that members of religious minorities are sometimes the target of intolerance. Women living in these communities are particularly susceptible, according to the HRC. The Human Rights Commission notes, among other things, a surge in young Christian and Hindu women converting to Islam. Although these conversions are occasionally forced, they are primarily ascribed to Pakistan's worsening treatment of non-Muslims. Many Christian and Hindu women worry about being coerced into marriages with Muslim men.

Religion-based discrimination in Pakistan is a serious issue for the human rights circumstances in modern Pakistan. Minority communities in Pakistan, such as Christians, Sikhs, *Ahmadis*, and Hindus, face multiple discriminations and are subjected to violence. Orthodoxy has attacked Christian churches and *Ahmadi* mosques, as well as their worshippers, in a number of cases. I do not believe that religion is a secret affair of the individual," said Khwaza Nazimuddin, the second prime minister of Pakistan, "and I do agree that in an Islamic state, every citizen has the same rights, regardless of their caste, creed or faith"

A minority religious woman faces discrimination twice, initially because of their gender and also because of their religious minority status. Women, mostly minority women, face discrimination in the workplace and are also denied senior positions in public office because of the objections of these strong religious lobbies. Concerns were raised once more about women's vulnerability to sexual harassment and violence in Pakistani society, as well as the failure of the system to protect them. At the same time, attention was also called to the threat posed to their lives by the abuse of the controversial sections 295-B and C of the blasphemy law of the Pakistan penal code.

Women in Pakistan will face prejudice as well as violence on a daily basis. At the same time, as assured regions have seen several developments, the majority of women across Pakistan are detained without access



to the mainly fundamental human rights or the justice system. Additional than 1,000 girls and women are sufferers of “honour killings” every year, and a confounding 45% of the female population experience household violence.

While prejudiced laws have resulted in extensive bigotry of religious minorities, they have relegated them to the status of second-class citizens, with rights that are unnoticed by both the mainstream community as well as the federal government. According to the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, thousands of women and girls from religious minorities are kidnapped, by force converted to Islam, and wedded with their kidnappers every year. Generally, aggression in opposition to religious minorities has been rising in view of the fact that more than a few articles have to be added to the Pakistan constitution, evidently to frustrate profanity and defend the Islamic authorities. In actuality, on the other hand, discrimination and violence against minorities affect minority women excessively.

Conclusion

Pakistan is a Muslim country so Islamic principles should have prevailed and followed in accordance with Quran and Sunnah to give the rights of women. Islam grants all rights to women without any discrimination. But unfortunately all social evils against women prevailing in the country as existed before the advent of Islam in the time of ignorance. At that time woman had been deprived from basic rights and they could have not lived with their own desire. Similarly in the modern age in patriarchal society like Pakistani woman is bearing torture in the shape of honor killings, acid throwing and domestic violence. In rural areas woman life is too miserable. It is an acrimonious truth nobody makes joy at the birth of daughter but everybody wants to lay a woman in bedroom. In a nutshell in Pakistani society there is a widen gulf between theory and practice regarding woman status so government must bridge this gap, taking proficient steps to empower the woman who has become a sign of hatred.

References

- S. Joshi, *Human Rights and Duties* (Ajmer: Abhinav Prakashan, 2005).
- Michael Boylan, *Natural Human Rights: A Theory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
- Jack Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights in Theories and Practice* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1989).
- Charles R. Beitz, *The Idea of Human Rights* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- O.P. Gauba, *An Introduction to Political Theory* (New Delhi: Mayur Books, 2021).
- J. S. McClelland, *A History of Western Political Thought* (New York & London: Routledge, 1996).



Colin Tatz, *Human Rights and Human Wrongs: A Life Confronting Racism* (Australia: Monash University, 2015).

Gail Minnault, *Women Education and Muslim Social Reforms in Colonial India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998).

N. Jayapalan, *Women and Human Rights* (Jaipur: Atlantic Publisher, 2001).

D.M. Dharmadhikari, *Human Values and Human Rights* (New Delhi: Universal Publishing Pvt. Ltd, 2016).

M.H.Syed (ed.), *Human Rights in Pakistan* (New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2007).

Khawar Mumtaz and Farida Shaheed, *Women in Pakistan: Two Steps Forward and One step Backward* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1987).

Asgar Ali Engineer, *Islam Gender Justice: Muslim Gender Discrimination*, (New Delhi: Kalpaz Publication, 2013).

Sahnaz Alkazi, *Faith and Freedom: Women's Human Rights in the Muslim World* (London: I.B. Taurus Publishers, 1995).

Ali Usman Qasmi, *The Ahmadiyas and the Politics of Religious Exclusion in Pakistan* (New York: Anthem press, 2015).

¹ Michael Boylan, *Natural Human Rights: A Theory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p.16.

¹ Jack Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights in Theories and Practice* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1989), p.2.

¹ Charles R. Beitz, *The Idea of Human Rights* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 7.

¹ O.P. Gauba, *An Introduction to Political Theory* (New Delhi: Mayur Books, 2021), p. 319.

¹ J. S. McClelland, *A History of Western Political Thought* (New York & London: Routledge, 1996), p. 240.

¹ O.P. Gauba, Op. Cit., p.320.

¹ Colin Tatz, *Human Rights and Human Wrongs: A Life Confronting Racism* (Australia: Monash University, 2015), p.110.

¹ Gail Minnault, *Women Education and Muslim Social Reforms in Colonial India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), p.63.

¹ N. Jayapalan, *Women and Human Rights* (Jaipur: Atlantic Publisher, 2001), p. 17.

¹ Frederic Megret & Philip Alston, *The United Nations and Human Rights* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 257.

¹ M.H.Syed (ed.), *Human Rights in Pakistan* (New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2007), p.205.

¹ Khawar Mumtaz and Farida Shaheed, *Women in Pakistan: Two Steps Forward and One step Backward* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1987), p.7.



- ¹ Muhammad Ali Jinnah Speech, Aligarh Muslim University, 1944
- ¹ Asgar Ali Engineer, *Islam Gender Justice: Muslim Gender Discrimination*, (New Delhi: Kalpaz Publication, 2013), p.96.
- ¹ West Pakistan Rules under the Family Law Ordinance 1961 (Gazette of West Pakistan, July 1961).
- ¹ Jilani and Ahmad, *Violence Against Women*, Op. Cit., p.171.
- ¹ Shahnaz Rouse, *Shifting Body Politics: Gender, Nation, State in Pakistan* (Lahore: Vanguard, 2006), p.106.
- ¹ Amnesty International Report, 1995.
- ¹ Anita M. Weiss, *Islamic Reassertion in Pakistan* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1987), p.103.
- ¹ Human Rights Commission of Pakistan Report, 1995.
- ¹ Sahnaz Alkazi, *Faith and Freedom: Women's Human Rights in the Muslim World* (London: I.B. Taurus Publishers, 1995), p.170.
- ¹ Pakistan Council for Science and Technology, Report, April, 2016.
- ¹ Raza Talal, "Violence in Pakistan," 16th February 2010, available at URL: <http://www.hamarweb.com> Accessed on 12th January 2021.
- ¹ Kevin Bales, *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy* (Berkeley: University of California, 2012), p.177
- ¹ Ali Usman Qasmi, *The Ahmadiyas and the Politics of Religious Exclusion in Pakistan* (New York: Anthem press, 2015), p.140.
- ¹ Nighat Said Khan & Afiya Shehribano Zia, *Pakistani Women's Perspective on Social, Political and Ideological Issues* (Lahore: ASR Publication, 1995), p.132.
- ¹ Ibid, p.67.
- ¹ Promod Mishra, *Domestic Violence against Women: Legal Control and Judicial Response* (New Delhi: Deep Publication, 2006), p.39.